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Protecting and Revitalizing Native Languages in an Era of Globalization



THE NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF
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Foreword

With globalization prevalent across the world, the importance of communicating in international society as well as in a country is rapidly growing. Given this, the prevalence of an international common language is understandable. Historically, the languages of economic and cultural powers have served as a dominant language to communicate among people using different native languages and naturally have exercised strong influence.

Today, however, the dominant language not just serve as a communication tool for the international society but also compromises the existence of small languages. The dominant language intrudes every walk of life and extends to the realm of each native language. In addition, every language community is troubled and split with cultural problems arising from the rapid increase of immigrants. In that respect, it would not be an exaggeration to say that every language community in the world today is waging a language war.

UNESCO produced *Atlas of the World's Language in Danger*, which UNESCO published with celebration of the International Mother Language Day in 2002, indicates "If a language vanishes, it means that we have permanently lost a tool to recognize and understand human thoughts and the world view." There are many who argue that the vanishing diversity of languages is tantamount to the collapse of an ecosystem. A language not just serves as a communication tool but also delivers the language user's art, techniques, knowledge and even wisdom. This implies that language is not just a cultural monument but also serves as a living museum.

Under the circumstances, we should join forces to conserve language diversity in order to guarantee diverse cultural activities across the globe. The National Institute of the Korean Language (NIKL) has provided global events to exchange each country's language policies on a bi-annual basis since 2010. In 2012, it held an international academic conference titled "Protecting and Revitalizing Native Languages in an Era of Globalization". Now, the achievements of that conference have been collected for publication in this volume.

I again would like to express my most profound appreciation to Prof. Robert Phillipson and all of the language policy experts from Korea and overseas who volunteered their time in attending this conference and granted permission for their valuable work to be reprinted in this volume. I hope that this collection can serve as a valuable opportunity to examine each country's language policies to protect and promote native languages, explore the ways of harmonizing dominant languages with native one's for the peaceful coexistence of humankind.

September 15, 2014

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Director General of the National Institute of the Korean Language

Contents

- **How linguistic imperialism continues: diagnosis and resistance 1**
Robert Phillipson (Copenhagen Business School, Denmark)
- **Towards Community Centred Māori Language Strategy 29**
 - **Rational and Structure of Strategic Approaches**
Glenis Philip-Barbara (Māori Language Commission, New Zealand)
- **The Hungarian Language in the Age of Globalisation 39**
Tamás Váradi (Research Institute for Linguistics of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Hungary)
- **Tongues under Threat 61**
 - **Preserving Indigenous African Languages**
Sihawukele Ngubane (Pan South African Language Board, Republic of South Africa)




| | |
|---|-----|
| ● Safeguarding Language Diversity in Indonesia | 79 |
| Sugiyono (The Agency for Language Development and Cultivation, Indonesia) | |
| ● Preservation Policies for the Korean Language | 97 |
| – History and Problems – | |
| Kim Sejung (The National Institute of the Korean Language, Republic of Korea) | |
| ● Protecting and revitalizing national languages in Finland | 113 |
| Pirkko Nuolijärvi (Institute for the Languages of Finland, Finland) | |
| ● State Language – Main Factor of Country Unity | 135 |
| Skakov Maxat (Language Committee of the Ministry of Culture and Information of the Republic of Kazakhstan, Kazakhstan) | |
| ● Photos of the Conference | 149 |



How linguistic imperialism continues: diagnosis and resistance

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How linguistic imperialism continues: diagnosis and resistance

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The article has sections covering

- The study of linguistic imperialism: principles and challenges
- A historical and conceptual interlude
- Expansion through linguistic imperialism
- Language pedagogy: why so much English?
- Linguistic neoimperialism
- Ongoing tensions between linguistic imperialism and resistance

and attempts to connect these issues to the Korean situation. It begins with a few samples of imperialist discourse and reactions to it.

The British Empire and the United States who, fortunately for the progress of mankind, happen to speak the same language and very largely think the same thoughts.

The power to control language offers far better prizes than taking away people's provinces or lands or grinding them down in exploitation. The empires of the future are the empires of the mind.

Winston Churchill, Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, 1941 and 1943¹⁾

The whole world should adopt the American system. The American system can survive in America only if it becomes a world system.

Harry Truman, President of the United States of America, 1947²⁾

1) 1941: House of Commons, cited in Morton 1943. 1943: when receiving an honorary degree at Harvard University.

Attitudes to English in Korea have been deeply impacted by neocolonial and racial US influence. ‘As the US was constructed as powerful, advanced and beautiful ... Koreans were understood as its mirror image – weak, backwards and inferior’, as a result of which Koreans experience anxiety and tension vis-à-vis English and the monumental but ultimately impossible task of becoming fluent and on a par with ‘native speaker’ competence. The rich can afford preferential treatment, as a result of which competence in English is a class marker.

Joseph Sung-Yul Park, 2012, 214

In the British empire the purpose of education was to produce ‘A class of persons, Indian in blood and colour, but English in taste, in opinions, in morals, and in intellect.’

Thomas Babington Macaulay, 1835

To give millions a knowledge of English is to enslave us. The foundation that Macaulay laid of education has enslaved us.

Of all the superstitions that affect India, none is so great as that a knowledge of English is necessary for imbibing ideas of liberty, and developing accuracy of thought. English is a language of international commerce, it is the language of diplomacy, and it contains many a rich literary treasure, it gives us an introduction to western culture. For a few of us therefore, a knowledge of English is necessary. (...) today English has usurped the dearest place in our hearts and dethroned our mother-tongues. It is an unnatural place due to our unequal relations with Englishmen.

Mahatma Gandhi 1909³⁾, 1921.

The world of English conversation is racist ..., racist in its payscale, racist in its hiring practices, racist in its advertising, and in the ideology put forward in its textbooks and classrooms... the idea of the “native speaker” is mostly a fraud ... what is important is to stop thinking of English as the language of cultural domination.

Douglas Loumis, 1977, 7, 24

The study of linguistic imperialism: principles and challenges

The study of linguistic imperialism focuses on how and why certain languages dominate internationally, and attempts to account for such dominance in a theoretically informed way. Many issues

2) Cited in Pieterse 2004, 131.

3) See Gandhi(2010).

can be clarified: the role of language policy in empires(British, French, Japanese, etc.); how languages from Europe were established on other continents, generally at the expense of local languages; whether the languages that colonialism took to Africa and Asia now form a useful bond with the international community, and are necessary for national unity internally – or are they a bridgehead for Western interests, permitting the continuation of marginalization and exploitation? In a globalizing world, has English shifted from serving Anglo-American interests into a more equitable instrument of communication for diverse users? Or do US corporate and military dominance worldwide and the neoliberal economy constitute a new form of empire that consolidates a single imperial language? Is the global UK-US trade of exporting native English Language Teachers sufficiently well qualified to solve Asia's English learning problems, or is this a commercially and politically driven business that is unqualified linguistically, educationally, and culturally? With the increasing importance of China globally, will the vigorous promotion of Chinese internationally convert into a novel form of linguistic imperialism?

In the Korean context, a key challenge is to maintain the vitality of a successful national language while also addressing the need to promote proficiency in relevant international languages. In view of the expansion of English in many contexts and countries in recent decades, are there countries that have succeeded in establishing a balance between English and national languages? Are there useful guidelines in the extensive literature on language policy, language management, and language in education policy that provide guidelines for addressing such challenges? Is the frenzy to learn English in Korea(yeongeol yeolpung, Park 2012, 208) leading to successful results, and if not why not? Is there an almost neurotic obsession with learning English in Korea, China and Japan? What are its causes, and can the obsession, with its multiple economic and ideological consequences, be seen as an aberration that ought to be vigorously combated? What measures can be put in place to ensure that language policy in Korea meets both national needs and a variety of international needs in a changing world?

Answers to such questions can be sought by exploring the evidence for or against linguistic imperialism in a given context. Imperialism needs careful definition if it is to be used analytically. This principle guided the definition of linguistic imperialism as a variant of linguisticism(Skutnabb-Kangas 1988: 13), which functions through structures and ideologies, and entails unequal treatment for groups identified by language. Linguistic imperialism entails the following (Phillipson 1992, 2009):

- linguistic imperialism interlocks with a structure of imperialism in culture, education, the media, communication, the economy, politics, and military activities
- in essence linguistic imperialism entails exploitation, injustice, inequality, and hierarchy that privileges those able to use the dominant language
- it is structural: more material resources and infrastructure are accorded to the dominant language than to others
- it is ideological: beliefs, attitudes, and imagery glorify the dominant language, stigmatize others, and rationalise the linguistic hierarchy
- the dominance is hegemonic, it is internalised and naturalised as being 'normal'
- this entails unequal rights for speakers of different languages
- language use is often subtractive, proficiency in the imperial language and in learning it in education involves its consolidation at the expense of other languages
- it is a form of linguisticism, a favouring of one language over others in ways that parallel societal structuring through racism, sexism and class: linguisticism serves to privilege users of the standard forms of the dominant language, which represent convertible linguistic capital
- there are always both supply and demand elements, push and pull factors, behind which there are identifiable actors or agents
- since linguistic imperialism is one dimension of the way capitalism has evolved over the past 300 years, it is important to analyze the volume and type of investment in the linguistic capital of specific languages, national or international
- linguistic imperialism is invariably contested and resisted.

Whether linguistic imperialism is in place in any given context is an empirical question that needs investigation through exploration of the relevant evidence and with reference to the variables listed above. The issues can be investigated at a variety of levels. For instance at the international level, this could be a question of the relationship between speakers of a dominant international language such as English and speakers of other languages. At the level of a country, it relates to the relationship between a dominant national language and minority languages. At the sub-national level, it could be language policy issues and principles in an institution such as a company or a university, and whether such policies are overt or covert. Permeating all such issues is the key fact that power is associated with particular languages, and awareness of this as a dynamic aspect of social justice.

It is also important to recall that any language can serve good or evil purposes. My exploration of linguistic imperialism does not involve demonizing English or any other imperial language. English is currently the world's most dominant language, so my purpose is to explore what purposes English serves in any context, why this is happening, and how the increased use and learning of English relates to other languages and their speakers. Hierarchies of language typically serve the interests of speakers of some languages better than others. A dominant language typically opens doors for some and closes them for others. Investigating such issues requires that language policy issues are seen in a historical perspective.

A historical and conceptual interlude

The term imperialism derives from the Latin *imperium*, covering military and political control by a dominant power over subordinated peoples and territories. In the period of global European dominance, a combination of military, commercial, and Christian missionary activities facilitated the transplantation of Western cultural and educational norms, and languages. Using terms like imperialism is contentious, because 'Defining something as imperial or colonial today almost always implies hostility to it, viewing it as inherently immoral or illegitimate' (Howe 2002, 9), although the dominant tend to have no illusions about the workings of empire. In the Roman empire that covered much of Europe and North Africa, the strategy for co-opting a conquered people was insightfully analysed 2000 years ago (Tacitus 1948, 72):

in place of distaste for the Latin language came a passion to command it. In the same way, our national dress came into favour and the toga was everywhere to be seen. And so the Britons were gradually led on to the amenities that make vice agreeable – arcades, baths and sumptuous banquets. They spoke of such novelties as 'civilization' when really they were only a feature of enslavement.

The significance of language for the colonial adventure was appreciated from its inception. In 1492 Queen Isabella of Spain was presented with a plan for establishing Castilian 'as a tool for conquest abroad and a weapon to suppress untutored speech at home': for its author, Antonio de Nebrija, 'Language has always been the consort of empire, and forever shall remain its mate' (Illich 1981, 34–5). The language was to be fashioned as a standard in the domestic education system, as a means of social control, and harnessed to the colonial mission elsewhere.

When French became a lingua franca for secular purposes in Europe, there was widespread

belief in the intrinsic superiority of the language. The Academy of Berlin held a competition in 1782 on the theme of why French was a ‘universal language’. A winning essay argued that languages which do not follow the syntax of French are illogical and inadequate. While linguistic knowledge shows unambiguously how false such ideas are, there is a quite widespread belief in popular culture that some languages are superior to others.

Maintenance of a linguistic hierarchy typically involves a pattern of *stigmatisation* of dominated languages (mere ‘dialects’, ‘vernaculars’), *glorification* of the dominant language (its superior clarity, richer vocabulary), and *rationalisation* of the relationship between the languages, always to the benefit of the dominant one (access to the superior culture and ‘progress’). The ancient Greeks stigmatised non-Greek speakers as *barbarian*, meaning speakers of a non-language. The term *Welsh* was used by speakers of English to refer to people who call themselves *Cymry*. ‘Welsh’ in Old English means foreigners or strangers, a stigmatising categorisation from the perspective of the dominant group and in their language. A dominant language is projected as the language of God (Sanskrit, Arabic in the Islamic world, Dutch in South Africa), the language of reason, logic and human rights (French both before and after the French Revolution), the language of the superior ethno-national group (German in Nazi ideology), the language of progress, modernity, and national unity (English in much postcolonial discourse). Other languages are explicitly or implicitly deprived of such functions and qualities.

Colonial governments implemented *linguist* policies that discriminated in favour of European languages. An analysis of the links between linguistics and the furtherance of the French colonial cause documents how French ‘consumed’ other languages by processes of linguistic cannibalism, *glottophagie* (Calvet 1974). Linguistic hierarchisation figured prominently, alongside racism, in the legitimisation of the colonial venture, as it does in arguments that celebrate the current dominance of English globally (Phillipson 2009). Linguistic genocide, as defined in work on the United Nations genocide convention, is in fact still practised widely in the modern world when groups are forcibly assimilated to the dominant culture and its language (Skutnabb-Kangas 2000); such policies can also be seen as a crime against humanity (Skutnabb-Kangas and Dunbar 2010).

Expansion through linguistic imperialism

The expansion of English from its territorial base in England began with its imposition throughout the British Isles. The 1536 Act of Union with Wales entailed subordination to the ‘rights, laws, customs and speech of England’ (cited Jenkins 2007, 132). Throughout the British

Isles a monolingual ideology was propagated, with devastating effects, even if some Celtic languages have survived and Welsh and Scots Gaelic are currently being revitalised. A monolingual ideology was exported to settler colonies in North America and Australasia. President Theodore Roosevelt wrote in 1907: 'We have room for but one language here, and that is the English language'. In fact the United States is one of the most linguistically diverse countries in the world. Unlike settler colonies, such as Canada or South Africa, different policies were evolved in exploitation colonies such as the Indian subcontinent and most African colonies, where the climate precluded settlement by Europeans.

The present-day strength of English, French, Spanish and Portuguese in the Americas, in Africa, in Asia, Australasia and the Pacific is a direct consequence of successive waves of colonisation and of the outcome of military conflict between rival European powers. Between 1815 and 1914 over 21 million British and Irish people emigrated, the greatest number to the United States, and increasing numbers to Canada, Australia, New Zealand and to a lesser extent South Africa. This demographic movement, also undertaken by the Dutch, French, Portuguese and Spaniards, assumed a right to occupy territory as though it was unoccupied: the myth of *terra nullius* which assumed that aboriginals had no right of ownership of the land. The aim was to establish replicas of the 'home country' in New Amsterdam (later New York), New England, New Zealand, Nova Scotia, Hispania, etc.

Native American languages were initially used in missionary work and education, but when competition for territory and resources intensified, conflict between the settlers and indigenous peoples increased. Education was then established on the principle 'that the only prospect of success was in taking the children in boarding schools, and making them "English in language, civilized in manners, Christian in religion"' (Spring 1996, 152). As a direct result of such policies, very few of the languages originally present in the USA, Canada, and Australia have survived. This exemplifies linguistic imperialism *vis-à-vis* minority languages within a polity.

Linguistic imperialism is a reality in many contexts worldwide. An extreme case is the oppression that linguistic minorities are exposed to in China. A 2010 education plan for the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region is designed to assimilate Uyghurs to the dominant Han Chinese language totally and rapidly, this policy dovetailing with measures to crush traditional economic, cultural and religious practices of the Uyghurs. There are comparable measures of linguistic imperialism in Tibet. In the Soviet Union under Stalin, 'bilingual education' meant transition to monolingualism in Russian. Japanese policy in occupied territories such as Korea was

in theory not aimed at destroying languages other than Japanese, but Japan in reality instituted linguistic policies and ideologies that privileged Japanese alone as a key dimension of the creation of Japanese as ‘the common language of eastern Asia’ (Toshiaki 2005).

Education in US colonies functioned along similar lines. In the Philippines, there was an insistence on an exclusive use of English in education from 1898 to 1940: ‘... public education, specifically language and literature education during the American colonial period, was designed to directly support American colonialism. The combined power of the canon, curriculum, and pedagogy constituted the ideological strategies resulting in rationalising, naturalizing, and legitimizing myths about colonial relationships and realities.’ (Martin 2002, 210).

Despite differences in the articulation of policies in the French and British empires, what they had in common was the low status accorded to dominated languages, whether these were ignored or used in the early years of education; a very small proportion of the population in formal education, especially after the lower grades; local traditions and educational practice being ignored; unsuitable education being provided; an explicit policy of ‘civilizing the natives’, and the master language being attributed civilizing properties (Phillipson 1992, 127–8). These generalizations are valid, even if policies were in fact worked out ad hoc in a wide variety of situations. In French colonies, the goal of producing a black elite entailed using the educational content and methods of metropolitan France. In the British empire, ‘English was the official vehicle and the magic formula to colonial élitism’ (Ngũgĩ 1986, 115).

The World Bank has played a decisive role in funding education in ‘developing’ countries. Its policies have continued the linguistic imperialism of the colonial and early postcolonial periods:

The World Bank’s real position ... encourages the consolidation of the imperial languages in Africa. ... the World Bank does not seem to regard the linguistic Africanisation of the whole of primary education as an effort that is worth its consideration. Its publication on strategies for stabilising and revitalising universities, for example makes absolutely no mention of the place of language at this tertiary level of African education (Mazrui 1997, 39).

World Bank funding for education has systematically neglected local languages, and intensified the use of English in many former colonies: ‘The vast amount of money that was made available for universities in Sri Lanka would not have been possible outside of a context of coercion by the

World Bank and other interested parties (such as the USA) to regress to English Only education in a multilingual country' (Perera and Canagarajah 2010, 116).

Fishman, Conrad and Rubal-Lopez's *Post-imperial English. Status change in former British and American colonies, 1940–1990* (1996), has a wealth of empirical description of the functions of English in many contexts. The 29 contributors to the volume were specifically asked to assess whether linguistic imperialism was in force in the country studies they were responsible for. They all address the issue, one editor challenges the validity of the concept, but no contributors assess whether there might be more powerful or precise ways of coming to grips with theorising the dominance of English. Fishman speculates on English being 'reconceptualised, from being an imperialist tool to being a multinational tool ... English may need to be re-examined precisely from the point of view of being post-imperial (... in the sense of not directly serving purely Anglo-American territorial, economic, or cultural expansion) without being post-capitalist in any way' (ibid., 8). Corporate activities and regional economic blocs have made the locus of power more diffuse than in earlier, nation-state imperialism.

Scholars who are sceptical about linguistic imperialism as an explanatory model for the way English has been consolidated worldwide tend to analyse matters as though there is a strict choice between (a) active US-UK promotion of English, supported by linguistic policies that favour it over other languages, and (b) colonised people and others actively wishing to learn English because of the doors, economic, social, political, and cultural, that it opens. Matters are summed up as though (a) involves imposition, whereas (b) is a 'free' choice (e.g. Kirkpatrick 2007, 35–7). This is a false dichotomy: the two elements do not exclude each other, and neither imposition nor freedom is context-free. Push and pull factors both contribute to linguistic hegemony and hierarchy.

Kirkpatrick (ibid.) also accepts Fishman's conclusion (1996, 640) that the strength of English in former British and American colonies is more due to such countries' engagement in the modern world economy rather than 'to any efforts derived from their colonial masters'. This analysis seems to ignore the fact that this engagement presupposes a western-dominated globalization agenda set by the transnational corporations and the IMF, and the U.S. military intervening whenever 'vital interests' are at risk. The financial and economic crises of 2008 exposed instability and the increased influence of China and other expanding economies, but hitherto English has served to consolidate the interests of the powerful globally and locally and to maintain an exploitative world order that can disenfranchise speakers of other languages.

The strong position of English in former colonies represents a continuation of the policies of colonial times. It has strengthened an elite class, with the effect that, for instance, in India ‘Over the post-Independence years, English has become the single most important predictor of socio-economic mobility. ... With the globalized economy, English education widens the discrepancy between the social classes’ (Mohanty 2006, 268–9).

In Anglo-American discourse, English is often referred to as ‘*the language*’ or the ‘*lingua franca*’ of global business or international relations, which creates the false impression that English is the only language of commerce or international relations. A typical example of special pleading for English can be seen in a book by a political scientist who argues for the formation of a European Union ‘super-state’ (the EU now has 27 member states), and who cites the familiar trope of English as a ‘*lingua franca*’, along with young people’s consumerism and global business integration (Morgan 2005, 57). Morgan seems unaware that there are *many* ‘lingua francas’ in Europe, or that the ‘common transnational youth culture’ is essentially American, and that the convergence of ‘business practices’ derives from the US corporate world, and the conceptual universe it embodies. It is false to project English as though it is ‘neutral’, English as a mere tool that serves all equally well, in whatever society they live.

The term *lingua franca* derives etymologically from ‘the language of the Franks’, but it has been extended to refer to a language for communication between speakers who do not share a mother tongue. However this function needs to be related to the fact that English serves key societal purposes in many domains. English might be more accurately described as

- a *lingua economica* (in business and advertising, the language of corporate neoliberalism),
- a *lingua emotiva* (the imaginary of Hollywood, popular music, advertising, consumerism and hedonism),
- a *lingua academica* (in research publications, at international conferences, and as a medium for content learning in higher education),
- a *lingua cultura* (rooted in the literary texts of English-speaking nations that foreign language learning traditionally aims at in many countries, and integrates with language learning as one element of general education).
- the *lingua bellica* of wars between states (aggression by the US and its loyal acolytes in Afghanistan and Iraq, building on the presence of over 700 US bases worldwide).

In many postcolonial contexts English is a key language of *elite formation*. Consolidating this process suited the elites that were in power when political independence was gained in African and Asian colonies. It was reinforced and actively promoted by massive ‘aid’ from Britain and the US, and later by the World Bank. The worldwide presence of English as a *lingua americana* is due to the massive economic, cultural and military impact of the USA.

Labelling English as a *lingua franca*, if this is understood as a culturally neutral medium that puts everyone on an equal footing, is therefore simply false (Phillipson 2008b, 2009). It is an *invidious* term if the language in question is a first language for some people but for others a foreign language. It is *misleading* if the language is supposed to be disconnected from culture and very specific purposes. It is an *inaccurate* term for a language that is taught as a subject in general education. Ironically, there is a historical continuity in the way the term originated (from Arabic and Persian) as a designation for the hybrid language of European crusaders who were out to recapture Jerusalem and eliminate Islam from Asia Minor, while now English is viscerally connected to the crusade of global corporatisation, marketed as freedom and democracy. Human rights have been dropped from this rhetoric, as they are manifestly no longer on the agenda, except when criticising ‘enemies’.

Language pedagogy: why so much English?

It is puzzling that several Asian countries have assumed that employing large numbers of native speakers of English as teachers will solve the language learning problems of the Chinese, Japanese, or Koreans in general education. There is a serious risk of such teachers being underqualified, as concerns

- (1) knowledge of the structure of English, of phonetics, syntax, morphology, pragmatics, discourse patterns, and the diversity of the language worldwide
- (2) familiarity with educational theory and theories of language learning
- (3) familiarity with the learning traditions of the country of the learners
- (4) proficiency in and knowledge about the mother tongue of learners
- (5) no proven experience of learning at least one foreign language to a high level
- (6) experience of living in a bilingual or multilingual environment
- (7) awareness of cultural relativity, in particular if they believe their culture is superior
- (8) limited experience as teachers
- (9) lack of experience of teaching a foreign language successfully

in addition to general ignorance about the dynamic fields of sociolinguistics, bilingualism studies, cross-cultural communication, language rights, and language policy as these impact on education in the current phase of globalization, along with changing patterns in language technology, multi-media language use, and international communication.

Loumis, an American political scientist who worked for many years in Japan (cited at the beginning of this article), concluded that 'native speaker' in essence means a representative of the American way of life(1977). Throughout eastern Asia and the Middle East, 'native speaker' is understood as someone from the USA, UK, Australia or New Zealand with a white skin colour, as though national and biological origins are the real qualification that matters. Which is educational nonsense.

If criteria for competent language teaching are not met, it is not surprising that the results are disappointing. There appears to be an increasing realization that this is the case. The decision on employing native speakers was probably made with the best of intentions, but was based on a lack of understanding of what language learning and language teaching involve. This ignorance in political circles is not something uniquely Asian. European political leaders have made equally uninformed decisions, for instance they blindly assume that in foreign language learning 'the earlier the better', as though this variable itself is a panacea. The EU recommends the learning of two foreign languages in the primary school, i.e. before age 11. Could it be that such educationally ignorant decisions were in part triggered by politicians' personal traumatic experience of limited success in their own foreign language learning?

There are significant structural influences behind such misguided policies. The USA and the UK coordinated efforts to promote English as a 'global' language from the 1950s, after limited collaboration of the 1930s. As stressed by Churchill, cited earlier, the USA and UK are close culturally, politically and linguistically. In the post-1945 world, global Americanisation was intensified, and the British wished to ensure that postcolonial countries would continue to serve the interests of the British economy. Education played a major role in perpetuating dependence. English language education as propagated by the British and Americans builds on five tenets that ignore the evidence of successful foreign language learning and bilingual education. The five tenets

- English is best taught monolingually
- The ideal teacher of English is a native speaker

- The earlier English is taught, the better the results
- The more English is taught, the better the results
- If other languages are used much, standards of English will drop

are in fact *fallacies*:

- The monolingual fallacy
- The native speaker fallacy
- The early start fallacy
- The maximum exposure fallacy
- The subtractive fallacy.

Belief in these tenets leads to an insistence on English as the sole or dominant medium of instruction, the language through which other subjects are taught (Phillipson 1992, 183–218). The fallacies underpin the profitable English teaching business and the assumption that monolingual pedagogy and textbooks are globally appropriate.

The fallacies have not been influential in foreign language teaching in continental Europe. In countries such as Denmark, Germany, the Netherlands, Norway and Sweden, English is learned relatively successfully in school as a foreign language. The same is true in Finland, even if Finnish is not a Germanic language, which Danish, German, Dutch, Norwegian and Swedish are. English is taught as a subject, not used as a medium of instruction (as is the case in former colonies such as India and Kenya). Many factors contribute to the successful learning of English in Europe, among them that the learning task is much smaller for most Europeans as compared with speakers of an Asian language. Teachers are well trained and have good proficiency in English. There is extensive exposure to English outside school, in the media, in youth culture, and in leisure activities.

It is unlikely that any of these factors apply in Korea. Joseph Sung-Yul Park (2012, cited earlier) is presumably right in concluding that proficiency in English, as in many other parts of the world, is a class marker. The wealthy can give their children preferential treatment that may trigger a high level of proficiency in English. Many others who go to great expense on English learning are unlikely to achieve the desired result if the teachers they or their children encounter, and monolingual teaching materials, are inappropriate.

