Paradigm Shift in Language Planning & Language Policy

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Abstract-1

- Kaplan (1998:421) traces the roots of modern academic interest in language planning to the 1960s. Since then, the focus has been on finding an indigenous language of wider communication (LWC) in countries where a large number of languages are spoken. After nearly half a century of implementing such a policy, it is now widely accepted that this hegemonic model has had a devastating effect on indigenous minority languages. …

Abstract-2

- …The growing literature on language death shows clearly that elevating a single language over all other languages puts the remaining languages at risk. In the long run, the chosen LWC becomes a killer language, as is the case of Swahili and its relationship with the other languages spoken in Tanzania. With this in mind, it is time for a paradigm shift in favor of the democratic model whereby all the languages spoken in a given country can be promoted.

Abstract-3

- …This view is in keeping with the recommen-dations of the Universal Declarations of Linguistic Rights signed by UNESCO and many other organizations in 1996 in Barcelona, Spain. In the 1960s, such a democratic model of language planning would have been thought impossible on conceptual and economic grounds. However, the Strategic Game Theory proposed by Laitin in 1992 has provided the much needed theoretical framework for this model to be implemented.

Abstract-4

- … It is possible to plan all the linguistic resources of a given country without causing the unintentional death of a single language. Moreover, a cost-benefit analysis based on the extremely complex linguistic situation of Côte d'Ivoire (Ivory Coast), West Africa, shows that this approach to language planning can infuse millions of dollars into the local economy and create hundreds of language related jobs.

Presentation Outline

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1. Six Important Questions

2. Convergence Towards a Hegemonic Model of Language Planning

3. Negative Effects of the Hegemonic Model and Rationale for a Paradigm Shift.

4. Catalysts for a Democratic Model of Language Planning

5. Case Study: Application of the Strategic Game Theory to the Ivory Coast

Six Important Questions

What Language Planning Model for Africa?-1

- Latin (1992:103) asks the following questions?

1. What sort of nation-states will be characteristic of Africa in the coming century?

2. Will they follow in the footsteps of their western European and east Asian predecessors and develop language communities commensurate with political boundaries?

What Language Planning Model for Africa?-2

3. If so, will the rationalized languages be those of the overseas conquerors, like in the Americas and Oceania; or will they be indigenous languages, such as in Indonesia?

4. Or is the multilingual model of Switzerland or the Soviet Union more applicable to the African states of the future?

5. And if multilingual, what sort of demands will such a state put on its citizens?

What Language Planning Model for Africa?-3

6. What sort of language repertoires will be necessary for Africa's future citizens if they hope to take reasonable advantage of opportunities available in their countries?

Definition of Linguistic Hegemony

Defining the Hegemonic Model

- **The Dominant Model:** Throughout the world history, language planning has been dominated by the hegemonic model.

- **Definition:** This model is defined simply as one whereby a language/dialect imposes itself on other languages/dialects, or is imposed on other languages/dialects.

Convergence Towards Hegemony

Analysis of Contributing Factors

Factors Responsible for the Hegemonic Model

1. Nation-Building
2. Imperialism
3. Socio-economic Ideologies: Capitalism and Communism
4. Colonialism
5. Globalization/Internationalization
6. Correlational Fallacy between Language and Development

Focus on Linguistic Hegemony and Nation-Building

Linguistic Hegemony-Nation Building-1

- **The French Model of Linguistics and Nation-Building:** Kaplan and Baldauf (1997:201) "Language planning has become part of modern nation-building because a noticeable trend in the modern world is to make language and nation synonymous," Wardhaugh (2006:356)

N0	Time Frame	Number of National Languages
1.	A millennium ago	6 National Languages
2.	By 1250	17 National Languages
3.	19th Century	30 National Languages
4.	By 1937	53 National Languages

Linguistic Hegemony-Nation Building-2

- **The Fallacy of the Alleged Incompatibility between Multilingualism and Nation Building:** "In their search for national integration, African countries, like many newly independent countries, look for symbols that could reinforce the sentiments of oneness. Language is such a symbol. But since language is often associated with ethnicity, fostering national integration is usually seen as deemphasizing multiplicity of …

Linguistic Hegemony-Nation Building-3

- … languages **just as building a nation is seen as synonymous with breaking down ethnic loyalties.** The association of multilingualism with divisiveness is unjustified, since language is only a convenient scapegoat on which the real causes of divisiveness are usually hung," Bamgbose (1991:7)

Linguistic Hegemony-Nation Building-4

- **Linguistic Hegemony in Newly Independent Countries: Imposing an Indigenous Language**

- "In the Philippines, for example, where the population speaks some 250 languages, it was a **political necessity** to identify a national language," Kaplan (1998:424)

- **Other Examples:** Bahasa Indonesian in Indonesia, Tok Pisin in Papua New Guinea, Quechua in Peru, Swahili in Tanzania and Kenya, etc.

