Abstracts of the LAUD Symposium 2004: Empowerment Through Language

Compiled by
Sandra Balzert
Christine Steinert
Gabriele Trappmann

Working paper in preparation for the LAUD Symposium

Series A: General & Theoretical Papers
ISSN 1435-6473
Essen: LAUD 2004
Paper No. **583**

Universität Duisburg-Essen

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University of Duisburg-Essen
Fachbereich 3
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Contents **Page**

Neville Alexander **6**

Socio-political factors in the evolution of language policy in post-apartheid South Africa

Ulrich Ammon **7**

The dominance of languages and language communities in the European Union (EU) and the consequences

Herman M. Batibo **8**

Marginalization through educational medium:
The case of the linguistically disadvantaged groups in Botswana and Tanzania

Rose Marie Beck **9**

We speak Otjiherero but we write English:
Disowning and reappropriating participation in development at grassroot level (Herero, Namibia)

Carol Benson **11**

Bilingual programs as educational development

Olenka Bilash **13**

The challenges and triumphs of reversing language shift in a Cree community in Saskatchewan:
An action research study

Christina Bratt Paulston **15**

Preliminary Thoughts on Extrinsic Linguistic Minorities

Birgit Brock-Utne **16**

The advantages and disadvantages of code-mixing and code-switching in the African classroom

Janina Brutt-Griffler **17**

International language policy and education:
The (re)presentations of indigenous language

Andy Chebanne **19**

Language policy and ethnicity in Botswana:
National policy and the relationship of autochthonous linguistic minorities in educational and cultural practices

Min-Hsun Chiang **20**

Being model monitory means being alienated from the ethnic language?
A case study of Chinese Americans

Michael Clyne **22**

Empowerment through the community language – does it work?

Contents **Page**

Florian Coulmas **24**

The power to choose (and its sociolinguistic implications)

René Dirven & Frank Polzenhagen **25**

Rationalist or romantic model in language policy and globalisation

Paulin G. Djité **27**

Living on borrowed tongues? A view from within

John Edwards **28**

The power of language - the language of power

Sabine Ehrhart, Christian Mair & Peter Mühlhäusler **30**

Language planning in the Pacific:
English-based creoloids on Norfolk and Palmerston Islands

Yvonne Ellis **31**

An exploration of forms and authentic text in an EFL context

Elizabeth J. Erling & Suzanne K. Hilgendorf **33**

English at the German university:
A means of disadvantage or empowerment?

Adeleke A. Fakoya **35**

Nigerians and the English language:
National growth through linguistic empowerment

Rosalie Finlayson & Sarah Slabbert **37**

Is instruction in the mother tongue always the optimal choice?
South African case studies with reference to the inclusion/exclusion debate

Joshua A. Fishman **39**

Sociolinguistics: More power(s) to you!

Roslyn M. Frank & Michael Houser **40**

Shifting Identities:
Metaphoric communicative competence and common ground in Western and Basque cultural models

Ofelia García **42**

The policy and politics of Spanish in New York City

Jan Hollm **44**

Foreign language teaching under German National Socialism

Contents **Page**

Juliane House **46**

English as a lingua franca as an instrument for linguistic disempowerment?

Herbert Igboanusi & Hans-Georg Wolf **48**

Empowerment through English –
a realistic view of the educational promotion of English in post-colonial contexts:
The example of Nigeria

Olaf Jäkel **48**

Empowering the learner:
Socratic discourse evaluation

D. Kasule & D. Mapolelo **51**

Teaching elementary mathematics in a second language

Valeri Khabirov **53**

Language shift as the result of change in language loyalty in Congo-Brazzaville

Ephie Konidaris **55**

The code-switching patterns of trilingual Montrealers

Gitte Kristiansen **56**

The socio-cognitive basis of empowerment through language:
Style-shifting and shifting styles

Svetlana Kurteš **58**

Nationalism, nation state and language:
The case of Serbo-Croat

Karsten Legère **60**

JK Nyerere and the empowerment of Swahili

Yi Li **61**

Learning English in Canada:
Language, identity and classroom practice

Galina Lushnikova **63**

Siberian ethnic groups:
Minority education and language loss

Heiko F. Marten **65**

Parliamentary decentralisation and language policy:
Sámi in Norway and Scottish Gaelic

J.R. Moletsane **66**

The meeting of three languages, creativity, conflict and/or compromise?

Davie E. Mutasa **67**

The renaissance of African languages:
An inevitable enterprise?

Carol Myers-Scotton **68**

How codeswitching as an available option empowers bilinguals

JoAnne Neff van Aertselaer **70**

Language policies in Spain:
Accommodation or alteration?

Peter H. Nelde **72**

The new multilingualism and the European language policy

J.V. Neustupný **73**

Power of language across national boundaries:
The case of tertiary education

Adam Pawłowski **75**

Language in constitutions of European countries

Lydia N. Ramahobo-Nyati **77**

Language policy, cultural rights and the law in Botswana

Farzad Sharifian **78**

Cultural conceptualizations in Aboriginal English:
Empowering Aboriginal children in the classroom

Jeff Siegel **79**

Empowering speakers of unstandardized varieties:
The awareness approach

Hazel Simmons-McDonald **81**

Bi-literacy instruction as a means of empowering the native speaker of French Creole

Augustin Simo Bobda **83**

Life in a Tower of Babel without a language policy

Christine Simone Sing **85**

Curriculum ideals and classroom reality in the process of empowerment through 'Euro-English'
- A Case Study -

Contents **Page**

Birgit Smieja **87**

The impact of language stereotypes on education:
A case study of Botswana students

Bernard Spolsky **89**

Language policy failures – why won't they listen?

Zoe Yuen Hiu Sum **90**

Empowerment through Yiddish in American English

Alex-Louise Tessonneau **92**

From metis stories to the didactics of the French language

Tumelontle Thiba **93**

In response to threatened languages:
The case of indigenous languages in South Africa with special reference
to language attitudes in the North West Province

Christa van der Walt **95**

Motivation and empowerment:
Opposing forces?

Tobie van Dyk **96**

Testing for academic literacy in a historically disadvantaged context

Albert Weideman **97**

Design considerations for academic literacy courses:
Meeting the challenges of higher education

Neville Alexander

University of Cape Town

Socio-political factors in the evolution of language policy in post-apartheid South Africa

This paper considers the socio-political factors that have favoured or impeded the evolution of a democratic language policy in South Africa since 1994. The thrust of the exposition is that in spite of favourable, sometimes contradictory, socio-political forces, the actual formulation of what is in some respects exemplary policy has required more than a decade of tenacious struggle and negotiations on the part of dedicated language scholars and activists. In the present phase, the major focus of policy and planning is on implementation strategies and mechanisms. Whatever one's ultimate assessment, there is no doubt that much can be learned from the South African experience.

Ulrich Ammon

University of Duisburg-Essen, Campus Duisburg

The dominance of languages and language communities in the European Union (EU) and the consequences

Talking about the rank order of the dominance of languages in the European Union is quite a common practice. This “pecking order” as it is often referred to is perhaps most obvious with regard to the prevalent language choices when speakers of different languages meet. Other occasions where it can be observed refer to the choice of working languages in the EU institutions or in public international events within the EU.

The paper starts out to explicate what “dominance of languages” or, rather, “dominance of language communities” could reasonably mean. It then deals with the actual rank order of languages within the EU. Finally, and as its main topic, it reveals consequences of various kinds of such dominance for the individual speakers and the entire communities of languages involved. The paper closes with an outlook on possibilities of amelioration of the present language hardships caused by language dominance in the EU.

Herman M. Batibo

University of Botswana

Marginalization through educational medium: The case of the linguistically disadvantaged groups in Botswana and Tanzania

After gaining their independence in the early 1960's, several African countries which happened to have major lingua francas adopted these languages in some of the public domains, particularly in regional administration and lower education. It was thought, by these countries, that the use of a lingua franca in administration and education would bring the government and the school closer to the people than the use of ex-colonial languages like English, French or Portuguese. However, the use of a lingua franca, regarded by some countries as the best compromise in a multilingual and multicultural situation, has tended to disadvantage or marginalize the speakers of the minority languages.

This paper is based on two case studies involving Botswana and Tanzania. The two countries have gone through different socio-political and linguistic experiences since their independence. They constitute, therefore, a good representation of similar situations in a number of other African countries. While Botswana chose Setswana, the widely spoken lingua franca and majority language in the country to be the language of lower education, Tanzania declared Kiswahili, the widely spoken language, in 1964, to be the sole medium of instruction in primary education. In both cases, the speakers of the minority languages or those not fluent enough in the adopted lingua franca suffered many linguistic and cultural disadvantages due to the use of a non mother-tongue. The study highlights some of the adverse outcomes of this situation, particularly in the area of school performance, student drop-out and other related problems. Then it outlines some of the proposed solutions in both countries.

Rose Marie Beck

University of Frankfurt

We speak Otjiherero but we write English: Disowning and reappropriating participation in development at grassroot level (Herero, Namibia)

It is a common prejudice that development work in Africa is difficult and often deemed to fail. The most important answer to these difficulties of the past 20 years has been a change of perspective to participatory development. This bottom-up approach has been followed by an increase of interest in intercultural and transcultural communication for development (e.g. Melkote & Steeves 2001, Fill et al. 2001, Kettemann et al. 2000) with the aim to improve the communication between (expatriate and local) experts and the local actors.

However, from the side of the donors the language question itself has been underestimated so far. The linguistic fragmentation prevailing in most of Africa (and the World) is seen as a barrier to development: Information does not ‚flow' freely from the experts to the local actors, linguistic and intercultural competencies are missing, understanding is precarious. Only recently it has been understood that the important problem is not (or maybe not even primarily) the information-flow from experts to local groups, but rather the opposite. Martens et al. (2002) have observed a significant communicative feedback deficiency from the side of indigenous local actors towards the experts.

Against this background we assume that language, and specifically local languages, are an asset to development. This assumption consequently follows from the idea of participation as the most important instrument and understands linguistic competencies and resources as central factors in the negotiation of the meaning of development. Our focus therefore is on the linguistic activities of the local actors themselves.

This paper will present ongoing research on such linguistic resources within a Herero-speaking community in central Namibia in the context of a community and natural resources development program (SARDEP, Sustainable Animal and Range Development Program of the GTZ) (Beck 2002).

To illustrate the point with an example from field research: A small community in central Namibia had difficulties to maintain the petrol pump of their borehole, specifically of raising funds and here again how to approach a donor and formulate a suitable proposal. According to SARDEP, this is no singular case. I suggested to villagers to facilitate the process of application and formulation. This has two aims: For the community to understand and learn how to apply for funds by acquiring intercultural competencies, for me as the researcher to understand at which points in an application a local community may have difficulties, what kind these difficulties are, etc. We assume that one of the main problems

here is that the local actors feel they have no control over inferential processes (Bearth et al. 2002), but do not know how to exactly put their words in order to keep either inferences as low as possible or control over them as high as possible.

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Carol Benson

University of Stockholm

Bilingual programs as educational development

Bilingual schooling in developing countries is growing out of past separate-but-unequal programs and experimentation into better informed and more systematic programs. Positive results and changes in political climate have encouraged both governments and donors to reconsider the importance of mother tongue and LWCs (languages of wider communication such as creoles or other lingua francae) in their efforts to improve access to basic education as well as its quality. Unlike submersion in the ex-colonial language, which further disadvantages groups such as ethnolinguistic minorities, rural dwellers and girls and women, bilingual programs are associated with more inclusionary forms of schooling and literacy training.

Unfortunately, colonial attitudes and language myths continue to challenge implementation, and globalization at times draws attention away from the most useful languages for schooling. However, evidence from Mozambique and Bolivia, which are both undergoing processes of reform, indicates that progress has been made in concrete terms that benefit some traditionally marginalized groups. Mozambique has made impressive progress in developing materials and orthographies in a number of Bantu languages, and has garnered parent support in many regions, but the planned gradual, voluntary implementation as part of the curriculum reform has been delayed (Benson, 2001). Bolivia's process of implementing bilingual intercultural education nationwide as part of its 1994 reform law has experienced small successes and failures, but among the former are bold measures to promote bilingual teaching through salary bonuses and innovative teacher recruitment from indigenous communities (King and Benson, in press). Both could gain from findings of at times innovative studies and/or practices in other parts of the world, for example:

- Niger, where Hovens (in press) tested "control" students in all-French submersion schools in mother tongue literacy and demonstrated that experimental bilingual students had superior skills in both languages.
- Guatemala, where bilingual (Maya language-Spanish) intercultural literacy programs separate men and women so that relevant themes can be taken up through transformative pedagogy (Najarro, 1999).
- Guinea-Bissau, where schooling in Kiriol, children's second language, provided an effective practical alternative to Portuguese submersion in the absence of resources for mother tongue instruction (Benson, 1994).
- Malawi and Zambia, where Williams' (1998) language literacy data suggest that the local language should be the sole medium of instruction throughout primary schooling.