Linguistic neoimperialism

This section aims at theorizing linguistic neoimperialism, inspired by social science approaches to political economy and the connections between this and language policy. Capitalist imperialism ‘is a contradictory fusion of “*the politics of state and empire*” (imperialism as a distinctively political project on the part of the actors whose power is based in command of a territory and a capacity to mobilize its human and natural resources towards political, economic, and military ends) and “*the molecular processes of capital accumulation in space and time*” (imperialism as a diffuse political-economic process in space and time in which command over and use of capital takes primacy)’ (Harvey 2005, 26, emphasis added). The first is the top-down process of what a state, or combination of states, or an institution such as a corporation or a university, does to achieve its goals, which includes the way it invests in and manages linguistic capital. The second is the way ‘economic power flows across and through continuous space, towards or away from territorial entities (such as states or regional power blocs) through the daily practices of production, trade, commerce, capital flows, money transfers, labour migration, technology transfer, currency speculation, flows of information, cultural impulses, and the like’ (ibid.). Most of these are crucially dependent on language, and constituted by language.

English can be seen as the *capitalist neoimperial language* that serves the interests of the corporate world and the governments that it influences (Phillipson 2008a, 2009). This dovetails with the language being activated through *molecular processes of linguistic capital accumulation in space and time*, in dialectic processes at the intersection of economics, politics and discourses. So far as linguistic neoimperialism is concerned, the ‘political mode of argumentation’ refers to decision-making, language policy and planning, whereas the ‘economic mode of argumentation’ refers to the working through of such decisions at all levels, the implementation of language planning decisions, actual use of English in myriad contexts.

When English increasingly occupies territory that hitherto was the preserve of national languages in Europe or Asia, what is occurring is *linguistic capital accumulation* over a period of time and in particular territories to the benefit of users of English. When Singaporean parents gradually shift from an Asian language to the use of English in the home, this represents linguistic capital accumulation. If users of German or Swedish as languages of scholarship shift to using English, similar forces and processes are at work. When considering agency in each of these examples, the individuals concerned opt for the neoimperial language because they perceive that this linguistic

capital will serve their personal interests best. There may also be a false belief that this requires the sacrifice of their own language rather than an addition to their language repertoire. When language shift is subtractive, and if this affects a group and not merely individuals, there are serious implications for other languages. If domains such as business, the home, or scholarship are ‘lost’, what has occurred is in fact *linguistic capital dispossession*.

Analysis of the interlocking of language policies with the two constituents of the ‘contradictory fusion’ can serve to highlight both corporate agendas, which serve political, economic and military purposes, and the multiple flows that make use of English for a range of purposes. New discourses and technologies are adopted and creatively adapted, but in a rigged, incorrectly called ‘free’ global and local market. The active promotion of other major international languages such as Chinese, French, Japanese, and Spanish also aims to strengthen the market forces and cultures associated with each language, but the linguistic capital invested in these languages does not at present seriously threaten the current pre-eminence of English. A Chinese global empire may be on the way.

International language promotion itself needs to be seen in economic terms, dovetailing with media products and many commercial activities. TESOL (the Teaching of English to Speakers of Other Languages) – teaching materials, examinations, know-how, native speaker teachers et al – is a major commercial enterprise for the British and Americans, and a vital dimension of English linguistic neoimperialism. ‘The English language teaching sector directly earns nearly £1.3 billion for the UK in invisible exports and our other education related exports earn up to £10 billion more’ (Lord Neil Kinnock, Chair of the British Council, in the Foreword to Graddol 2006, a work that aims to strengthen ‘the UK’s providers of English language teaching’ and ‘broader education business sectors’). The British Council combines cultural diplomacy with commercial promotion, and now funds most of its activities through its English teaching and proficiency testing activities. The USA does not have a comparable institution, but a strategic partnership was announced in November 2011 between the Department of State (headed by Hilary Clinton) and TESOL International, the language teacher body. Their aim is to spread information and network worldwide, to strengthen English teaching outside the USA to ‘improve ELT efficiency and capacity building’ and to ‘work in coordination with U.S. companies, universities, publishers, and other ELT stakeholders to enhance their international outreach and operations; and expand countries’ access to U.S.-based English language resources and expertise.’

The promotion of English worldwide is economically driven. The ‘demand’ for English does not emerge *ex vacuo* but is orchestrated by British and American political forces, on the assumption that the ‘supply’ is globally relevant. The validity of this claim needs questioning, a task that Asian governments need to undertake more energetically than hitherto.

The major publishing houses are now global. For instance, ‘Pearson Education’s international business has been growing rapidly in recent years, and we now have a presence in over 110 countries.’ (<http://www.pearson.com/index.cfm?pageid=18>, accessed 15 January 2008). The website of Educational Testing Services of Princeton, NJ, which is responsible for the TOEFL test of English language proficiency, states: ‘Our global mission goes far beyond testing. Our products and services enable opportunity worldwide by measuring knowledge and skills, promoting learning and performance, and supporting education and professional development for all people worldwide.’ Pearson recently launched an English test that now competes with TOEFL and its Cambridge equivalent, IELTS, both of which are extremely lucrative.

Whether linguistic neoimperialism is in force in a given context – supranational, national, or sub-national – needs empirical examination, thorough documentation and analysis. This has not always been done in some European contexts. For instance, representatives of the Danish Language Board and some nationalistic politicians have reacted to the increased use of English in higher education, as a medium of instruction (for instance courses or whole degrees that are taught in English) and as the language of scientific publication, by concluding that the Danish language has already suffered ‘domain loss’. In fact the issues were not properly investigated before such ‘conclusions’ were drawn, and the few empirical studies that exist reveal that English is being used additively rather than subtractively. The concepts for assessing the impact of English need careful definition: ‘domain’ can be used in a wide sense (*e.g.* university language) or in a much narrower sense (*e.g.* terminology in a natural science discipline such as biology). ‘Loss’ is also an unhelpful term because it fails to focus on agency, on the people and forces behind decisions on language use. The terms linguistic capital accumulation and dispossession can serve to meet the need to identify causal factors in changes in linguistic practices and their consequences, as one aspect of language policy analysis and formation.

Ongoing tensions between linguistic imperialism and resistance

The economic dynamism of Brazil, China, Japan and Korea builds on education and research conducted in a national language, in each of which a great deal of scholarship is published. The immense volume of scientific publication in English serves to consolidate a hierarchy of languages. Thus scholars from the Spanish-speaking world increasingly need to publish in English (Mar-Molinero 2010). While scientific publication in English is extremely important, claims for an overwhelming statistical preponderance tend to ignore what is in fact published in other languages. Citation indexes establish a 'self-reinforcing loop of language flow: English circulates widely, is indexed and hence is cited: English is cited and hence is indexed and hence circulates widely' (Tonkin 2011, 109).

Research in India, another significantly expanding economy, is almost entirely published in English, which reflects continuation of the linguistic hierarchy of colonial times, and failure to invest resources in local languages. Universities in many parts of the world are confronted by the tension between the dominant role of English and the obligation to serve local needs, as evidence from South Africa, the Middle East and Hong Kong (Phillipson 2009, chapter 8) shows. The export of entire university campuses by Australian, British, and American universities to countries like China, Malaysia, and the United Arab Emirates is of questionable value when such universities are English-only, with the same academic and cultural content as in the original Australian, British or American university. In each context English is more the problem than the solution if policies for strengthening local languages are non-existent or neglected.

The European Union advocates policies to promote multilingualism and the goal of all schoolchildren becoming trilingual, so as to strengthen all EU languages. However the management of multilingualism in EU institutions is exceptionally complicated, and market forces are strengthening the position of English nationally as well as in the EU system (Phillipson 2011). There is therefore a risk of other languages being displaced and dispossessed of their linguistic capital.

The conceptual framework elaborated above can serve to explore the questions raised initially in this article in more depth. Analysis can be supplemented by documentation of educational experience in devising ways of counteracting linguistic imperialism. Even if the volume of academic work in the area of macro-sociolinguistics and language policy has increased dramatically over the past 20 years, much of it does not engage directly with issues of inequality, social justice,

and the way a neoimperial linguistic world order is being constituted. It is logical that people in many countries wish to develop competence in English, but in many contexts this entails subtractive learning. For instance, English-medium schooling and monolingual university degrees that neglect mother tongues and national languages can have this effect.

One development that strengthens global elite formation is the rapid increase in the number of English-medium international schools around the world, from around 1,700 in 2001 to 5,270 in 2009. The sector is 'now worth \$18bn worldwide and set to double in value by 2020' with expansion mainly in India, the Middle East, and Asia (Hoare 2009). Presumably many of such schools' graduates go on to study at universities in 'English-speaking' countries. It is likely that their linguistic roots in their cultures of origin will be weaker than their identification with the global economy and international mobility.

By contrast, the governments of the Nordic countries are determined that increased proficiency in English should in no way reduce the role of national languages. Many universities in Finland and Sweden have thus formulated language policies that aim at ensuring that their graduates and staff are in effect bilingual: universities have a responsibility as publicly funded institutions to promote national languages, and as participants in an international community of practice they also need to function in English and other international languages. Governments and universities are aware of the risk of the negative impact of linguistic imperialism and are taking measures to counteract it.

Inter-Nordic collaboration has resulted in the formulation of a *Declaration on a Nordic Language Policy*, approved in 2006 by the Nordic Council of Ministers, and promulgated in Danish, Faeroese, Greenlandic, Finnish, Icelandic, Norwegian, Saami, Swedish, and English (www.norden.org). The document specifies the language rights of all residents in a Nordic country, and sets out goals for language policy. It encourages key institutions to develop active language policies. Since this is the first time that government-level language policy in this area has been made explicit, it is positive that language policy is not merely being left to market forces and improvisation. The underlying thinking is both/and rather than either/or. The focus is not on a single medium of instruction – opting for an English-medium university would represent adherence to the empire of English – but a combination.

Specifically in relation to higher education and research, the Declaration stipulates:

- *that* it be possible to use *both* the languages of the Nordic countries essential to society and English as languages of science
- *that* the presentation of scientific results in the languages of the Nordic countries essential to society be rewarded
- *that* instruction in scientific technical language, especially in written form, be given in both English and the languages of the Nordic countries essential to society
- *that* universities, colleges, and other scientific institutions can develop long-range strategies for the choice of language, the parallel use of languages, language instruction, and translation grants within their fields.

Universities in the Nordic countries are therefore encouraged to ensure a healthy balance between studying, teaching, and publishing in a national language, and important democratic principle, and in international languages, which means mainly English (see the useful analysis of developments in the natural sciences at Copenhagen University in Harder 2009). The transition to bilingual realities at BA and MA levels in such countries – strongly influenced by Americanisation and the Bologna process that the EU is now promoting globally – requires issues of language choice, language quality control, and language competence development to be seen not as a task that the language specialists can be left to sort out but as a responsibility for all higher education staff, since there is complete integration of content and medium. Achieving this will be an uphill task.

Several universities in Sweden and Finland have published fairly detailed language policies on their websites. Thus the *University of Helsinki* language policy, presented in Finnish, Swedish, and English, declares that it is based on the following strategic precepts:

- Languages are a resource within the academic community.
- The University's bilingual and multilingual environment and internationalisation are sources of enrichment for all and are a necessity for the international comparability of its research performance.
- Language skills are a means to understanding foreign cultures and for making Finnish culture known to others. The university promotes the language proficiency of its students and staff as well as supports their knowledge of different cultures. Multilingual and multicultural communities promote creative thinking.

While the Helsinki University language centre offers a range of services, it does not have a research entitlement. By contrast, Copenhagen University has established a research and teaching *Centre for Internationalisation and Parallel Competence* which is well placed to work with representatives of all faculties so as to ensure quality control, of both Danish and English (www.cip.ku.dk). One ongoing study involved filming a lecturer delivering the same content in both languages to different audiences. Another study was of attitudes of university lecturers towards the use of English as the medium of instruction. The website states that Centre “has developed a procedure for certifying university lecturers’ English language proficiency. The certification with the name TOEPAS (Test of Oral English Proficiency for Academic Staff) is not only tailor-made for university lecturers, but is also a unique competence development tool which provides the participants with detailed written and oral feedback on their English language proficiency”.

Scholarship and scholarly languages are under increasing pressure from market forces. There is an unresolved tension between these and traditional academic freedoms. Many forms of interaction, at conferences, in applications and professional advancement etc., unjustly favour (speakers of) dominant languages, especially English. Politicians have their own agendas, in league with the corporate world and the European Union. We academics need to ensure that our practices maintain principles of academic freedom and university autonomy. The need is for universities to act to strengthen language policy formation and implementation and linguistic diversity. It makes sense for all academics to be optimally proficient in English, receptively and productively, in speech and writing. However this should not and need not occur at the expense of creativity in the mother tongue, or through downgrading national languages that are important for ensuring an informed general public. Universities should be committed to measures to ensure additive multilingualism, in a variety of languages, so that their staff and students can be active agents in influencing English-dominant empire, rather than merely complying with this restrictive project.

An appendix elaborates a taxonomy of variables impacting on multilingual higher education and research (Phillipson in press). It is structured along the main strands of language policy and planning: status and prestige planning, discourse planning, acquisition planning, corpus and usage planning, and language technology planning. These categories exist in symbiosis with each other. This taxonomy should be seen as a provisional tool that should be adjusted when active institutional language policy formation takes shape, and refined to meet local conditions and needs. The progressive increase in the use of English in many countries has largely evolved through

improvisation, with issues of the quality of the foreign language skills of both lecturing staff and students left to market forces. Given the importance of the issue, nationally and internationally, it is time for more rigorous analysis and planning to be undertaken. Conferences such as the one organized by the National Institute of the Korean Language on 'Protecting and Revitalizing Native Languages in an Era of Globalization' are a constructive way of promoting dialogue on these important topics.

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Appendix

A taxonomy of variables impacting on multilingual higher education and research

- Status dimensions (status and prestige planning)
 - o *Macro* level:
international, national, and institutional multilingual context and constraints;
hierarchies in global and local language ecologies, and perceptions of them;
economic factors and processes of linguistic capital accumulation or dispossession; extent
of language maintenance and innovation in central academic domains;
degree of respect for linguistic human rights.
 - o *Micro* level:
language use in core university activities, spoken and written, and on websites; awareness
of language rights, language duties and linguistic diversity.
- Policy decisions (discourse planning) that determine
 - o *explicit and implicit language policies* for choice of language for
an institution, including internal and external communications
a department, and for all degrees at BA, MA and PhD levels;
 - o responsibility for *implementing and monitoring* language policy decisions;
 - o *medium/media of instruction* in specific learning and examining contexts;
 - o institutional and personal multilingual *identity*, and *perceptions* of multilingualism;
 - o *certification* of language competence of staff and/or students;
 - o *criteria* for assessing *quality* of teaching, and of research, and for promotion;
 - o languages of *publication*, and language policy in bibliometric quantification.
- Processes for creating and maintaining communities of practice (acquisition planning)
 - o *functional goals* for academic language competence development, staff and students;
 - o *learning processes* relative to proficiency development for differentiated activities: in
reception (listening, reading) and in production (speaking, writing);
 - o development of cumulative *metalinguistic, metacommunicative and intercultural awareness*
that can also draw on translation and contrastive language study;
 - o *IT integration* in core teaching and learning activities, including self-instruction at a
language *learning centre*;

- *teacher and student roles* in knowledge assimilation and creation at all levels;
- *knowledge sharing within an institution and externally*:
 - international scholarly articles and books
 - local mass media popularization
 - textbooks and reference works
 - internet.
- Form in L1/L2/L3/... (corpus and usage planning) as determined in
 - *codification* of language in authoritative reference works and materials;
 - conventions of linguistic form in *genres and discourses* for academic purposes;
 - *terminology* and usage creation when needed.
- Technology (language technology planning)
 - internet-based *teaching and learning support*;
 - elaboration of online *materials*;
 - development of language technology *software*.



Towards Community Centred Māori Language Strategy

– Rational and Structure of Strategic Approaches

Glenis Philip-Barbara

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Introduction to Revitalisation

Language vitality, first described by Stewart (1968), refers to the capacity of a language to be sustained as a living language in an unisolated community of native speakers. It can then be inferred that ‘language revitalisation’ describes interventions, processes or objectives that seek to restore this ‘vitality’ to a community of speakers or community who aspire to be speakers.

My preference for the term revitalization (Spolsky 1991; Spolsky 1996a) highlights ... the critical importance of restoring ‘vitality’ or normal intergenerational transmission of the language as a mother tongue (Spolsky & Shohamy, 2001, pp. 350–351).

Richard Benton’s (1979) survey of Māori language speakers in the 1970’s showed that only relatively isolated Māori communities such as Matawaia, Ruatoki and Ruatorea had retained native speaker populations. In all other regions at that time reo use, on the whole, was prevalent only among elderly native speakers, the remnant of former Māori speaker communities. Overwhelmingly today people have learnt to speak Māori language as a second language within educational institutions from early childhood to tertiary education. These learning environments are generally separate to communities and are language contexts constructed for classrooms and schools.

Creating community is the hardest part of stabilizing a language. Lack of full success is acceptable, and full successes are rare. ... So even in your lack of full success, dedicated language workers, whether they be Maoris, Bretons, or whatever, become committed to each other and therefore they are members of the community of belief (Fishman, 2007, p. 80).

For many years there has been an emphasis placed on increasing the numbers of speakers and

their proficiency, on improving the integrity of language quality, and on creating relevant language resources for contemporary use. This has been motivated, to an extent, by the desire to associate proficiency with employability, building workforce capacity in Māori language and with encouraging students to progress to higher education. Career and educational goals may form part of the motivation for some students to learn to speak Māori, for many others they make a personal decision to learn to speak to be able to participate in Māori speaking community settings. The statement made by Joshua Fishman above speaks of the need to recreate communities of speakers motivated by personal, social and cultural commitment, and roused by a shared belief in their ability to restore their language vitality.

Community-Centred Māori Language Revitalisation Strategy

This community-centred strategy is a response that advances speaker community development and supports the normalisation of daily intergenerational use in the home and community. It highlights the need for interventions that respond to the chronic lack of reo use between generations and between children in natural daily interaction. It posits language revitalisation efforts as the principal objective of recognition of Māori language as a taonga and of its official status as described in the Māori Language Act 1987. This does not discount the efforts of the education sector and other state agencies but recognises a persistent inability of institutional-centred interventions to achieve community-centred language revitalisation. At the same time prioritising natural use of reo in everyday settings cannot realistically reinstate the type of community isolation that sustained Māori language use in the past.

Five strategic objectives are prioritised to support the core elements for language revitalisation relevant to the current circumstances facing Māori language use:

1. Sustained Immersion – The strategy places the highest priority on establishing immersion settings, in particular immersion environments sustained for periods longer than a day. This length of time is necessary to provide direct experience of reo use across a full range of normal daily activities. The longer the period of full immersion the greater the exposure to language contexts and the intensity of practical use.
2. Intergenerational Communication – Intergenerational communication seeks to establish self-priming (self-sustaining) speaker communities in the future. The intention of this approach is to normalise reo use among older generations to speak Māori to younger ones in order for children to be naturally inclined to speak Māori to children when they reach adulthood. It is

unrealistic to expect children alone to effectively manage the language use of older generations. Instead each generation should acquire the confidence and the proficiency to participate effectively in Māori language immersion activities with other generations. Children may have acquired a form of language use not well aligned with the normal form of local language used in the community. The community as a whole should be actively involved.

3. Ongoing Oral Language Proficiency Development – The older two or three generations participating in language revitalisation-based programmes are most likely to be second-language learners. In order to restore native speaker capacity, community members will need to participate in learning activities that improve practical oral language proficiency. The notion of language quality is highly subjective however the alignment of language use patterns with the language use of local native speakers in the past is an important factor in strengthening local identity. Restoring language capacity and proficiency in a range of genres (formal, creative, and colloquial) undergirds the integrity of language use for a speaker community.
4. Ongoing Promotion of Critical Awareness and Language Planning – Critical awareness refers to knowing what to do and why it should be done. All participants need a base level of awareness driven by key revitalisation-focused leadership. As approaches are applied to local community settings the learnings from the activities should be shared among other regions to maximise the impact of limited resources. This may include national forums to share, debate and promote insights and achievements. This will also provide more direct feedback to relevant government agencies.
5. Māori Community Development – Development for Māori communities can be considered in very broad terms. For this strategic approach three key aspects of development are highlighted as having significant relevance: cultural integrity, empowerment and self-determination. The main objective of development in this strategy is the formation and maintenance of robust speaker community with the capacity to retain language vitality in the long-term, over multiple generations.

1. Sustained Immersion

Three forms of immersion activity have been prioritised for development. They recognise three forms of control over language use settings:

- 1.a. Proximity-Determined Immersion (Takiwā Rumaki: 'Ahakoa ko wai') – Community immersion centres will provide ready access of community members to Māori immersion environments with an emphasis on enhancing shared interaction between generations, and encouraging broad community use. Well managed community-focused activities at the location will help increase participation. Communities should have ability to determine the most appropriate setting for their needs (i.e. marae-based, urban community facility, associated with kura, etc)
- 1.b. Group-Determined Immersion (Whānau Rumaki: 'Ahakoa ki whea') – Support provided to groups who are able to demonstrate an ongoing commitment to facilitating immersion activities for families and for multi-generational forms of group activity will recognise social networks based on reo use. These groups would organise and manage sustained immersion activities (specific periods of immersion and/or activity settings) to increase the integrity and spread of intergenerational reo use.
- 1.c. Lived Immersion (Papakāinga Rumaki: 'Ahakoa he aha') – The third strategic approach prioritises reo use in lived community (shared residential location and/or social connection). Formerly these conditions were papakāinga, communal settlements most commonly based on shared connection through whakapapa or systems of belief. The dispersal of most previous papakāinga communities other forms of communal living need to be considered. This may include:
 - Whānau living in close proximity with regular daily interaction
 - Fixed length communal living (e.g. 2 to 25 week periods)
 - Time-share rotation within a sustained speaker community
 - Marae/papakāinga flats with intensive reo use support

These four options have the potential to build integrity of reo use based on whakapapa or shared commitment to form medium to long-term immersion environments.

2. Intergenerational Language Transmission

Intergenerational transmission of language and culture is the foundational social mechanism of language revitalisation:

- 2.a. Whānau-based mechanism – Emphasis is given to the primary caregivers speaking Māori to children. This seeks to instil a cultural and identity centred socialisation in reo Māori as normal practice within multi-generational whānau.
- 2.b. Immersion from birth – Priority would be given to expectant parents or whānau with infant children to establish the norm of speaking Māori to children from birth. When proficiency is low expectant parents have the ability to plan the strengthening of their own proficiency in order to pave the way for their child's reo use. This priority requires language planning, oral proficiency development and monitoring child progress.
- 2.c. Child language development in Māori – The stages in reo use development of children need to be understood well for a better alignment of resources and language planning support among parents/caregivers. The types of phrases and language contexts should be prioritised to make parental support more effective.
- 2.d. Relevance of local mita – Providing support for intergenerational language transmission is an essential approach for retaining local variation in reo use. The emphasis on accent, idiom and style of reo use are difficult to learn in formal reo learning programmes and are primarily transmitted orally. Children have a greater potential to retain these local reo variations, as their mother tongue.

3. Community Oral Language Proficiency Development

Establishing immersion environments with ready access to speaker community members and prospective members is a central pillar in the strategy. The capacity of speaker communities to establish immersion domains is directly influenced by their collective level of language proficiency:

- 3.a. Proficiency development – ensuring whānau have access to supportive initiatives of reo acquisition. This is particularly relevant for community members with low proficiency or

newly introduced community members.

3.b. Immersion practice – everyday activities in immersion should be practiced with supportive facilitation. Immersion activity facilitators can encourage whānau to develop norms of reo use by approaches such as:

- role-modelling reo use within everyday intergenerational settings,
- selecting varied language use contexts of interest to whānau,
- introducing language corpus to extend existing reo use patterns, and,
- encouraging interaction with similarly motivated speaker communities.

4. Community Critical Awareness and Immersion Management

Whānau can be actively supported by similarly engaged whānau with shared understanding of revitalisation strategy. Priorities are given to two areas:

4.a. Shared practice – integrated whānau support allow for like-minded whānau to interact and share insights and problem-solve identified barriers or difficulties. Children get to socialise with friends in immersion extending reo use beyond their home environment.

4.b. Immersion management mentoring – the primary goal is to form stable, self-managed speaker communities. Providing information on revitalisation strategies, approaches for strengthening immersion and guiding language planning may be provided by an external leader working toward building that capacity within the community. Further support can be provided by inter-community collaboration.

5. Māori Community Development

A central theme of revitalisation is the enabling of self-sustaining speaker communities sufficiently robust to withstand unfavourable external factors on their reo and to counter internal cynicism and apathy. Speaker communities need to maintain a high level of commitment and motivation in achieving revitalisation under the pressure of English language dominance and external mita.

- 5.a. Cultural integrity – the relevance of identity in language revitalisation can not be overstated. Important factors are retention of *mita*, cultural expression and pride.
- 5.b. Empowerment – Speaker communities must strengthen the active participation and motivation of all community members. The reestablishment of these communities requires shared responsibility to making an ongoing contribution.
- 5.c. Self-determination – This factor is centrally important to achieving development as Māori instilling a sense of collective ownership of the project. In order to sustain activity in the long-term speaker communities should have the ability and opportunity to guide their development appropriate to their context, independent of State policy objectives or economic and social impacts.

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The Hungarian Language in the Age of Globalisation

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Introduction

This paper aims to review the position of the Hungarian language in the age of globalisation. It argues that globalisation goes hand in hand with digital communication and any concern about the sustainability of particular languages should be examined in terms of how much support that language enjoys to enable it to function as part of the emerging digital culture.

The paper is divided into two main parts. First it gives a brief account of the state of the Hungarian language in terms of its institutional, policy and legal support as well as its main domains of usage. The second part of the paper reviews what efforts are being done to support the Hungarian language in the digital age.

Linguistic Profile

Hungary lies in Central Europe, its population currently numbering a little under ten million people. Hungarian or magyar, as Hungarians refer to their language, presents a curious phenomenon. It belongs to the Ugric branch of the Uralic (or Finno-Ugric) family of languages. In terms of its geopolitical situation it represents a linguistic island. Its nearest relatives, the Finnish and Estonian languages are spoken far away in the Baltic region.

Typologically, Hungarian offers some unique features: it has an extremely rich agglutinative

1) I wish to acknowledge with gratitude the help of Ms Gabriella Kovács in compiling background research material for the present article.

morphology with productive compounding and derivation. Its syntax is non-configurative, and constituent order is relatively free (though word order inside constituents follow delicate rules). For further details see (Abondolo, 1992; Kiss, 1987).

Brief Historical Overview

The history of the language goes back to approximately 1000 BC when Hungarian ancestors started migrating towards Europe from the Ural mountains where they are thought to originate from. Between the 5th and 9th centuries A.D. they came into contact with Old Turkic nomadic people and the language became influenced by the Turkic languages. Around 896 the Magyar tribes settled down in the Carpathian Basin and converted to Christian religion. King Stephen I founded the Kingdom of Hungary in 1000 and Hungary has been in existence in this part of Europe ever since.

The earliest written relic of Hungarian dates from, a piece of vernacular embedded in Latin script, the language that dominated formal language use till as late as the mid-nineteenth century. With the rise of the Protestant Church, the language of liturgy became Hungarian and the first Hungarian translation of the full text of the Bible was printed in 1590.