Linguistic Hegemony-Nation Building-5

- **Examples of Newly Independent Countries with Linguistic Hegemony: Other Examples:** Bahasa Indonesian in Indonesia (583), Tok Pisin in Papua New Guinea, Quechua in Peru, Swahili in Tanzania (80) and Kenya (50), etc.

- Sources: Kaplan and Baldauf (1997:324-40) and David Laitin (1992:139-40)

Focus on Linguistic Hegemony and Imperialism

Linguistic Hegemony and Imperialism-1

N0	Languages	Periods of Dominance
1.	Assyro-Babylonian	16th -10th B.C.
2.	Aramaic	7th - 3rd B.C.
3.	Greek	3rd B.C.- 400 A.D.
4.	Latin	400 - 1600 A.D.
5.	Portuguese	14th - 16th A.D.
6.	French	17th - ½ of 20th A.D.
7.	English	18th - Present

Focus on Linguistic Hegemony and Ideology

Capitalism and Communism

Linguistic Hegemony and Ideology-1

- **Capitalism:** "The urgencies of capitalism require governments to exact as much work and allegiance from their populations as possible, and the imposition of a single language has traditionally been seen as critical to this goal, especially within the nationalist models that have ruled since the 1700s," McWhorther (2003:261)

Linguistic Hegemony and Ideology-2

- **Communism:** Karl Marx is quoted as saying: "A nation is a historically evolved stable community of language, territory, economic life, and psychological make-up manifested in a community of culture. *There is no nation which at one and the same time speaks several languages. Marx … admitted the need for a single national language as the superior form to which dialects, as lower forms, were subordinate,*" De Francis (1974:462)

Focus on Linguistic Hegemony and Colonialism

Linguistic Hegemony-Colonialism-1

- **Colonialism and Linguistic Hegemony:** "It seems it is the fate of Africa to have her destiny always decided around conference tables in the metropolises of the western world: her submergence from self-governing communities into colonies was decided in Berlin; her more recent transition into neo-colonies along the same boundaries was negotiated around the same tables in London, Paris, Brussels and Lisbon. The Berlin-drawn...

Linguistic Hegemony-Colonialism-2

- …division under which Africa is still living was obviously economic and political, despite the claims of bible-wielding diplomats, but it was also cultural. Berlin in 1884 saw the division of Africa into different languages of the European powers. **African countries**, as colonies and even today as neo-colonies, **came to be defined and to define themselves in terms of the languages of Europe:**

Linguistic Hegemony-Colonialism-3

- … English-speaking, French-speaking or Portuguese-speaking African countries …English, like French and Portuguese, was assumed to be the natural language of literary and even political mediation between African people in the same nation and between nations in Africa and other continents. In some instances these European languages were seen as having the capacity to unite African peoples against divisive tendencies inherent in the multiplicity of African languages within the same geographic state," Wa Thiong'o (1986:4-5, 6-7)

Focus on Linguistic Hegemony and Globalization

Linguistic Hegemony-Globalization-1

1. **Internationalization:** Internationalization makes people wonder about the usefulness of spending a lot of money in planning a local language whereas the money could be spent profitably elsewhere.

Linguistic Hegemony-Globalization-2

2. **Continued use and reliance on European languages:** "It is both the language [European language] that transcends local loyalties and the one that opens up access to the world outside the state. It is unlikely that in these circum-stances such outside languages will disappear; rather, it is likely that they will continue to be used and that positions of leadership will continue to go only to those who have access to them, unless conditions change," Wardhaugh (2006: 365-6).