The transition from experimentation to implementation takes time, during which changes in political will and pedagogical trend can affect practice in many ways. Given the social and economic pressures in developing countries, along with a weak teaching base, implementation is bound to be "partial and slow" (Williams, 1998:67). However, the trend seems to be toward recognition of sociolinguistic and cultural realities, which can only contribute toward more effective schooling for all.

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Olenka Bilash

University of Alberta

The challenges and triumphs of reversing language shift in a Cree community in Saskatchewan: An action research study

During the past 100 years or more, nearly ten once flourishing languages have become extinct; at least a dozen are on the brink of extinction. When these languages vanish, they take with them unique ways of looking at the world, explaining the unknown and making sense of life. (Norris, 1998, p. 8)

Fearing this doom and aware of the chronic absence of research funding for reversing language shift (Fishman, 1990) among aboriginal populations in Canada, a variety of leaders in the Cree educational community undertook a complex language revival initiative in Cumberland House, Saskatchewan. Cumberland House is a Cree and Metis community of approximately 800 people. Its school programs fall under the jurisdiction of Northern Lights School Division, which also oversees educational needs for the northern half of the province of Saskatchewan. The community is located 150 km from the nearest town, at the end of 60 km of gravel road. It is well known to hunters and fishermen for its lush natural habitat. The elders in the community all speak Cree as do their children and some of their grandchildren. However, most people under 40 years of age have limited to no knowledge of Cree. Most school-age children neither speak nor understand their language. This presentation will report the findings of a five year study to overturn this trend.

In an effort to reclaim the language community leaders, teachers, school board officials and a second language education specialist tried a number of strategies, including the introduction of a Cree bilingual program. Beginning in kindergarten children are exposed to 100% of daily instruction in Cree. In grades 1-3 50% of instruction takes place in English and 50% in Cree. Teachers have been responsible for the development of learning resources and teaching strategies for this program. Through trial and error a number of successful strategies have been devised for developing listening, speaking, reading and writing in Cree. Annual testing of Cree and English language development has activated additional language reinforcement projects in the school and community. Annual interviews with administrators, teachers, parents, community members and the children have given a picture of the strengths and weaknesses, needs and successes of the project over the years. Observing a growth in the self esteem of children in the Cree Bilingual program, teachers, administrators and members of the community have felt a resurgence of self-determination. This empowerment, through language, has led to a number of creative projects and brought the community and school together in a positive way.

METHODOLOGY: The purpose of this presentation is to document the chronology of events, present findings of the annual interviews with various stakeholders, to share the approach to teaching/learning and resource development preferred by participating teachers, and to reveal the transformations teachers experienced in their own thinking about reversing language shift, bilingualism and biliteracy as a result of their involvement in this initiative. It is an action research study grounded in community empowerment - action research allows groups to try "out ideas in practice as a means of improvement and as a means of increasing knowledge about the curriculum, teaching, and learning." (1982:5) . It creates space for what Elliot (1991) calls 'reconnaissance' - collecting and describing the facts of the situation and then explaining them.

Christina Bratt Paulston

University of Pittsburgh

Preliminary Thoughts on Extrinsic Linguistic Minorities

What follows is work in progress and should not be understood as representing any final conclusions. However, the problem formulation is certain, the basic concepts clear, the comparative case study approach has proved most satisfactory, and the linguistic consequences are falling into view. The aspects which need more work are basic definition(s), the relationship between definition and the ordering of case studies from prototypical (paradigmatic) case in a continuum - clear cases, weak cases, dubious cases to non-cases - and the specific criteria for this ordering. But I have no doubt about the basic proposition: extrinsic minorities form a special category of linguistic minorities which merit special attention in setting state policies and legislation.

An additional caveat: as usual a word of caution is due here. Minority refers to quantitative differences only, but as several writers (Giordan, 1992; Paulston 1994; Vilfan, 1993) have pointed out, the most salient characteristic of most minorities is that of a superordinate/subordinate status relationship with the majority within a polity. As Vilfan discusses, it is more correct to speak of privileged or dominant and nonprivileged or nondominant ethnic groups. Dominance, or its lack, depends "upon numerous circumstances, for instance, social structure, the dispersion of social groups, the electoral system, historical traditions and the respective prestige of the 'historical nations' involved" (Vilfan, 1993). All of these factors play a role in one way or the other in the shaping of extrinsic minorities, most saliently the sudden loss of privileged status.

An extrinsic ethnic minority (extrinsic from Latin exterior+ secus 'beside, alongside') is a minority, formerly belonging to the majority of a bordering country, still territorially contiguous to that majority, (although it may be separated by a smaller body of water like the Baltic or the Chinese sea). In contradistinction to annexed and colonized minorities, an extrinsic minority did not become part of the new polity through brute force, military or otherwise. In contradistinction to migratory and dispersed minorities, an extrinsic minority remains in situ; its members do not migrate or dislocate. Rather, it becomes part of its new polity through legal measures (courts, treaties, etc), primarily through the moving of borders or with the new majority being granted independence, i.e. by the stroke of a pen. They go overnight from belonging to a majority in power to becoming a minority, in some cases even without vote or citizenship.

Birgit Brock-Utne

University of Oslo

The advantages and disadvantages of code-mixing and code-switching in the African classroom

My paper will be discussing some of the coping strategies teachers use when they have to teach in a language their students do not command and which they often do not master well themselves. First and foremost among these strategies are various forms of code-mixing and code-switching, then comes full translations. What are the advantages and what are the disadvantages of these strategies? When are they being used? For what purposes? Can the strategies be developed to be used in a better way? The examples of code-switching and code-mixing reported here will be taken from Tanzania and South Africa, the countries in which my research project is located. The same practice has, however, been observed in class-rooms in Uganda, Swaziland, Namibia and Burundi. In Tanzania Kiswahili is used as the language of instruction through primary school while English is supposed to be used as language of instruction in secondary school and institutions of higher learning (except in some Teacher Colleges for primary school teachers where the language of instruction is Kiswahili).

Despite of what may be regarded as a very progressive language in education policy in South Africa, which in principle enables learners or their guardians to choose the language of instruction, English is used as the medium of instruction from grade 4 in primary school onwards. The transition to English is, however, only a policy decided by individual schools and reflects the actual 1979 apartheid language policy. When one reads the official government policy carefully, one sees that this policy does *not* state that a change of language of instruction needs to take place in the fourth or fifth grade in primary school or, for that matter, at all. According to this policy the whole of primary school as well as secondary school could be conducted in African languages as the languages of instruction.

Janina Brutt-Griffler

University of Alabama

International language policy and education: The (re)presentations of indigenous language

The recent focus within linguistics on endangered and heritage languages has constructed a scholarly and language policy discourse predicated on an unproblematic division of languages into dominant ("alien") and indigenous ("local") languages. Viewed through this lens, language policy is often viewed as an instrument of ensuring the survival of indigenous languages from the encroachment of dominant languages, principally English, thereby safeguarding the rights of minority ethnic communities (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2002).

Scholars have successfully problematized the status of languages like English outside the mother tongue context, showing that English has become indigenized and changed as it has spread (Jenkins, 2001; Kachru, 1986; Seidlhofer, 2001) and that its spread does not necessarily represent the result of a conscious effort emanating from an imperial center (Brutt-Griffler 2002). At the same time, recent work has begun to analyze the category of indigenous language, hitherto accepted as authentic products of indigenous cultures in need of special protection (Mufwene, 2001). Historical investigations of languages like Zulu and Xhosa within South Africa (Makoni, 1998) and Shona in Zimbabwe (Brutt-Griffler 2002) have shown that these languages were "invented" (Makoni, 1998) by missionaries and colonial authorities, and assigned to speakers at times in very arbitrary ways. The notion of indigenous language is historical and contextually contingent - what it illustrates is the simplicity of the notion that by shifting from English to an indigenous language one is necessarily counteracting the impact of imperialism.

Post-apartheid South Africa, often cited as having implemented enlightened language policy in a multilingual nation for its recognition of eleven official languages, presents a case of language policy constructed on the basis of unanalyzed assumptions of language rights theory. Included among those are nine African languages, at least some of which fall into the category of "invented."

In this paper, I will present rich linguistic and ethnographic data from South Africa and Zimbabwe on *Primary Language Socialization*. The data comes from two longitudinal studies which involved total six family units; each family unit consists of at least two children age 5 to 8; three families were selected per each context. To operationalize data recordings and transcription, children's primary language socialization in this study was framed as 'event interactions.' Drawing on the work of Heath (1983) and Ochs et al. (1986), I refer to 'event interactions' when at least two people (children or adults and children) engage in a meaningful oral exchange. An example of such an event is a dinner

conversation, when children ride on the bus to school, or when children interact with each other at school, both in the classroom or outside.

One of the principal goals of this line of research is to uncover the languages and linguistic competence that children develop and are socialized into, the nature of such competence, and the implications it has for educational practice of young adults.

I will demonstrate that the language socialization in what we might call the language of everyday encounters in South Africa and Zimbabwe often takes place not in these languages but often in pan-ethnic argots (Brutt-Griffler and Makoni, in press). The data suggest that socialization takes place in a linguistic continuum rather than in languages with clearly defined boundaries and corresponding ethnic affiliations. It presents a more complex notion of language competence of the multilingual subject that needs to be recognized in the context of educational practice and policy implementation with respect to English and heritage languages. It will be argued that this circumstance problematizes the relation of language and identity/ethnicity and thereby raises important questions for language policy and education. First, it debunks the myth that while the use of English in educational settings in 'English as a second language contexts' prevents children from studying in the language of home literacy, the "mother tongue" as medium of instruction ensures that result. As such, the choice between English or a "mother tongue" as the medium of instruction, already fraught with socioeconomimc implications (Brutt-Griffler, 2002), also presents educational complexities that have been insufficiently considered. Second, mother tongue education can represent a sociopolitical policy of fostering ethnic divisions similar to that pursued by the apartheid regime in South Africa to facilitate white rule. Teaching of the mother tongue can thereby be, far from safeguarding "indigenous cultures," a way of reifying invented identities/ethnicities that represent a "shaping of cultural memory" (Makoni, 1998). This paper concludes by drawing out implications for the transformative role of international language policy in education.

Andy Chebanne

University of Botswana

Language policy and ethnicity in Botswana: National policy and the relationship of autochthonous linguistic minorities in educational and cultural practices

The constitution of Botswana (a country in Southern Africa) acknowledges a monolithic linguistic community and purports to afford its citizens equal rights in all domains of development, and with this perspective, the country gives an impression of a mono-ethnic and mono-lingual state. Yet it has 23 ethnic and linguistic communities including the Khoe and the San (historically marginalized ethnic communities of Southern Africa). This paper will endeavour to provide information on the situation of minoritization and marginalization of ethnic and linguistic communities and also examine the relationships of these linguistic minorities in the current language policy as applied in educational institutions and in the expression of ethnic culture. The paper will further argue that if the situation is left to prevail, linguistic and ethnic communities will be annihilated. Recommendations will be made, which should form the basis for a harmonious development and promotion of minority languages and cultures identity through education.

Min-Hsun Chiang

Tunghai University

Being model monitory means being alienated from the ethnic language? A case study of Chinese Americans

The education of language minority children is one of the most important issues facing the United States and other countries where a great influx of immigrants arrive each year and constitute a considerable portion of the population. Under the immense pressure to be assimilated into the mainstream culture, ethnic minority children often chose to relinquish their ethnic language in their early years. As Olsen's (1997) remarked, "to be accepted as Americans means they first have to shift from their home language to English" (p.34). The advocates of ethnic language postulate that educational efforts should be dedicated to preserve this valuable linguistic resource (Cummins, 1981; García, 1983; Fishman, 1989; Trueba, 1993; August & Hakuta, 1998). In practice, however, mainstream institutions offer little or no assistance in maintaining and developing ethnic language as a written language despite the fact that in the U.S., in the 1980s, over 5000 community-based, ethnic language schools were attended by as many as 600,000 children (Fishman, 1989). In the 2000s, with the increasing number of immigrants, the number of ethnic language schools must have grown substantially.