In the early 16th century following a devastating defeat against the invading Ottoman Empire, Hungary became divided into three parts, in the East Protestant Transylvania managed to stay independent, the central part of the country was occupied for the Turks for over a hundred and fifty years, while the Western strip came under Habsburg rule. After the defeat of the Turks at the end of the seventeenth century the country was united but under the dominance of the Habsburgs, who ruled Hungary till 1918, when the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy collapsed.

Resistance to Habsburg rule gathered momentum at the end of the eighteenth century and unfolded at great strength in the so called Reform Age(1825–1848) culminating in the Revolution and War of Independence of 1848–1849. As open political fight was oppressed, opposition to the Habsburg rule took the form of linguistic resistance. Accordingly, a group of enlightened writers led by Ferenc Kazinczy, the first and the most renowned Hungarian language cultivator, launched a campaign to reform and enhance the Hungarian Language. As a result, the Hungarian language received countless number of newly coined words and phrases, its syntax was streamlined and the language acquired a whole new status and respectability that it had not enjoyed earlier. The Hungarian language was introduced as a subject at secondary and higher education as late as 1792 but university education was dispensed in Latin and German. It was only in 1844 that the

Hungarian Parliament adopted Hungarian as the official language of debate.

The end of the First World War brought a traumatic event for Hungary. As a defeated party of the War, the Hungarian Kingdom was deprived of two thirds of its territory in the Trianon Agreement concluded in 1920. It also meant that about three million native Hungarian speakers suddenly found themselves degraded to secondary citizens and speakers of a minority language in their newly assigned country. Since the Trianon Agreement, Hungarians divide the World into three parts: Inland, Across the borders (*határontúli*) and Foreign. To this day, public thinking adheres to the great saying of the great nineteenth century reformer, István Széchenyi that 'A nation lives in its language' (*Nyelvében él a nemzet*) and considers the Hungarian language as the most important unifying force of the Hungarian Nation, a spiritual unity divorced from the political and administrative boundaries in the region.

Language Legislation

Turning now to the present situation, let us briefly review the effective legislation relating to language. It should be noted that there is no single legislation that is devoted entirely to language. There are high-level declarations in the Constitution formally the Fundamental Law and there are specific laws regulating the use of first names, geographic names and foreign words. Finally, one should mention a recent Act of Parliament on the state of the Hungarian Language.

Fundamental Law

The Preambulum, called National Avowal, of the Hungarian Constitution (formally the Fundamental Law) carries the following commitment:

We commit to promoting and safeguarding our heritage, our unique language, Hungarian culture, the languages and cultures of nationalities living in Hungary, along with all man-made and natural assets of the Carpathian Basin.

Article H declares that

- (1) In Hungary the official language shall be Hungarian.
- (2) Hungary shall protect the Hungarian language.
- (3) Hungary shall protect Hungarian Sign Language as a part of Hungarian culture.

First Name Use

Act XLV of 2002¹⁾, enacted on 1st January 2004 regulates the use of first names for Hungarian citizens. The most important stipulations are as follows: all Hungarian first names must comply with Hungarian orthography and they must be either male or female in use. Hungarian names must be selected from a rota of approved names compiled and published by the Research Institute for Linguistics of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. If the intended name is not included in the list, an application must be submitted, which is referred to the Institute for professional opinion. The linguist experts examine if the suggested name meets with the requirements of the law. In case of foreign names, they face the sometimes arduous task of establishing what language and culture the name comes from, whether it functions as a recognised name at all and whether they are worn by men or women etc. It is important to note that the competence of the Institute is confined to intended Hungarian names, in other words, parents of minority languages living in Hungary are exempt from this process. They must turn to respective registry office of their local governments for permission and there are separate lists of approved names for the minority languages inside Hungarian that are used as terms of reference.

Geographical names

The use of geographical names is regulated by Government Decree 303/2007(XI. 14.).²⁾ The issue of assigning, maintaining and modifying geographical names is supervised by the Minister for Regional Development. In practice, the task is delegated to the Committee on Geographical Names, to which a number of Government Offices and institutions appoint members such as the Ministry of Justice and Public Administration, the Ministry of Internal Affairs, Ministry of Defence, Foreign Ministry and the Ministry of National Resources as well as the Hungarian Academy of Sciences and Eötvös Lorand University. The Committee sits regularly and rules on suggestions of new names, as well as renaming of geographical names in the broadest sense. Their task is a delicate one involving linguistic, historical, cultural and political considerations. On the whole the Committee acts as an independent professional body acting along the guidelines defined by the above decree.

1) <http://www.1000ev.hu/index.php?a=3¶m=10107>

2) http://net.jogtar.hu/jr/gen/hjegy_doc.cgi?docid=A0700303.KOR

Foreign names

Ostensibly yielding to popular pressure to act against the spread of foreign signs in public places, the Government passed Act No. XCVI.(2001)³⁾ "On publishing of business advertising, shop labels and other public announcement in Hungarian".

This act prescribes that

- on the inscriptions of a shop, the name of the shop – excluding company names or product indicators –, and written information for customers must be written in Hungarian (§2 (1)). It is acceptable to make inscriptions simultaneously in a foreign language and in Hungarian, if the size and the perceptibility of the Hungarian equivalent is the same as of the text written in a foreign language (§2 (2))
- on public places and public facilities, and on private places and private facilities accessible to the public, information for citizens and traffic information must be written in Hungarian (§3 (1)). It is acceptable to make inscriptions simultaneously in a foreign language and in Hungarian, if the size and the perceptibility of the Hungarian equivalent is the same as of the text written in a foreign language (§3 (2))
- under this Act, expressions prevalent in Hungarian language use are not counted as expressions of a foreign language. If the prevalence of an expression, or the accuracy of its Hungarian translation raises a question, consumer protection authorities contact the Linguistic Advisory Council for an professional advice. Authorities must accept this expert opinion as a basis of arrangement (§5 (1))
- according to §42 of Act No. 77 (1993) "on the rights of ethnic minorities", inscriptions written in minority languages are not concerned, if a local government of the given minority exists in place (§6 (4))

All foreign names (logos and trademarked slogans excepted) must be shown in the company of their Hungarian translation displayed with the same typographic prominence as the original foreign name. What counts as a foreign expression and when is it seen as integral part of the Hungarian lexical stock is, of course, a contentious issue which is difficult to resolve, particularly without reference to large-scale reference corpora. In case disputes arise, a newly appointed Linguistic Advisory Council within the Hungarian Academy of Sciences is asked to adjudicate (É. Kiss 2004).

3) http://www.complex.hu/jr/gen/hjegy_doc.cgi?docid=A0100096.TV

Introduction of the Act was followed with keen public interest and for a while its implementation was a matter of public debate. Today the Advisory Council may still be in existence but a casual walk in downtown Budapest will convince anyone that the Act is blatantly ignored. The Council examines cases referred to it by parties disputing the foreign status or otherwise of particular expressions. If cases are not reported and brought to the Council it does not have any mandate to take action of its own initiative, much less to impose fines etc.

Orthography

Although spelling rules are not strictly speaking legal instruments, however, in Hungarian culture they have a heavily centralised position with a force in implementation which equals that of Acts. In comparison with English or French but even with German Hungarian orthography is relatively transparent. One of its main principles is the close correspondence between the graphemic and phonemic levels in the lexical items. One motivation for regular changes in the orthographic rules is to align spelling with pronunciation. This close correspondence, however, disregards assimilation rules, which are assumed to be straightforward and automatic. They certainly are to native speakers but they are capable of producing fairly radical departures from the presumed transparency of the writing system.

Responsibility for Hungarian orthography rests with the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, which executes this through the Hungarian Language Committee. The Committee has representatives from all departments of the Academy as well as linguists from all parts of the Hungarian Academia including libraries and secondary grammar schools. The first official Orthography was published in 1832 (Fábián 2007), the current version is the 11th edition, which was published in 1984. The 12th edition has been in preparation since 2004. The proposed new edition has been subjected to scrutiny by the linguistic community and experts from various fields of scientific and cultural life. Despite the length of the consultations the planned changes are relatively minor (Keszler) attesting to the relatively cautious strategy the Committee tends to adopt towards change in recognition of the resistance to change by the general public and the vested commercial interests involved.

Language Cultivation

Concern over the state of the mother tongue has long been an integral theme in Hungarian Culture. As noted above, the Hungarian language was a major battle ground in the fight for

independence against the Habsburg Empire in the first half of the nineteenth century. Indeed, the Hungarian Academy of Sciences (or the Learned Society as it was known then) was set up in 1830 with the purpose to protect and cultivate the Hungarian Language. Language cultivation has been a very popular activity in Hungarian linguistics until quite recently. Worry over the decay of the language is strongly entrenched in the mind of even educated Hungarians. The romantic notion of language as a living organism whose fate is constant deterioration is a view that the proverbial man in the street would readily identify. This view is presumably enhanced by the functioning of the language as the single most important constituting factor in the concept of nationhood. “Nyelvében él a nemzet” (A nation lives in its language) (Count István Széchenyi).

The dominance of this view is not necessarily due to the activity of language cultivators themselves. István Kenesei, a leading theoretical linguist, a die-hard opponent of prescriptive linguistics, notes with a sense of realism that

“a considerable language aware part of contemporary Hungarian society, which consists mostly of those teachers of Hungarian at elementary and secondary school level, who are capable of influencing public thinking on matters of language use, do expect linguists to give advice on new phenomena they (teachers) come across. And if the linguists fail to do so, they will make their decisions nevertheless, whether right or wrong.” (Kenesei 2002)

To serve this strong demand by the general public, the Research Institute for Linguistics has been operating a telephone hotline service to answer any queries from the general public over language use. Also, the programme entitled “Our Dearest Mother Tongue” is within the top ten most popular radio programme and it has been running for decades.

Despite their popularity with the general public and the high prestige they enjoy in the media and schools, language cultivators come in for severe criticism from various linguists on several grounds (Kontra 2010) (Nádasdy 2003) (Kálmán & Nádasdy 1999) (Sándor 2002). They are charged with making pronouncements that are entirely subjective and their views lack any solid empirical basis in terms of actual language use. Their activities are considered not only unscientific but even actually harmful in that their teachings often result in stigmatisation causing humiliation or discrimination to speakers of non-standard forms. This is what (Kontra 2010) following (Skutnabb-Kangas 1988) terms *linguicism* in native language, resulting in gross infringement of linguistic human rights of a great number of speakers. This practice is quite widespread in educational institutions at all levels.

Csaba Pléh notes (Pléh 1995) that Hungarian is a heavily normatively oriented language

community. This is evidenced by the relatively widespread phenomenon of hypercorrection when speakers are afraid of pronouncing a form that has a stigmatised use as well.

Language Policy

Despite lofty declarations and the esteem that language cultivation enjoys in Hungarian culture and in popular thinking there is no consistent body of language policy that is instituted at the state level. As (Kontra 2010, 190) states sternly

“Neither the Hungarian State, nor the Hungarian organizations operating in the neighbouring countries have any language policy guidelines that would serve as the basis for systematic, rational and theoretically sound social effort. We don’t have language policy about the roma population, nor any plans to enhance the communicational skills of Hungarians, nor any action plans to alleviate the linguistically endangered position of Hungarian minorities. This situation is particularly worrying because the laissez faire language policy carries considerable risks, leading to further deterioration, death and linguistic genocide of endangered languages. Laissez faire language policy involves significant risks for any language apart from English (cf. Phillipson 2003, 1–23), it is obvious therefore that the lack of a conscious (state) language policy holds significant risks for every Hungarian citizen.”

Little changed since 2010 when this harsh opinion was formed although on assuming office that year our previous President Pál Schmitt launched a campaign to protect the Hungarian mother tongue only to be exposed to gross orthographic errors. One legacy of the discredited President (who resigned on charges of plagiarism) may have been a Resolution of Parliament 66/2011 [IX.29] on the Day of the Hungarian Language, which was passed by Parliament unanimously. The focus of the Resolution was not only the ceremonial task of instituting 13th November as the Day of the Hungarian Language but also asked the Government to prepare a Report on the State of the Language based on widespread consultation with representatives of academia, churches and civil organisations and to prepare an action plan based on the Report and submit it to Parliament. The Report covers the following topics:

- (1) Native language science and education
- (2) The Hungarian language and Hungarians in neighbouring countries
- (3) The Hungarian language and Tertiary level education

- (4) The Hungarian language and public education
- (5) The Hungarian language and mass media
- (6) The Hungarian language and religious language use.
- (7) The Hungarian language and language technology
- (8) The Hungarian language and the state
- (9) The Hungarian language and language cultivation
- (10) The Hungarian language and socially deprived groups
- (11) The Hungarian language and arts

The Report was published and exposed to public scrutiny on the website <http://www.magyar-nyelvert.hu> (for Hungarian language). At the time of writing, there is no information on the final outcome of the public consultation of the Report nor of the Action Plan. The scope of the subject areas as well as the broad participation of experts gives ground to hope that this initiative may be one step towards a comprehensive state language policy.

The Hungarian Language in the EU

Hungary joined the European Union in 2004 along with nine other countries in what is still the biggest single move of enlargement of the Union. This has increased the number of the official languages to 23, which now included Hungarian. Prior to the act of accession Hungarian legislation had to undergo harmonisation to the European legislation, which meant, as a requisite side-effect that the collection of the most important European laws and regulations, decisions etc. called *Acquis Communautaire* had to be translated into Hungarian. This monumental work is estimated to run to cc. 85,000–100,000 pages.

While Hungary's accession enjoyed widespread popular support, leading sociolinguist Jenő Kiss discusses Hungary's position in terms of language policy in a more cautious voice (Kiss J. 2004). The accession undoubtedly brought about *de jure* equal position but this was, of course, a far cry from the *de facto* situation. There is no provision in European legislation that explicitly states the equality of the official languages. However, article 24 of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union stipulates that

Every citizen of the Union may write to any of the institutions, bodies, offices or agencies referred to in this Article or in Article 13 of the Treaty on European Union in one of the languages mentioned in Article 55(1) of the Treaty on European Union and have an answer in the same language.

Most of the documents of general public interest are translated into all of the official languages and, curiously, there is no indication of which language the document originated from. DG Translation of the European Commission is undertaking a heroic job of translating tremendous amount of documents in all these languages. Due to time and budgetary constraints, the European Union operates a multi-tier system in terms of language use. The various institutions and bodies of the Union adopt working languages, which come from a select few, ranging from one (French, European Court) to three (European Patent Office) to five (European Plant Variety Office). Typically, the home page of all of these institutions use English as default.

Though Hungarian does not count as a small language in terms of its native speakers, — it ranks 50~60 among the approximately 6000 living languages — it is unrealistic to expect Hungarian ever to serve as a working language within the Union. In practice, therefore, Hungarian citizens may be disadvantaged if they submit an application to a Call for Proposal in Hungarian or if they expect Hungarian guidelines or forms (É. Kiss 2004).

Indeed, there are sociolinguists that view Hungary's new role as being exposed to the linguistic dominance of three major powers within the European Union, i.e. English, French and German (Szépe 2001).

Hungarian as an endangered language?

As noted by Kiss (Kiss J. 2004, 15) Hungarians tend to brood over the survival of the Hungarian language and indeed the Hungarian nation. He cites a survey carried out in 2004 in which 45 % of respondents in retirement age, 48% of secondary school students and 45% of elementary school students considered that the Hungarian language may disappear a) through neglect or b) through the vanishing of the population. Such high ratio of pessimistic views can certainly not to be explained by linguistic reasons alone. Kiss holds that it has much to do with the general sense of threat as a nation which in times of crisis is reinforced and is associated with the fate of the language. As regards Hungarian within the current borders of Hungary, there is no doubt that Hungarian is exposed to no threat of extinction: after all it is spoken by well over nine million people in all contexts and situations, it has a solid codified standard and there is a strong state behind in support of it, so there is hardly any reason to have any doubts about their long-term future. What doubt É. Kiss raises relates to Hungarian losing prestige and losing ground in some areas of language use mostly in higher education and some technical registers.

Will it not lead to the devaluation of the Hungarian Language? Will this situation not prompt Hungarian parents to send their children to English language schools? [...] Will they not think that their children will pick up Hungarian in the street anyway and what serves their interest best is if they acquire native-like English language proficiency at school? Within a couple of decades, will we not face a situation when increasingly large part of young people become English dominant bilingual speakers, who because they feel uncomfortable in certain areas of Hungarian are prone to use English instead? (É. Kiss 2004, 168)

The above questions are raised on the analogy of the process that is going on in the neighbouring countries with respect to Hungarian as a minority language, a situation that deserves special attention.

Hungarian as a minority language

As mentioned above, as a result of the Trianon Treaty, millions of Hungarians found themselves displaced of their homeland and doomed to live the lives of despised second-rate citizens with their native language Hungarian destined to be a minority language if it is given any official status at all. During the Soviet era in the region, nationalism was oppressed and the vicissitudes, including language deprivation, of minority Hungarians living in the neighbouring countries was taboo: under the ruling ideology all the peoples in the socialist camp were supposed to be living in fraternal peace and happiness.

Following the fall of the Soviet regime, this issue gushed fore in the public discussions and the false pretence of brotherly coexistence yielded to a far more complex situation, which brought about the re-appraisal of the language positions as well. Whereas earlier it was prohibited to study and publish articles or books on the state of minority language use, (Susan Gal's classic work (Gal 1979) on the state of Hungarian in Burgenland, Austria was published in New York), there has been a series of fresh research and previously unavailable data appearing since, cf. (Lanstyák & Szabolcs 1998) (Csernyicskó & Váradi 1996) (Kontra & Hattyár, *Magyarok és nyelvtörvények* (Hungarians and Language Legislation) 2002) (Kontra & Saly, *Nyelvmentés or nyelvárulás?* (Saving or Betraying the Language?) 1998).

Space limitations prevent me from surveying this literature but in summary we can state that the prevailing view is that Hungarian language use is increasingly becoming endangered in the neighbouring countries. Especially severely effected are the Hungarian speakers living scattered

among communities of majority speakers. In all those regions where there is no Hungarian schooling at all levels, Hungarian is facing an uphill struggle. Enforced majority language schooling has long been a classical means of oppressing minority language use. As Göncz suggests (Göncz 1999) cited by (É. Kiss 2004, 133)

“It sends the message to children that they had better give up their roots, their language and culture if they want to succeed. [...] Many children develop a sense of shame, they tend to blame themselves instead of the ill-chosen majority language while those who manage to overcome these obstacles, typically give up their language and culture and adopt the system of values and norms of the social elite in control of the schools”.

The socio-psychological motivations in such a typical situation are very clear and difficult to resist. Ideally, education system in such bilingual situation should be additive rather than assimilative (Kontra 2010, 19) but this issue is inherently subject to the bilateral political relations between the countries involved, which did not necessarily improve even after both of them joined the European Union.

Summary

To conclude the overview of the current situation one can agree with É. Kiss that as regards the inherent linguistic profile, the syntactic structure and lexical resources of the Hungarian language is facing no structural threat from any language, including English. It can be safely assumed that what change is registered, amplified by the voice of language cultivators is no different in kind and scope to the language contact phenomena that Hungarian displayed over the centuries.

As regards, language use, however, the situation is less clear and reassuring. First of all, one should immediately distinguish between the position of Hungarian used inside Hungary and the use of the Hungarian language in the neighbouring situation. The position of Hungarian inside Hungary is overall pretty stable, it is the native tongue of the overwhelming part of the population.⁴⁾ It is the state language, its unlimited use is codified in the Constitution, the Hungarian language is seen as one of the strongest bond uniting the Hungarian Nation. Its prestige is challenged only in marginal areas like scientific publications and dissertations as well as in certain well marketable

4) According to 2001 census figures, some 4 per cent of the population declared themselves belonging to other nationalities. Even considering the roma population, most of them Hungarian speakers anyway, the number may be around 8–10 per cent.

areas of higher education.

The situation is drastically different when Hungarian language use is considered outside Hungary, in particular, among the neighbouring countries. Here the gradual and irreversible process of language loss through language change is much in evidence. Hungarians living in minority language situation in these countries number about one third of Hungarian speakers living in the homeland⁵⁾. The main threat Hungarian faces in these regions is not so much the influence of globalisation as the relentless assimilative forces operating in an environment that is indifferent if not alien to the linguistic and cultural value of Hungarian–dominant bilingualism, which is the most that one could set as an objective in the present geopolitical setting.

Hungarian in the Digital Age

Globalisation is a phenomenon that affects all languages, big or small. It raises grave challenges to Hungarian as well and there has been several suggestions how to respond to them. They range from legal action to limit the use of foreign terms, promotion of Hungarian language use in the academic domain, promotion of Hungarian language education in the educational institutions of all levels, enhancing its prestige to strengthening of language rights of Hungarian in minority situation etc.

What has received relatively little attention is that Hungarian is affected not only by globalisation but by the fact that the language is increasingly used in a setting that is dominated by digital communication. Indeed, viewed from a long-term perspective, the technical underpinnings of what is referred to as globalisation is ensured to a large extent by digital communication (mobile telecommunications and the Internet). The on-going shift to digital culture calls for a reappraisal of strategies aimed at protecting and preserving languages from the presumed ill effects of globalisation. Language both as a means of communication and as a carrier of cultural heritage and knowledge (to cite only two of the multitude of functions language fulfils) is intricately embedded in digital culture and this trend is likely to be even more dominant as further generations of digital natives arise (Prensky 2005/2006).

In order to ensure the sustainability of any language in the digital age, it is vital that the language should be supported with appropriate digital infrastructure. This is mainly the responsibility of computational linguists working in what in the field of human language

5) According to the 2011 census, the total population of Hungary numbered 9,986 million, while Hungarians living in the Carpathian Basin outside Hungary totalled 2,377 million persons.

technologies but in the age of the interactive Web 2.0 it is increasingly helped by voluntary collective effort in the form of crowd sourcing.

The most eminent example of the latter is the phenomenal success of the Wikipedia. In an incisive article aptly titled “Language death in the digital age” Kornai indeed assumes the existence of native language Wikipedia as the *sine que non* of survival. “No wikipedia, no survival” (Kornai, to appear).

Language Technology and Language Resources

In our age communication is overwhelmingly pursued by electronic devices, producing massive amounts of texts (whether speech or written language) existing in electronic media. The digitisation of past records of language is progressing at an increasing pace with the result that it is just a matter of time when all the linguistic and cultural heritage of any one language will be captured in digital form. The future generation of digital natives will resort to digital machines to communicate, to look up any information, to record their lives etc. It is of paramount importance, therefore, that these new channels and new media of language use are adequately served by language technologies.

One of the central pillars of language resources is a general purpose reference corpus of the language. One of the best specimen for such resource is the British National Corpus (<http://www.natcorp.ox.ac.uk/>), which was prepared in the early nineties and although nowadays there exist corpora ten times as large, it still remains unsurpassed in terms of its composition and its methodological care. One enormous benefit such a corpus offers is that it provides a solid empirical base for the analysis of actual language use. One charge that language cultivators have a hard time to fend off is that the pronouncements they make are based on their predilections if not prejudices instead of the actual facts of language use. Though not without its own shortcomings, corpus linguistics (Kennedy 1998) has grown into a robust discipline which proved itself indispensable when it comes to analysing language ‘as she is spoke’. Wherever there exists a stable standard variety of the language, compilation of a reference corpus is a means of documenting, monitoring and sustaining the general standard. Indeed, to use Marko Tadic’s ingenious paraphrase⁶⁾ of the famous quip by Max Weinreich paraphrase⁷⁾ one can state that a language is a dialect with a hundred million word corpus behind it. For linguists and anyone

6) Personal communication

7) “Language is a dialect with an army and a navy.”

concerned with the actual state of language use, it is an indispensable tool to reflect veritably the state of the language.

Language technology is not just for the specialists. It serves a wide range of societal needs and is part of our daily lives even if it is not widely recognised. From everyday humble tools like spelling and grammar checkers to speech recognition and machine translation, language technology is embedded in many applications that we use daily. Its most widespread domain of use is, of course, the world wide web, through which circulate the deluge of texts that we face every day. Language resources are the fuel, as it were, that drives language technologies and sometime, as in statistical machine translation, language technology shows an insatiable appetite for huge datasets.

European language infrastructure initiatives

It has been recognised by the European Union since the late eighties that language resources are essential for the development of language technologies. Recently more and more attention was paid to the development of research infrastructure in an effort to strengthen the European Research Area. The first major infrastructure initiative was launched by ESFRI (European Strategic Forum for Research Infrastructure), which launched its first Roadmap⁸⁾ that included 35 research infrastructure of pan-European interest. Among them was the CLARIN project (<http://clarin.eu>), a truly pan-European project involving partners from 26 countries. The mission of the CLARIN initiative is to develop a virtual networked infrastructure that brings the benefit of language technologies to doing e-science, particularly in the field of humanities and social sciences. The long-term project has recently completed its two-year initial phase and has started its five-year construction phase to be followed by the operational phase.

Another related project is FLARENET (Fostering Language Resources Network)⁹⁾ which aims to bring together all stakeholders of the sector and develop a common view and a European strategy for consolidating the sector.

Currently the most ambitious initiative for developing the language technologies on a European scale is the network of excellence META-NET (Multilingual Technology Alliance)¹⁰⁾, whose mission includes creating a distributed network of repositories of language resources and technologies called META-SHARE (<http://www.meta-share.eu/>). The resources are preferably open-source and

8) http://ec.europa.eu/research/infrastructures/index_en.cfm?pg=esfri-roadmap

9) <http://flarenet.eu/>

10) <http://www.meta-net.eu/>

downloadable with a clear licence (one from a range of META-SHARE licences based on the Creative Commons licences) and proper metadata and documentation.

META-NET also prepared a large scale survey of the European languages from the perspective of their language technology support in the form of a series of bilingual White Papers on as many as 31 languages.¹¹⁾ The series provide a wealth of information as well as comparative evaluations based on peer assessment of the state of language technology support available to the respective languages.

EFNILEX

EFNILEX is a project of the European Federation of National Institute of Language (EFNIL)¹²⁾. Its aim is to explore the potential of language technology to help the development of bilingual dictionaries in language pairs which are not considered commercially viable by major publishing houses. The mission of EFNILEX is highly compatible with the aim of supporting less-resourced languages by alleviating their linguistic isolation and enhancing their prestige as a language that can serve to communicate with speakers of a variety of languages of similar size.

The bottleneck to realizing this objective in its intended scope was the scarcity of parallel corpora (translated texts). In the end the outcome was a tool that serves not so much the general public directly but lexicographers who benefit particularly from the contextually appropriate translational equivalents derived from the parallel corpora. A particularly intriguing feature of the tool is the facility to tailor the dictionary to the needs and competence level of the users. By adjusting the parameters one can generate a suitable trade-off between coverage (number of headwords) and precision. For further details visit <http://efnilex.efnil.org/>

Language technology support for Hungarian

Hungarian is relatively well supported in terms of language technology. The Hungarian National Corpus¹³⁾ (Váradi 2002) contains 185 m words collected from five gross language varieties (press, belles lettres, scientific, official and personal) collected from inside Hungary and the Hungarian minorities living in the neighbouring countries. It is currently being upgraded to giga size (1000 m

11) <http://www.meta-net.eu/whitepapers>

12) <http://efnil.org/projects/efnilex>

13) http://mnsz.nytud.hu/index_eng.html

words). The corpus is fully annotated with morphological analysis and each word disambiguated to 97.5 per cent accuracy. It also has a treebank (a corpus consisting of parsed sentences) of 1.2 m words¹⁴, a medium sized WordNet¹⁵ (Kuti et al. 2007) an industry-strength machine translation system covering English–Hungarian and Hungarian–English and an innovative technology that can connect to dozens of language pairs using the above two¹⁶. Last but not least it has a vibrant Wikipedia that ranks 17th (according to Dec 2009 figures).¹⁷

How to estimate the threat to languages?