Linguistic Hegemony and Globalization-3

- **Upward Social Mobility:** "Finally, just as writing tends to give a language an air of `legitimacy,' the converse also is true-a language that has not been traditionally written is often considered `less of a language' even by its speakers if they have been reared in a written, standardized `top twenty' languages. … Such judgments are thoroughly arbitrary but noisomely deeply ingrained, and many communities resist efforts to revive their dying languages out of a sense that the languages are incompatible with the upward mobility they seek," McWhorter (2003:271)

Correlational Fallacy between Language and Development

Linguistic Hegemony and Development

- **The Fallacy of a Hegemonic African Language:** "The frequent calls for a single national language by African intellectuals reflect the belief that development is associated with the choice of an indigenous language use as the sole official language for politics and economics. … The call for the elimination of language diversity to foster socioeconomic development is therefore clearly based on faith, not science," Laitin (1992:53,54,55)

The Negative Effects of Linguistic Hegemony

Negative Effects of Linguistic Hegemony-1

- In a multilingual setting, elevating one language or dialect over all other languages or dialects entails the loss of social and/or legal status of other languages or dialects. The speakers of the languages or dialects that are not chosen are linguistically disenfranchised.

Negative Effects of Linguistic Hegemony-2

- **Intended and Unintended Consequences:** The consequences of linguistic hegemony remain the same whether the imposed language is an African language or a European language. In either case, linguistic hegemony has the following side effects:

Negative Effects of Linguistic Hegemony

1. Avoidance, Neglect, Laissez-faire

2. Language Conflicts

3. Oppression

4. Language Death

Avoidance-1

- **Demagogical Avoidance:** "There is a general feeling that language problems are not urgent and hence solutions to them can wait. … Not only is avoidance of the language problem unjustified, **the (analogous) attitude of making pronouncements that cannot be implemented is also a form of avoidance.** The longer a solution to a language problem is delayed, the more difficult it will be eventually to solve it," Bamgbose (1991:6).

Avoidance-2

- **Elite Closure and Lip Service:** "Developing countries, constrained by limited budgets, pressing poverty, and poor educational systems, and too frequently run **by despotic dictatorships** as little concerned with minority rights as the monarchies that created today's First World countries, generally only pay lip service to European calls that they preserve their lands and indigenous cultures," MacWorther (2003:276)

Focus on Language Conflicts

Classification of Language Conflicts

- Dua (1996:2) diagnoses 4 types of conflicts:
1. Conflict between the international LWC versus the national LWCs
2. Conflict between two potential national LWCs
3. Conflicts between a national LWC versus and a regional LWC
4. Conflict between a regional LWC versus a minority language

Rationale for Language Conflicts-1

- Dua also gives the following reasons why languages are prone to conflicts:

1. **Language has an Instrumental Function** "The second characteristic of language which makes it susceptible to conflict is its instrumental function. When language is associated with higher education and employment, it becomes a means of social advancement, status and security, and thus a key to social mobility," Dua (1996:7)

Rationale for Language Conflicts-2

2. **Language as a Symbol of Identity**

    "First, language is a symbol and is subject to ideolization. … Language loyalty serves as a rallying point… Loyalty and pride can be ideologically cultivated and manipulated to produce either integration or separatism", Dua (1996:8)

Rationale for Language Conflicts-3

3. **Language as Power**

    "There is as yet no universally acceptable characterization of the notion of language power and its relationship to other sources of power," Dua (1996:9)

Focus on Linguistic Oppression

Oppression-1

- **Physical and/or Psychological Oppression**: "To be sure, indigenous languages have often been actively discouraged, by school policies calling for corporal punishment on any Native American student heard conversing in his home language, a practice especially common in the United States until the middle of the twentieth century, and by governmental positions declaring minority languages antithetical with national unity (witness France in the 1700s)," McWhorther (2003:272)

Oppression-2

- **Attempts at Linguistic Genocide**

    "Kurds in Turkey, Kabils in Algeria, Franco's attempt to eliminate Basque in Spain, the Ethiopian's attempt wipe out all other languages except Amharic," McWhorther (2003:349)

Focus on Language Death

Language Death-1

- "Today, languages are in fact disappearing at a rate as alarmingly rapid as that of flora and fauna. The same geopolitical forces that are raping the global environment are also vaporizing not just the occasional obscure tongue spoken in remote regions, but most of the world's six thousand languages …

Language Death-2

- … This imbalance of power leads to some rather gruesome predictions. By one reasonable estimate, ninety percent of the world's languages will be dead by 2100-that is, fifty-five hundred full, living languages will no longer be spoken about 1,125 months from when you are reading this. As David puts it, this means that **a language is dying roughly every two weeks**," McWhorter (2003:257-8)