The results presented here come from a year and half case study of the Chinese school located in the southwest, an urban high-tech city in the U.S. This study intended to achieve two major purposes: first, to shed light on the second-generation, American-born Chinese youths' perceptions of the Chinese language, the Chinese language school, and the Chinese language class; and secondly, to illuminate the source of hindrance that counteracts the language maintenance endeavors. Therefore, this study, at the macro level, examined the demographic, socio-cultural, and linguistic contexts of current Chinese language school to illustrate how the wider community and its institutions influence language maintenance. The current study, at the micro level, incorporated the ethnography of speaking perspective and focused on how the participants' situated social identity and verbal interactions in a Chinese language class were interwoven with one another.

In summary, this study suggests that the experience of being Chinese in the American context has a profound impact on the retention of ethnic language. In other words, being Chinese American means being a high achiever in the academic realm rather than being ethnic Chinese American more closely affiliated with the retention of ethnic language. The informants readily adhered to the model minority identity. Under these circumstances, studying ethnic language became irrelevant and even hindered Chinese Americans' pursuits of being academic high achiever. The current study helps us gain insight into how a community-based ethnic language school worked to maintain the ethnic language despite

significant odds against it. The results may help the other ethnic language schools be structured in a way consistent with the linguistic and sociocultural characteristics of their intended learners. By looking into the classroom interactions, the study points out how ethnic language teaching is contingent upon the broader sociocultural context of schooling and the necessity of considering the forces of larger sociocultural contexts in the governance of patterns of classroom interactions.

Michael Clyne

University of Melbourne

Empowerment through the community language – does it work?

This paper explores how and whether it is possible to empower immigrants and their children by raising the status of their 'minority' languages, especially in the education system in such a way as to view the linguistic diversity which they bring as a national resource. Impediments to such empowerment and strategies for the sharing of community languages to the common good are discussed in the context of current practices in Australia and on the basis of an action research project in four Melbourne secondary schools. While the discussion is based on the Australian situation, it could also apply to other immigrant countries including those of Western Europe.

The widely used term 'community language' was devised within a migrant education action group in Melbourne in 1975 to legitimate those languages other than English employed within the Australian community. This was the time of a status change in which community languages were introduced as school language subjects and into the electronic media. The original intention was to achieve more social justice and to raise the self-esteem of disadvantaged groups. In the following decade, linguistic and cultural diversity were 'mainstreamed' so that they are owned by and accessible to the entire Australian nation. This could further raise the status of community languages and at the same time help culturally deprived 'Anglos'. Both the social and cultural objectives were incorporated into the explicit language and languages-in-education policies of the following decade both nationally and in some of the states. A still open question is Can community language programs be of benefit to both children of migrants and second language learners? With the emphasis of all government policies on economic goals, some languages other than English were commodified. This included languages of large or growing community groups which were considered of economic importance to the nation, such as Chinese, Indonesian, Japanese, and Korean. In order to alleviate fear of competition from 'advantaged students' in what were considered 'difficult languages', a process of discriminatory assessment was (re)introduced which can lead to discrimination against second generation bilinguals, those very children who should be the beneficiaries of community language programs and who are potentially those the maintenance of whose bilingualism is a great asset to themselves and to the nation. At the same time, a deficit model resurfaces, based on a false dichotomy of language vs. literacy, with the latter being constructed in monolingual English terms.

Among the strategies developed within the action project are activities which can be shared by students with and without a background and with different degrees of background in the language, the utilization of community resources, and the development of programs

and materials to build target language skills out of a non-standard language/variety spoken at home.

Florian Coulmas

University of Duisburg-Essen, Campus Duisburg

The power to choose (and its sociolinguistic implications)

No language is such that it couldn't be different. Theoretically, everything in language is in flux, nevertheless speakers experience their language as relatively stable, as an inherited necessity. The tension between stability and change in language arises from the fact that a language is both a collective product with systematic properties and an individual capacity with idiosyncratic traits. By means of language individuals associate as social groups, language being a crucial means of socialization. Each individual's language represents a choice of the collectivity's language. Social norms are restrictions on individual choices making deviations that imperil communication unacceptable, if not impossible.

Two crucial questions are (1) how norms are upheld, and (2) how individual choices add up to form collective choices, that is, language change. This paper will revolve around these two questions considering them from various angles and with respect to all structural levels of language that are subject to variation. Further, individual and collective choices concerning the functional allocation of languages in society will also be discussed as well as the question of how function bears on structure.

I will argue that, because choice is a notion that is central to our self-understanding, it offers itself as a focal point for the integration of the various subfields of sociolinguistics.

René Dirven & Frank Polzenhagen

University of Duisburg-Essen, Campus Duisburg & Humboldt University of Berlin

Rationalist or romantic model in language policy and globalisation

Language policies in most countries of the world have traditionally been guided by the ideas of monolingualism and social homogeneity, with increasingly detrimental and oppressive effects. For decades, such ideals have been vehemently criticised by linguists of various persuasions and proposals have been made to develop language policies that may cope with the multilingual realities and present challenges posed by globalisation. Although these proposals break with established tenets in a number of crucial respects, they are often still embedded in a long tradition of dominant competing models or ideologies in linguistics and the social sciences in general. With Geeraerts (2003), two models may be identified in which these trends are, globally, situated. On the one hand, there is the rationalist model, which has its roots in Enlightenment thinking. On the other hand, there is the romantic model, which derives its basic assumptions from the 18th and 19th century romantic tradition.

What is intriguing about the progressive versions of the two models is that their advantages and disadvantages, respectively, are almost complementary. The rationalist model's emphasis on the promotion of national standard languages and on global communication fosters and ensures, at least ideally, democratisation, emancipation and broad access to social participation on the national level and beyond. However, it does so to the possible detriment of local and minority languages, and in some negligence of the cultural dimension of language. The promotion of one or a few languages must necessarily lead to what has been termed in biological metaphors, language attrition and language death among the non-promoted ones. In actual language policies, this neglect in linguistic matters is more often than not part of a general disregard of local and "non-mainstream" cultures. In turn, the romantic model's emphasis on the local and on the cultural dimension of language allows for, again ideally at least, the preservation and expression of one's own identity and the recognition of others' identities. However, it faces the inherent danger of fostering isolation from the nation and from global communication, and, furthermore, the threat of nationalistic excesses.

In our paper, we focus on approaches that have incorporated a positive understanding of multilingualism and multiculturalism and their views of global languages, in particular English. Three issues are addressed: Firstly, we critically discuss the key conceptualisations underlying the two models' linguistic bases, i.e. the rationalist LANGUAGE AS A TOOL metaphor on the one hand, and the romantic LANGUAGE AS IDENTITY MARKER metaphor on the other hand. Here, our focus is on the romantic conceptualisation and its currently en

vogue interpretation against the background of the biological model of language, coupled with neo-Whorfian positions.

This is reflected in the metalanguage of these approaches, with highly controversial terms like *killer language* or *linguistic genocide*, which we critically examine. Secondly, we provide a discussion of ideological implications and background assumptions of the two models. Here, we critically observe both models' tendency to measure languages along some ideologically motivated value matrix, explicitly and implicitly. And thirdly, we cautiously hint at possible points of contact between the progressive versions of the two models. In particular we argue that the models' key notions in a positive understanding of multilingualism, i.e. "functional specialisation" from the rationalist perspective and "expression of multi-layered identity" from the romantic one, offer much common ground between the two approaches, both on the national and the supra-national levels. Further common ground may emerge from the increasing awareness, among proponents of both models, that the currently almost exclusive focus on assuring and determining the status of languages needs to shift to the sustaining of the socio-cultural and socio-economic status of their speakers. Thus, ideally again, multiculturalism and multilingualism may become a second possible meeting place between the two models, much as it was the case, historically, with the notion of nationalism, ethnic and civil, respectively, during the formation of Western nation states.

Paulin G. Djité

University of Western Sydney

Living on borrowed tongues? A view from within

When France subjugated part of the peoples of Africa, the colonial discourse on the local cultural and socio-linguistic situations was contemptuous of all things indigenous. The 'purported' absence of a written medium (Battestini 1997, Calvet 1987, Davidson 1984) was used as a pretext to neglect the local languages. As a result, French, the language of the 'civilized', was imposed to the 'uncivilized'. *Surely, God in His great wisdom could not have created such a Babel!* The French colonial administration was therefore convinced that they were bestowing onto their subjects one of the greatest gifts of modern civilization, that of a 'beautiful' and 'rational' language.

At the Brazzaville Conference of February 1944, a recommendation was made for French to become the exclusive language of education in all the schools of the colony, and for any pedagogical use of local languages to be prohibited throughout what later became known as French-speaking Africa. In the words of one Inspector General of Education, "The objective is not to protect the originality of the colonized, but to elevated them to our level" (cited in Bokamba, 1991). A year after the Brazzaville Conference, the *Journal officiel de l'Afrique occidentale française* (15 September 1945: 707) published the language-in-education policy for French Western Africa stating that: "The main objective […] is to influence, direct and speed up the evolution of the African population" (author translation).

A direct consequence of this policy at the end of the colonial period was a total neglect of the local languages in all of French Western Africa, in terms of language planning and language-in-education planning (Bokamba 1991, Calvet 1994, 1987, Djité 2000, 1997, 1993, 1992, 1991, Ki-Zerbo 1990). Along the way, a number of falsehoods and prejudices were fabricated about the local languages, planted in the minds of the new African elite, and spread. Some of these include the beliefs that (1) the local languages cannot express modern scientific concepts, (2) choosing any one of these languages as a national language will lead to a 'tribal' war, and therefore that (3) the only language of science and development and truly neutral language in the colony was French.

The aim of this contribution is to explore the socio-political factors behind the maintenance of French in language-in-education planning in French-speaking Africa. The paper proposes insights from within to the following questions: Is the French language still the lever of upward social mobility in French-speaking Africa? Is it still possible to speak of it as being imposed on the populations? If so, who is doing this, and how is it being done? Is there really 'dramatic' socio-linguistic discontinuities between one's pre-school cognitive categories and those taught in primary schools where French is the sole language of instruction? In other words, what are the realities of living on borrowed tongues?

John Edwards

St. Francis Xavier University

The power of language - the language of power

Since society has never distributed its blessings fairly or equitably, it is no surprise that matters of linguistic access and recognition have historically favoured some groups more than others. “Only before God and the linguist,” said Bill Mackey, “are all languages equal.” He elaborated this pithy observation by noting that “everyone knows that you can go further with some languages than you can with others.” This rather Orwellian qualification of equality has apparently been widely accepted for a very long time, and even within liberal cloisters: John Stuart Mill’s approval of ethnolinguistic and nationalist aspiration did not prevent him from observing that the “absorption” of the Basques and Bretons by France, or the enfolding of the Welsh and the Scots within the “British nation”, would be highly desirable consummations. But the views of Mackey and Mill are not identical. Ideas have altered, and earlier conceptions (shared, perhaps, by Mill) that some languages are, quite simply, the vehicles of “backward” cultures whose demise is a necessary element of human progress have given way to contemporary ones that make no comparative judgements about intrinsic linguistic worth – that maintain, indeed, that any such judgements are scientifically baseless. In terms of power, then, we might say that linguistic clout – or the lack of it – is now seen to rest upon social bases: it is not really a matter of language at all.

But all this constitutes only two acts in a continuing drama. In the most contemporary scenes, there is increasing interest in altering those social influences that elevate some languages (and cultures) and suppress others. This interest is fuelled, above all, by a perception that these inequalities are unfair, and the intervention – real or anticipated – which it suggests involves the realignment or redistribution of sociocultural and sociolinguistic wealth and resources. From general considerations of power, we move more specifically to questions of empowerment.

This is the topic to be fleshed out in the paper itself. In so doing, I shall touch upon a number of illustrations and, indeed, will attempt to show that the theme of cultural and linguistic empowerment is a thread that links several apparently dissimilar contexts. The argument is built around the following framework:

(a) how ought we to define empowerment? how might we know when it has been achieved?;
(b) at the base of all arguments about empowerment is the matter of identity: survival, enhancement and maintenance; or, alternatively, demise, discouragement and erosion;
(c) many arguments naively accept Bacon’s sixteenth-century observation – and its apparent linguistic correlates – that knowledge is power (*scientia potestas est*);

(d) language empowerment is commonly seen as a compensatory device and, in that sense, links such groups as ethnolinguistic minorities, aboriginal populations, the educationally and socially "disadvantaged", and so on (these are not, of course, watertight categories);
(e) beyond the desire to redress unfavourable and unfair situations, the very exercise of empowerment is seen, itself, as empowering, with positive consequences for self-esteem, "authenticity", dialect legitimacy, and so on;
(f) education is central, and the school is thus commonly understood to be the focal point of empowerment efforts; once again, the range here is quite broad – extending from inner-city dialect variation to national-language revival.

What, then, *is* the power of language ..... ?