The size and quality of Wikipedia assumes particular importance in a fresh approach to endangered languages by Kornai, who in an aptly titled article “Language death in the digital age” assumes the existence of native language Wikipedia as the sine qua non of survival. “*No wikipedia, no survival*” (Kornai, to appear). It is a sufficient but not necessary condition for survival and a close study of the size and vibrancy of particular language editions of Wikipedia reveal intriguing underlying phenomena. Among the cases he cites is Bokmål and Nynorsk, the two officially recognized varieties of Norwegian, which for many years were side by side in terms of Wikipedia presence but by now there are four times as many articles in Bokmål than in Nynorsk. Even more surprising is the disparity between them in terms of user generated content: a crawl of the .no domain yielded 1,620 million words in Bokmål but a mere 26 million words in Nynorsk and that even considering that all official pages are published in both varieties! Kornai concludes: “*In spite of a finely balanced official language policy propping up Nynorsk, the Norwegian population has already voted with their blogs and tweets to take only Bokmål with them to the digital age*” (Kornai, to appear, 2)

Conclusions

The Hungarian language is revered as the strongest bond uniting Hungarians all over the world, particularly the indigenous Hungarian population living in the neighboring countries. Its status and long-term survival within the current administrative borders of Hungary cannot be questioned and despite ill-advised opinions to the contrary the language itself faces no threat in terms of structural

14) http://www.inf.u-szeged.hu/rgai/nlp?lang=en&page=nlpproj_syntax

15) http://www.inf.u-szeged.hu/rgai/nlp?lang=en&page=nlpproj_hunont

16) www.webforditas.hu, www.itranslate4.eu

17) http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Wikipedia:Multilingual_ranking_December_2009#100_000.2B_articles

or lexical depravity. It is spoken by the overwhelming majority of the population, and apart from (so far) really marginal domains its unconstrained use is universal in all walks of life. The situation is drastically different in the neighboring countries where truly monolingual native Hungarian communities are very rare (if they exist at all) and a relentless process of language shift is going on.

Any concern over the long-term future of the language has to consider it in terms of the emerging digital culture. This has the implication that care the longevity of full-fledged language use must give priority to ensuring that the digital infrastructure of the language is properly developed and maintained. To suit the communicational and informational needs of the future digital natives.

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Tongues under Threat

– Preserving Indigenous African Languages

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Introduction

On 21 February 2012, under the umbrella of the United Nations, the world celebrated International Mother Language Day. While the focus is on celebrating language and cultural diversity worldwide, the celebrations were also about commemorating the killing, on 21 February 1952, of four students who had campaigned for the official use of their mother language, Bengali, in Bangladesh. Celebrations in South Africa are against the backdrop of our own struggle for freedom which was interwoven with language and the desire to have our indigenous languages accorded their deserved recognition. In this sense, language was the spark that lit the struggle, especially among the youth.

In this context, Tsietshi Mashinini, that noble son of our soil, sacrificed his youth so that we could one day be able to speak our own and one another's languages without fear. He, Khotsho Seathlolo, and thousands of our youth defied all odds to reject the imposition of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction and generally the policy of recognising only English and Afrikaans, which was highly detrimental to the development of our indigenous languages.

It is instructive to note that they did not reject Afrikaans as a language but rather its imposition as a medium of instruction. Because this was done against people's will, the end result is that we have people who to their detriment have developed an attitude against learning Afrikaans and speaking the language. Granted, the conduct of the apartheid government caused Afrikaans to be demonised, but we should not inflict punishment on ourselves by refusing to learn this language.

1. SOUTH AFRICAN CONTEXT

South Africa like many countries in Africa is faced with challenges that threaten the continued existence of indigenous languages. Indigenous languages were spoken by the majority of people in Africa before colonial times, when the languages of the colonists became dominant. Today, most Africans across the continent find themselves using foreign tongues as tools of communication.

According to the South African Constitution all official languages of South Africa must enjoy parity of esteem and must be treated equitably, and all languages other than English will be promoted and developed. What does this mean to an ordinary South African? The Pan South African Languages Board (PanSALB) was mandated to create an environment primarily for the development of the previously marginalised languages of the indigenous people of South Africa. Whereas speakers of English as a first language make up a mere eight per cent of the population, mother-tongue speakers of indigenous languages constitute 80 per cent. But although the majority in South Africa speaks indigenous languages, their languages are facing extinction. In the twenty-first century English continues to dominate in all spheres of life, for both African people and non-Africans. English symbolises intelligence and sophistication and it confers prestige on the people who use it, while the indigenous languages remain on the periphery. English is the medium of business, science, academia, the internet, education, broadcasting, media, medicines and drugs, public debates, advertising, street signs, and products – and also in the homes of most African people.

The majority of the people are not proficient in English, especially in rural areas where only one indigenous language is spoken. When these people migrate from rural to urban areas they are stigmatised by their form of speech, and viewed as primitive and even uncivilised. Take someone from Nongoma who communicates in a deep rural accent to Johannesburg – he or she will be called names such as *'bhar'* ('fool') or *'impatha'* in isiZulu.

There is still no solution to finding an indigenous language that will appeal to all Africans in South Africa. Some people argue that South Africa needs to have a single national language that will unite the nation. The question is: which one? The demographics of speakers of indigenous languages indicate that isiZulu and isiXhosa are the most widely spoken in the country and therefore an Nguni language should be selected as a national language. In other parts of the country the seSotho group of languages is spoken by a large population. And we still have other, minority, indigenous languages that will suffer if such an option is adopted because it will mean further marginalisation of certain languages, which is at odds with the principle of democracy and the Bill of Rights.

In Nigeria the number of spoken languages is between two 250 and 500. Hausa is spoken by millions in Nigeria and its bordering countries in West Africa, whereas in East Africa KiSwahili is widely used although it is not a national language. If we in South Africa choose one dominant indigenous language we will impose it on minority speech communities. Moreover, when a language is dominant its speakers tend to have more political power, and are also able to dominate other language groups, professionally, economically, socially and culturally because of their advantage in educational achievement.

Today in South Africa to be able to speak English confers power. As a Zulu speaker, I need to be able to speak Tshivenda in addition to my mother tongue, to communicate with a Tshivenda speaker. But promoting all nine previously marginalised languages will see the nation coming together as one in the near future whereas promoting one language will lead to unwanted divisions and conflicts. South Africa has adopted eleven official languages, a good policy, unlike many countries in Africa where only one official language prevails and the rest are considered as national (rather than official) languages. Countries do have more than one national language. Belgium, Canada and Switzerland are examples. Is this a route to follow? We could choose one language from each of the two main language groups and add Tshivenda and Xitsonga as national languages of South Africa. If the answer is yes, the implication will be that we will have four languages to be used for official government documents while each language retains its official status as afforded by the Constitution. At present English is the *lingua franca*. But is English a unifying force for second language speakers? In the absence of an indigenous language as a *lingua franca*, South Africa will continue to use English for communication purposes. Some scholars, indeed, believe that because English is not the language of any indigenous tribe it is neutral. Moreover, it is used globally and therefore should be used as a common language for a diverse population. But at the same time the use of English poses a severe developmental threat to those who are illiterate and uneducated; and secondly, English represents the former colonial power. Some Africans, however, are not concerned about this, and they continue to use English because it is a world language.

In South Africa there are two contrasting aspects of language that we need to acknowledge in order to make progress on the matter of our languages. The first is that which is on paper, in our Constitution and policies. The second is the painful reality that collectively we have not done much to bring about the parity of esteem envisaged in our Constitution. On paper, we acknowledge that our Constitution recognises our diversity by prescribing, in the foundation of our democracy, eleven official languages and a Pan South African Language Board. Our academic institutions teach and

research African languages. South Africa's language diversity is supported by arguably the most progressive constitutional language provisions on the African continent. The Constitution enshrines multilingualism and further provides in the Bill of Rights that everyone will have the right to speak and receive information in their mother tongue. It accords us the right to use our languages without fear. But this is the scenario on paper. What is the reality?

In 1961 when South Africa became a republic, Afrikaans and English were the only two official languages. Now we have eleven (sign language is still a challenge for us because it is not standardised and is not included as the twelfth official language of South Africa). Besides the eleven official languages there are dialects such as Xhosa, Northern isiNdebele, and isiPhuthi which are influenced by Sesotho, and amongst the Nguni language groups there are also prominent dialects not recognised as fully-fledged languages. Then, immigrant communities still speak their home languages: Gujarati, Hindi, Greek, Portuguese, German, Dutch, French and Spanish are also spoken in the country. These languages may be classified as unofficial languages of South Africa.

According to Statistics South Africa the 2001 demographics of speakers of all eleven official languages indicates that IsiZulu is the most widely spoken with almost 23 per cent, followed by isiXhosa with 16 per cent; and Afrikaans with 13.3 per cent. English has 8.2 per cent first language speakers. The smallest language is isiNdebele with 1.6 per cent. According to the demographics of speakers of languages in South Africa, English is ranked only at number six and yet it is mainly used as second language by most people in South Africa.

The majority of indigenous people of South Africa speak the nine indigenous languages and we need to improve the level of indigenous languages by addressing the threats to them.

Statistics South Africa indicated in 2003 that there are 25 languages used daily by more than 44.8 million people as their home language. Why, then, is it that the work of government is conducted almost entirely in English? And how has English assumed the status of the language of our culturally diverse Parliament? We know that Parliament has a language unit fully staffed with interpreters and translators, yet our leaders continue to play a significant role in not raising the public profile of, and confidence in, indigenous languages.

If truth be told, our democratic dispensation has done much for the development of indigenous languages but at the same time it has been the worst enemy of indigenous languages. Institutions that are meant to promote indigenous languages have been put in place but have not been adequately funded to perform their tasks, which amounts to an unfunded mandate.

2. Unpacking language planning policy and implementation in South Africa

The language of any nation is sensitive when the rights to it are violated. The Bill of Rights, as enshrined in the Constitution of South Africa, stipulates that:

Everyone has the right to use the language and to participate in the cultural life of their choice, but no one exercising these rights may do so in a manner inconsistent with any provision of the Bill of Rights. Persons belonging to a cultural, religious or linguistic community may not be denied the right, with other members of that community.

It is on this premise that we argue that languages are significant to the livelihood of any nation and it is part of societal development. Before any nation can develop to modernity it is important that they master their indigenous languages and the masses become literate in their mother tongues.

When the Nationalist party of apartheid created ‘homelands’, they succeeded in dividing the indigenous people into smaller nations. In Transkei and Ciskei the language promoted was isiXhosa; in Bophuthatswana it was seTswana; in KaNgwane it was Siswati; in KwaNdebele it was isiNdebele; in Gazankulu it was xiTsonga. Homelands preserved their culture and languages. This perpetuated division among indigenous people, who saw themselves as different from each other. In most urban areas, English and Afrikaans dominated. Indigenous languages were only spoken in the homelands. Schoolchildren were mainly taught in indigenous languages at a primary level and English remained the medium of instruction at higher levels and in higher learning institutions.

In 1995, the then Department of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology established a Language Plan Task Group (LANTAG), whose terms of reference were to advise the minister on the national language plan for South Africa. The mandate of this group was to work on the language policy and did not duplicate the mandate of PanSALB. The purpose of LANTAG was to influence attitudes of intolerance towards language diversity and the resultant threats to the indigenous languages.

What are these threats?

- English hegemony in Africa
- Language in education
- Tribalism
- Urbanisation and migration
- Language usage in business and government official documents

- Technology
- Modernisation
- Globalisation
- Cross-border movement
- Internationalisation
- Tourism
- Media and Communication

Some of these are discussed briefly below.

1) Cross border movement

Speakers of languages from other parts of Africa (their own languages and colonial languages such as French from Francophone Central and West Africa, and Portuguese from Mozambique and Angola) live in South Africa. When they arrive, they have to learn English. This poses a threat to mother-tongue languages of South Africa by growing the number of English speakers. Local South Africans are unable to speak languages other than their mother tongues because in our provinces only one indigenous language is spoken and promoted, without encouraging the learning of others. For instance, a tshiVenda speaking person may experience a communication challenge and be forced to use English for communication in KwaZulu-Natal where the majority of people speak isiZulu. For indigenous languages to develop in the provinces, an additional language that is not spoken there should be added, to enhance communication across provinces.

2) Language in education

Institutions of higher learning have embarked on language policies that are often not implemented. Those institutions that have achieved successful languages policies focussed on bilingualism rather than multilingualism. The University of KwaZulu-Natal promotes isiZulu and English; Stellenbosch promotes English and Afrikaans; Fort Hare, isiXhosa and English; Pretoria, Unisa and the University of the Free State, English and Afrikaans.

3) Technology

On the Internet, social networks such Facebook, Twitter and Whats app, and cell phones, communication is in English.

4) Globalisation

International trade and communication are in English. For business purposes, local people are forced to use English when seeking jobs and making business transactions. For example, CVs are in English, and interviews are still conducted in the medium of English. Opening a bank account and other official forms are in English.

5) Modernisation

Young people are not part of a reading culture, especially indigenous language literature.

6) Media and communication

Radio stations in South Africa reflect the anomaly that many senior politicians snub African language radio stations because they perceive their listeners as not sophisticated enough. The radio stations broadcasting in indigenous languages allocate hardly any time for the public to debate topical political issues in these languages. Only English-medium stations air debates on topical issues. Put differently, English stations are talk radio, whereas the indigenous ones are music radio.

The effect of all this is the entrenchment of English as the language of communication, commerce and business; it has become a symbol of intelligence and the language that is a must to know in order to fit in the circles of our country's elite.

Languages are the most powerful instruments of preserving and developing our tangible and intangible heritage. All moves to promote the dissemination of mother tongues will serve not only to encourage linguistic diversity and multilingual education but also to develop a fuller awareness of linguistic and cultural traditions throughout the world and to inspire solidarity based on understanding, tolerance and dialogue.

3. Constitutional provisions

Chapter 1 (Founding Provisions), Section 6 (Language) of the Constitution of South Africa states the founding principle of the language policy in South Africa. The official languages of the Republic are Sepedi, Sesotho, Setswana, siSwati, TshiVenda,

XiTsonga, Afrikaans, English, isiNdebele, isiXhosa and isiZulu. The state is compelled by the Constitution under sub-section (2) to take practical and positive measures to elevate the status and advance the use of all official languages. The national and provincial governments may use any

two official languages for the purpose of government, taking into account usage, practicality, expense, regional circumstances and the balance of the needs and preferences of the populations as a whole or in the province concerned. What needs to be highlighted as significant provision is that the national government must regulate and monitor the use of official languages without detracting from the provisions of subsection (2), all official languages must enjoy parity of esteem and must be treated equitably.

Sub-section (5) makes provision for the establishment of the Pan South African Language Board for the following reasons:

- To promote, and create conditions for, the development and use of all official languages; the Khoi, Nama and San languages; and sign languages.
- To promote and ensure respect for, all languages commonly used by communities in South Africa, including German, Greek, Gujarati, Hindi, Portuguese, Tamil, Telegu, Urdu, Arabic, Hebrew, Sanskrit and other languages used for religious purposes in South Africa

4. The Pan South African Language Board

PanSALB is a statutory body established in terms of Act 59 of 1995 and it is expected by law to act impartially and without fear, favour or prejudice (Section 181 (2) which states:

These institutions are independent, and subject only to the Constitution and the law, and they must be impartial and must exercise their powers and perform their functions without fear, favour or prejudice.

The law further stipulates that no person or organ of state may interfere with its functioning and it is accountable to the National Assembly (Section 181 (3). The challenge facing PanSALB is that its operations is not assisted nor protected by any organ of State and as a result it is continually confronted with widely publicised cash flow problems.

Section 181 (4) states that: “no person or organ of state may interfere with the functioning of these institutions”.

The National Treasury through its funding decision; the Department of Arts and Culture through its custodianship of the PanSALB Act; and the Portfolio Committee of Arts and Culture. In addition to the mandate of PanSALB the Constitution and the PanSALB Act, Norms and Rules for National Language Bodies (NLBs) as well as for Provincial Language Committees (PLCs) have

been published in Government Gazettes in 2005. The National Lexicography Units (NLUs) are governed through their Memorandums and Articles of Association who then report to the Board.

Confusion is widespread, with people in government pointing to PanSALB for everything that is related to language. Laws dealing with languages are often not understood by the very people who must implement them. Coordination of language development falls within government and does not form part of the mandate of PanSALB. PanSALB is tasked with a monitoring function and is not only a watchdog but the Constitution allows partnership with government departments and municipalities to be sourced to minimise costs in the promotion of multilingualism in South Africa.

PanSALB has signed several memorandums of understanding with provincial governments in the formulation of provincial language committees throughout the country. But the reality is that government departments have no language units, no budgets and no translation services with which to implement the use of the languages of the people they serve. Municipalities still write their Integrated Development Plan (IDP) strategies only in English and expect communities to fully appreciate their delivery plans. The politicians still struggle to deliver their speeches only in English and thereby render the entire translation service in Parliament redundant. Why did it have to take a court case in Pietermaritzburg to remind us that the Constitution places an obligation on us to have South African sign language in the school curriculum?

Why are we unconcerned that five million people from the deaf community cannot access our hospitals because there are no interpreters? Eighteen years into a democratic dispensation, we once again have to thank our courts and a lawyer from Brits for forcing us to pass a Language Act. Couldn't we do it ourselves in observance of our Constitution and above all out of love for who we are and what we want to bestow on our children, or have we become heartless people who only care about our egos? We have not fought the imperialists in order to create a new imperialism in this country. Using a foreign language is like declaring that our languages are inferior to foreign languages. We are liberated, but instead of exercising our linguistic right to use our languages we surrender our freedom by allowing English to dominate our lives politically, socially, economically and psychologically.

The Board is committed to its mandate and has ensured that challenges are addressed. It is pleasing to note some language-related achievements for 2011/2012:

- Ljpejpepwab – glossary project concluded
- Tshivenda and SiSwati dictionaries published
- IKS Expo workshop in the North West

- Setswana National Language Body verification and authentication of HIV/AIDS terminology; Xitsonga NLB orthography rules and isiNdebele language promotion and awareness campaign.
- Microsoft Project: Setswana, isiZulu, isiXhosa, Sepedi and Afrikaans
- International Mother Tongue Celebration in partnership with the Centre for Advanced Studies of African Society (CASAS)
- Entered into partnership with Independent Newspapers to promote languages in schools.

The aforementioned examples show that with the limited funds available the Board managed to implement its core mandate.

5. Review of the South African Language Bill

In 1995 Langtag Committee led by Dr Neville Alexander was appointed by Dr Ben Ngubane, the then Minister of Department of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology (DAST) and later in 1996 the National Language Plan Report was presented to Cabinet. Language experts were invited to serve in the committee and they were Profs Abraham Charles Nkabinde, Themba Msimang, Ms Khethiwe Marais and Ms Qedusizi Buthelezi. This was followed by the Language in Education Policy (1996); Norms and Standards on Language Policy of the South African Schools Act (1996) which regulates language policy in schools and the Language Policy for Higher Education (2003).

The National Language Policy Framework was approved by Cabinet in 2003. The Framework provided Cabinet with a policy statement, an implementation plan and the South African Languages Act and the South African Language Practitioners' Council Act (DAC 2003a:5). This process was well received from all corners of Language stakeholders and by Institutions for Higher Learning. Eighteen years in Democracy there are still huge gaps between government language policy and language practice in the Country. The study of African languages at schools and universities, attempts to use indigenous languages as media of instruction at universities, multilingualism, the use of indigenous languages in government departments, public and private sector still raises serious concerns by many.

The Bill in its current form does not foster multilingualism, nor does it give any enforcement power to the PanSALB. There are no punitive measures for people or departments that do not comply with the law. The reality is that the proposed Bill is a reflection of our lack of seriousness about language and mother tongue issues. The truth is that most of our schools are in tatters and lack teachers to deliver on this important aspect. Teacher development is non-existent. Our schools

are refusing to have anything to do with mother tongue education, because parents who are the decision makers on the language of teaching and learning in a school are refusing to have their children taught in a language that reflects who they are – understandably so, as they have not witnessed anyone climbing the economic ladder while remaining true to indigenous languages. Daily they experience their children failing to find employment because interviews are conducted by black South Africans in English. Intelligence and English are made to be synonymous. People have no role models. They are exposed to an intelligent state president who is very eloquent in his mother tongue but yet continues to express himself in a foreign language. They are exposed to a national development plan that does not say much about our languages.

These many years into our democracy, public institutions should be at the forefront of fostering respect for linguistic diversity. All public institutions should take the lead in promoting respect and tolerance in general. But does this happen? Are we collectively observing and honouring the values of human dignity enshrined in our Constitution? The answer appears to be no.

Everyone has the right to use the language and participate in the cultural life of their choice, but no one exercising these rights may do so in a manner inconsistent with any provision of the Bill of Rights (section 30).

These are the glorious words of our country's Constitution to which we have to adhere in order to live in harmony with one another. But the reality points us in a different direction.

On 17~18 January 2012, the Portfolio Committee on Arts and Culture held public hearings on the government's proposed SA Languages Bill, which revealed that most participants agreed that the Bill as it stood was inadequate.

On 25 January 2012, the Department of Arts and Culture was appearing before the same committee to respond to the more than 30 submissions it received on the Bill. As much as we appreciate the changes made by the Department, we are however concerned that the changes are very minimal and are not addressing the concerns raised by most stakeholders during the public hearings.

1) TWO OFFICIAL LANGUAGES

Our point of departure was that the Bill is unlikely to give effect to the government's constitutional obligation. Government is expected to "take practical and positive measures to elevate

the status and advance the use of [indigenous languages]” and to ensure that all 11 official languages “enjoy parity of esteem and ... [are] treated equitably”.

We agree that the Bill should comply with the provisions of section 6 of the Constitution and identify at least two official languages that any national department, national public entity or national public enterprise will use for purposes of government. However, we feel that the Bill should also compel departments to implement a language policy that includes a progressive plan to deliver services to the public in at least one indigenous language additionally.

2) PERIOD TO ADOPT LANGUAGE POLICY

The department is of the view that every national department, national public entity and national public enterprise must adopt a language policy within 18 months. We are of the view that this is too long, taking into consideration that the current committee has only 24 months left in office. It is our view that the committee should see this process to fruition before its term comes to an end.

3) MUNICIPALITIES

It is our view that:

- Municipalities in South Africa are obliged in terms of subsection 6(3) (b) of the Constitution to adopt language policies.
- Municipalities should be granted 12 months to comply with this constitutional requirement.
- Any municipality must use a specific official language if 20 per cent of the community it serves uses that language. This implies acceptance of the regional realities of language usage.

4) INSTITUTION OF LANGUAGE OMBUDSMAN, LANGUAGE TRIBUNAL AND REMEDIES

Most importantly, the Bill lacks the necessary mechanism to deal with language rights violators and fails to offer remedies to the victims of such violations. Our view is based on best international practice in many countries with an equitable language dispensation. A National Language Act is regarded as one of the core legislative mechanisms to regulate the use of the official languages. Such a Language Act often comprises the pre-eminent legal mechanism aimed at bringing about a form of official language equity.

The current system of using the courts to enforce decisions of PanSALB is ineffective as it is

inaccessible to ordinary people and very costly. This can be addressed through the establishment of a language ombudsman and language tribunal.

An aggrieved person might then seek to enforce any right in terms of the Language Act by referring the matter to the language ombudsman, and from there to the language tribunal.

The language ombudsman and the tribunal's seat should be at the offices of PanSALB. A judge of the High Court, or a judge or judges specifically appointed by the Judicial Services Commission, will be designated as presiding officer/s of the language tribunal to adjudicate any dispute referred to it.

A judge of the language tribunal will have concurrent jurisdiction to that of the High Court and the applicable rules/regulations of the Equality Court will after the necessary adjustment be applicable in the language tribunal, pending the publication by the minister of regulations regulating the language tribunal.

5) Remedies

Any person acting on his or her own behalf, or any person, body of persons or institution acting on behalf of its members or members of a language group or any organ of state may thus apply to a language tribunal for an appropriate remedy.

An application may be made concerning any alleged violation or threatened violation of a language right, language policy or language practice resulting from:

- the non-compliance with the obligations contained in a Language Act or National Language Policy Framework
- the non-compliance with a recommendation, finding or decision of PanSALB.

A language tribunal may grant such remedy as it considers appropriate and just in the circumstances, including:

- an interim order
- a declaratory order
- an interlocutory order or interdict
- an order for the payment of any damages
- an order for the implementation of special measures to address the situation complained of
- an order requiring the respondent to undergo an audit of language policies and practices
- an order to comply with any provision of the Act or a finding, recommendation or decision of PanSALB
- an appropriate order of costs against any party to the proceedings.

In proceedings relating to a complaint against an organ or institution, a language tribunal may admit as evidence any information relating to any similar complaint to PanSALB in respect of the same organ or institution.

Where the language tribunal is of the opinion that an application has raised an important new principle, the language tribunal may order that costs be awarded to the applicant even if the applicant has not been successful in the result.

It is our view that this Act should take precedence over any inconsistent provision of any other Act except the Constitution on the use of official languages by national government, unless the PanSALB Act is accepted as primary. If so, we recommend that the PanSALB Act be reviewed to cater for the establishment of a better mechanism to deal with language rights violators, as it fails to offer remedies to the victims of such violations. This can be addressed through the establishment of a language ombudsman and language tribunal.

PanSALB was given a platform to present its views in Parliament during the Public Hearing and we are pleased that some of our concerns were included in the revised Bill. The Bill is now amended as 'Use of official languages Bill, 2011' which in our view talks directly to its purpose. Another breakthrough is Clause 4 which allows government Departments to identify at least three official language for government purposes as opposed to two which we felt it compromises indigenous languages as contemplated in subsection (2)9b).

6. Managing language diversity and policy at national, provincial and local levels

The major challenge facing language diversity in South Africa is the creation of opportunity for previously marginalised languages to attain official status. This interpreted by an ordinary person, that any person may speak in his/her language in any given time. The parity of esteem principle should prevail in the work place, at home, church and community events. The dignity of each of the official languages should be respected and should be used equitably. The harsh reality in the ideals of the language policy is when two or more people from various language groups come into contact and they are confronted by making a language choice. Government officials and service providers who speak a different language from the targeted audience are faced with a challenge of choosing a common language that is accessible to both parties. In some cases there is a communication breakdown if those communities are not literate and cannot speak English in a

situation where English is the only option. At work place, Human Resources must be transformed for effective diversity management in work place. Cultural values, attitudes, religious and social factors contribute negatively in people management in the work environment if not well managed. The legacy of Eurocentric way of thinking affects the Africanist world view in decision making. Proper human resources approaches must be developed to have a buy-in of all diverse cultures and contrasting worldviews.

7. Conclusion

While we are mindful of the challenges facing indigenous languages in South Africa, we at PanSALB are confident of our carefully considered five-year turnaround strategy of promoting indigenous languages to the best of our ability to fulfill our core mandate. With all hurdles and hiccups faced by the organisation we are still determined that we will succeed if we are given the opportunity.