Language Death-3

- "Today, language death is often caused less by physical conquest than by gradually yoking indigenous peoples into a centralized cash economy. … In other cases, the dominant power renders much of the population migrant laborers, spending half of their lives working in cities, this facilitated by modern transportation technology (assembling part-time work forces drawn from afar was more difficult before the invention of trains, for example). …

Language Death-4

- … In the past few centuries, a great many human societies have been drawn from independent subsistence on the land into dependent relationships with capitalist superstructures, with traditional ways of life often actively discouraged in favor of new practices geared toward supplying the central government with salable resources," McWhorter (2003:261-2)

The Catalysts for a Paradigm Shift

Towards a Democratic Model of Language Planning

Self-Evaluation

- "In the decades intervening between the golden positivism of the language planning experts and consultants of the **1960s** and the **more cautious** policy/planning undertakings in the 1990s, it is possible to outline important principles of language-planning projects from around the world, and that represent an accumulation of trial and error knowledge on language planning and policy," Kaplan (1998:421)

The Catalysts for a Paradigm Shift

1. Increased Awareness of Language Death
2. The Pronouncements of the Universal Declaration of Linguistic Rights
3. Sustainability of Multiple Official Languages: The examples of South Africa and Switzerland
4. The Advent of the Strategic Game Theory
5. Marketability of Smaller Languages and the 2 Language Outcome

The Universal Declaration of Linguistic Rights

The UN Charter, Sections 26 & 27
Kaplan and Baldauf (1997:211)

UN Declarations

- **Articles 26 and 27:** The Universal Declaration of Human Rights do not specifically protect linguistic rights.

  http://www.un.org/Overview/rights.html

  This led to the Universal Declaration of Linguistic Rights of Barcelona 1996:

- http://www.linguistic-declaration.org/index-gb.htm

- Below are some excerpts of the declaration

Article 9

- All language communities **have the right to** codify, standardize, preserve, develop and promote their linguistic system, **without induced or forced interference**.

Article 10

1. **All language communities have equal rights**.

2. This Declaration considers discrimination against language communities to be inadmissible, whether it be based on their degree of political sovereignty, their situation defined in social, economic or other terms, the extent to which their languages have been codified, updated or modernized, or any other criterion.

Article 13

1. Everyone has the right to know the language specific to the territory in which s/he lives

2. **Everyone has the right to be polyglot and to know and use the language most conducive to his/her personal development or social mobility**, without prejudice to the guarantees established in this Declaration for the public use of the language specific to the territory.

Article 15

1. All language communities are **entitled to** the **official use** of their language **within their territory**.

Article 23

2. **Education must** help to maintain and develop the language spoken by the language community of the territory where it is provided.

Basic Concepts in the Strategic Game Theory

Great Potential

- Dua (1996:13): "It has been suggested and in some measure substantiated that the game theory has **great potential** in analyzing the dynamics of political linguistics and modelling conflicts between state and society and between region and centre." [Emphasis added]

Game Theoretic Views of Language

- Language is not only nor merely a tool for human communication. In the Game Theory it is also seen as:

1. an economic resource
2. capital
3. an investment
4. an asset
5. a portfolio

Basic Concepts in the Strategic Game Theory

Focus on the Linguist's Dilemma

The Linguist's Dilemma-1

- **From the Prisoner's Dilemma to The Linguist's Dilemma** "In a given country, many languages are spoken. The peoples who speak these languages are proud of their languages and do not want to learn their neighbor's language. In the same country, there is a language of wider communication (LWC). This language is perceived to be the language of modernity and of the future. …

The Linguist's Dilemma-2

- … This language is the only way to well paying jobs. Knowing the LWC is a must. However, the expansion of the LWC will inevitably lead, sooner or later, to the neglect or death of the local languages. Linguists want to save each local language. What is the solution to the problem?" Koffi (2005)

Ladefoged's Dilemma-1

"In the conclusion of a much-discussed article in academic linguistics' signature journal Language, the eminent linguist Peter Ladefoged described a Dahalo-speaking father who was proud that his son now spoke only Swahili, because this was an index of his having moved beyond the confines of …

Ladefoged's Dilemma-2

- … village life into material success, `who am I to say that he was wrong?' writes Ladefoged. Certainly we cannot prefer that the son opt for poverty; he was most likely moving away from a context in which few Westerners, language revivalists or not, could even conceive of living if other options were available. This last point is crucial:

Ladefoged's Dilemma-3

- … even if the Dahalo speaker was seduced by attractions of city life and the cash economy that in our eyes are of superficial value, we put ourselves in a tenuous position when we argue that the son should resist the very life style that none of us, downsides fully acknowledged would even consider giving up," McWhorter (2003:275)

The Strategic Game Theory and the Democratic Model

Focus on Language Outcomes

Game Theoretic Assessment of Language Outcomes-1

- **Laitin's Outcomes (1992:18):** The model sub-Saharan Africans' linguistic portfolio may be diversified as follows:

1. 3 ± 1= 4
2. 3 ± 1= 3
3. 3 ± 1= 2
4. 2 - 1= 1

- **Koffi's Outcomes:** The model sub-Saharan Africans' linguistic portfolio may be diversified as follows:

- **1 + 1 + (1) =** $\begin{cases} \textbf{2} \\ \textbf{3} \end{cases}$

Game Theoretic Assessment of Language Outcomes-2

- **Undesirable Outcomes:** Neither Laitin nor I find the following outcomes desirable:

1. **2-1:** imbalance bilingualism at the expense of the mother tongue:

2. **1+0:** Monolingualism in a multilingual environment. This monolingualism is at the detriment of the mother tongue.

Equilibrium in the Strategic Game Theory

Linguistic equilibrium is achieved in a multilingual environment when the speakers of indigenous languages feel linguistically secure and know that the acquisition of additional languages is not detrimental to their native tongue.

• The desired outcome is **Diglossia/Positive Bilingualism**

Towards Positive Diglossia-1

- "Cognizant of these problems and paradoxes, Daniel Nettle and Suzanne Romaine argue in *Vanishing Voices*, the most deeply thought of the various book-length treatments of the language-death matter, that any realistic worldwide language-revival effort must take place within a general initiative allowing indigenous groups to continue living on their lands within their own cultures. ...

Towards Positive Diglossia-2

- … By no means so utopian as to require that native groups not acquire top twenty language in order to participate to some extent in the world economy, Nettle and Romaine propose that such groups be ushered into a **diglossic** use of dominant languages with their native ones," McWhorter (2003:276), Wa Thiong'o (1986:28-9)

Game Theoretic Approaches to Acquisition Planning

Language-in-Education Planning

- **Language-of-Education Planning vs. Language-in-Education Planning**: "For example, the Fédération Internationale des Professeurs de Langues Vivantes (1992) has issued a statement calling for human language rights, and Gomes de Matos (1994) has urged **language-in-education** planning to further humanize linguistic education policies. Increasingly this is an area that language planners will need to consider in their work," Kaplan and Baldauf (1997:213)

A Case Study

A Game Theoretic Approach to Languages Planning in Côte d'Ivoire

Prerequisites for Success-1

1. Very high cost of teaching Spanish and German in high school with very dismal return/benefit. Solution: ☞Delay of these two languages until College. These two languages with Ivorian languages.

2. Act of Parliament to make the teaching of Ivoirian languages in high school compulsory.

3. Language-in-education approach used

Prerequisites for Success-2

4. German and Spanish teachers must be retrained to teach Ivorian languages.

5. Teachers of Ivorian languages' salaries should be commensurate with what other teachers earn.

Marketability of Not Commonly Taught Languages

Obstacles to Marketability-1

- "Unfortunately, language plans tend to be couched in fairly altruistic terms, e.g., there is a tendency to try to motivate children to learn another language by telling them that doing so is somehow good for them. But an activity that promises a vague good in the distant future is not motivating," Kaplan (1998:421)

Obstacles to Marketability-2

- "But in reality, just as often the reason groups abandon their traditional languages is ultimately a desire for resources that native communities do not offer," McWorther (2003:272)

Profitability of Language in Côte d'Ivoire-1

- **Language-in-Education Approach and Grades:** Ivorian languages would be taught in the following grades as an academic subject:

1. 7th grade
2. 8th grade
3. 9th grade
4. 10th grade
5. 11th and 12th grades

Profitability of Language in Côte d'Ivoire-2

- **Number of High School and Middle School students in 2008:** 1,064 666 students

- **Sales from textbooks:** approximately 5.6 billion in local currency, that is, $120 million.

- **Language-related Jobs**: Teachers, writers, editors, printers, etc.

Gratitude

- I'm grateful to my colleague, Professor Jack Hibbard, for facilitating my attendance of AAAL-2009 by allocating to me a portion of his Faculty Development Fund!

Questions? Comments?

This presentation is also available at:

www.orthographyclearinghouse.org

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