Note: Bill Mackey's observations are found on p. 7 of his article, "The importation of bilingual education models" (pp. 1-18 in James Alatis [ed.], *International Dimensions of Bilingual Education*. Washington: Georgetown University Press, 1978). See also John Stuart Mill's *Considerations on Representative Government* (London: Parker & Bourn, 1861).

Sabine Ehrhart, Christian Mair & Peter Mühlhäusler

Ingwiller, University of Freiburg & University of Adelaide

Language planning in the Pacific: English-based creoloids on Norfolk and Palmerston Islands

While the previous neglect of Pidgin and Creole languages has been more than redressed in the past three decades in theoretically driven linguistic research, English-lexifier Pidgins and Creoles still tend to be overlooked as worthy objects in work aimed to promote the documentation and preservation of endangered languages. If anything, European-lexifier Pidgins and Creoles are sometimes even seen as aggressors in precarious linguistic ecologies, as they are considered as spearheads in the spread of European languages. In the postcolonial world European standard languages tend to be associated with the open prestige carried by technological modernization, and the "pure" indigenous languages (i.e. those less obviously affected by language contact with European languages) have often come to signify an "authentic" cultural tradition and local identity. Pidgins and Creoles, however, are caught "in between", in a way symbolizing the worst of both worlds: the erosion of indigenous traditions through contact and modernization, on the one hand, and the downsides of Western-type modernization on the other.

Thus, in an age in which the status of Creoles as viable natural languages is not in doubt on the theoretical-linguistic plane, considerable stigma may still attach to them in the minds of their own speakers. This stigma often affects decisions made by language planners and – to some extent – may even influence the thinking of their expert linguistic advisers.

We will present data from two endangered English-related Creoloids from the South Pacific: Norfolk (NF) and Palmerston (PE). It will be shown that in addition to the risks threatening all languages with small communities of speakers it is, paradoxically, their relation to English which poses an additional threat to their survival. Owing to their many superficial resemblances to their socially privileged lexifiers, such languages must not only be described as abstract, decontextualised structural systems but also on the discourse level – as typical strategies of using the community's linguistic resources for specific aims in specific contexts. Such a process-based view of what constitutes a language is obviously transferable to the study of many other endangered languages in similar situations.

Yvonne Ellis

University of Alberta

An exploration of forms and authentic text in an EFL context

Background: EFL educators, teacher educators, material developers, and course developers incorporate authentic text into the language learning classroom to improve students' reading and increase benefits in overall language ability. However, the definitions of authentic text do not address the role that the "form" of the authentic text might play in this process. (In 1985 Breen broadened the definition of authentic text by recognizing four types of authenticity-text, learner, task, and context. This definition and other references to authentic text do not recognize the influence of form on students' reading experience or acknowledge the need for students to be able to select their own reading material.) My personal experience teaching EFL in Japan and Korea led to more detailed conversations with my colleagues and students about what authentic texts were used in class, what form they were presented in, and what influence they had on the students' self-perception of themselves as readers (of English). It became apparent that exposure to authentic text and literacy development is only a starting point for empowering EFL students.

Objectives: In order to explore the suitability and appropriateness of reading materials complementing classroom learning in Japanese universities, this study explores: 1) how forms that EFL students read in L1 influence the forms they read in L2; 2) how the forms students are exposed to in L2 in class influence what they choose to read in L2 outside of class; 3) students' awareness of their own purposes for reading; and 4) selection strategies students use to select what forms they will read.

Theoretical framework / Data sources: A questionnaire (n=85) was completed by social science and law students studying English at Ritsumeikan University to explore students' attitudes and experience with reading materials in both English and Japanese. From these students, nine volunteered to participate in a think-aloud interview, in which they were able to select from a variety of authentic, adapted, and edited materials.

Educational significance: Literacy development must reach beyond learning how to read (functional literacy) to include the development of a critical literacy and avoid the phenomenon of aliteracy. Non-native speakers of English will only be empowered to read if they do read. Such opportunities require recognition of different forms and development of selection skills. From this study come 7 recommendations and implications: 1) students need to be exposed to a greater variety of written forms; 2) teachers could benefit from using Bilash's four quadrants (1998) as a tool for selecting a greater variety of authentic forms in order to develop a more balanced reading program; 3) students and teachers need

to become more aware of how the form of a text relates to a student's purpose for reading it; 4) the notion of form needs to be built into the definition of authentic text; 5) teachers need to be more conscious of the role that forms play in the EFL reading classroom; 6) students need to learn more critical text selection skills and teachers need to more consciously teach about the influence that form has in that process; and 7) EFL educators must be conscious about ways to empower their students to take full advantage of the opportunities provided by being literate.

Presentation: In addition to a paper, results and interpretations of the questionnaire and interviews will be presented on overhead transparencies for discussion with participants.

Elizabeth J. Erling & Suzanne K. Hilgendorf

University of Edinburgh, Free University of Berlin & Wayne State University

English at the German university: A means of disadvantage or empowerment?

The dominance of English as an academic language is well documented (Ammon 2001a). However, this extensive use of English is thought to give "an undeniable and enviable advantage to native speakers of that language" (Willemyns 2001: 341). Ammon (2001b) claims that German scholars are underrepresented in academia because research which is neither written nor translated into English is often completely ignored; he further argues that even scholars who are proficient in English are disadvantaged because norm expectations are too rigorous. Moreover, the failure to follow Anglo-American grammatical or stylistic norms is often interpreted as lack of scientific rigour, vagueness, or lack of stringency (Clyne 1987). This paper will point out several sociolinguistic issues that need to be discussed as a result of the spread of English in academia. It includes the observation of university trends and policies over the last five years at the Freie Universität Berlin (FU), a major German university where one of the authors has carried out a qualitative analysis of students' uses of English. This study provides possible responses to ensure that the next generation of nonnative English users shall not be marginalised in the academic community.

First of all, more efforts should be made to make certain that students are provided with the means to both comprehend and contribute to academic discourse in English. At the FU, while there is an increase in the presence of English, there is not an equal increase of English being taught. Students are left to struggle by with their school English. Alternatively, they can turn to private language institutes, engage a commercial translator, try to find a native speaker who is both willing and able to help, or possibly go abroad to study in an English speaking environment. In short, acquiring proficiency in academic English requires students to spend a significant amount of time and money outside their normal courses of study.

Moreover, students must be made aware of the differing organisational techniques and styles of argumentation found in English writing. Once informed, students can then make the choice to either follow these norms or purposely flout them. As Fairclough (1992: 54) argues, their linguistic practice "should be informed by estimates of the possibilities, risks and costs of going against dominant judgement of appropriate [academic] usage." Students also need to be aware of the consequences involved in their decision to use English as an academic language and should be offered other options in academic writing: they could, for example, follow the traditional Anglo-American writing norms, stand by their nonnative idiosyncrasies, or decide to write in their native language.

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Adeleke A. Fakoya

Lagos State University

Nigerians and the English language: National growth through linguistic empowerment

Researchers and teachers at the different levels of education in Nigeria have recently been seriously bothered about the linguistic performance of students, especially those in the universities, and have established a link between the decay in our educational system and the nation's lack of intellectual, economic, social, and political growth. Students' essays and answers to examination questions are replete with shocking grammatical structures, and their oral discussions and presentations are just as bad. Research indicates that there is a sociological explanation for this invasive incompetence, as there seems to exist a pattern that every English language user in Nigeria conforms to. A lot of teachers exhibit anomalies defining their students' linguistic malpractice; parents speak in the same skewed styles as their children; the press thrive on distorted phrases and improvised words; and books written or edited by Nigerians further standardize the corruption of English, the language through which the nation's ideals, expectations and thoughts are expressed.

The distressing outcome of all these is that many Nigerians have become linguistic dopes as they cannot express their aspirations in an internationally acceptable manner, thereby dispossessing themselves of the linguistic, social, economic and political empowerment that they desire. Thus, the 'pervasive illiteracy' observed among the students, the teachers and the general public is pedagogically and socially constructed.

The aim of this paper is to bring to light the features of this 'national crisis' and to present the argument that rather than see the features as Nigerian English' they should be regarded as the impedance to our growth, because since English is our lingua franca, it follows that we need to understand the language very well if we are to fully accomplish our goals globally, socially, economically and politically. Hence, the need for us to align with a particular international standard, e.g. Standard British English.

The discussion reveals that in the English of many Nigerians - including university professors, students, businessmen and the general user - many structures mean their opposite in native application; a number of words are muddled up owing to analogies drawn between these words and some standard forms; there are new lexical items as a result of the fusion of words from standard British English and standard American English; some words and phrases in Nigerian English do not exist in standard English, and numerous others are neologisms that belie the structural description of English.

The position of the paper, therefore, is that given our present disposition to and performance in English, it is impossible for Nigeria's education not to suffer frequent setbacks since learning and knowledge are both a function of the language used for

instruction, and correspondingly, we cannot be fully linguistically empowered to realize our national aspirations.

Rosalie Finlayson & Sarah Slabbert

University of South Africa & University of the Witwatersrand

Is instruction in the mother tongue always the optimal choice? South African case studies with reference to the inclusion/exclusion debate

In April 2000 the World Education Forum adopted the Dakar Framework for Action, *Education for All: meeting our Collective Commitments*. Through the framework, countries that participated in the Forum reaffirmed the vision of a right based approach to education supported by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The international community made a collective commitment to uphold the vision that all children, young people and adults have the right to benefit from an education that will meet their basic learning needs in the best and fullest sense of the term. In the words of the Dakar Framework (DF), "education must neither exclude nor discriminate" (DF:14).

The instrumental role that the Language of Learning and Teaching (LoLT) plays in this vision of inclusive education is recognised in the Dakar Framework. For example, it states that early childhood programmes "should be provided in the child's mother tongue" (DF:15). Successful basic education programmes require inter alia "a relevant curriculum that can be taught and learned in a local language and that builds upon the knowledge and experience of the teachers and learners" (DF:17). In order to “attract and retain children from marginalized and excluded groups, education systems should respond flexibly”. A flexible response would include “bilingual education for the children of ethnic minorities” (DF:16).

In contrast, the Framework for Action in Sub-Saharan Africa, adopted in Johannesburg four months prior to the Dakar Forum, allocates an implicit subtractive status to the mother tongue in education in its vision of inclusive education. In improving the quality and relevance of education, the Sub-Saharan Ministers of Education agreed that they "shall promote the use of the mother tongue in the early childhood education, early years of primary education and adult education" (Adult Basic Education and Training – RF/SS) (DF:28). This more minor role allocated to the mother tongue as Language of Learning and Teaching in the attainment of visions of inclusive education can be linked to the linguistic complexity of Sub-Saharan countries and the multidimensional relationships of inequality between the many languages used in these countries. These relationships create many webs of exclusion/inclusion that embrace aspects such as demographic, social, economic, political, historical and status inequalities.

Faced with these inequalities, the post-apartheid government in South Africa has responded by legislating language in education with the South African Schools Act (1996) and the Language in Education Policy (LiEP1997). However well intentioned, certain

inequalities remain implicitly entrenched in policy documents, similar to the above example from the Framework for Action in Sub-Saharan Africa. For example, the LiEP (1997) notes that "the underlying principle is to maintain home language(s) while providing access to and the effective acquisition of additional language(s)".

The responsibility for implementation lies with each school. According to the SA Schools Act, "the school governing body of a public school may determine the language policy of the school subject to the Constitution, this Act and any applicable provincial law." In determining the optimal language(s) of learning and teaching for their particular context, school governing bodies (SGBs), parents, teachers and learners face a daunting task. They have to deal with the complex multilingual background of their learners, the mentioned multidimensional relationships of inequality that is part of post apartheid South Africa and policy that undermines its own principles.

This paper will investigate a number of scenarios/case studies where Foundation Phase (Grades R to 3) teachers and learners have responded to the challenges of their particular contexts. The case studies that will be discussed include varied scenarios. Issues considered will embrace schools which cater for migrant labourers' children, schools which use English as a compromise Language of Learning and Teaching, schools which are taking innovative steps to cope with illiteracy, such as an IT solution, those that operate under severe socio-economic pressure as well as schools who were part of the previous dispensation known as Model C schools.

The paper will show how, in these contexts, the interplay of the forces mentioned above challenge the paradigm that underpins concepts and optimal scenarios that have been defined in the so-called developed world.

Joshua A. Fishman

Yeshiva University, Stanford University

Sociolinguistics: More power(s) to you!