Our youth must be encouraged to embrace their mother tongues and also to be multilingual. It does not help that many white people refuse to learn to speak the indigenous languages and that there are organisations that campaign for the exclusive use of Afrikaans.

In the light of the above one argues that the language Act once it is passed by parliament must make provisions for effective implementation at all levels of the society taking into consideration people's needs. The process may still take us another twenty years from now, I believe that once we commit ourselves jointly we will rise above all challenges facing the language landscape in South Africa. The European Union has adopted less than three official languages; most countries in the African Continent have opted for one while South Africa has eleven languages. If we all invest in improving the quality of interaction across diverse languages and cultures we will achieve a better South Africa where we shall all be proud of languages and benefit through our diversity. Together we can achieve more.



Safeguarding Language Diversity in Indonesia

Sugiyono

(The Agency for Language Development and Cultivation, Indonesia)

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1. Introduction

Extinction of the language as a cultural heritage is an undeniably must be faced. In globalization world, the problem is how to slow down the extinction of the language. There are informed about 100 languages from around 6,500's will be disappeared every year. Approximately 100 languages are spoken in California and more than 200 Aboriginal languages in Australia have been extinct. Nettle and Romaine (2000) estimated that about half of the world's languages will disappear in the next century. Simon Robinson, Executive Director of the First People's Cultural Foundation (2005), in fact, estimates that about 90% of the world's languages will be extinct by the end of this 21st century.

Language considered threatened if the language does not develop and the speakers tend to shrink away and disappear. A language becomes extinct because of the bilingualism, i.e. when another language – mostly second language – is adopted and used for various purposes which usually the first language domain. In a bilingual situation, language shift is the neglect of the ancestral language – which is known and spoken first – for a new language (*non-ancestral*). Mastering a new language expands across the boundaries of generations and dialectal boundaries so may be said that the old language becomes a minority (see Dorian, 1994:135).

Which can be categorized as a threat to the extinction of a language is language death, either immediately extinction (*sudden death*), the radical extinction (*radical death*), and the extinction of the *bottom-to-top death*. This language extinction will occur in the unstable bilingualism as a regressive switch of the minority language to the majority language (McMahon, 1994:234).

Indonesian government take a full responsibility on maintain and safeguarding language –

include literature – diversity in Indonesia. To manage diversity of languages, the government basically accomplishes the responsibility in at least three ways, i.e. providing the institution which is imply providing annual budgets as well, covering the use of language in national education system, and strengthening linguistics regulation. The Indonesian government established the Agency for Language Development and Cultivation (ALDC) which has branches in almost every province. In national education system, the government allows the use of local languages as medium of interaction in the classroom, although limited in the early stage of learning-teaching process. In the strengthening of regulation, the Indonesian government has also published Act 24 of 2009 which, in principle, governing how to use, how to develop, how to cultivate, and how preserve the language and literature diversity in Indonesia.

2. Linguistic Fact: Number and Vitality

Geographically, Indonesia is an archipelago country consisting of 13,466 islands, with a land area of about 1.91 million km², with the sea area of approximately 6,279 million km² and is bordered by at least 10 other countries.¹⁾ Indonesia was inhabited by more than 1,128 tribes²⁾ which is according Ethnologue (2012) about 726 languages spoken in the country.³⁾ Another fact is that one of the many languages in Indonesia – it was Bahasa Indonesia – became one of the world's most widely used language following Mandarin, English, Hindi, Spanish, Russian, Bengali, Arabic, and Portuguese.⁴⁾ Even the Indonesian language is also more widely spoken than French.

Since 1990's, ALDC is running the mapping project covered approximately 75% of all Indonesian territory. The rest object spread at eastern part of Indonesia, *i.e.* Maluku and Papua. Different than another language maps – Wurm (1981) and Ethnologue (2000) – Indonesian mapping project collect data directly, rather than simply mapping based on the study of other researchers. Instrument to take data in each observation area covers Swadesh word list, culture vocabulary, plus hundreds of phrases and sentences. Data were also saved in audio format of all questions in questionnaire as well as recording a corpus of oral folklore.

1) <http://www.bakosurtanal.go.id/bakosurtanal/rapat-koordinasi-penyusunan-rencana-aksi-nasional-informasi-geospasial/> (May 24, 2012)

2) <http://www.jpnn.com/index.php?mib=berita.detail&id=57455> (May 24, 2012)

3) http://www.ethnologue.com/show_country.asp?name=id (May 24, 2012)

4) http://nagapasha.blogspot.com/2011/12/10_bahasa_yang_paling_banyak_digunakan.html (May 24, 2012)

On 2008, from whole research areas have been identified and mapped not less than 442 languages, not include Indonesian. The map the distribution of languages can be seen in Figure 1.



Figure 1. Map of Languages in the Republic of Indonesia

The research will be conducted to map the distribution of languages in the rest region of Maluku and Papua. Until 2011, the project already mapped of approximately 85% and has identified another 133 languages so the total of 575 languages identified. Visual map of the distribution of languages will be updated later in 2013.

Predictable mapping languages in Indonesia will be completed no later in 2015. Followed the mapping project is historical-comparative study to see the kinship of each language in Indonesia and to reconstruct proto languages.

Languages of Indonesia have a various range of speaker number. There are found three languages spoken of tens of millions of people. It is Javanese language which is spoken by 84.3 million people, Sundanese spoken by 34 million people, and Madurese which is spoken by 13.6 million people. Based on Ethnologue current inventory, the number of speakers of languages in Indonesia can be described as follows.

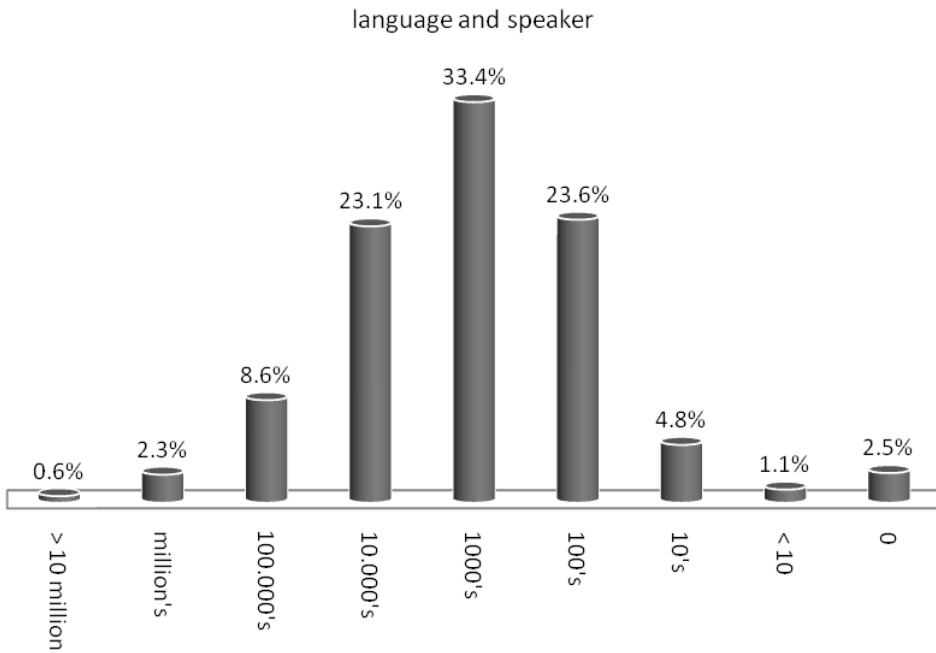


Figure 2. Number of languages by speaker number

According to UNESCO as stated in the *Atlas of the World's Language in Danger of Disappearing*, Indonesia has more than 640 vernacular (local language) is more than 400 Malayo-Polynesian languages and 240 languages are languages of Papua (2001:40). Of this amount, there were approximately 154 languages to be revitalized, covered 139 endangered languages and 15 languages extinct.

Table 1: Number of endangered and disappeared languages

| Location | Endangered | Extinct |
|--------------------------------|------------|---------|
| Java | 0 | 0 |
| Borneo | 1 | 0 |
| Moluccas | 22 | 11 |
| Papua and Halmahera Island | 67 | 1 |
| Sulawesi | 36 | 1 |
| Sumatra | 2 | 1 |
| Timor-Flores and Bima, Sumbawa | 11 | 0 |
| Total | 139 | 15 |

Mostly endangered and extinct languages found in Maluku, Papua, the islands of Halmahera, and Sulawesi. If the geographic boundaries maintain the vitality of language, languages in that area must be secure because of least contact with other languages for those areas separated by natural boundaries such as oceans, forests, and mountains. It was predicted that the amount of language extinction rates in the region most likely due to natural disasters or wars between tribes.

Decrease in the number of local languages speakers in Indonesia is generally a result of urbanization and inter-ethnic marriage. Both are the reason why the speakers of the local language to move to use national language, the Indonesian. As a result, the number of Indonesian speaker growth by time, even those who speak Indonesian as first language as well. But, the number of people who speak the mother language, however, larger than those who use the language in daily conversation.

In 1990 census of the population of Indonesia, we found the fact that there are no less than 14.8% of 174,303,277 Indonesian peoples speak Indonesian as mother tongue. But, it is also the fact that the number of people who use the Indonesian in daily communication more than that, i.e. 18.7% or 32,607,330 peoples. It was mean that almost about 6,832,185 people who speak local language as mother tongue no longer use the language in everyday conversation. Increasing mortality rate, the decline in the number of speakers of local languages will also be accelerated by the interethnic marriage and also inter-ethnic contacts in urban communities.

Increasing the number people who speak the Indonesian language as mother tongue or who speak Indonesian as a second language are inseparable from the strategic position of Indonesian language for the nation, both politically and economically. Indonesian language was defined as the Indonesian national language in 1928, was declared as the authorized language of the country in 1945 along with the independence of the Republic of Indonesia. The strategic position of Indonesian caused also rapid growth of Indonesian language since as national and official language, Indonesian language was developed by perfect language planning and policy so keep up the vocabulary in line with development of science and technology, the grammar standardized, as well as the growing number of speakers, both domestically and abroad.

The diversity of languages in Indonesia is also reflected in the diversity of orthographic system, although not all languages have the system. Writing tradition in Indonesia has begun since many centuries ago. Local writing systems in Indonesia derived from Pallava and Arabic writing systems. It is rumored that writing systems were originated from Pallava that have existed in Indonesia since 400s and then approximately one thousand years later Arabic writing system came to Indonesia. Until the 19th century, at least eleven local writing systems were known to be used and to develop

in Indonesia. The eleven writing systems are those of Javanese, Sundanese, Balinese, Bugis, Karonese, Mandailing, Lampungnese, Rejang, Toba, and Kerinci. Some of them, that are Javanese and Balinese ones, are still used well, but most of those are no longer used. Consequently, not only has the number of people who are writing in the systems decreased, but the number of people who are reading or understanding the written texts has also become smaller.

Historically, alphabets of writing systems that developed in South Asian and South East Asian areas originated from Brahmi alphabet. Either directly or indirectly, at least 200 kinds of writing systems were developed or influenced by Brahmi alphabet. And even more than that, nearly all of the writing systems that are developing in India nowadays derive from Brahmi writing system. In South East Asian countries (Burma, Thailand, Cambodia, Laos, Vietnam, Indonesia, and Phillippine), the influence of Indian that came through Hindu-Buddha religion, brought Sanskrit with some kinds of Indian writing system that was adapted by many languages in Sout East Asian. Sanskrit writing system was adapted into Pali alphabet in Burma, Thailand, Laos, and Cambodia and Kavi alphabet in Malay archipelago including Indonesia. Kavi alphabet was mainly used in ancient Javanese literature, but inscription in Ligor, Thailand shows that this alphabet was also used outside Java island.

About the fourth century to the seventh century, some remained inscriptions in Vietnam, Kutai Kartanegara East Borneo, Kedah, Burma, Thailand, and West Java showed the spread of Grantha alphabet of South India to various places in South East Asian. The oldest inscription was written on copper porcelain plate of Pallava kings that was presumably made in the fifth and the sixth century.

It is rumored that this alphabet was used by Brahman Dravidian class to write holly books in Sanskrit in South India. The influence of Grantha alphabet that came to South East Asian is the type of alphabet used during Pallava kings period in the fourth century. Therefore, the term Pallava alphabet became popular in South East Asian, particularly in Indonesia. The experts regarded this Pallava alphabet as the center of writing systems that developed in Indonesian local writing systems.

When Islamic civilization came to Nusantara around 600-800, Arabic alphabet influenced writing system in the area. Arabic alphabet was adapted with many adaptations from Malay language to Java alphabet. This alphabet covered 29 Arabic alphabet with 6 additional letters in Malay phonological system. This system even developed well – in that time – in the area which is already have writing system derived from Palava or Bhrami. In Java which is already has Java scrift derived from Kavi, for example, this Arabic Malay alphabet used in certain domain and was known as pegon.

The eleven writing systems that have developed in Indonesia become the authentic evidence that literacy tradition in Indonesia has begun since many centuries ago. The creation of new writing systems adapted from Pallava, Kavi, or Arabic alphabet became the evidence that the foundry of information in writing system was regarded important in the civilization at that time. The eleven local writing systems in Indonesia formed substantial awareness with a very high cultural value.

The arrival of more universal Latin alphabet slowly fades away local writing systems. Some provinces carry out the revitalization of their local writing systems use, but most of them cry for the lost vitality of their local writing systems. As the result, slowly complexity values and the advancement of Indonesian symbolic way of thinking will fade away along with the lost local writing systems used by native speakers. Though it is not to revitalize the local writing systems, the adoption of local writing systems into Memory of the World documentation will remind us and the world that in Indonesia there have ever been many writing systems that describe complexity and advancement of Indonesian way of thinking.

3. Linguistics Institution

In the occupation of Japan has established Indonesian Commission (1942). In the period after independence, the founding ITCO (*Instituut voor Taal en Cultuur Onderzoek*) in 1947 is worth noting as an important event in the history of the Indonesian language. ITCO is an institution that was formed to accommodate the scientific activities of language and culture. These institutions was led by GJ Geld who later became director. As well as Geld, experts such as C. Hooykaas, WJS Poerwadarminta, A. Teeuw, PAE Van Wouden, Roolvink, and several other Dutch scholars are the great names of his services in ITCO. On the next periods, noteworthy institutional events changes such as the following.

- 1) In 1948, *Balai Bahasa* (hall of Languages) was established in Yogyakarta based on a decision of the Minister of Education, Teaching and Culture No. 1532/A dated February 28, 1948.
- 2) In 1952, *Balai Bahasa* changed to *Lembaga Bahasa dan Budaya* (Language and Culture Institute) to be a part of the Faculty of Letters, University of Indonesia. This changed was based on the Decree of the Minister of Education and Culture dated August 1, 1952. The institute has three branches, namely Yogyakarta Branch, Singaraja Branch, and Makassar Branch.
- 3) In 1959, the *Lembaga Bahasa dan Budaya* transformed to be *Lembaga Bahasa dan Kesusastraan* (Institute of Language and Literature) based on the Decree of the Minister of

Education and Culture No. 69626/B/S dated June 1, 1959 with the number and position of the branch remains. This institution is no longer to be a part of Faculty of Letters, University of Indonesia, but is directly under management of the Ministry of Education and Culture.

- 4) In 1966, based on Presidential Decree. 75/V/Kep/II/1966, the managerial of *Lembaga Bahasa dan Kesusastraan* is transformed to be *Direktorat Bahasa dan Kesusastraan* (Directorate of Language and Literature) under the Directorate General of Culture.
- 5) In 1969, the *Direktorat Bahasa dan Kesusastraan* is converted into the *Lembaga Bahasa Nasional* (National Language Institute based on a Decree of Minister of Education and Culture No. 034/1969 dated May 27, 1969.
- 6) In 1975, the *Lembaga Bahasa Nasional* was changed to *Pusat Pembinaan dan Pengembangan Bahasa* (Center for Language Cultivation and Development) based on Presidential Decree No. 44 and 45 as well as Minister of Education and Culture No. 079/O/1975. Branches in the area later called *Balai Bahasa Yogyakarta, Balai Bahasa Denpasar and Balai Bahasa Ujungpandang*.
- 7) In 1999, fourteen branches of *Pusat Pembinaan dan Pengembangan Bahasa* was established by Decree of the Ministry of Education and Culture No. 226/O/1999 dated 23 September 1999 and no. 227/O/1999 dated 23 September 1999. The fourteenth located in Banda Aceh, Medan, Pekanbaru, Padang, Palembang, Bandung, Semarang, Surabaya, Banjarmasin, Jayapura, Pontianak, Language Palangkaraya, Manado, and Palu.
- 8) In 2000, the name of *Pusat Pembinaan dan Pengembangan Bahasa* transformed into Pusat Bahasa (Language Center) which is under the Secretariat General of the Ministry of National Education.
- 9) In 2008, another eight branches was founded in provincial capital, namely Bengkulu, Bangka Belitung, Kepulauan Riau, Banten, Nusa Tenggara Timur, Gorontalo, Ambon, and Ternate.

Act 24/2009 determines that the linguistic and literary issues in Indonesia are handled by the agency responsible to the Minister of Education and Culture. Therefore, since the year 2011, the *Pusat Bahasa* modified and strengthened its authority to *Badan Pengembangan dan Pembinaan Bahasa* (Agency for Language Development and Cultivation), which is a language institute that is one level under the Ministry of Education and Culture. The main task was to oversee the use of language, develop, cultivate, and protect the language and literature in Indonesia. Included in the scope of that task is the facilitation for the people of Indonesia to master in foreign languages and the mastery of the Indonesian language for foreigners through BIPA (Indonesian for Foreign Speakers).

The agency language is in the state capital (Jakarta). In addressing the issue of language and literary, the Agency is assisted by all 30 branches which are spread all over Indonesia as shown in the following map.



Figure 3. Distribution of Branches

The presence of specialized agencies that deal with the problem of language in Indonesia is proof of the attention of the government of the Republic of Indonesia on handling the issue of language diversity in Indonesia by an integrated and well planned. It is undeniable that at this period of emerging language centers in various universities, both oriented to the assessment of language proficiency as well as research. Similarly, the emergence of regional language centers by local government which is also supports the implementation of the agency branches task in the region.

4. Language in Education

Although nationally, the Indonesian language is the primary language of instruction in national education system, use of local languages as media of interaction are also reserved. Since 1950, education in Indonesia does not proscribe the use of local languages as the medium of interaction in the classroom. Both the Act 20/2003 on National Education System – including the 1950 jo Act 4 of 1954 Act 12 and Act 2 of 1989 which will be based of Act 20/2003 – and the Act 24/2009 open the opportunity the using of local languages in the class room. Local language may be used in the early stages of education to transmit certain knowledge and skills. In addition to Indonesian and local languages, even a foreign language can also be used as the medium to support the acquisition of foreign language proficiency of learners.

The use of local languages as the language of instruction in the classroom is the real proof that Indonesia has since 1950 been implementing the principles articulated by the UNESCO EFA in 1990s. Using local languages is an effort to reach out to students who have not been able to follow lessons presented in the Indonesian. In other hand, it was also a proof that Indonesia has also implemented MLE (multilingual education) program which is an educational program utilizing first language as the medium of the initial rated for then one day – usually in class III or IV – switching to a national language. The new MLE program itself was introduced by UNESCO in the 2000s.

The use of foreign languages—mostly English—as medium of class instruction allowed even since the Act 4/1950. If at that time, foreign language was used to convey knowledge and specific skills, Act 20/2003 Article 33 and Act 24/2009 Article 29 allows the using foreign languages as the medium to support the foreign language proficiency of learners. Therefore, a foreign language may be used in the present subjects of foreign language itself. Even as evidence to show the result of foreign language teaching, learners are allowed to write final papers (thesis, theses, and dissertations) in a foreign language as well.

The phrase “to support the foreign language proficiency of students” then is interpreted broadly in the (R)SBI – school with international standard. (R)SBI can deliver the course in English or other foreign languages for certain subjects from the fourth grade. However, Indonesian language, religious, citizenship, history, and local content have to use the Indonesian language. Therefore, as the demands of learning a foreign language, educators must have the ability to teach in English are indicated by a TOEFL score of ≥ 7.5 or equivalent, and in fact, the principal must able to speak English or other foreign languages as well. In that way, the (R)SBI is expected to build a culture that leads to an increase of capacity in English and/or other foreign languages, as well as in information technology and communications, as well as cross-cultural nation.

Students in the (R)SBI may indeed not require the local language or mother tongue in the learning process because they are guaranteed to be able to speak Indonesian at least, even proficient in foreign languages. Unfortunately, in many cases, foreign language proficiency of learners and educators in the (R)SBI is still an assumption. MLE and EFA principles and the achievement would be violated if the foreign language skills of learners and educators are not better than their proficiency to speak Indonesian. Rather than rising capability students who have high competitiveness in the international school graduates, (R)SBI the achievement which should be optimized with using the most understood language by students and teachers.

Teaching and learning activity in all fields of study classes are conducted by using Indonesian

language as language of instruction, except for certain purposes such as for foreign language learning purposes. In the teaching-learning process that all teachers should provide exemplary to students in the use of Indonesian language, both in guiding student learning in the classroom and in examining their students' learning outcomes. In addition, all teachers in the teaching-learning process should focus on using Indonesian, both in the use of spoken and written language in writing tasks. The teachers are requested also to inspect the grammar correctness, in addition to examining the substance achievement. In other word, provision of assessment must take into account also the usage of the language. The teachers, especially no-language teachers, should give punishment to the students who do not use language in his writing correctly. As mentioned above, the use of language is good and right in the student papers will show the regularity of flow of thought or reasoning. Concern for the use of Indonesian by students will encourage students to be more careful in the use of Indonesian language. The creation of such a study would provide experience to students that the use of Indonesian in the classroom situation is different with the use of Indonesian in situations outside the classroom. That will bring the students generalized use of language was not everywhere, but depending on the situation, purpose, place, media, talk, or readers, and so forth.

5. Conservation and Revitalization

The Act 24/2009 mandated the three activities in the handling of language issues in Indonesia, it is the development, enhancement, and protection. The term development refer to an effort to modernize the corpus of the language through vocabulary enrichment, stabilization and standardization of the language system, and the development of language registers. However, in Act 24/2009 tasks the development of language covered also effort to increase linguistics status of the Indonesian language as an international language. Cultivation or enhancement of language is an effort to improve the quality of language use through language learning in all types and levels of education, training, upgrading, and the socialization of the language policy among the speaker and user. With language coaching, we are trying to boost discipline, exemplary, and a positive attitude toward the language community in Indonesia. Protection language is an effort to maintain, conserve, and preserve the language through documentation, research, development, coaching, and teaching, even to the protection of the copyright when needed.

Objects that are addressed in the development, cultivation, and conservation is a language (including literature), both the local language, national language, and foreign languages. In

implementation, the development, enhancement, and protection of Indonesian, and foreign languages to be a major task of the central government, whereas, the development, enhancement, and protection of local languages into the primary task of local government. In addition to the primary duties of each, both central and local governments are also obliged to give each other support in the implementation of development tasks, cultivation, and conservation of language.

Development, enhancement, and protection assigned to the Indonesian government (Article 41, Act 24/2009). The Government has an obligation to develop, cultivate, and protect the Indonesian language and literature in order to continue to meet the position and function in the life of society, nation and state, in time line with globalization prerequisite. Development, enhancement, and protection should be planed gradually, systematically, and sustained by the language institute.

Development, enhancement, and conservation will be the duty of local government (Article 42, Act 24/2009). In that case, local governments must develop, cultivate, and protect the language and literature in order to continue to meet its status and function in social life in accordance with the times and to remain part of Indonesia's culture. It means that development, cultivation, and protection of local language not allowed to separete or tend to detach the language from the common culture of Indonesia. As well as the efforts of the Indonesian language, development, cultivation, and protection should be run gradually, systematically, and sustained by local government agencies under the coordination of central government.

In terms of policy, the central government is given authority to set national linguistics policy in which will be used as guidelines for each institution in how to develop, nurture, and protect the language and literature. In principle, the development, enhancement, and protection of language and literature conducted in accordance with (1) the development of science, technology, and art, (2) the political, economic, and social; and (3) the nation's cultural diversity.

Since conditions in different vitality, the treatment of one language to another and may also vary. There are languages that can still be developed and fostered its use, there are languages that only need to be fostered, there are also a lot of languages which is can be protected only. Under the circumstances, the language protections also vary, ranging from revitalization to documentation. Development and training is still conducted on the language used by speakers of the youngest generation to the older generation in almost all domain of language use. The language is still high vitality will remain alive if the corpus developed and its use fostered as well. For those languages, development and coaching include protection efforts.

To the language with low vitality, the protection conducted to the point revitalization if the language is still used by speakers of some of the younger generation in the language in almost all

domains, or by all young people in the domain of family and religion and cultural activities only. By this stage of protections, the endangered language is intended to regain its vitality because of its use back into a wider sphere. In contrast, for languages that are not used anymore by almost all speakers – include the youngest generation – the protection performed until the documentation stage.

It was also mandated by the Act 24/2009 the use of Indonesian in various domains to obtain economic value so the Indonesian people's or everyone who doing business in Indonesia will give positive attitude. In high-level politics, the President, Vice President, and other state officials are required to speak the Indonesian language in official meetings both within and outside the country. In that way, it is expected Indonesian then also have a place in a variety of official state domains worldwide. It is also a fact that provides good news that the Indonesian delegation in parliamentary forum in Asia Pacific in 2011, has used in the forum's nations. Previous years, the use of Indonesian in the forum it has been approved by parliament and Hidayat Nur Wahid – one of Indonesian senior politician – proudly share a speech in Indonesian to all participant in the forum.

Behind mandate the use of the language set out in Act 24/2009, the use of local language is positioned as an important second language in this country. Although the impact of economic greater than other Indonesian languages, foreign languages only positioned in third place. In writing and scientific publications, for example, the Indonesian language is mandatory to use, but for the writing and publication of a special-purpose scientific or scholarly writing and publication of a special field of study may use the local language or foreign language (Article 36/UU 24/2009). The information about goods and services are distributed in Indonesia, for example, the Indonesian language must be used but can also be equipped with translation in local languages and foreign languages (Article 37, Act 24/2009). In all settings the use of language in the Act, the Indonesian language is the one which shall be used, the local language as the main supporter before a foreign language. That is, the use of regional languages must take precedence over the use of foreign languages.

6. Conclusion

In education, the use of local languages as the medium of interaction in the class was allowed to support the functions of the Indonesian language as main language of instruction in the national education system of Indonesia. This policy was stated in the national regulation even from five years after Indonesia's independence. The use of local languages as their mother tongue – as in the EFA program – even is seen as an effective media interaction to educate the nation. It is meat also

that development, cultivation, and protection of local languages have a strong guarantee in government policy. In the politics of language, the handling of the local languages has been given a very adequate legal basis by both the central and local governments in the form of national regulations, ministerial regulations, and local regulations.

Thus, in fact, use of local languages has been shaded by a very strong legal protection as strong as the legal base for the development, enhancement, and protection to maintain diversity in the country. The challenge is how the government, both central and local governments can realize the use, development, enhancement, and protection language of the area adequately. For all reason, to have the support, ALDC asked cooperation to all institution on conducting research and protection to the diversity. Safeguarding language diversity in Indonesia, however, is a big challenge for all linguist and culture scholar in general.

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Preservation Policies for the Korean Language

– History and Problems –

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Korea has developed its own unique culture, while admitting influences from the surrounding countries throughout its history. There is no doubt that the key factor in Korean culture is its language. Although the Korean language is clearly differentiated from Chinese and Japanese in terms of its origin, it is indisputable that foreign languages have had a strong influence, including the influx of loanwords. This paper is intended to clarify how the Korean language has been affected by surrounding countries through cultural exchange and how Korean people have preserved and cultivated their vernacular language.

1. The Korean Language until Present Day

No one can deny that the most important incident in the history of the Korean language is the invention of Hunminjeongeum, the Korean alphabet (henceforth referred to as *Hangeul*). Sejong, the fourth King of the Joseon Dynasty, invented characters that everyone could easily learn and use, as he was concerned about the absence of characters that all Korean people could use in their daily lives: commoners in the Joseon Dynasty could not read or write before the creation of *Hangeul*.

Before the invention of *Hangeul*, there were two ways that Korean people could leave records. One way was using Chinese characters, which was limited to privileged elites who had received a Chinese classics education. The other way was using *idu*, which also utilized Chinese characters. In this linguistic situation, King Sejong felt pity for his people, as most of them could not express their thoughts in written form. He thought the biggest problem was the inconsistency between

spoken and written language, as they used the Korean language for speaking but Chinese characters when they wrote. Therefore, for the sake of easier communication, he invented characters that would fit the Korean language.

King Sejong's creation of Hangeul reflected the spirit of pursuing self-reliance and democracy. Joseon was under the strong influence of China at that time, and they had to follow orders from them. Although officials with toadyish minds opposed Sejong's idea to invent a vernacular writing system, King Sejong, whose heart was full of affection for his people, completed his project in 1443. He proclaimed the new writing system in 1446 after a three-year trial.

The first book published in Hangeul was *Yongbieocheonga*, which praised the achievement of the King Sejong's ancestors. After that, King Sejong let his son Suyangdaegun compile *Seokbosangeol* and *Worincheongangjigok*. Meanwhile, King Sejong published *Donggukjeongun*, which described the correct transcription of Chinese pronunciations.

Hangeul is the most distinctive writing system in the history of the world. Whereas most characters in other languages have gradually developed over time, hangeul emerged suddenly in a particular time period. Furthermore, it is the only writing system in the world that imitates the shape of the vocal organs.

Although it was a scientific and distinctive writing system, Hangeul did not immediately replace the status of Chinese characters in the Joseon Dynasty. However, the use of Hangeul spread gradually among commoners, and it played a critical role in maintaining and advancing Korea's unique culture. Nobody can be sure, but we can imagine that without Hangeul, it would have been much harder for Koreans to maintain and develop their own unique culture under the strong influence of China.

These easy-to-read-and-write characters must have contributed to the enthusiasm for education and the growth of highly educated intellectuals among all sectors worldwide. Furthermore, the invention of Hangeul is believed to have played a critical role in the preservation and promotion of the Korean language. In the fifteenth century, book publishing using Hangeul was widely carried out. A large number of translations of Buddhist sutras, Confucian scripts, and other literary books, including *Dusieonhae*, were published. Additionally, books on how to deal with famine were published in Hangeul.

Hangeul has not always had a smooth road. Yeonsangun, the tenth king of the Joseon Dynasty, prohibited the use of Hangeul in 1504, the tenth year of his inauguration, after he found out that some of his subjects had condemned his tyranny using Hangeul. However, it was a momentary incident, and he couldn't fundamentally prohibit the use of Hangeul. In the end, Yeonsangun

himself withdrew his order and ended up being dethroned in two years' time.

Choe Sejin, who was a sixteenth century scholar from the middle class, published *Hunmongjahoe*, a book for learning Chinese characters that used Hangeul. This book was widely used and disseminated the use of Hangeul among the learners.

Joseon was a diglossic community that used both Chinese characters and the vernacular writing system Hangeul; the former was used by the ruling classes and the latter by commoners in the form of diaries, letters, and literature. This division was only a matter of written language; the status of the Korean language was firm and strong when it came to spoken language. Although Park Jega, a radical scholar of the Realist School of Confucianism, insisted upon adopting Chinese language as the national language, it was merely his personal opinion.

In the late nineteenth century, the distinction between spoken and written language started to change, and this required a change in the linguistic situation. Traditionally, the ruling class used Chinese characters when they wrote, while the functionaries used *idu*, and only vulgar people used Hangeul. All of them, however, used the vernacular language when they spoke. This complex linguistic situation couldn't last beyond the late nineteenth century.

One of the factors that brought about this change was the publication of the Bible in Hangeul, which reflected more spoken language. Another factor was the publication of newspapers. The first Korean newspaper, *Hanseongsunbo* (1883), used Classical Chinese, but its successor, the *Hanseongjubo* (1886), partly used Hangeul. Later, *Dongnipsinmun* used Hangeul exclusively.

In the late nineteenth century, Joseon was the arena of the struggle among world powers. Despite the fact that the Joseon Dynasty had pursued a closed-door policy for a long time, there was no other option but to open its ports to Western powers. After opening its ports, Joseon introduced modern systems such as the Western school system and newspaper publication. It was after the Gabo Reform of 1894 that language policies were initiated.

In article 14 of the 1894 edict No. 1, known as *Gongmunsik*, King Gojong declared that laws and edicts should be written in Hangeul, although adding a translated version in Classical Chinese or mixing Hangeul and Chinese characters would be allowed. This was upheld even after *Gongmunsik* was modified the following year.

Furthermore, King Gojong reformed the legal officer training center through edict No. 49, and so for the first time in Korean history, the Korean language would be added as one of the subject matters on the exam; the new entrance exam consisted of the Classical Chinese composition, Korean language composition in Hangeul, the history of Joseon, and geography. In 1896, he also restructured the elementary school curriculum, which would now consist of *oryunhaengsil* (the Five

Confucian Virtues), *sohak* (elementary learning), Korean history and geography, Korean language and Hangeul, and mathematics, as well as foreign history and geography.

Although the government enacted policies to promote the use of Hangeul, such as writing laws and publishing textbooks in Hangeul, refining the Korean language was urgently needed. Therefore, in 1907, the National Language Research Institute (*gungmunyeonguso*) was established per the request of Prime Minister Lee Wanyong and Minister of Education Lee Jaegon. It was the first national language research institute to be established by the government. This institute submitted *Gungmunyeonguuijeongan* to the Minister of Education over 23 meetings between 1907 and 1909; it was a document regarding research on the Korean language and included whether or not to use a few confusing characters, such as ‘·’. Unfortunately, this document couldn’t be published. And then Joseon lost its sovereignty to the Japanese Empire.

After Japan’s annexation of Joseon in 1910, the colonial government promulgated “*Eonmun* Orthography for Use in Primary Schools,” which was followed by a revision in 1921. After facing some unexpected problems with the second version, they presented the third and final version in 1930, which was adopted by textbooks.

The Korean language in colonial Joseon was called *Joseoneo*, meaning the language of Joseon, as it could no longer be called the “national language.” Ju Sigyeong, who had participated in the publication of *Dongnipsinmun* in the 1890’s, dedicated himself to the study of Joseoneo and produced pioneering research. He strived to solve the problems with Joseoneo, especially the absence of a systematic orthography. He tried to create an orthography that would reflect the historical changes of the language, since it had been around five hundred years since the invention of Hangeul in the fifteenth century. Moreover, he made an effort to foster younger students. His endeavors were not limited to orthography; they also extended to coining vernacular neologisms for the sake of strengthening the power of Joseoneo, which had long been suppressed by Classical Chinese. He died when he was still young, and thus his efforts to promote the Korean language were inherited by his successors.

In 1908, the Research Academy for the Korean Language (*gugeoyeonguhakhoi*) was founded primarily by Ju Sigyeong and Kim Jeongjin, and this academy changed its name several times afterward: to Baedalmal Geulmoeum in 1911, Hangeulmo in 1913, Joseoneoyeonguhoe in 1921, Joseoneohakhoe in 1931, and Hangeulhakhoe in 1949.

Although Joseon was under the colonial rule of Japan, civil efforts to preserve the vernacular language were very active. For example, the 29th day of the ninth month of the lunar year was designated as Gagyga Day in 1926 to commemorate the 480th anniversary of the creation of

Hangeul. It was renamed Hangeul Day after the first volume of the journal Hangeul was published.

Civil scholars' efforts to preserve the vernacular language were persistent and led to many important results: the promulgation of the "Proposition for the Unification of Hangeul Orthography" in 1933; the publication of "A Collection of Standard Language Vocabulary" in 1936; and the announcement of "Orthography for Loanwords" in 1940. In the meantime, a crusade against illiteracy was carried out with the V Narod Movement.

After the March 1st Movement in 1919, the colonial government changed their stance to a so-called "cultural policy," which allowed for broader use of the Korean language in print media: two Korean-language newspapers, the *Dong-A Ilbo* and *Chosun Ilbo*, began publication in 1920, and many modern literary works were published in the Korean language. However, this situation began to change in the second half of the 1930s.

In 1937, Japan triggered war between China and Japan, and their policy on the annihilation of Joseon became extreme. One of the most representative changes was that they forced the Korean people to use the Japanese language in their daily lives. Additionally, all Korean people had to recite the Imperial Oath and Pledge of the Imperial Subjects in Japanese at every event. These actions by the colonial government sought to make Joseon people believe they were a part of a Japanese Empire and think of Joseon and Japan as one nation.

In 1938, the Japanese empire announced the revision of the Ordinance on Joseon Education, which reorganized the school system from primary, secondary, and women's secondary schools to elementary, middle, high, and women's high schools. Additionally, at the elementary school level, Joseon was changed from a mandatory to an optional subject. Primary schools were renamed *gungminhakkyo* (school for subjects of the Japanese Empire) in 1941. Furthermore, Joseon was abolished in *gungminhakkyo*.

In 1940, the colonial government ordered *Dong-A Ilbo* and *Chosun Ilbo* to be abolished, and it was not until December 1945 that these newspapers resumed publishing. Accordingly, the Korean people had to live an era of darkness, without any newspapers written in the Korean language.

In October 1942 when Japan triggered the Pacific War, the Japanese Empire put thirty-three Korean linguists on trial, claiming they had violated the Maintenance of the Public Order Act. They prosecuted sixteen of them; two of them died in jail. This is referred to as the Joseon Language Institute incident (*joseoneohakhoe sageon*).

When Japan was defeated in the Pacific War, Joseon regained its independence. However, the independent government could not be established right away; the United States, the victorious nation, established a military government south of the 38th parallel. This military government

issued an order called “Education for the Joseon People of the New Joseon” in September 1945, which ordered that school education be carried out in the Korean language. Hence, the Joseon Language Institute (*joseoneohakhoe*) compiled the textbook *First Step with Hangeul* (*Hangeul Cheotgeoreum*), which came to be widely distributed and used for educational purposes. The great success of this textbook was attributed to the high illiteracy rate all over Joseon, which was due to the absence of Korean language education during the colonial period. After regaining independence, the language policies were mainly led by Joseoneohakhoe; they pursued the exclusive use of Hangeul but also allowed the use of Chinese characters when necessary.

The movement to remove the remains of Japanese language was also carried out briskly. In 1947, the Ministry of Education established the National Language Purification Committee, which was in charge of reviewing basic vocabulary words that were used in everyday life. Moreover, they established the Committee for Enacting Technical Terms, which was in charge of reviewing professional terms. As a result, vernacular terms for 862 words were selected and published under the title of *Rediscovering our Language* (*Urimal Doro Chatki*).

The Ministry of Education’s efforts to remove illiteracy during the military government cannot be overlooked. The Ministry established public schools for eradicating illiteracy after March 1946. Statistics show that the illiteracy rate decreased rapidly from 77% in 1945 to 42% in 1946 (*Dong-A Ilbo* August 3rd, 1947).

After military government rule came to an end, the government of the Republic of Korea was established on August 15th, 1948. That same year on October 9th, they announced the sixth provision of the Law on the Exclusive Usage of Hangeul. This law indicated that official documents of the Republic of Korea should be written in Hangeul, but the use of Chinese characters in combination with Hangeul was also allowed for the time being. However, this law was not fully practiced due to the lack of both enforcement ordinance and penalties for violations. The Association for Promoting the Exclusive Use of Hangeul was founded in 1949 to encourage the enforcement of the law, but its activities did not last.

At first, Hangeul Day was included on the list of the national holidays when the Guidelines for Holidays of Government and Public Offices was announced in 1949. It was later excluded from the list when government policy reduced the number of national holidays. In 2005, Hangeul Day was designated as a national commemorative day, but not a national holiday. Several Hangeul organizations petitioned the government to designate Hangeul Day as a national holiday, and it was recently granted. Therefore, Hangeul Day will be back on the list of Korean national holidays.

In 1953, at the end of the Korean War, the Hangeul Simplification Dispute (*hangeulpadong*)

occurred. This upheaval was caused by the President Lee Seungman, who insisted that Hangeul orthography be simplified. After two years of controversies, the dispute ended after the president himself withdrew the plan.

After the May 16th Military Coup in 1961, the National Reconstruction Supreme Council attempted to amend the Law on the Exclusive Usage of Hangeul, but failed due to opposition. In 1962, the Ministry of Education launched the Special Council for the Exclusive Use of Hangeul and began the second stage in the movement to refind Hangeul. In addition, Korean textbooks started to adopt the use of both Hangeul and Chinese characters after 1965. The Research Committee for the Exclusive Use of Hangeul was later founded in 1968 by presidential decree, and the controversial mixed script was again turned back in favor of the exclusive use of Hangeul, a change that was in effect from 1971 to 1975.

The government played a leading role in the National Language Purification Movement during the 1970s. President Park Jeonghui ordered the purification of the national language at a cabinet meeting in 1976; accordingly, the National Language Purification Movement Association was founded in August. This association consisted of twenty-two high ranking government officers and scholars. In September, a Committee for the National Language Purification was also launched, which consisted of senior civilians. In addition, a Subcommittee for National Language Purification was newly organized in December 1976; they reviewed the terms requested by each government department. However, the National Language Purification Movement could not continue after the sudden death of President Park Jeonghui in 1979; all plans for revising the orthography system, language standardization, and loanword orthography were brought to a halt.

However, in the 1980's, the need for a national research center on the national language was raised, and as a result the Research Institute of the Korean Language was founded within the National Academy of Sciences in 1984. Through the efforts of the Center, national language policies were able to get more systematic support. The loanword orthography was updated in 1986, and Hangeul orthography as well as provisions for language standardization were updated for the first time in over fifty years. The government decided to enhance the position of the National Language Research Center, which had been merely a temporary institute. As a result, the Center was closed at the end of the 1990s, and the National Institute of the Korean Language was established instead in January 1991. The Institute published *The Comprehensive Standard Korean Dictionary* in 1999, its biggest project since its foundation. In the meantime, the Institute led the Sejong Plan, which was a ten-year plan beginning in 1999. In the 2000s, as the demand for learning Korean began to increase in other countries, they also made an effort to globalize the

Korean language.

In 1998, there were many who thought English should be made the official language of Korea, which resulted in social controversies. Two writers, Jeong Eulbyeong and Bok Geoil, asserted that English needed to become the official language of Korea. *Chosun Ilbo* made it into a social issue by gathering pros and cons. This controversy was related to the 1997 Asian Financial Crisis. This economic crisis made Korea undergo great adversity, but the government and Korean people all joined forces to overcome the crisis. Due to the growing recognition of globalization and the sense of dread at the status of English as the international language, some suggested that Korea should adopt English as an official language. But this controversy didn't last long. In reality, it was highly unlikely that English would be made into an official language, and so it just ended as a mere controversy. It is undeniable that some companies made their employees use English during meetings and some universities made professors give lectures in English. These cases illustrate the limited situations in which English has already been used as an official language. However, English is still far from being Korea's official language; it is certain that English is still a foreign language in Korea.

There have only been two decrees on the national language in Korea since the government was established: the Law on the Exclusive Usage of Hangeul and the Law on the Promotion of Culture and Art. However, efforts to legislate the Framework Act on the Korean Language emerged in the 2000s; it merges the two existing decrees and also includes new policies for the promotion and development of the Korean language. This law was passed by the National Assembly in late 2004, promulgated in January 2005, and enforced beginning in July 2005.

the Framework Act on the Korean Language defined of the national language and Hangeul. According to this law, each Ministry and the local government are responsible for appointing the National Language Director, who is in charge of the development of the national language. In addition, the Consulting Center for the National Language (later renamed the Cultural Center for the Korean Language) was established.

2. Tasks to Preserve and Promote the Korean Language

1) Policies on the Characters

There has been a long-standing controversy surrounding the question on the boundary of the Korean characters. Although Hangeul is clearly defined as the vernacular characters of the Korean language by the Framework Act on the Korean Language, many people continued to suggest that

Chinese characters also deserve to be included in the definition of Korean characters. They also have been arguing that the use and teaching of Chinese characters should be encouraged. Despite these controversies, the use of Chinese characters has continuously diminished and Hangeul has firmly settled as Korea's official writing system.

Whereas the ordinary use of Chinese characters is no longer a big issue, the teaching of Chinese characters still remains debatable. Even people who were against the use of Chinese characters partly agreed to teach Chinese characters, because they thought teaching Chinese characters would help students understand Sino-Korean words and thus would increase their vocabulary.

This raises other problems. There are considerable differences between the Chinese characters used in Korea, China, and Japan, and there is an even bigger gap when it comes to the level of vocabulary between Sino-Korean, Chinese, and Japanese words. Therefore, it would be quite problematic to decide which type of Chinese characters should be on street signs. On the one hand, it would be better to teach Korean-style Chinese characters so that middle and high school students can better understand Sino-Korean words. On the other hand, as far as street signs are concerned, it would be better to use Japanese- or Chinese-style Chinese characters for the convenience of foreigners. Many street signs have already adopted Japanese or Chinese characters.

In brief, these tiresome disputes on whether to use Hangeul exclusively or mixed with other script are believed to be finished. The general trend towards the exclusive use of Hangeul has been firmly established.

2) Reaction to English as a World Language

We believe that the controversy over using English as Korea's official language is over. Also, plans to use English as an official language in certain areas (e.g., Jeju Special Self-governing Province) were not implemented. However, there are still movements to use English instead of the Korean language, which emphasize the power and usability of English.

Some big companies are forcing their employees to use English in meetings, and the number of English lectures at universities is constantly increasing. When some universities recruit new professors, their criteria often becomes whether or not the applicants are able to give a lecture in English. The number of English-only kindergartens is also increasing. Although it is true that the use of English is expanding in various sectors, it is not threatening the status of the Korean language.

However, the importance of English has been increasingly stressed in schools, while the importance of the Korean language has been reduced. Almost all schools in Korea hire native English teachers. Although there are some growing concerns about Korean language education as

its importance grows weaker, it is unlikely that the situation will change.

Because language is a tool for communication, the ability to speak different languages is necessary in order to have more communication opportunities. However, it is excessive to force individuals to learn a foreign language; it is not right to make people who do not want to learn foreign language learn it under compulsion.

An emphasis on the importance of Korean language ability is also growing in response to the surging power of English. For example, a few kinds of Korean language tests are conducted, and some universities and companies are actually consulting these tests scores in their selection process, although it is still partial. Given the fact that it is the official language of Korea, the importance of the Korean language shouldn't be overlooked, as it is also the basis of all cultural, social, and economic activities in Korea. The significance of English as an international language cannot transcend the value of the Korean language as the means of everyday communication and the creation of culture.

3) Purifying the National Language

Purification of the Korean language is an old project. Historically, many vernacular words have been replaced by Sino-Korean words. Furthermore, in the twentieth century, Japanese words flooded into the Korean language, as did English words. Although the influence of the Japanese language was almost removed through the purification process, we are still using many English loanwords. It has been controversial whether to continue to use these English borrowings or to restrict their use, but the number of loanwords is ever increasing. The influx of new scientific technologies and new products encouraged the use of English words, and their spread has accelerated as a result of development in communication technologies.

On the one hand, some loanwords have their benefits, and it seems impossible to replace them with the existing vernacular words or Sino-Korean words. Those loanwords have positive aspects that help make Korean vocabulary more affluent. On the other hand, there are other loanwords that substituted existing words, even though the meaning could be sufficiently conveyed using the existing ones. We cannot deny that it is hard to clearly identify which loanword has a positive function and which has a negative function. Everyone is expected to have a different opinion on this when they are asked about it. This is what makes the purification process so difficult, and this will continue to be the case in the future. Future policies should focus on selectively including new loanwords into Korean vocabulary by suppressing the use of loanwords with a negative function.

4) Advancement of the National Language Dictionaries

It is indispensable to compile a high-quality dictionary to enhance the position of the national language and encourage people to use the language properly. Unfortunately, current Korean dictionaries are not adequate, as the history of dictionary compilation in Korea is not a very long one. Despite a history of nearly one hundred years, its quality is not good enough.

There are many entries in current dictionaries which are unidentified or not used in real life. Furthermore, it is even more problematic that there are many entries which are misidentified as Korean vocabulary. On the other hand, there are also many Korean words which are missing from dictionaries even though they are actively used in everyday life.

Information on headwords is also insufficient. Specifically, most dictionaries do not offer enough historical information on how the word has changed over the course of time. They also lack information on its frequency, which is crucial for understanding how a word is actually used.

Providing sufficient information in dictionaries is the number one priority in encouraging the proper use of a language. Only dictionaries contain all the essential information on every word. Therefore, it is necessary to create high-quality dictionaries for the preservation of the Korean language in the future. Fortunately, the National Institute of the Korean Language began to compile the *Open Dictionary for Korean Language* beginning in 2010, which has no limit in the number of entries. Moreover, the general public can participate in the compilation process. This dictionary will be available online in future.

5) Overcoming Irrational Rules in Language Policy

Irrational rules in language policy cause inconvenience. A word that is definitely widely used is referred to as a nonstandard word, while a word that is rarely used is referred to as a standard word. For instance, the word *nim* is broadly used, and its usage can be found in famous poems and popular songs. However, according to the current rules, *nim* is a nonstandard word; instead, *im* is a standard word. Additionally, the spelling of *sundaeguk* (a type of blood sausage soup) is widely used but is against the rules of Korean orthography; *sundaetguk*, which is rarely used, conforms to the rules. In effect, most of the market signs adopted the former. This kind of discrepancy between the rules and reality makes Korean people think Korean language is difficult to use. Moreover, foreign students in Korea also pointed out the difference between what they learned in the classroom and what they actually experienced in real life.

6) Remaining Tasks for the Linguistic Unification of North and South Korea

North and South Korea have existed under different political systems since 1945, and this has resulted in a significant gap between their languages. It is not limited to lexicon; it also extends to the grammar and the notational system, including the interposing *siot* (*the Korean letter*) and the *initial sound of a word*. It is currently hard to believe the language systems of North and South Korea will become unified; however, this needs to happen should reunification happen someday in the future. Considering this possibility, we should make an effort to reduce this linguistic gap through negotiations.

7) Disappearing Dialects

The unique characteristics of local dialects are rapidly disappearing. It seems to have been caused by the dissemination of the standard language through public education and by the influence of broadcasting. It is a shame that the Korean language is losing its cultural diversity, although it is an unavoidable trend in modern society. We expect that language policies focusing on the value of dialects will slow down the pace of the each dialect's distinction.

8) Common Use of Curse Words and Slang

Apart from the matter of preserving the Korean language against the threat of English, the other problem that we face is how to refine the Korean language. This is actually a serious matter, because curse words, slang and discriminatory expressions are so prevalent in the Korean language. Above all, they are mostly used by teenagers, which make this problem even more serious. This problem seems to have been caused by stress from excessive studying, as well as the influence of the surrounding adults' linguistic habits, including those of their parents. There have been discussions on this issue, but permanent solutions have never been suggested.

In addition, buzzwords and jargon are seriously increasing. Also, many young people do not follow orthography rules, and this is often criticized as a destruction of the language. There has been some controversy over whether to regard this as a temporary blip or to prepare some strategies for implementation. A careful consideration is necessary.

9) Increasing Demands for the Korean Language


Learning Korean is becoming popular in many countries all over the world. Hallyu (the Korean Wave) has especially motivated foreign people to take an interest in learning the Korean language. This expanded demand for the Korean language is not just limited to people abroad; it also exists within Korea, as there are those with multicultural family members who speak Korean as their second language. Under the guidance of the National Institute of the Korean Language, the Korean government continuously develops teaching materials for Korean language learners and educates Korean language teachers.

It is crucial to provide useful textbooks, dictionaries, and reference materials to Korean language learners. Professional scholars majoring in Korean language education have dedicated themselves to developing the field, and they have already achieved a certain degree of theoretical advancement. The development of Korean language education also requires policy-based support from the government. Therefore, the Korean government recently amended the Basic Law on the National Language, establishing the Sejong School Foundation, which would contribute to the expansion of Korean language education all over the world.

3. Conclusion

The Korean language has a rich history, as it has been used by the Korean people for a long time. It has also long been affected by foreign languages such as Chinese, Japanese, and English. The first half of the twentieth century was the most dramatic era in the history of the Korean language, as it underwent difficulties that seriously threatened its survival. Even after overcoming the threat of the Japanese language, it is now under the threat of English, such as the flood of English loanwords, opinions on making English the official language of Korea, and the preference of companies and universities for English.

However, these phenomena do not seem to jeopardize the status of the Korean language. The status of the Korean language is still the firm and stable means of communication for seventy million Korean people. More recently, the demand for learning Korean is rapidly increasing all over the world as Korea's economic and cultural standing have been enhanced. The popularity of the Korean language reflects its thriving state. In a nutshell, the Korean language is experiencing both crisis and prosperity at the same time. Koreans are expected to preserve and advance their language in the future just as they have done throughout history.



Protecting and revitalizing national languages in Finland

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This paper covers, first, the activities undertaken to protect Finnish, the majority language of Finland, in our present linguistic environment, where English as a worldwide language is taking over domains from other languages. Second, it discusses how the Swedish language in Finland should be protected. Swedish is, *de facto*, the minority language under the pressure of the majority language Finnish in our country. As background, the paper provides information on language legislation in Finland. By protecting languages, language legislation is the framework and the first step of all the activities. Third, this paper describes, very briefly, what kind of a linguistic landscape Finland today is. However, the focus of this paper is on the support of Finnish against English and Swedish against Finnish (and English).

1. The national languages from a historical point of view

Finland is known as an officially bilingual country with two national languages, Finnish and Swedish. This means that, according to the Finnish Constitution and the Language Act, Finnish and Swedish have an equal status. At present, Finnish speaking people represent 90% of the population, whereas Swedish speaking people represent 5.4% (Statistics Finland 2011). One may wonder why 5% of the population should have a status equal to that of 90% of the population. The explanation lies in the history and the linguistic traditions of Finland.

There are three main periods that can be identified in Finland's political history: a period of Scandinavian hegemony and union with Sweden down to 1809, a period of partial autonomy under

Tsarist Russian rule from 1809 to 1917, and a period of independence since 1917 (McRae 1999). A fourth period started in 1995 when the country became a Member of the European Union.