In many ways "power" (phenomenon we still need to define) is a perfect variable for sociolinguistic research since it is not a unit trait but, rather, one that varies both structurally (physical, economic, legal, moral power, etc.) and socially (in terms of deviation from the mean, whether above or below, in different social contexts). More's the pity then, that so little overt notice has generally been taken of the co-variance of kinds and degrees of power with other sociolinguistic (socio-contextual) variables. "Power" has been more frequently implied (e.g., between languages: hegemonic vs. non-hegemonic) or between domains: home sphere vs. economic sphere) than explicitly studied on a co-variational design. A simple four-fold double dichotomy between secular and sacred power, on the one hand, and between material and humanistic power, on the other hand, reveals several distinctions worth stressing, even in an introductory discussion of this kind, although it too can obviously be further imbedded via social variation across roles, social statuses, speech networks, etc.

Examples of power differences between various languages at different times in world history can be revealing of the gains to be expected by pursuing this line of inquiry. English today is probably most commonly associated with material poser under secular control. However, English is a relatively "new vernacular" and did not at all have such associations attached to it in the times of Shakespeare. French, on the other hand, also a "new vernacular" but one which seeks to foster the image of non-physical power ("humanistic") albeit also under secular auspices (or under religious auspices that are themselves under secular control). The other two cells (pertaining to the intersection of sanctified power with material and humanistic resources) will also be illustrated, as will the embeddedness of social influences within the structural ones. The formal sociolinguistics of power is about to be born.

Roslyn M. Frank & Michael Houser

University of Iowa

Shifting Identities: Metaphoric communicative competence and common ground in Western and Basque cultural models

The paper forms part of a larger undertaking focused on contrasting the schemas found in the Western and Basque cultural models with emphasis on a certain set of metaphorical dyads which act to structure Western ontology, epistemology and personhood, e.g. high/low, mind/body, culture/nature, male/female (Frank & Susperregi 2001; Frank forthcoming). Currently, these Western frames of reference tend to be acquired by those learning English, for example, assimilated by the student without his/her full awareness of the role of these asymmetric dyads in shaping thought and the resulting Common Ground (van Dijk 2002) of the hierarchically ordered cultural model. Rather the manipulation of these dichotomies forms part of the subtle acquisition of metaphoric communicative competence on the part of the student in the second language, e.g., English.

The discussion is divided into two major parts. The first section consists of a theoretical discussion that examines the role of the dualist model and its accompanying dichotomous metaphorics in the development of Western ontology, epistemology, and personhood with particular emphasis on the high/low dyad along with the role played by these dyads as 'root metaphors' and their function as triggers that activate the larger set of proportional metaphors, A is to B, as C is to D: their function in maintaining the hierarchical ordering of Western thought in contrast to the heterarchical ordering found in other cultural models (Descola & Pálsson 1996; Olds 1992). This section also explores Bird-David's notion of 'relational epistemology', van Dijk's (2002) notion of 'Common Ground' and Habermas's (1994) *Lebenswelt.* The second section of the study is an exploration the way Basque conceptual frames of reference relating to non-hierarchically ordered concepts and their entailments, concepts such as of *high* and *low*, are coming under pressure under the influence of the Western model (cf. Lakoff & Johnson 1980: 24-25).

The goal of the paper is to demonstrate the role that metaphor studies in cognitive linguistics could play in increasing awareness of the linguistically embedded character of this Western ontology and how its acquisition becomes part of the students' metaphoric communicative competence. Furthermore, I allege that this acquisition, being relatively unconscious in nature, can lead to feedback from the second language to the native language of the speakers, particularly in the case of bilinguals who unconsciously assign greater prestige to the Western model. These cultural repertoires and their associated root metaphors respond to deeply entrenched and highly elaborated cultural models. The bipolar metaphors intrinsic to the dichotomous patterning of thought in the West are also

fundamental to Western ontology, epistemology and personhood, and hence, are most resistant to change for they form the Common Ground of speakers. Similarly, relational epistemologies, such as the Basque one, are also resilient and resist change. As will be shown, the metaphoric mappings and extensions of *high* and *low* are exemplary in this respect.

In short, the Western ontology with its high/low value-laden dichotomy and hierarchical ordering is rendered visible and even exotic, that is, from the perspective of these non-Western relational exemplars.

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Ofelia García

Columbia University

The policy and politics of Spanish in New York City

In 2000, 29% of New Yorkers claimed to speak Spanish at home. Fueled by the Puerto Rican migration of the 1950s, New York has always been unofficially a bilingual city in which Spanish is broadly spoken. Puerto Rican New Yorkers, U.S. citizens by virtue of the Jones Act of 1916, brought Spanish into many New York communities, especially to the area of East Harlem that became known as "El Barrio". As the years have passed, the Spanish of Puerto Ricans has come into contact with many varieties of English, including the standard American English that is taught at school, and the African American Vernacular English that is heard in many of the communities in which they settled. In addition, the cyclical migration of New York Puerto Ricans, a product of the colonized relationship with the United States, has been responsible for what I have called elsewhere "language shift with vaivén."

In the last thirty years, and since the amendments to the Immigration Act, the Latino immigration to New York City has not only increased but has also become diversified. The 1970s and 1980s brought to the city a large number of Dominicans who settled mostly in the northern part of Manhattan, Washington Heights, or what is now referred to as El Platanal. Together with the many Puerto Ricans, and the few Cubans, the Dominicans were responsible for making Caribbean Spanish the most common Spanish variety in New York City.

But in the last decade, the Latino immigration to New York City has become more heterogeneous. Mexicans are displacing Puerto Ricans from traditional neighborhoods, and even from El Barrio. Central Americans live in close contact with Dominicans in Washington Heights. And in Queens, a large Ecuadorian population has brought not only a different Spanish variety, but even Quichua. Many of these newer Latinos, are bilingual in Spanish and an indigeneous language. For them, bilingualism is not new, and it means much more than simply English and Spanish.

This paper examines the language situation of these newer New York Latinos. We look at their attitudes toward English and Spanish, as well as their language use in the community. But we also study the attitudes of non-Latino residents and shopowners in the community toward Spanish language use. We do so in the context of three New York communities, two of which are experiencing a change in Latino population (East Harlem and Washington Heights), and one of which is newer (Jackson Heights/Astoria).

Beyond the community, this paper focuses on the role of schools with respect to Spanish in the three communities, and especially on the role that schools have to empower, and sometimes disempower, these New Yorkers who speak Spanish. We look at the

instructional and assessment policies that are affecting the children of the immigrants. Through an analysis of this dis/empowerment through Spanish/English bilingualism, the paper makes evident the language ideologies in evidence in the United States today.

Jan Hollm

PH Ludwigsburg

Foreign language teaching under German National Socialism

From a diachronic perspective, foreign language teaching in the context of National Socialism in Germany can be taken as a case study to exemplify the effects that a racist, totalitarian ideology can have on the foreign language classroom. After coming to power in January 1933, the National Socialists aimed at grasping control over all areas of society. An essential role was given to changing the German educational system in order to streamline its organizational structure and curriculum with Nazi ideology. This included setting up new aims and tasks for teaching foreign languages, which seemed rather natural for a regime which was founded on a racist *weltanschauung* that believed in the supremacy of one people over all others.

First of all, a hierarchy of European foreign languages was set up in which preference was given to Germanic over Romanic and Slavic languages. This meant that French lost its importance as a second language in Germany which, traditionally, had been very high in some regions. English became, by far, the most prominent foreign language in Germany because Nazi ideology saw the English and their language as akin to the "Aryan race". Adolf Hitler had always expressed reverence for the English and the British Empire and he hoped till the late thirties that Great Britain would become an ally to Nazi Germany. Naturally, the propagation of English became less dominant during World War II, but this did not change the supreme status of English in the foreign language classroom.

The political bonds of Nazi Germany with Fascist Italy and reverence for the Roman Empire as a demonstration of a Nietzschean "will to power" lead to a renaissance of Latin as a foreign language in German grammar schools. Latin became even more important than French. Classical Greek, on the other hand, became marginalized because the Greeks were considered to be a people not akin to Germanic thinking. Despite the new preference for Latin, Nazi educators considered ancient "dead" languages like classical Greek to be anachronisms, and teaching them was seen as counterproductive in a "new" Germany which was supposed to last for a millennium.

A special development took place in the newly-founded *Adolf-Hitler-Schulen* and the *Napolas* (*Nationalpolitische Bildungsanstalten*). These schools for boys were founded to educate the future elite of the Nazi state. Several academic subjects were replaced by lessons in Nazi ideology. Rather than spend too much time with book learning, despised by Nazi ideology as un-Germanic, the future leaders were taught war strategy, race ideology and what it meant to be a leader at home and in the foreign countries soon to be conquered and occupied by the German "*Herrenvolk*". This explains why in these schools traditional foreign language instruction in English and other languages like Latin was supplemented by

the learning of basic commands in Slavic languages like Russian and Polish. The concept of communicative competency in a foreign language thus became streamlined with racist Nazi leadership ideology.

Juliane House

University of Hamburg

English as a lingua franca as an instrument for linguistic disempowerment?

There is a widespread assumption that one of the major impediments to empowerment through language is the power and spread of the English language. English as a worldwide lingua franca is regarded by many as a killer language, a prime culprit of "linguistic imperialism", and a dangerous threat to multilingualism and "linguistic human rights" in Europe and elsewhere. In this paper I argue against this accepted view (see also House 2003). I support my argument by presenting findings from three research projects currently carried out at the University of Hamburg.

The first project – "Covert Translation" – funded by the German Research Council investigates the impact English as lingua franca has on discourse conventions in several European languages. The hypothesis that there is a shift in these conventions due to massive "Anglification" in translations and parallel text productions has to date not been confirmed. Pragmatic shifts observed cannot be unambiguously ascribed to Anglophone influence, but may be due to other causes.

The second project – "Communication in English as a lingua franca" - examines the nature of interactions in which English is used as a lingua franca by groups of speakers with different native languages. A particular focus in this work is on the types of misunderstandings that may arise in such interactions and on interactants' attitudes towards using English. Preliminary results of discourse analyses and retrospective interviews show a surprising dearth of misunderstandings and interactants' overall positive attitude to being able to communicate across language barriers. English is clearly viewed as a useful tool, an additional language, which enriches an individual's linguistic repertoire.

The third project – English for Minority Students: Benefit or Drawback?"- is based on interviews with minority children and their parents eliciting attitudes to, and experiences with, their multilingual life and school experiences, i.e., learning English after and alongside German as a second language and their native Turkish language. First results suggest that English seems to give minority children a starting point they share with native German students, an opportunity to use their bilingualism as something like a headstart for acquiring another language and a means for communicating in a language with a high symbolic value.

Taken together, these studies seem to support the view that English as a lingua franca cannot always be seen as "minorizing" speakers. Speakers often regard English as a useful instrument which they can exploit for their own communicative purposes, often subverting anglophone norms to accommodate individual needs, local norms and values. Further, English does not function against but in conjunction with local languages: Being able to

communicate in English empowers speakers, gives them "multicompetence". Speakers' attitude towards their native languages is also not negatively affected, as local languages fulfil very different (often emotive, identificatory) functions.

In our quest for "empowerment through language" we should not forget that our first priority should be to promote social justice and human rights for all those who are forced to live under occupation, oppression and humiliation.

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Herbert Igboanusi & Hans-Georg Wolf

University of Ibadan & University of Hong Kong

Empowerment through English – a realistic view of the educational promotion of English in post-colonial contexts: The example of Nigeria

If a Foucaultian perspective is loosely adopted, linguistic powerlessness can be seen as equivalent to a limitation of linguistic choice. Briefly, we will critically review some of the points that are put forward against the spread and use of English in post-colonial context in general, most, notably those by Phillipson (e.g., 1992, 1999), Skutnabb-Kangas (e.g., 2000), Mühlhäusler (1996), Nettle and Romaine (2000), and Pennycook (1994, 2001) as well as those that deal with educational language policy in sub-Saharan Africa. Apart from the fact that more often than not the critics of the English language are oblivious to their own ideological basis, they often fail to take the linguistic realities of some multilingual countries into account in their call for the "revalorizing the autochthonous languages of Africa" (Webb 1994) if that implies that the autochthonous languages should have precedence over English in education. In Nigeria, on which we exemplarily focus, more than over 400 languages are spoken, often by not more than a few hundred speakers, yet in an extremely complex overall linguistic situation. Many of these languages are restricted to a few domains of local usage in the rural parts of the country. Given the scarcity of educational resources and the multitude of languages, broad-scale bilingual programs are hardly feasible (cf. Igboanusi 1997); concentrating on the local language to the detriment of English would perpetuate a restricted linguistic potential and thus the disenfranchisment and seclusion of the rural population. Besides, there are political problems related to the allocation of resources on the basis of ethnicity.