Finland has no history of separate statehood in the Middle Ages. It was gradually absorbed by the Swedish realm, and the south-western coast was populated by Swedes, while Finns expanded over the rest of country. As the Swedish State became more centralized during the 1600th century, the status of Swedish as the leading language for official and formal use and the language of the educated élite was reinforced. Finnish was used by the official Lutheran Church (Vikør 2000). Finnish was also the first language used by the majority of people.

After the war between Sweden and Russia from 1808 to 1809, Sweden lost the territory of Finland to Russia. The Tsars were relatively liberal, allowing Finns a high degree of autonomy, and they did not change the linguistic situation. Hence, Swedish remained the official standard language of the country and its status was strong. In 1863, Finnish was officially put on an equal footing, and it expanded steadily (Vikør 2000). When Finland became independent in 1917, Finnish had a status as a standard language.

2. The linguistic landscape of Finland

Traditionally, the languages used in Finland have been Finnish, Swedish, three Sámi languages (North Sámi, Inari Sámi and Skolt Sámi), Romani, and the Finnish and Swedish Sign Languages. These languages have historical ties to the country.¹⁾ Especially since the 19th century, there have also been speakers of Russian and Tatar, as well as other languages, including Estonian and German. During the past three decades in particular, members of language groups not previously represented in Finland, especially African and Asian people, have moved to Finland. According to the statistics, as many as over 150 languages are spoken in Finland. Hence, there are more and more people who use fluently two first languages from the very beginning, and besides these languages they master well, e.g., the majority language Finnish or the second national language Swedish.

At the end of 2011 there were ca. 5.4 million inhabitants in Finland. Of the population of Finland, 4,863,351 people (90.0%) spoke Finnish, 291,219 people (5.4%) Swedish and 1,870 people (0.03%) the Sámi languages as their native language. The Sámi numbered nearly 9,000, but fewer than 2,000 of them spoke Sámi. People with a native language other than Finnish, Swedish

1) About the traditional Finnish minorities see, e.g., Myntti & Nuolijärvi 2006.

or Sámi numbered 244,827, or 4.5% of the population. The largest groups spoke Russian (58,331 persons), Estonian (33,076 persons), Somali (14,045 persons), English (13,804 persons) and Arabic (11,252 persons). (*Population Structure* 2011.)

Today, the majority of Finns (over 60%) live in the south-western urbanized areas of Finland and in larger cities. Historically, these areas have also been the core of Finland. The speakers of Swedish live on the southern and western coasts and in Åland. It is especially the southern coast that is largely bilingual, including Helsinki and the other cities surrounding it.

As regards the linguistic situation in Finland as a whole, it is important to stress that neither the majority language Finnish nor Swedish are worldwide languages. This is a very important factor that marks the practice of languages in Finland. Thus, in addition to national languages, especially English is an essential language for many people in their work, and also the Government and companies have to take into account the needs of English and other widely used languages. Hence, language education in a small country like Finland is an important part of school education, including the native languages.

3. Language legislation and Finnish and Swedish language programs in Finland

As mentioned above, Finnish language legislation is the ground for protecting the languages at the State level. The Finnish language legislation concerning the national languages will be presented here mainly in the light of three Acts or Decrees: the Constitution, the Language Act, and the Basic Education Act (see <http://www.finlex.fi>). In addition, the language programs concerning the national languages as well as Finland's agreements in the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages will be mentioned. These agreements also take into account the protection of Swedish in Finland.

1) Constitution

The Finnish Constitution (PL 731/1999) became effective on 1 March 2000. It defines the basic freedom and rights of the individual. One of the most important rights is the right to one's own language and culture. Section §6 of the Constitution guarantees the equality in principle of speakers of all languages:

Everyone is equal before the law.

No-one shall, without acceptable reason, be treated differently from other persons on the grounds of sex, age, origin, language, religion, conviction, opinion, health, disability or other reason that concerns his or her person.

In this respect the new Constitution resembles the former Constitution from 1919 (94/1919), albeit that it is somewhat more detailed, and the Language Act from 1922 (148/1922). Hence, the Finnish bilingualism has a long tradition in the legislation. Bilingualism has been recorded in the Constitution (§17) with the following wording:

The Finnish national languages are Finnish and Swedish.

The right of every individual to use his or her own language before courts of law and other authorities and to receive documents in that language shall be guaranteed by an Act. The public authorities shall provide for the cultural and societal needs of the Finnish and Swedish speaking populations on an equal basis.

Thus, the status of the languages used in Finland historically is laid down by the Constitution. This is important since the Constitution is the law that is binding on all the other laws and it has a considerable influence over other legislation.

2) The Language Act

The new Language Act came into force on 1 January 2004, replacing the old Act from 1922. Like the old Act, the present one only concerns the constitutionally determined national languages, Finnish and Swedish. The new Act does not entail any new language rights; its primary objective is to ensure the realization of these rights in practice. The Language Act prescribes that the authorities shall on their own initiative see to the realization of the language rights of individuals, without the individuals having to call attention to the rights by themselves.

The Language Act is based on a division of the authorities into unilingual and bilingual authorities. The linguistic division is important for both the language rights of individuals and the language obligations of the authorities. The Language Act states that a Finnish citizen is entitled to use either Finnish or Swedish in courts of law and in dealings with other national authorities. Unilingual state authorities, too, shall provide service in both languages, but they can use interpreters or translators if they do not possess the language skills needed to give service in the language of the client.

What the law requires concerning language is based on local circumstances in monolingual or bilingual municipalities. Every ten years the Council of State decides the division on the basis of the information in the Population Data System regarding the language of each inhabitant of the municipality. In a bilingual municipality, people are entitled to use either Finnish or Swedish with the local authorities, while in a monolingual municipality, only one language can be used. In 2012, there were 287 monolingual Finnish speaking municipalities, 19 monolingual Swedish speaking municipalities, 12 bilingual municipalities with Swedish as the predominant language, and 18 bilingual municipalities with Finnish as the predominant language. In total, 1.5 million inhabitants live in bilingual municipalities, including the capital Helsinki.

A bilingual authority, be it a State authority or a municipal authority, must use both Finnish and Swedish whilst offering information to the public. However, the information does not necessarily have to be equally comprehensive in both languages. What counts is that the most important information is available in both languages.

When companies owned by the State or municipalities are responsible for matters pertaining to the authorities, the provisions of the Language Act will be applied to them. When tasks of public administration are delegated to other bodies than the authorities, it must be ensured that the service level required by the Language Act is maintained. If, for instance, a municipality transfers public duties to a private enterprise, the municipality has to make sure that the enterprise undertakes to provide the language services required by law, if this cannot be arranged in another way.

The Ministry of Justice is responsible for monitoring the enforcement of the Language Act. The Council of State shall submit a report to Parliament on the realization of language rights for every election period. In addition to Finnish and Swedish, the report discusses Sámi, Romani, the Finnish sign language and other languages. So far, two reports have been given (2006, 2009, <http://www.om.fi>), and the next one will be given in 2013.

The Language Act is a general Act determining a minimum level. The Act protects both national languages, but it is important especially to Swedish, the national language used less widely in Finland. The legislation concerning the Finnish national languages is naturally not restricted to the Language Act. More detailed provisions on the language rights of a patient or a social welfare client are included in the Acts concerning health care and social welfare. In addition, several other regulations, such as the Basic Education Act, the University Act, and the Municipality Act include regulations having to do with the national languages.

The island of Åland has its own legislation, the objective of which is to protect the Swedish language and the special culture of the province. The legislation is based on international conventions (Act on the Autonomy of Åland 1144/1991.)

3) The Basic Education Act

Everybody is entitled to free basic education in Finland. An environment important for the implementation of the linguistic rights is the school system. The present education in comprehensive schools is stipulated by the Act on Basic Education (628/1998). Section 10 of the Act states the following on the language of instruction.

The language of instruction and the language used in extracurricular teaching shall be either Finnish or Swedish.

The language of instruction may also be Sámi, Romani or sign language.

In addition, part of teaching may be given in a language other than the pupils' native language referred to above, provided that this does not risk the pupils' ability to follow teaching.

Section 12 of the Act states the following on the teaching of mother tongue:

As mother tongue, the pupil shall be taught Finnish, Swedish or Sámi in keeping with the language of instruction.

Each pupil can study his or her own mother tongue at the comprehensive school and the upper secondary school. The family is in a crucial position when stating the mother tongue of the child. Society and the school system are, for their part, in an important position in the organization of the mother-tongue tuition.

According to the Basic Education Act (Section 11), the basic education syllabus shall contain the following core subjects: mother tongue and literature, the second national language (Finnish or Swedish), foreign languages, environmental studies, health education, religious education or ethics, history, social studies, mathematics, physics, chemistry, biology, geography, physical education, music, art, crafts, and home economics.²⁾ During the past decade the status of English as the first foreign language among the Finnish-speaking pupils in the comprehensive school has increased. It means that Finnish-speaking pupils have chosen to study Swedish and other languages less often than earlier.

2) More information about the languages in basic education, see, e.g., Nuolijärvi (2012).

4) Language policy programs

Finland, just as the other Nordic countries, has paid attention to its native languages, and published several language policy programs in order to protect the native languages in the globalized surroundings. First of all, in 1998, the Research Institute for the Languages of Finland drew up the language policy program *Kotimaisten kielten tutkimuskeskuksen kielipoliittinen ohjelma*. In 2003, the Institute drafted a program for Swedish in Finland, titled *Tänk om... Svenska språknämndens förslag till handlingsprogram för svenskan i Finland* (2003). The program for Finnish in Finland (*Suomen kielen tulevaisuus*, 'the future of Finnish') was published in 2009. In addition, the Government of Finland is currently preparing a strategy for the national languages.

Hence, many evaluations and suggestions have been made during the past few years. The suggestions in the programs concern, e.g., education from the kindergarten to the universities; health and social services; administration; media; and the possibilities to develop and maintain one's own language and culture.

5) The European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages

Finland ratified the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages (see, <http://conventions.coe.int/treaty/Commun/QueVoulezVous.asp?NT=148&CM=1&CL=ENG>) among the first states in November 1994. The Charter aims to protect and promote the historical regional or minority languages of Europe. It was adopted, on the one hand, in order to maintain and to develop Europe's cultural traditions and heritage and, on the other hand, to respect an inalienable and commonly recognized right to use a regional or minority language in private and public life.

Finland has declared that the Charter applies to the Swedish language, which is the less widely used official language in Finland and to the Sámi languages which are regional or minority languages in Finland. Furthermore, Finland declared that it undertakes to apply, *mutatis mutandis*, the principles listed in paragraphs 1 to 4 of the said Article to the Romani language, to the Karelian language, and to the other non-territorial languages in Finland.

Finland has submitted four reports to the Council of Europe. In 2012, the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe recommended that the Finnish authorities, as a matter of priority

- (1) further strengthen education in Sámi, notably through the development of a structured policy and a long term financing scheme;

- (2) take urgent measures to protect and promote Inari and Skolt Sámi, which are particularly endangered languages, in particular by means of the provision of language nests on a permanent basis;
- (3) take further measures to ensure the accessibility of social and health care in Swedish and Sámi;
- (4) develop and implement innovative strategies for the training of Romani teachers, extend the production of teaching materials in Romani and increase the provision of teaching of Romani;
- (5) take measures to increase awareness and tolerance vis-à-vis the regional or minority languages of Finland, both in the general curriculum at all stages of education and in the media. (*Application of the Charter in Finland 2012.*)

Hence, the recommendations encourage Finland to strengthen especially the situation of the endangered Sámi and Romani languages but also to take care of the national minority language Swedish. In sum, the Charter and the whole reporting process with the organs of the Council of Europe offer excellent possibilities for Finland to evaluate its efforts in the area.

4. The current situation of native languages and their support in practice

This chapter concentrates on how the situation of native language groups seems today and how Finland in practice works to protect and support Finnish against English, Swedish against Finnish, and the indigenous Sámi languages against Finnish.

1) Finnish

Finnish, the majority language of Finland, has had a strong status for just some 150 years. Swedish used to be the language of administration and education in Finland from the 1500s to the 1800s. Over the past 150 years the written and spoken Finnish has become a language essential in Finnish society. Finnish speaking people have been very aware of their native language and developed it in all domains of societal life. Hence, we can say that the status of Finnish as a national language has been and still is strong in Finland. In addition, Finnish is one of the official languages in the European Union. It is also used as a second language in many families in Finland and as a first or second language outside of Finland, especially in Sweden.

However, over the past few years, globalization and internationalization have changed the relationship of languages and language groups in Europe and worldwide. The smaller language groups have to be more conscious of their language use because there is a danger that, in certain domains of society, especially in universities and scientific life in general, as well as in international companies of Finnish background, the use of the native languages will decrease. The significance of English for many Finns and in many societal domains in Finnish society will become more and more pronounced.

A survey on Finns' uses of, attitudes to and perceptions of English in the 2000s made in the University of Jyväskylä (Leppänen et al. 2011) confirms that English has a strong presence in Finland. English is the language studied most widely and the foreign language used most commonly. Finns assess their own skills in English as relatively good. According to the study, Finns' overall attitudes to English are quite positive and pragmatic and they do not consider English a threat to the Finnish language and culture. Instead, knowledge of English is considered an essential resource in the increasingly multicultural and globalizing world. The results demonstrate that Finns are motivated to study English and other foreign languages. In this respect they differ from many other Europeans – particularly speakers of languages spoken by large numbers of people – who are not nearly as interested in foreign language studies (cf. Eurobarometer 2006).

How to protect Finnish in the globalized world village? In my presentation, I'd like to mention four activities undertaken to support and develop a multifaceted use of Finnish: the use of Finnish at the university level, the new increasing Bank of Finnish Terminology in Arts and Sciences, the work of the Institute for the Language of Finland, and the role of Finnish literature and media.

First, the language used in higher education and research has an influence on the kinds of skills educated people have in Finnish and how they can use Finnish for special purposes in different occupations and professions. At the same time, internationalized people also need skills in foreign languages. Hence, the question of language choice is not very simple in higher education in countries like Finland.

In principle, Finnish universities are very aware of the need for skills in Finnish and the need for English. During the past few years, almost all of the 12 universities in Finland have written their language strategies or principles for teaching and research. The examples presented here are the strategies of the bilingual Helsinki University (University of Helsinki, see <https://www.helsinki.fi/language> principles TARKISTAN LINKIN) and the unilingual Finnish Jyväskylä University (University of Jyväskylä Language Policy 2012, see <https://www.jyu.fi/hallinto/strategia/en/university>

– of-jyvaskyla-language-policy-2012/view). The strategies include the main principles and practical solutions for organizing higher education and programs from the language point of view at the university level.

According to its language principles, the University of Helsinki promotes the language proficiency of its students and staff, as well as supports their knowledge of different cultures. Languages are seen as a resource within the academic community. The University bears a special responsibility for preserving and supporting Finland's national culture as well as the status and position of its national languages (Finnish and Swedish) in all research and scholarship.

One objective of the University of Helsinki is to support the development of Finland's national languages as languages of scholarship and academic training and as a means of enhancing societal interaction. The University is responsible for ensuring that research benefits society and that new knowledge is integrated into the overall education and culture that inherently belong to everyone. On the other hand, the University of Helsinki has to be an attractive option for foreign students, teachers and researchers. The challenging objective is to combine internationalization with the University's responsibility for Finland's two national languages.

Among other objectives, the University of Helsinki secures the status and the position of Finland's national languages as languages of research and scholarship and strengthens the implementation of the University's bilingualism which within the university community must be both omnipresent and functional. The University ensures that the language used in research, teaching, administration, services and communication is rich and comprehensible. At the same time, the University tries to determine the status and development targets for teaching and research undertaken in other languages. The main principle is that parallel language usage refers to the simultaneous use of different languages in one or more fields of activity. It means that no language overrules or replaces another, but the languages are used in parallel across all areas of language usage. Arranging teaching in English supports the educational targets set by the University without undermining the position of Finland's national languages.

University teaching is multilingual; thus, teaching can be offered in Finnish, Swedish and in foreign languages, particularly in English. Teaching in foreign languages can be included in studies when it is meaningful from the point of view of arranging the teaching or in order to meet learning targets. In the course of the students' academic guidance, attention will be paid to the benefits of multilingual skills and to the fact that the language of examinations and teaching can be a language other than the students' mother tongue. When introducing teaching and learning objectives for students participating in courses given in English it is essential that students be aware of the

terminology used in their field in both national languages, as required. This is a great challenge for those fields which have worked only in English for a long time and not in Finnish at all.

Although the University acknowledges the dominant role of the English language in several disciplines, it also fosters the preservation of Finland's national languages, and aims to secure their future as vibrant and full-bodied languages in disciplines dominated by English. The University encourages publishing in Finland's national languages, especially in disciplines that promote Finland's educational, social and cultural enrichment. The University is responsible for ensuring that research benefits society at large and that new knowledge is made available to all. Therefore, it is the University's duty to encourage researchers to publish and share expertise in Finland's national languages. Creating and maintaining domestic terminology within different disciplines is central to the University's duty to interact with society.

Information of a fundamental or permanent nature must be available in Finnish, Swedish and English for the benefit of all students and staff. Information which relates to protections afforded by law must also be available in these languages. The University's strategic plans, policy programmes and other main documents as well as brochures, names, guides, signs, and websites will be published in Finnish, Swedish and English.

As we can see, the bilingual University of Helsinki is, in principle and in practice, trilingual. Being trilingual is no disgrace, but it would be a disgrace, if the university forgot its duty to take care of the national languages, and the domains of Finnish and Swedish became smaller. In some disciplines, this is obvious today; however, the parallel use of national languages and other languages is, in general, usual at the University of Helsinki.

The unilingual University of Jyväskylä published a new language strategy in 2012. According to the new strategy, the Finnish language is the cornerstone of the international university. Systematic support is offered on Finnish and English scientific communication in order to ensure the quality of theses and assignments. Support will also be offered in other languages, if necessary. Furthermore, students should also be able to communicate on their discipline to both professionals in their field, as well as to the general public, and support will also be available for these purposes.

All teachers are responsible for fostering good standards in Finnish. Particular attention is paid to both oral and written scientific communication. Incoming exchange students are offered studies in the Finnish language and culture. Despite encouragement to publish on the most distinguished international forums, the University is also committed to promoting publishing in Finnish and to developing Finnish as a language of science.

Second, there are efforts to support Finnish by taking care of scientific terminology. The Bank of Finnish Terminology in Arts and Sciences (<http://tieteentermipankki.fi/wiki/Termipankki:Project>) is a multidisciplinary project which aims to gather a permanent terminological database for all fields of research in Finland. It is an infrastructure project funded for five years (from 2011) by the Academy of Finland and the University of Helsinki. The goals of the project serve language policy and sociology of science. An extensive Finnish research terminology bank will help those researchers, translators, journalists and others who write about research and its results in the arts and sciences in Finnish. By gathering scientific terminology in one place, the bank also improves the opportunities for multidisciplinary discussion and research.

Terminology is gathered among expert groups in different fields of the arts and science. The project is being carried out in three pilot projects: botany, jurisprudence, and linguistics. The key societies cooperating with the pilot projects are the Finnish Lawyers' Association (Suomalainen Lakimiesyhdistys), the Biological Society of Finland Vanamo (Suomen Biologian Seura Vanamo), the Society for the Study of Finnish (Kotikielen Seura) and other linguistic societies. All of the associations mentioned have developed their special languages for more than 100 years. Hence, they have solid traditions and wide experience for discussing the theme even in the current situation. The members of each expert team have access to a wide range of wiki editing resources and can add information into every slot of the database in their field of expertise. It is also possible to include existing terminologies in the bank subject to permission by those who own the copyrights.

The project cooperates with the Federation for Finnish Learned Societies and its project Tieteen termistötalkoot (Voluntary work for the terminology of arts and sciences). The experts come from both the member societies of the FFLS (TSV) and from universities and work as volunteers. The project also has other cooperative partners, such as the Institute for the Languages of Finland (Kotus), and terminologists, for example, from The Finnish Terminology Centre TSK. The project is affiliated with the Finnish Language Resource Consortium FIN-CLARIN, and through this affiliation, it has a connection to the European infrastructures CLARIN-ERIC and ESFRI.

Third, beside the wide use of the Finnish language, it is also important to preserve and develop the quality of Finnish. The State supports this work and it has a special institute for this purpose, the Institute for the Languages of Finland (Kotimaisten kielten keskus or Kotus / Institutet för de inhemska språken), which is a national expert institute specialized in languages. Its tasks include the planning of Finnish and Swedish, and its activities concentrate on these languages. In addition, the coordination of the work of the Sami, Romani, and Sign Language Boards belongs to the work of the Institute.

The Institute for the Languages of Finland carries out language and name planning, compiles especially Finnish and Swedish dictionaries, and conducts different research projects supporting these operations. The Institute also maintains various linguistic corpora and archives. Furthermore, the Institute is actively involved in the language policy in Finland.

Fourth, the best way to protect one's native language is to learn and use it as a spoken and written language in a multifaceted way. Hence, maintaining the status of Finnish in school programmes, fiction, and professional language in every area; newspapers, magazines, and other publications, radio and television, as well as in the new social media, is remarkably significant to the protection and development of Finnish.

2) Swedish

In comparison with many other minority languages in the world, the situation of the Swedish speaking population in Finland is excellent and unproblematic. However, by closer examination of the circumstances of the Swedish speaking people in Finland, we find that their everyday lives do not always work out in Swedish.

In its report on the application of language legislation (see, e.g., *Report of the Government on the application of language legislation 2009*), the Government proposed measures which every authority and court should undertake, as well as measures relating to societal decision-making. The legislation is binding on the authorities; nevertheless, it does not contain detailed provisions on how to ensure linguistic rights in the practical operations of each authority. Mere language legislation is not sufficient in Finland; instead, practical measures are also needed both in the operations of the authorities and in political decision-making. However, these practical measures to implement the Language Act have mainly not been undertaken. This endangers the securing of the basic linguistic rights of the Swedish speaking citizens. In order to secure the linguistic rights guaranteed in the Constitution in practice, the Government proposed, again in 2009, the systematic implementation of the suggestions for measures it had proposed in its report of 2006.

The suggestions for measures concern the operations of state administration and municipal authorities as well as the courts. The suggestions are as follows:

- incorporating the implementation of the language legislation in guidance documents
- planning and implementing customer service and personnel policy by securing that the linguistic rights of the citizens are ensured at all stages
- supervising that language legislation is complied with

- monitoring and evaluating how the operations promote the use of both of the national languages

The senior civil servants and the decision-makers of the municipality are responsible for arranging these measures. In addition, every civil servant is liable to comply with language legislation.

During the past years, many large bilingual municipalities have become better aware of the linguistic rights and drafted language strategies to ensure operations especially in Swedish, even if the results of these measures cannot yet be seen in practice. The increased knowledge among the authorities and citizens about the language legislation and the linguistic rights is an important step forward.

According to the Finnish Government, the application of language legislation and the competence of the authorities to implement linguistic rights should be clarified as part of the existing monitoring tools. Many municipalities evaluate their own operations. Especially some of the larger bilingual municipalities stated in 2009 that, during the past three years, they had been monitoring and evaluating the practical implementation of language legislation at different handling stages of the service chains. The capital region municipalities have a special self-evaluation system relating to services in Swedish. For example, the functionality of certain social welfare and health care services has been evaluated. The evaluation is mainly based on oral feedback from the customers. Many bilingual municipalities, including every other municipality in Ostrobothnia on the western coast, also carry out regular inhabitant questionnaires. The questionnaires are usually conducted at the municipal service points and they are used to monitor the functionality of the services provided by the municipality itself, as well as services purchased by the municipality from private service providers.

The legislation, however, does not mean that all employees must master both languages. In practice, the authorities can act in the way they consider most appropriate with regard to their own duties. If, for instance, there are several service points, different service points can provide service in different languages. This model has been used in Helsinki in health care services. Another possibility is to organize work shifts and work distribution in such a way that employees who master both languages are always available. Usually, the service in Finnish and Swedish is given in the same service point. Of course, it depends on the circumstances what kind of a model is available. Many bilingual municipalities pay their social welfare and health care personnel a language skill bonus. However, the municipalities do not have a common practice for organizing the bilingual activities or paying language skill bonuses.

The linguistic rights of the Finnish speaking population are mainly well secured in bilingual environment. The Finnish speaking people in bilingual municipalities with Swedish as the majority language are also more satisfied with the service provided by the municipality in Finnish than the Swedish speaking people in bilingual municipalities with Finnish as the majority language. Thus, there is still room for improvement in the securing of the linguistic rights of the Swedish speaking population. A central observation is that in public administration the service of those speaking Swedish takes basically place in Finnish, unless the citizens specifically ask for communication in Swedish. However, the regional differences are considerable. The linguistic rights of the Swedish speaking population are best ensured in Ostrobothnia. In southern Finland where the number of the Swedish speaking population is high, there remains most to be improved in the securing of the linguistic rights.

The school offers important support to Swedish speaking children. The Finnish education system consists of a nine-year basic education for the whole age group (comprehensive school), which is preceded by one year of voluntary pre-primary education; upper secondary education, which consists of vocational and general education (3 years); and higher education, which is provided by universities and polytechnics. With the two national languages, there are also two main lines in the Finnish school system: one for the Finnish speaking children and another one for the Swedish speaking children, all the way from the kindergarten to the universities.³⁾

In the comprehensive school, Finnish speaking pupils learn Swedish less than Swedish speaking pupils learn Finnish. It means, in general, that Finnish speaking pupils are less proficient in Swedish than Swedish speaking pupils are in Finnish after six years of school. Swedish as a core subject in Finnish schools has been a permanent theme in the public debate in Finland. Some parents stress that it would be better to learn more languages other than Swedish, e.g., Russian or Spanish, which are used more widely than Swedish. However, the majority of Finnish speaking parents still regard Swedish as an important part of Finnish culture and want that their children learn Swedish at school.

According to many opinions in Finland, one method to support a minority language and culture is to develop minority language skills also among the majority. There is ongoing public debate in Finland on how Swedish skills could be improved among Finnish speaking pupils and students but also among those who speak Swedish as their mother tongue. Various efforts have also been made

3) Children who speak some other language than Finnish or Swedish as their first language choose either the Finnish or the Swedish school. Of course, they can also choose multilingual or international schools, but this is only possible in the capital region or in larger cities.

to support studies in Swedish. This paper will discuss two ways to improve Swedish skills among Finnish speaking children.

Following the Canadian model of language immersion, Swedish language immersion for Finnish speaking children was introduced in Vaasa in 1987 and, later on, in certain other bilingual regions, for instance the capital region in 1991. Presently, there are 17 municipalities offering language immersion in Swedish in kindergartens, pre-schools and the comprehensive school (Kangasvieri et al. 2011: 47–49). Further, new opportunities have been made available recently by a couple of schools that offer partial language immersion in Chinese.

Early total immersion is the most usual immersion programme in Finland. Early total immersion is usually begun between the ages 3 and 6 and continued from the kindergarten/preschool to grade 9 of the comprehensive school. In the autumn of 2009 there were 958 immersion children in day care or preschools, 2 184 immersion pupils in grades 1 to 6 of the comprehensive school, and 838 immersion pupils in grades 7 to 9 of the comprehensive school in Finland, more than half of them in the capital region (<http://www.uwasa.fi/kielikylpy/lyhyesti/suomessa/>; Kangasvieri et al. 2011: 23). It is just a small part of all the Finnish speaking pupils in Finland, but there is a growing interest towards Swedish language (and Finnish language) immersion in many parts of Finland. However, it is not very easy to increase the number of Swedish immersion classes because of the small number of Swedish speaking teachers and the reserved attitudes in many municipalities.