Furthermore, we will point to the fact that "mother tongue" education may only be a meaningful concept in certain parts of the country, while in many areas, children grow up learning several languages simultaneously (often among them an English-based pidgin), apparently without any cognitive disruption in their preschool years. Why should such disruption occur when English becomes the main medium of instruction at school? The reason that English is perceived to have such adverse cognitive effects is due to the erroneous and essentialist assumption that is *foreign* language alien to some idealized "authentic" African/Nigerian cultural setting, whereas it has been shown that English is well-adapted to the socio-cultural environment of its second-language speakers and allows for the expression of culture-specific concepts (see, e.g., Wolf 2001a/b, 2003), which themselves are the result of historical processes (cf. Tengan 1994). Addressing these issues, our paper will argue for the further promotion of an acculturated variety of English in the educational landscape of Nigeria and other multilingual anglophone African countries.

Olaf Jäkel

University of Flensburg

Empowering the learner: Socratic discourse evaluation

How can we improve our teaching of literature in the EFL classroom? If we want to do justice to the literary text in its poetic quality on the one hand, and to motivate and empower learners to make their own contributions on the other hand, we will have to rethink our ways of initiating and conducting classroom discourse. What is needed is a type of discourse evaluation that invites learners to get into conversation with the literary text by intensifying the joint discourse about the text.

"Socratic Discourse Evaluation" is a new model of an open and learner-orientated conversation about literary texts in the foreign language classroom. Developed by Jäkel (2001) from Heckmann's philosophical model of the "socratic conversation", it introduces an absolutely practical concept of discourse evaluation for the teaching of (English) literature to advanced learners.

The theoretical basis of the approach is a constructive combination of Gadamer's hermeneutics and Popper's critical rationalism. In this synthesis, the hermeneutic circle is reinterpreted as a spiral staircase circling the text, constructed in the collaborative efforts of a group acting as a 'philological research community'. The central contributions of the teacher acting as the "socratic host" are the following three: (1) the provoking of interpretative hypotheses – mainly by means of 'open questions'; (2) the request for the learners to back up general interpretative hypotheses with evidence from the text; (3) the request for attempts at falsifying – in striving for a consensus. In addition to the theoretical conceptualisation of its basic methodology, a comprehensive list of mostly 'open' questions will provide concrete help for teachers intending to put the approach into practice.

The empirical testing of this approach is provided by means of a corpus of documented classroom discourses from a teaching unit on war poetry, conducted by the author with a group of fourteen English students ('Leistungskurs') one year short of taking their school-leaving examinations in Hamburg. This teaching unit lasted two weeks, comprising two single and four double lessons. These were spent in the joint interpretation of four poetic texts: (1) "The Soldier" by Rupert Brooke (1914); (2) "Does It Matter?" by Siegfried Sassoon (1917); (3) "With God On Our Side" by Bob Dylan (1963); (4) "This World Over" by Andy Partridge (1984).

Detailed analyses of key passages reveal how the model works as well as where some problems lie. The contributions by the socratic teacher in particular demonstrate how the theoretical approach can be put into concrete classroom practice. Typical contributions by students (S) display a high percentage of S-S-interaction. In addition they prove that one of

the advantages of the approach lies in its providing good opportunities for internal differentiation, which to some extent can be laid into the hands of the learners themselves.

The detailed analyses of these classroom discourses clearly substantiate two general hypotheses: First, "Socratic Discourse Evaluation" enables a feasible combination of openness and guidance of discourse in the English literature classroom. Secondly, it makes for a truly learner-activating method in the spirit of Lothar Bredella.

The paper will close with a look at the results of an inquiry into the students' reactions towards the whole teaching unit, made by means of a standardised questionnaire. The results of that evaluation of the approach by the students impressively corroborate the practical feasibility of the "Socratic Discourse Evaluation".

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D. Kasule & D. Mapolelo

University of Botswana

Teaching elementary mathematics in a second language

When the teacher's main language is not the same as that of the pupils, what strategies does s/he apply so that *teacher effectiveness* is not lost? The purpose of the study is to investigate the strategies teachers use to overcome language differences between them and their pupils in order to maintain their effectiveness in the teaching of elementary mathematics to Standard Two. It is hypothesized that teachers always seek to attain effectiveness in their teaching and will introduce a range of teaching techniques that will bring about the realization of effective teaching. It is also hypothesized that a teacher who is deployed in areas that speak a different main language from his/her own has difficulties being effective in teaching Mathematics.

In Botswana, the age range of learners in Lower Primary is 6-11. Nationally, the pupils have diverse linguistic backgrounds. For most of them English, which is officially the language of learning and teaching, will be a second language after the national language, Setswana. For these learners, a programme called *breakthrough to literacy* (read Breakthrough to Setswana) is in place for them to make the transition from oracy to literacy and numeracy. However, there will be many others for whom on arrival at school both English and Setswana will be new languages. This category of pupils is also at different stages of readiness for transition from oracy to literacy and numeracy in their home languages. There may be some, for example, who have not seen their main language in its written form (and will rely on the teacher, if s/he can, to provide the breakthrough to literacy and numeracy in that language), and others who may be able to count numbers in English. Some learners may have had exposure to English at home from parents or older siblings, from playmates, or from pre-school. Transition from oracy to literacy and numeracy in English for this category of learners will be less problematic. A substantial number of learners, however, will be encountering English for the first time at school in Standard One. While the syllabus will no doubt attempt to accommodate all these vast profiles of learners, *code switching* is likely to be a far more successful transition strategy for the teacher to use in teaching mathematics from Standard Two onwards. However, when the teacher's main language is not the same as that of the children, what strategies does s/he apply so that teacher effectiveness is not lost?

The study is to be conducted at a crucial and significant moment after over 2 years since a change from introducing English as LoLT in standard 5 to the new policy of using it as LoLT in standard 2. It is assumed that schools have just commenced using English as a medium of instruction in Standard Two. This then is a crucial moment to take stock, as it were, of the effectiveness and efficiency of mathematics teaching since the change in the

LoLT policy. By documenting what teachers are doing in the teaching of mathematics in order to overcome the language barrier between them and their pupils, we hope the study will add to the bank of effective classroom practices that can be shared by others. The findings will be helpful in teacher preparation programmes where the assumption of a homogeneous language between teacher-pupil-text has always been taken for granted. A growing concern is that despite statements to the contrary, linguistic difficulties arising from differences between the home language and the LoLT are a strong factor in school achievement/failure. Wastage of human potential in the formative years can be reduced if teachers adopted effective teaching techniques that overcome language barriers between them and their pupils.

NB: The study is at proposal stage and we hope to commence data collection in about a month or two.

Valeri Khabirov

Urals Pedagogical University

Language shift as the result of change in language loyalty in Congo-Brazzaville

The history of Congo-Brazzaville (The Rep. of Congo) has seen much concern over language choice as it is almost inevitable for multiethnic communities. For an ethnic group language is one of the most important identifying features and the best medium for preserving and expressing its traditions. Congo-Brazzaville is no exception, but as language is sometimes used in the exercise of political power and, what is more, may be aggravated by tribalism, the language situation in Brazzaville bears all the aftereffects of the opposition of Southern and Northern ethnic groups and of the *munukutuba* and *lingala* supporters. During the time of the Marxist state when M. Nguabi (*mboshi* group) was in office, the green light was given to *lingala* – the language of the northerners because "the masses have already chosen *lingala* as their national language" as stated the then Congolese Foreign Minister A. Ndinga. M. Nguaby was possessed by the idea of uniting the congolese people into one congolese nation, and the PCT program suggested "encouraging the studies of national languages with an aim of choosing one of them as the language of school and the partisan of the national idea". It was only in 1974 that the PCT Congress passed a resolution recommending to introduce *lingala* and *monokutuba* into school programs. The same language policy was pursued by Nguabi's successor S. Nguesso who is also from the North (*mboshi* group).

The data gathered with questionnaires from 170 student informants in 1975 and 1991 shows a 30% shift from the mother tongue to *lingala* among the representatives of the northern ethnic groups of *mboshi*, *bomitaba* and *teke* within the period of 15 years. The ethnic languages were sapped of their strength as the result of younger speakers changing their loyalty in favour of *lingala* and French (the official language) not just in public domains but also in their homes. This loss of loyalty and shifting to *lingala* and French also happened to the southern ethnic groups traditionally more loyal to ethnic language (languages) because *munukutuba* – the second creolized language – does not have the same prestige among southerners as *lingala* among the northerners. It may also be explained by the fact that the French administration sent more people to be educated in France, and so upon returning they received the leading posts in the administration and were strong supporters of French. It should also be noted that the majority of the Congolese studying at the Alphabetisation courses in the 70-s preferred being taught in French rather than in the national languages *lingala* or *munukutuba*. The Republic of Congo plays one of the leading roles in education in Africa. Ch. Ferguson speaking about the language policy in the system of education remarked that its efficiency is determined not just by facts of use and

distribution of language but by the attitude towards the language. Half the *kongo* group answering the question what language they liked most of all spoke in favor of the ethnic language whereas 50% of the *lari* spoke in favor of French. The fact that the *lari* group considered French "the most loved one" may be explained by the official status of this language and the role it plays in education and the possibilities it offers for improving one's material and social well-being.

For example, our data show that 100 % of the informants from *bakongo* speak both languages *lingala* and *munukutuba* equally well.

Language shift also occurs when small languages come into contact with a larger or politically more important language favoured by the dominant group. The result of such language contact brought about the birth of three neologisms (congolisms) characterizing President Sassu Nguesso's staying in office: *cuvetisation* (derived from the name of the congolese northern region Cuvette), *mboshisation* (derived from the name of the ethnic group *mboshi* to which the president belongs) and *oyocracy* (derived from the name Oyo – the native district of the president). As was explained "mboshisation" means the seizure of political and administrative power by the representatives of the ethnic group *mboshi*. This term has a tribal – regional coloring reminding of the known opposition *mboshi – bakongo* (bangala-bakongo) and the North and the South. The privileged position of *mboshi* made the representatives of neighboring ethnic groups having kinship ties with *mboshi* identify themselves as *mboshi*. There's a telling example of the ethnic group *teke-alima* who began calling themselves *mboshi* trying to refrain from their own language. Some *bangangulu* (angengvel) of *teke* origin as well as the representatives of *mbete* (mbede) group allow not only to call themselves *mboshi* but shift to *mboshi,* in order to get privileges from the government.

Ephie Konidaris

McGill University

The code-switching patterns of trilingual Montrealers

The occurrence of code-switching can be defined as the changing of linguistic codes or languages within a sequence of oral production. The purpose of this study was to explore the "if", the "when" and the "why" of code-switching in the particular context of Montreal, a bilingual (English and French) Canadian city within the Quebec province, enriched by a multicultural population, and to promote awareness amongst educators and scholars working in multicultural settings.

The city of Montreal is affected by complex socio-political (i.e. conflicting federal and provincial language laws), ethnic and linguistic (i.e. high percentage of minority groups maintaining their heritage language) realities which are unique yet applicable to other contexts. In this paper presentation, I will discuss the perspectives of the multiple parties involved (i.e. parents, ethnic community groups, political groups) in the omni-present debate on language.

The participants who are linguistically proficient in the English, French and Greek language took part in informal unscripted discussions which lead the researcher to categorize the occurrences of each language. Findings indicate that switching is voluntary in accordance with the different topics of discussion which arose during the audio-taped sessions.

In addition, I intend to explain the possible factors leading to the participants' displayed linguistic prowess and conclude by making suggestions for educators teaching in a multilingual classroom as well as for scholars in intercultural communication.

Gitte Kristiansen

Universidad Complutense de Madrid

The socio-cognitive basis of empowerment through language: Style-shifting and shifting styles

This paper does not aim so much at the search for instruments or effects of an action program 'Empowerment through Language', but it rather aims at the very conditions that will have to be fulfilled to speak of a powerful linguistic competence, i.e., the notions of "styles" and "style shifts" from a socio-cognitive perspective.

First, it briefly examines the various ways in which "styles" have been defined in the areas of sociolinguistics and the social psychology of language. Then attention will be drawn to a series of recent approaches (Bell 1984; Coupland 2001; Wolfram and Schilling Estes 1998), according to which style-shifting is analyzable in terms of processes of *intergroup* variation, little or no distinction being made between code-switching and style-switching: we shift when we adopt roles or identities and may even change towards "speech patterns" that are different from those of Hearer or "our own everyday pattern". In line with these approaches, the paper aims at explaining why *prototype theory* and the notion of *cognitive reference point constructions* may contribute substantially to a deeper understanding of what a "style" is. It is argued that both social and lectal categorizations constitute prototype categories that interact dynamically, and to whose complex central images we may conform to greater or lesser degrees. We often comment on the fact (or perception) that someone speaks with a *thick, broad, near-by, pure* or *real* accent. In Langacker´s (1993b) terms, the reference point - as the focus of the conceptualizer´s attention - allows for further activation of instances within its dominion.

Then the paper goes on to examine the notion of "shifts", focusing less on our passive competence of speech styles, (i.e. Hearer´s ability to locate Speaker on social or regional dimensions), and more on Speaker´s possibilities of *actively* positioning him/herself, of evoking prototypical social meaning by means of prototypical speech patterns. Langacker´s (1990, 1991, 1993a) notion of *subjectification* (involving subjective *profiling*) constitutes an enlightening theoretical framework, which for explanatory purposes brings us further than *social deixis* ("a Figure is at a Place with respect to a Ground"). It is assumed that the same network of relatively stable categorizations which operates as a "contextual" variable when we attempt to change our social image on a permanent basis is also at work in social interaction in general, implicitly part of the "situation" which determines "degrees of formality". Shifts may take place below or above the level of consciousness, but in both cases our active competence is at work; the pragmatic choices we make among the linguistic options available effect subtle processes of exclusion and inclusion, steps towards - or away

from - the powerful varieties of those in power. To exemplify, concrete examples shall be drawn from Contemporary British English.

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Svetlana Kurteš

Cambridge University

Nationalism, nation state and language: The case of Serbo-Croat

In this paper we intend to briefly re-examine the relationship between language and its role in society from *Ausbau* sociolinguistics point of view (Kloss 1967; Trudgill 1992). We shall take Serbo-Croat, a South Slavonic language spoken in the countries formerly comprising Yugoslavia, as an example.

One could observe that alongside the expansion of globalisation processes, very prominently exemplified in the promotion of English as a global language, there are widespread attempts to promote local dialects and award them the status of a national language. It is also possible to talk about an "upsurge of ethnic identity politics and religious revival movements […and…] minorities who appeal to transnational human rights standards beyond state authorities, or indigenous peoples who find support for local demands from transnational networks" (Nederveed Pieterse 1995: 50). According to this standpoint, however, it would be wrong to assume that globalisation processes involve only transnational or supranational phenomena; on the contrary, "the spread of the nation-state has been an expression of globalisation" (ibid, 52), because "global culture is the basis of a carbon copy spread of nation-states in this century" (Friedmann 1990: 72).

We shall briefly present the current status of Serbo-Croat, both linguistic and sociolinguistic, bearing in mind the above line of argument. We shall, *inter alia*, reiterate that the distinction should be made between two different levels from which the problem is to be observed – linguistic-communicative and political-symbolic (Bugarski 2000; 2001a; 2001b). From the linguistic-communicative perspective it is quite legitimate to refer to Serbo-Croat as a single integral entity and make a further distinction among its regional/national varieties. In other words, the term is to be treated as a hyperonym in a superordinate relation to different idioms that subsequently came into existence out of it (i.e. Serbian, Croatian, Bosnian, possibly Montenegrin, etc).

We shall conclude by agreeing with the view claiming that "(…) standard Serbo-Croat represents a global linguistic system with sociolinguistic sub-systems functioning politically as separate standard languages under their single national-territorial names in the newly established states within the speaking areas of the language" (Bugarski 2001a: 16). Official language policies in the Yugoslav successor states will finally be looked into and briefly commented on within the proposed framework.

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Karsten Legère

University of Göteborg

JK Nyerere and the empowerment of Swahili

In view of recent strange attempts to undermine the position of Swahili in Tanzania (e.g. by the Minister of Education) a look at historical aspects of how the Tanzanian national language became so well established in formal domains seems to be appropriate. Focus is in the conference paper on the personal role of the late Julius Kambarage Nyerere who both as the Chairman of the ruling TANU/CCM party and as the country's first president for many years made a substantial contribution to spreading, promoting and developing Swahili. With his committed use of the Tanzanian lingua franca before independence and after 1961 when the language policy of the country was under discussion, Nyerere set a personal example that was instrumental for making Swahili the de-facto official language of Tanzania (*de-jure* this step has not been made in a particular legal document, hence the stipulation of Swahili's official character is still pending, although announced in the Cultural Policy declaration of 1997). As long as Nyerere was in power corpus expansion of Swahili enjoyed substantial support by various stakeholders, while in the late eighties and nineties language development became rather sporadic. Although strongly supporting the role of Swahili as the language of political discourse, social and economic interaction and as expression of a Tanzanian identity, Nyerere was somehow biased as far as the status of English in Tanzania was concerned. The paper discusses also Nyerere's position towards the latter language.

Yi Li

University of Alberta

Learning English in Canada: Language, identity and classroom practice

Background: In the past several years in China, there has been a dramatic increase in the number of high school students who want to pursue their post-secondary education overseas. Because of China's one-child policy and because education is highly valued in Chinese culture, parents in China try every means possible to help their children complete at least one university degree. However, "currently only 10.5 % of Chinese young people between 18 to 24 can receive higher education, according to statistics from the Ministry of Education, nearly 40% lower than the average level in developed countries" ("University enrolment set to be increased", Retrieved on March 15, 2000 from http://www.shanghai-daily.com/data/city/0003m/city000315.htm1#4). Because of this fierce competition for limited spaces, it has become more and more difficult to get into first-rate universities in China. Not satisfied to settle for the second- or third-rate ones, parents turn their attention to foreign universities. With this latest trend of younger students studying abroad, North America has become a choice educational destination. Because of Canada's reputation for cleanliness, safety, a relatively low cost of living and high quality university education, more and more young Chinese students will continue coming to Canada to further their post-secondary education.

Objectives: This study sought to explore and understand the language learning experiences of four Chinese international students as they finished their high school education in China and came to Canada to study for their first university degrees, in particular, the challenges they faced, the successes they experienced, and their changing attitudes toward language learning, Canada and Canadians. How learning the English language both empowered and disempowered them in the process will be revealed.

Theoretical framework / Data sources: Four female international students from China participated in the study. Drawing on "the ideas of French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu about language not as an idealized system of rules, but as forms of symbolic capital in which consideration of matters like legitimacy, value and power replaced questions about grammaticality, phonological accuracy and meaning" (Toohey, 2003) and the work of Bonny Norton (2000), who sees second language learning as situated social practice, the research participants were asked to describe their language learning experiences in Canadian classrooms. Two sets of in-depth interviews, 16 in total, were conducted over a four-year span, one during their first year at a Canadian university and the other during their fourth

year. The first set of interviews was conducted in Chinese, their mother tongue, recorded and later transcribed and translated into English between October 1999 and February 2000. The second set of interviews was conducted in Chinese, recorded and later transcribed in Chinese between October 2002 and February 2003. In an attempt to understand how teachers might help international students to learn the language of instruction in their host countries, they were also asked to offer some advice to fellow international students who might find themselves in similar situations in Canada or elsewhere.

Educational significance: With globalization, more and more international students are realizing their educational goals abroad. How can educators adjust their teaching strategies in order to meet the needs of foreign student sojourners and create a classroom conducive to language learning? This study seeks a basic understanding of the language learning experiences of four international students from China and points to ways language teachers can teach more effectively in the Canadian classrooms.

Presentation: In addition to a paper, results and interpretations of the interviews will be presented on overhead transparencies for discussion with participants.

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Galina Lushnikova

Kemerovo State University

Siberian ethnic groups: Minority education and language loss

On the territory of the Siberian Region (Kuzbass, Western Siberia, Russia) there are about 116 national minorities which are officially registered, e.g. *shors, teleuts, shandins, kalmaks*. A short description of the situation of Siberian ethnic groups seems to be in place.The aboriginal population faces two main issues: the first follows from an inefficient language policy; the second is connected with the dying out of minority languages and hence, the exclusion from access to knowledge and skills. People living in the remote villages in Gornaya Shoria (more than a hundred kilometers away from the city of Novokuznetsk) do hardly speak any Russian at all; children under seven exclusively speak their native languages. As a rule, they leave their native places for the nearest settlements or towns in order to study at a boarding school. And as all subjects are taught in Russian they are forced to learn it. Though some of the pupils are rather quick learners due to the surrounding Russian environment, they still suffer from language incompetence because the majority of linguistic and cultural concepts has already been formed on the basis of their native languages.

In this context local and regional administrative institutions take concrete steps: ethnic minorities are encouraged to take additional classes in the Russian language and literature and school leavers are admitted to colleges and universities on preferential terms.

The second issue concerns the fact that minority languages are in a state of language loss and therefore about to be dying out. Very few people speak their native languages, Russian is currently dominating all spheres of life – education, politics and business. The representatives of national minorities hold a challenging position in different ways: adult speakers try to preserve and maintain their ethnic language and culture cherishing traditions, customs and rituals, while the younger generation sees no practical value in using indigenous languages, therefore making an effort to acquire Russian and other modern European languages.

Ethnologists and linguists of Kuzbass Universities are deeply concerned about the situation. The matter of preserving each national minority in Russia is of paramount importance as each national minority is part and parcel of the whole nation. Both scholars and local authorities united their efforts in view of the following projects: in 2002 the Regional Administration formed the Department of National policy to coordinate the activities of different groups, organizations and individuals. The Kuzbass Pedagogical Academy opened the Department of *Shors'* History and Culture and several schools now offer optional classes on ethnic languages, history and literature. The Kemerovo Publishing

House started marketing bilingual books of poetry and prose; special scientific programs are being developed in the History and Philology Departments at Kuzbass Colleges; and Universities aim at interpreting and analyzing the folklore and customs of ethnic minorities.

Still there is much to be done to empower Siberian ethnic minorities through Russian and at the same time to preserve their national peculiarities.

Heiko F. Marten

Free University of Berlin

Parliamentary decentralisation and language policy: Sámi in Norway and Scottish Gaelic

My paper deals with parliaments as political players in language policy processes. The core question will be how the existence of a parliamentary institution can influence the language policy in a given political system. I will look at the effects that the establishment of decentralised parliaments has on language policy and language maintenance. My approach is based on the observation that a more categorical approach to parliaments as institutions in minority language policy seems to be lacking, even if changes in the political framework are inevitably part of individual language policy analysis.

As cases in point, I will look at the Norwegian Sámi Parliament's (Sameting) role concerning the Sámi language, and at the Scottish Parliament in relation to the Scottish Gaelic language. Both institutions have been established in recent years and therefore allow a comparison of policy initiatives and the states of affairs before and after a decentralisation of political institutions.

In the course of my paper, I will first reflect on the role that parliaments as institutions have in representative democracy. I will then show major differences between the roles of the two languages and the languages' speakers in the Norwegian/Sámi and Scottish societies. Similarly, I will present the two parliamentary bodies' considerably differing positions in the two political systems. However, I will argue that a theoretical approach towards parliaments and minority languages makes sense despite these differences: Arguing from the theoretical level to more concrete aspects, I will show examples of the two institutions' work within the first years of their operation, and thus demonstrate that both the Sameting and the Scottish Parliament do have a strong impact on policy making. I will demonstrate that the establishment of such decentralised parliaments can indeed be the point of departure for a new role of minority language speakers in a state, despite the fact that the situations in both countries are still far from being perfect. My examples will refer to both practical issues of language planning and questions of identity of minority speakers in Western democracies.

As a conclusion I will thus argue that the existence of a parliament may indeed have a potential of making a difference for minority languages. It is therefore worthwhile to take a closer look at parliaments as a category in language policy debate.

J.R. Moletsane

University of North West

The meeting of three languages, creativity, conflict and/or compromise?

During the apartheid era, universities in South Africa were divided according to race and language. There were separate universities for Whites, Coloureds, Indians and Blacks. For black South Africans there were also different universities for different ethnic groups. There were separate universities for Isixhosa speakers, Isizulu speakers, Setswana speakers, Sepedi speakers and Sesotho speakers. These ethnic universities used English as a medium of instruction. The white universities either used English or Afrikaans as the medium of instruction. This had an impact on who could be admitted at each university.

After 1994, the ministry of education deemed it fit to demolish the barriers that separated different universities. The aim was to increase access to higher education and to help develop universities which were previously underdeveloped. In order to achieve this, the ministry decided to merge universities. One of the criteria used to merge universities was their location. That is, universities in the same area serving the same clients were to be merged. This has resulted in universities with different linguistic cultures being merged.