Research into immersion in Finland has been practically shouldered by the University of Vaasa, but there are currently immersion researchers even in other universities. According to many studies, the results have been really good, not only in the immersion language, but also with the mother tongue and other core subjects. The method, language learning in action, also seems to work well in other classes.

There is another programme that aims at strengthening the learning of Swedish in comprehensive school. The programme *Svenska Nu* (Swedish Now) (<http://www.svenskanu.fi/>) encourages Finnish speaking pupils to choose the Swedish language earlier than pupils do today. Its goal is to strengthen the Swedish language skills among Finnish speaking pupils by bringing Swedish youth culture into Finnish classrooms and offering an alternative to Anglo-Saxon culture; showing how easy and nice Swedish is in practice; and offering new education material for pupils and teachers. Furthermore, further education for teachers is arranged during the project.

Svenska Nu is funded by the Finnish and Swedish States, a variety of foundations, the Swedish-Finnish cultural centre Hanasaari – Hanaholmen, and certain private sponsors. The project works in cooperation with all the Finnish schools in Finland.

The main motivation for supporting Swedish education in Finnish schools is ideological and practical at the same time: When the majority members have better skills in the minority language, it is easier to understand the situation of the minority, and, of course, it will lead to better opportunities to find a workplace in bilingual environments. From the Swedish minority point of view, it is important to maintain the Swedish schools at as high a level as the Finnish schools in Finland.

There are two Swedish universities in Finland, the Åbo Academy (Åbo Akademi) and the Swedish School of Economics (Svenska Handelshögskolan Hanken). Especially in Hanken, the use of Swedish has decreased dramatically over the past few years. More and more courses and programmes are given only in English, much more so than in the Finnish universities, and research is only published in English. According to the University Act, Hanken is a Swedish university, but it is obvious that, in the near future, there will only be one Swedish university left in Finland, the Åbo Academy.

Besides the Swedish school system in Finland, the Swedish speaking group can enjoy culture in Swedish: Swedish theatres, rich Swedish literature, Swedish newspapers and magazines, Swedish radio and television channels, Swedish parishes, sport clubs, and so on. All of these activities protect and support the maintenance of Swedish culture in Finland.

5. Discussion

This paper has concentrated on the national languages in Finland. Finnish and Swedish used in Finland both belong to languages that are really privileged. However, these language communities also have to be deeply aware of the present situation and the pressure from languages used more widely, like English.

Multiculturalism is part of everyday life at schools in Finland, especially in larger cities and towns. About 4,000 children of immigrant origin study at comprehensive schools in Helsinki. The largest language groups are Russian, Somali, Estonian, Arabic and Vietnamese. The number of native languages taught is about 40. (<http://www.helsinki.fi>.) The Basic Education Act also allows education to be carried out, wholly or in part, in the native language of the immigrant pupil or pupils with other backgrounds than Finnish or Swedish. Some local authorities have offered either bilingual or native language education in Arabic, Somali, Russian, Vietnamese, and Estonian. A good and balanced future of minorities in Finland is a major advantage for both individuals and the whole of society. By protecting different mother tongues we can provide a good basis for learning national languages better, too. Finnish and Swedish are not only for native speakers, but they are also the languages of other groups in our society.

As has been described above, there are a number of public and private activities in Finland that seek for sound and good alternative ways of learning and using Finnish and Swedish. Even if Finland is very aware of language rights and the importance of the native languages, there are still many challenges we need to tackle. In sum, it is not the fault of English speaking people if we avoid using our own language. It is us who decide how rich our language is and how long we will be using it. We are the ones who decide.

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State Language

– Main Factor of Country Unity

Skakov Maxat

(Language Committee of the Ministry of Culture and Information
of the Republic of Kazakhstan, Kazakhstan)

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INTRODUCTION

National language is an every nation's respective value. Presently in 210 countries more than 5 billion people speak 1 651 languages in all over the world. And more than 15 million people in the world speak the Kazakh language. If one takes into account that the Kazakh language is included in Turkic group of languages and that about 200 million people speak about 30 Turkic languages, the number of people who know and understand the Kazakh language, use it as an international relationship tool is increasing. The number of people who speak it is twice greater than those who speak Latvian, Lithuanian, Estonian, Moldovian, Armenian, Georgian, Tajik languages which were used in former Soviet Union, and much more greater than the number of people who speak Finnish, Norwegian, Swedish, Danish, Hungarian, Czech, Slovak languages which developed in Europe. A language with very rich history, language system made by language source, strong potential, state language of all the citizens' who possess rapidly developing independent country like the Republic of Kazakhstan is the Kazakh language and its development is a duty of our generation. That is why the status of state language in civilized countries of the world is especially marked. Its superiority and rights are properly protected by the law. Possession of national language, the status of state language and its establishment of the country's basis is a principal set up in the world's experience. It depends on the fact that nations that strive for country's independence begin solving their issues from independence of language. Therefore, its way to independence Kazakhstan began from demand of language to take respective place in the society.

From the day of reaching independence our country as a separate state held a right direction in the language policy, it has been proved over time. The Kazakh language was not easily given a state status. On this way our language got through many difficulties and hardships, and with the bravery of faithful to their country citizens it took its place on the pedestal. The beginner of all these activities is the President, National leader Nazarbayev Nursultan Abyshuly.

In his Message to Kazakhstan people in 2010 the President, analyzing the Development strategy of the country for 2020, said: "The main purpose of this programme is prosper the country's independence, pave the way for prosperity of Kazakh people as a nation, make possibilities for the language and culture to flourish widely. We can achieve this goal that will help prospering the next generation only with persistence and by preserving the unity of our country."

Therefore number of activities that can influence prosperity of our independence, strengthening of language status was performed in language policy of the country.

Clear strategy of state language development was assigned from the first stage of statehood consolidation of the country. In the Constitution accepted in 1995 the Kazakh language got high status of state language of the Republic of Kazakhstan for the first time in the history of our sovereign country.

1. LANGUAGE POLICY DEVELOPMENT STAGES IN KAZAKHSTAN

If we get through the history of statehood's establishment and development of different countries, we will understand that one of the main position of statehood is constructive and weighted language policy.

Stable language policy that does not humiliate rights of all the citizens (ethnoses, social groups) of the country is very important, especially, for multiethnos countries.

In the end of the last century raising its flag among independent countries, Kazakhstan began to establish its statehood as multiethnos country where representatives of many nations were united by historical destiny.

From this exact moment a searching stage in clearance of country's main principal began in our country in the sphere of our language.

If we analyse the process of languages development in our country, we can relatively divide it into several stages.

The first stage: 1988 – 1994 – awakening and redevelopment age of national consciousness of different ethnoses in our country including Kazakh people. At this stage due to democratic

processes taken place in connection with the reconstruction in Soviet Union and getting independence of our country, there was awakening and establishment process of frenzied national consciousness among Kazakh people who is historical owner of its native land. At this very moment many national-patriotic and excessively nationalistic movements have been appearing. The positive side of this stage for Kazakh people is that many representatives of Kazakh nation turned to the Kazakh language. Yet the main achievement of this stage is not to let the awakening and establishment processes of Kazakh people national consciousness to infringe rights of other nations in our country. These processes in several former Union countries led to international sharpening and also became the result of one-sided policy in language issues.

At this stage a languages development normative-legal basis foundation was built also. The law of Kazakh SSR on language was accepted for the first time on the 22nd of September 1989, the Kazakh language began possess the status of state language (this date was later officially recognized as Kazakh peoples' languages day). This case took place in the first Constitution of 1993 of our sovereign country.

The second stage: 1995 – 2000 – due to acceptance of new Constitution and with the help of President's policy aimed at development of languages of all nations that live in our country on the basis of international friendliness and harmony, the stage that was a foundation for language development. In 1995 Kazakh People's Assembly began its work. According to policy of Kazakhstan peoples' languages development there were proceeded proper social-linguistic space creation and ethnic groups language development issues.

As well on the 4th of November in 1996 by the Decree of the President a «Conception of the language policy in the Republic of Kazakhstan» was approved. Tendency of our country language policy was defined in this Conception. In 1998 there was accepted its main mechanism for execution the first Governmental programme on using and developing languages for 1998 – 2000. Its main purpose is to make suitable conditions for development of state and other languages in the Republic of Kazakhstan. However because of limitation of time and other factors the arised obligations related to execution of these purposes were not performed at proper lever. Nevertheless, a predominant direction of language policy to provide Kazakh language to serve according to the status of state language and to preserve social functions of Russian language and also work in ethnoses languages development direction systematically began from this moment.

The third stage: 2001–2005 – this stage began from accepting Governmental programme on using and developing languages for 2001~2010. This Programme is a strong mechanism of execution of state language policy strategic directions. Widening and establishment of state

language social-communicative service, preserving general cultural service of Russian language, ethnic groups languages development issues are the main directions.

We can say that a new stage began in language policy from 2006. This stage, firstly, is connected with assignment by President's Decree the transference schedule of office-work in regions and central state authorities into state language, and also with realization of «Languages unity» cultural project which was said about in President's Message to Kazakhstan people «New Kazakhstan in new world».

Transference of office-work into state language is one of the main directions of present languages policy. According to above mentioned schedule the office-work in central and local executive authorities was transferred into state language from the beginning of 2010. Execution of such measure actually influenced on widening of state language usage sphere and its service according to its status. That is why the main mechanism of providing office-work in state language and widening its usage sphere is putting a national terminology in order. Development of sphere terminology pursuit were intensified.

At this time, scientifically base of the work toward regulation of onomastic space in our country arised as issue that was waiting for its decision making. In spite of the fact that regulatory and legal base had already founded for this direction, there was a need to improve it according to present times. Performing work in this sector related to regulation of onomastic space required adoption of another law.

At that time, one of the directions of language policy is an implementation of «Languages unity» cultural project aiming to make necessary conditions for every citizen of our country to learn three languages easily according to the President's Order. Thereby through realizing the development of state language as main direction, there appeared need to think about preservation of overall cultural service of the Russian language in Kazakhstan. At the same time being one of the preconditions of reaching global level the importance of English language was took into consideration, there was said about preparation of its learning complex measures.

2. STATE LANGUAGE AS MAIN FACTOR OF COUNTRY UNITY

Today from state side corresponding language policy is conducted according to the rights of all people in Kazakhstan. It provides preservation of language rights of all ethnoses and free choice of relationships, upbringing, learning and literature language.

Thereby state language is main factor of spiritual and national unity. Learning it is a duty and

task for every citizen of Kazakhstan, it determines every individual's aspiration for social life and competition opportunity.

Certain results were reached on the basis of performed tasks for that reason.

Infrastructure of learning state language became very wide. The number of kindergartens and schools providing education in the Kazakh language is increasing.

The share of adults in our Republic who learned state language is increasing. All necessary conditions were provided to teach them. Regional State Language Learning Centres were established in all regions of our Republic, in Astana and Almaty cities and an integrated system for state language learning was formed. At the present 130 State Language Learning Centres are working in the regions and cities (state learning centres-57, non-state learning centres-73).

Urge toward transference of documentation into state language is being implemented. From the 1st of January 2009 an automated system for monitoring documentations in state language was adopted in all central and local authorities. Today documentation in state language is 82% in all central and local authorities.

State language learning methods were provided.

Only in 2011. 10 different Russian-Kazakh multisphered phrasebooks were published with million copies, then «Vocabulary of Kazakh literature language» in 15 volumes, series of books «Treasury of world children literature» (15 volumes), «In the world of fairytales» (60 volumes), «Classical representation of Kazakh children literature» (5 volumes), audiobooks, innovative methodic programs and others were published.

With the aim to enforce new technologies in approach for state language learning there was created a portal «State language in the Republic of Kazakhstan», it is often renovated (www.til.gov.kz). More than 20 kinds of internet services were provided. Geography of portal users is Turkey, USA, Japan, Russia, China, France, Germany and other countries.

It is observed that communicative service of the state language was established in state mass media content. Today the volume of spreading of electronic mass media in the Kazakh language, also share of printing pages in Kazakh is more than 50%.

Planned work on strengthening and development of cultural links with our compatriots who live abroad is being conducted and established. Aiming clarification of social-economic conditions of our compatriots who live abroad, intellectual opportunity, present position and future of mother language social research is being organized.

Languages development is a foundation of state policy in our country. Proper resolution of language issues are premises for balance of international relationships, peoples' grouping and

strengthening of social agreement.

If we remember the words «The wealth of language is in language, that is why it has no lack», in our Constitution it was clearly defined «The state cares for making conditions for learning and developing Kazakhstan peoples' languages».

As to prove it, there are about 8000 secondary schools in our country, about 50% percent of them are Kazakh schools, in more than 26% are teaching in the Russian language, another 26% is mixed. There are also schools with Uzbek, Uigur, Tajik and Ukrainian languages.

State cares for all nations representatives' languages in our country as far as possible. In order to develop mother language and culture the Sunday schools system were established to teach mother language in every region of our republic, and now they are working in full. Their number is increasing every year. At the present more than 190 Sunday schools of 30 national languages were organized and are working well. Funds granted for these schools from state budget are increasing every year.

Respect of other nation's representatives to state language is their citizenship and great esteem for Kazakh people. According to last information, the number of representatives of other different nations who learned state language is increasing. At the present more than 1000 other nations representatives who work at state service completely learned Kazakh language. In general every citizen of Kazakhstan who wants to achieve his or her goals should know language, only having understood that your career will not improve without knowing language, and that you can not be a real citizen of your country then you can say that Kazakh language is a state language.

The main factor for determining the problems and objectives of further execution of language policy is to analyse the ethnolinguistics situation in the country. Such analyses should be provided 2~3 times a year, it is not only for language policy, but also resolution for education, culture, demography and sort out nomadic processes issues.

Works on using the Kazakh language and portal lines in Kazakh should be developed in the sphere of new information technology. In Kazakhstan and among Kazakh diasporas in order to distribute a book in Kazakh we should solve such problems like opening INTERNET shops.

According to global civilized experience all ethnoses in Kazakhstan will be convinced of correctness of state language policy directions that pointed at preservation of language wealth. At the same time they have suitable conditions to learn language. China believes that language unity is a country unity. It is not allowed to give rise to doubt to language's state status in Malaysia. France, Germany and Japan are supporting the state status of language in legal manner.

Special law on languages was not adopted in Israel, however the Hebrew and Arab languages

are official languages.

Jewish people have been speaking the Hebrew language for 4 thousand years. Gospel was written in Hebrew.

To know the Hebrew language is not a duty of all people in Israel. It is obliged only for citizens whose work or their duties are connected with using the Hebrew language.

Policy conducted for not so many people from Baltic countries, Group of Acts adopted for preservation of language learning, nations' history, culture, traditions and customs, work experience carried out jointly with them are very important for Kazakhstan. Of course, there are multinational problems, that have not been solved yet, in other nations' every sphere in Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia. Everybody knows that solving these important problems with force and compulsion methods never lead to good results.

That is why national policy conducted in Kazakhstan – many nations of the Republic should live in peace, not just preserving their nation's history, culture, language, but also should work in order to become sole builder of the society.

In order to develop language structure, a State Program for languages using and development for 2011~2020 (further – Programme) was developed.

The main objective of the Program is to preserve all ethnoses' languages in Kazakhstan to establish corresponding language policy that will provide widely usage of state language as an important factor for nation unity strengthening.

All measures in the Program as important factor for nation unity strengthening are based on state language development dominance and intended to fully satisfy of spiritual-cultural and language demand of our Republic citizens. Along with that it is normative organizational basis of main problems solving in using and development of documents languages.

To reach objectives specified in the Program, several directions were aimed at:

Firstly, organisation of work on creation of system of state language learning by all citizens is planned. For that reason preparation of integrated standard-technology according to state language learning, preparation of accreditation system for state language learning and estimation of its service according to rating, creation of system for stimulation state language learning process are aimed at.

Secondly, implementation of works on raising reputation of state language and broaden its necessity and demand are considered.

Thirdly, through the Kazakh language reserve improvement and systematization, development of Kazakhstan people speech culture, improvement of Kazakh language writing and creation of

tolerate language environment language culture improvement measures were pointed out in the Program.

Fourthly, linguistic capital development measures of Kazakhstan people are aimed to reach. For that reason we should make suitable conditions to preserve the Russian language function, to learn and preserve languages of ethnoses who live in Kazakhstan, also suitable conditions for English and other languages learning were considered.

The implementation of objectives set before gives an opportunity to reach following results till 2020:

2017 – the share of Kazakhstan people who learned state language will be 80%,
and in 2020 – will increase till 95%.

2020 – the share of Kazakhstan people who learned the Russian language will be at
least 90%.

2020 – the share of Kazakhstan people who learned the English language will be
about 20%.

CONCLUSION

Within the execution of State Programme intended for languages use and development in the Republic of Kazakhstan for 2011~2020 objectives for reaching effective results and scaled activities were set for the next ten years. That is why while we consider the scale and importance of President's task to bring share of people who learned state language to 95% in 2020, we think that at present while implementing pointed state program all central and local executive powers should reinforce executive requirements.

As our President Nazarbayev N.A. said, «to be patriot means to love your motherland with all your heart, to believe yourself and your people, to serve your community. But if you do not know your history, mother tongue, your descent you can not be real patriot!».

Our position is not national selfishness but national patriotism. We support multinationality and multilanguages. That is why respecting every nations representative and their languages, respecting our stepped aside mother language through many years because of definite reasons, deeply knowing it, through learning it give it state status is our noble duty.

We should pay attention to the fact that national consciousness is not a part of national culture but its main root, base of our peacefulness.

The destiny of state language needs awakening of national positive nature.

In spite of what activity we begin to do we should develop it further. Once one of the respective person Dosmukhameduly Kh. said: «Weapon of language are publishing houses and schools, publishing houses and schools that are very courageous weapon that frights people. Language used in publishing houses and schools do not penetrate through the country that way. If language of publishing house and school is a right language it will prosper, enrich and blossom language used in the country», he said. In this point of view, the importance is still present in spite of passed time. It is clear that kindergarten and school language will become Kazakh, language position will be improved in case of entering of language into information system and internet.

At present, the society changed its opinion about Kazakh language. It is proved by the facts like opening sites in Kazakh language on internet, they not were just opened but its permanent visitors number is increasing, also appearing of Kazakh forums, and causing interest for this matter especially of young people. And now using this moment effectively «strike while the iron is hot» as it is used to say, let us not leave behind the work that can be done today, that is why we should determine changes that are to enter into the law, adopting resolutions and performing activities. We believe that spiritual power of famous people who work in the sphere of language policy, really concerning people, Parliament deputies is sufficient.

The main thing is that we should always know that the national language depends on national consciousness, elevation of national honour, its necessity level. Today feeling of not worse than everybody else is sufficient to our nation. It is true that for now the spirit of independence has not yet fully recovered us.

That is why the general purpose is starting of this activity by all of us as one person.

At present according to international standard one of the main indicators of country development is a providing full service of state language in our country. We should get rid of the opinion that state language is only mother language of Kazakh nation and influence it to be general language for all citizens of Kazakhstan, mother language for Kazakh people and second mother language for others.

Putting such objectives forward we can reach for creation of premises to provide real competitive ability of our nation in present world. For that reason we should influence state employees who work in all state authorities to speak state language, stimulate them for that and take measures to create material conditions. However we should not involve only state employees to know state language but also contribute to make it daily-social language for mass of people. Especially providing multisided learning of state language by other nations representatives we

should consider the ways of encouraging them. For that reason we should not just make other nations representatives to learn and know state language but also know that one of our general objective is to engage them more for state service according to their language learning quality. At this point it is important to enter test system for determining state language learning level of state employees which is preparing in the sphere of language learning.

To start conducting effective measures connected with increase of state language influence in general community environment is one of the main directions of this sphere. For that purpose working hard with national, cultural associations, intelligent society complex activities should be made.

If we keep in mind that future of the state is in hands of young people, we will do not forget that state language especially important for nowadays youth. So that is why nowadays young people working in state authorities, service sphere, rights protection authorities and court sphere without knowing state language can not perform their tasks. That is why the scaled and complex measures should be done in this sphere.

The Kazakh language graphics, which was said about by our President on XII Session of Kazakhstan Nations Assembly, e.g. task about consideration the opportunity of transference of today using Cyrillic alphabet to Roman alphabet, cause us to think about. Really we need to say that this is approvable step in today global level. Because using Roman alphabet is the way to compete with competitive world, and also pledge of our language future, these issues were set about by scientists and specialists many times. However knowing that transference to Roman alphabet is hard and long process and with good sides it has negative sides we should completely research this issue and make reasonable resolution for the future of our nation and language.

Saying «Word wealth of the Kazakh language» there is more to discuss. Its main issue is to gather fully and thrifty all the wealth of our language, focus in one direction, record in computer memory, explain meaning, determine sphere of usage, to make lexical, phraseological, etc. reserve of state language, take it into state protection. Because in all civilized countries tradition word is preserved, saved in the computer memory forever and continue to be enlarged.

Every problem's resolution in language has its adding part for problems resolving sphere. Firstly, necessity of state language should be increased, language should be made attractive and authoritative. Every citizen of Kazakhstan in order to reach his or her purpose should know language, after realizing that you can not improve your career, you can not be fully considered as citizen of your country you can confidently say that Kazakh language is a state language. This time is not so far from us. That is why we should remember that we feel understanding of citizens,

generally society of the state language importance. For that reason we should increase the number and quality of state language learning courses for adults that are opening locally. In order to conduct this work profitably, to systematize it we should use power of regional language management increasing teachers and staff units. Another very important factor in fully solving of this problem – entering information technologies. Provision of language learners with electronic textbooks, distant learning, preparing and using different methods are very important in learning language. Through continuity, improvement of the work in this sphere many problems will be solved in increase of state language using sphere.

One of the issues performing with the language policy is to help our compatriots who live abroad. This issue can be even named as one of directions of language policy.

The main current problem of the Kazakh diaspora abroad is learning the Kazakh language. In many countries the problem of Kazakh language teaching found positive resolution. However in spite of performed work there are many factors that do not let the Kazakh language to be spreaded. The main obstacle among them, there is no necessity of the Kazakh language from side of social environment and real life conditions. For that reason it is clear that the Kazakh language gradually move away from everyday life among compatriots from different countries.

That is why to teach compatriots distantly, prepare teachers of the Kazakh language among Kazakh citizens abroad and systematically conduct qualification improve courses, organize the Kazakh language teaching volunteer groups among excellent students from Kazakhstan institutes of higher education and distribute their work, such and other important measures should be completed.

Today using new information technologies we should prepare and issue new learning facilities, learning books, methodical facilities, vocabularies based on language and education sphere of diaspora countries.

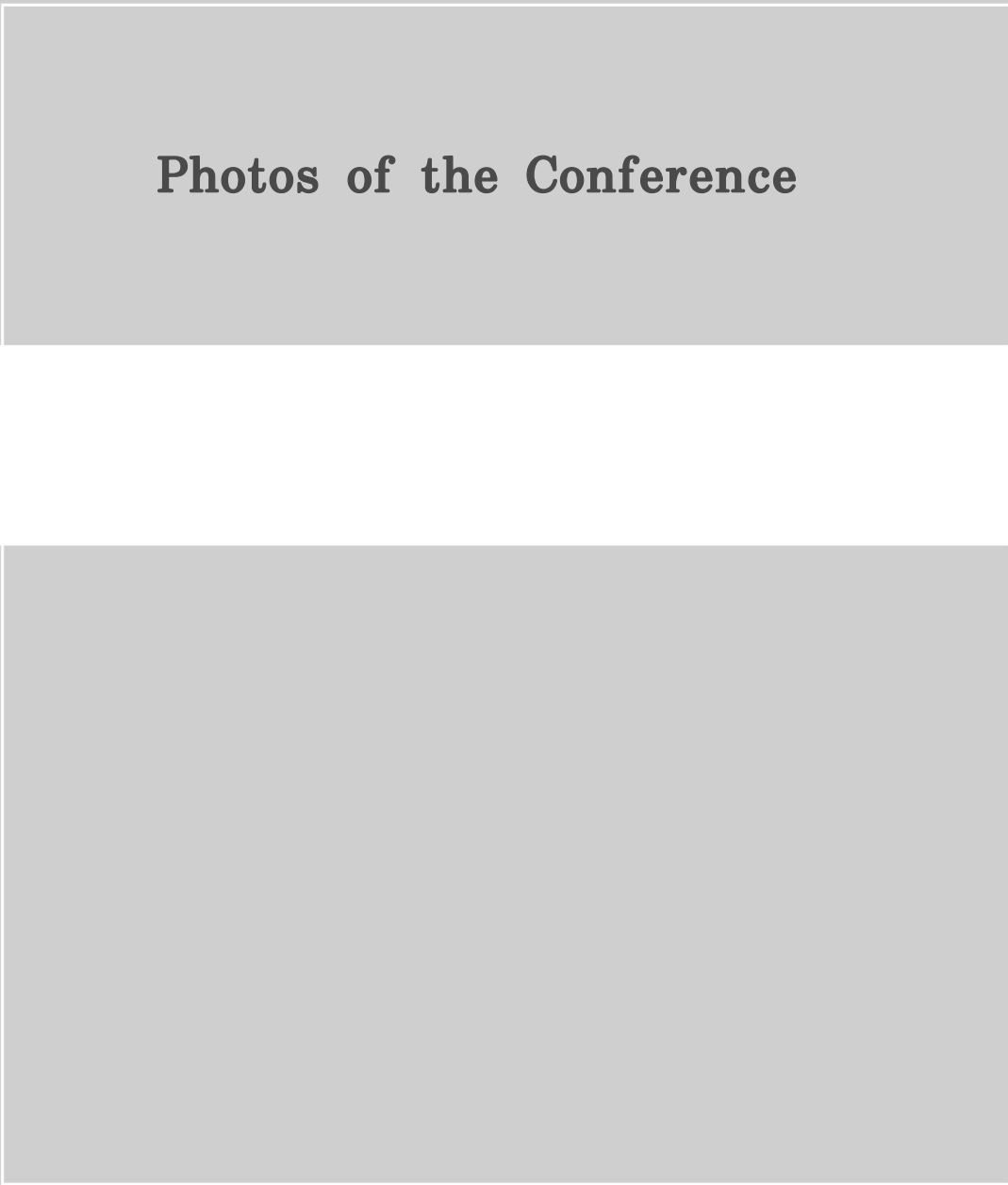
Another thing to say, language environment occurred in Kazakhstan society with the growth of Kazakh nation who know the Kazakh language. If one can not form language environment sturdy and absolutely strengthen it, it is very difficult to develop language. At the present the reason of «obstacle» in our society is an absence of this language environment. That is why in solving this problem the exceptional position is took by relatives who return to our country from abroad. Because, in spite that they grew in another country they preserved their language and heart in Kazakh state fearing that they can break the link with their nation. Today their joining us is like «new blood» to the Kazakh language. For example, the issue of settling more repatriates in the regions with more people from other nationality and crowd them densely. If this matter do not meet proper resolution there will be great need to open the Kazakh language school, kindergarten, to make state establishment to work in the Kazakh language.

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Photos of the Conference





Prof. Robert Phillipson, the Keynote Speaker



The Audiences



Open Discussion



The Distinguished Speakers with the Director General of NIKL

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Protecting and Revitalizing Native Languages in an Era of Globalization

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