The University of North West, a black university and Potchefstroom University for Higher education, a white Afrikaans university are to be merged because they are both in the North West Province. The language of instruction at the University of North West is English and many students and workers are Setswana speakers. It also situated in an area where Setswana is the main language. In contrast, the language of instruction at Potchefstroom University is Afrikaans and many students and workers are Afrikaans speakers. It is situated in an area where Afrikaans is the main language. This merger of the University of Potchefstroom for Christian Higher Education and the University of North West brings about a number of issues that will take time to resolve, such as the language policy of the new institution. The language policy of the new institution brings in issues about language of instruction at the two main campuses. The three major languages that are bound to meet in this union are Afrikaans, English and Setswana. At the time of this proposal, the two institutions had not yet finalised the language policy for the new institution.

This paper gives results of a study carried out to establish the language preferences of academics, administrative staff and students at both universities with regard to the language of instruction, the language of wider communication and the place of other languages in the university curriculum.

Davie E. Mutasa

University of South Africa

The renaissance of African languages: An inevitable enterprise?

After the demise of colonialism and apartheid which led to the emergence of a totally liberated Africa and the birth of The African Union, one hoped for a radical shift in African Consciousness giving impetus to a resurgence of African languages so that they carry philosophical and scientific discourse to unprecedented heights. Maintaining the primordial language policies that are dominated by European languages in sub-Saharan Africa is like putting new wine into old skins. In this regard, the question is 'Can African languages in sub-Saharan Africa take their rightful place in the state and in the world?' The aim of this paper is, therefore, to highlight some of the strategies that could be implemented to ensure the revitalisation and rejuvenation of African languages in sub-Saharan Africa. The following are some of the strategies that Linguists and Language Planners can adopt:

1. Convincing **political leaders** on language revalorisation, that is, raising the functional usefulness of African languages by implementing mother tongue education and use of African languages in other major domains; raising the prestige or social status of African languages; It appears no one government can implement such a policy when other countries are not.
2. Changing local populace's attitudes towards the use of African languages through **Psychological Approaches;**

2.1. Allaying **fear of enterprising** by embarking on pilot projects on the use of African languages in major domains;

2.2. Perceiving the **politics of terminology** with a different eye

2.2.1. Promoting appropriation, transformation and integration of terminologies (ATIT) as a strategy in solving the problem of terminology;

3. Developing human resource to handle the use of African languages in education;
4. Establishing institutes that develop African languages and,
5. Harmonising some of the African languages for economic and educational reasons.

Carol Myers-Scotton

University of South Carolina

How codeswitching as an available option empowers bilinguals

Codeswitching between two or more languages can be both an index and a tool. Codeswitching can index a speaker's self-perception as a multidimensional person and as a member simultaneously of several groups. Codeswitching can be a tool to negotiate a particular rights and obligations set as the basis of an ongoing interpersonal interaction. This paper discusses codeswitching as it figures in negotiations of power differentials between individuals or groups.

Codeswitching can help the elite in any nation establish and maintain elite closure (Myers-Scotton 1990). Not just their repertoires, but also specific patterns of language separate the elite from non-elites. When the elite engage in codeswitching between a widely known local language and an elite language (whether the official language or any international language), they present themselves as different from non-elites. True, through their use of a local language, the elite can claim that they are simply "people of the soil". But codeswitching to an elite language in circumstances where a widely known local language would suffice subverts this message of egalitarianism. The masses generally have limited knowledge of this language and certainly no facility with its turns of phrases that the elite can manipulate.

But through certain types of codeswitching, the non-elite can circumvent elite closure. To engage in codeswitching within the same clause, speakers need to have a high level of proficiency in the language that is the source of the morphosyntactic frame of this clause. However, their ability in the other participating language(s) can be much lower if speakers only insert content morphemes from another language in the grammatical frame of the clause. This requires less proficiency than framing the clause. Through codeswitching, speakers can access positive attributes associated with the language of insertions, even with their limited proficiency.

Two examples of circumventing elite closure through such codeswitching follow.

In a Nigerian community, the local elite, with their Western-style education, employ Ibibio/English codeswitching for their informal talk. Successful, rich local businessmen who have little education, but who know enough English to insert some words into an Ibibio frame, also use such codeswitching. Essien (1995: 281) refers to their codeswitching as "[an] opportunity to camouflage their illiteracy and join the 'we-type solidarity' of the educated class."

In Sri Lanka a young job applicant uses codeswitching to level inequalities between himself and the professor interviewer. The professor opens the interview in English. However, the candidate replies in a codeswitching pattern (English words in a Tamil

morphosyntactic frame). He expects that the professor is a native speaker of Tamil as he himself is. The professor switches to such codeswitching. Canagarajah (1995) explains that the candidate may lack ability or confidence to produce complete utterances in English. To speak either Tamil or English only would accentuate the status difference between the speakers. Engaging in codeswitching allows him to show some academic expertise, but also frame his responses in educated Tamil, resulting in less social distance between the two.

In sum, this paper demonstrates how codeswitching plays a role in negotiating relationships that can restrict, but can also provide, access to power.

JoAnne Neff van Aertselaer

Universidad Complutense de Madrid

Language policies in Spain: Accommodation or alteration?

In 1990, the Spanish national government recommended that all educational communities within Spain should assign the same amount of time to the teaching of Spanish (Castellano) as to the language of the Autonomous Communities, in the case that these languages did not coincide, as is true of Catalonia, Galicia, the Basque Country, Valencia and Balearic Islands (*Ley Orgánica de Ordenación General del Sistema Educativo*, the LOGSE, taking effect in 1991).

Since the passage of that law, each Autonomous Community, within the increasing devolution of educational competencies to the different Communities throughout the nineties[1], has established its own framework for balancing the number of hours devoted to the teaching of the autonomous language and Castellano. For example, in the Basque Country, pupils in first (6 yrs. old) and second grades (7 yrs. old) spent four hours per week on the learning of language and literature in Castellano and the same amount of time on language and literature in Basque, although it must be noted that, in the Basque Country, parents may choose the type of school according to their linguistic preference (e.g., B schools – teaching is carried out in two languages, Castellano and Basque, and D schools – teaching is carried out primarily in Basque, with Castellano as an additional subject). In Galicia, the educational policy is less discretionary, in the sense that parents may not choose the type of school children attend. In first and second years of primary school, students receive four hours of Galician and four of Castellano and another half an hour per week is dedicated to the study of grammatical structures common to the two languages. The other autonomous communities have similar frameworks. The law in effect up to now, the LOGSE, required only that, by the end of the sixth grade (12 years old), the total number of hours of instruction given in Castellano be equal to those given in the autonomous language. When the new law LOCE (la Ley Orgánica de Calidad de la Educación) takes effect[2], all Autonomous Communities within Spain will be required to give ten hours of instruction per week in Castellano and in the autonomous language in first and second grades, thereby reducing the number of hours remaining for the study of other subjects, including a required foreign language (only one half hour per week for each of these years). Some Communities, such as Catalonia, have protested that this new linguistic requirement will mean that either they reduce the number of hours of instruction in their own language, which they are

1 Seven of Spain's 17 autonomous communities (Andalusia, the Basque Country, the Canary Islands, Catalonia, Galicia, Navarre and Valencia) have almost full control over the administration of the education systems within their territories.

2 The LOCE will enter into effect for first yr. of primary education during 2004-2005 and for second yr., during 2005-2006.

unwilling to do, or they raise the number of hours of instruction in their own language to make it equal to those given in Castellano.

This latter adaptation would mean, however, that the students in these two years would be spending 47% of their class time on these two languages, which is equally unacceptable. It is thought that at least three Autonomous Communities – Catalonia, Galicia, and the Basque Country – will ask the Constitutional Court of Spain to take up the matter.

This paper will argue that the new linguistic policies are one of the many measures (slashing funds to the Communities; requiring that certain "national" topics be dealt with in education, e.g., "national" history) which the Spanish central government is gradually taking in order to curtail the the autonomy of the Communities, and especially of the three so-called "historic" communities, Catalonia, Galicia, and the Basque Country. The increasing contradictions between the national objectives, as set out by the conservative Partido Popular, and those set out by the autonomous governments also limits the students' advancement in foreign language instruction.

Peter H. Nelde

Research Center of Multilingualism

The new multilingualism and the European language policy

If a language policy, inspired by at least some issues of the New Multilingualism, is to be Europeanised, language policy makers should accept (1) that multilingualism is "normal", monolingualism is exceptional; (2) that multilingualism is interdependently connected with factors such as economy, politics, social welfare and education; (3) that not one but several language policies may be possible and necessary.

Language policy is not a uniform, centralistic or hierarchic device and must be based on a non-discriminatory subsidiarity principle, perhaps in connection with a language-planning coordination centre which would encourage further research, take care of the application of research results and try to support and ameliorate the situation of those 50-70 million minority speakers within the European Union who could, with their multilingual and multicultural heritage, develop an attitude to a better understanding and to the neutralisation of conflicts. In such a way European language policies are not only possible but imperative.

J.V. Neustupný

Monash University

Power of language across national boundaries: The case of tertiary education

This paper will deal with the external, rather than internal, discontinuity of language (switch to another language) at the tertiary level. Within the environment of globalization, internality/externality and levels of education play a minor role. Throughout the globalization space, cognitive maps, although of varying degree of complexity, are being drawn and re-drawn, and interests and power are the everyday components of the ensuing processes.

I shall analyse the interest/power issues arising in the tertiary education context by reference to the language management theory (Jernudd & Neustupný 1987, Neustupný, forthcoming 1). My data relate principally to students from the East Asian area who come to Japan to continue their education at graduate or post-graduate level. The process of their linguistic and broader cognitive development continues in Japan under conditions different from the societies of their origin. In fact they are being assimilated into the system of Japanese academic interaction (Neustupný, forthcoming 2). Japan thus joins, on a lesser scale, countries such as the USA, Great Brittain, Germany, France or Russia in exerting power in the process of assimilating foreign students.

This paper will focus specifically on the following points.

(1) Assimilation can easily be observed at the macro level, but it is also necessary to understand how assimilation works at the micro level of individual educational situations and how the micro level generates macro level structures.
(2) The assimilation management process is what is usually called ‘acquisition’. However, do we sufficiently understand which types of acquisition are relatively neutral to power and which are highly contentious?
(3) Acquisition is a process in which expectations based on the students’ native system are violated. The expectations concern rules/strategies not only of grammatical competence (language in the narrow sense of the word), but also of non-grammatical communicative competence (‘sociolinguistic competence’) and sociocultural competence (‘knowledge’ and social networks of acquisition). Those who oppose homogenization of human society must address all these levels of interaction.
(4) In particular, it is unclear how the assimilation process should be evaluated. However, it is certain that some positive evaluations exist along with negative ones: foreign students often consider discontinuity as beneficial (i.e. empowering) to them.

(5) With regard to evaluation, we need universal evaluation criteria to act against the ideologies of relativism. The new universalism must be different from simply subscribing to the human rights theories of the past. From the point of view of universal criteria some discontinuity may actually be beneficial (empowering the foreign students).
(6) It is questionable whether problems of discontinuity can be "solved" through transferring power to the students by instructing them in their first languages.
(7) There is a need to transgress national boundaries and commence language management on the global level. There are many more issues than the role of English in international society.
(8) Language policy, planning or language management in general cannot solve language problems in a technical, objective, non-partisan way. This also applies to problems of the language of instruction at various levels. However, language management can contribute significantly, in ways to be described in this paper, towards alleviating the problem of language both in national and international frameworks.

Adam Pawłowski

University of Wrocław

Language in constitutions of European countries

The process of European integration, which has been going on since the Second World War, and with it the progressing democratisation of the relations between state institutions and citizens and/or groups of citizens, have forced most European governments to introduce provisions regarding language into their legal systems. This was done both with regard to the protection of national identities of the nations forming the EEC, later the EU, as well as to the prevailing (albeit limited) recognition of the rights of ethnic and linguistic minorities to self-determination, including the cultivation and development of their cultures and languages.

An analysis of constitutional provisions allows us to distinguish the following approaches to the issue of language:

- linguistically neutral (e.g. Germany),
- extremely monolingual (France),
- moderately monolingual, taking into account the rights of linguistic minorities (e.g. Austria, Spain, Poland),
- multilingual by design (e.g. Belgium, Finland, Switzerland).

1. The linguistically neutral model

Such a constitutional model neither defines an official language nor contains references to a language as a national or state symbol. The lack of such references indeed does not mean full linguistic liberalism, but it does render the conducting of restrictive polices difficult. Besides, neutral constitutions usually contain articles protecting the rights of linguistic and/or ethnic minorities. Countries having linguistically neutral constitutions include Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Czech Republic, Denmark, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Italy, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, and Sweden.

2. The extremely monolingual model

The extremely monolingual model constitutionally defines the official language of the country without guaranteeing any rights to the languages of ethnic or national groups living in the country. The only nation of the Union which still applies such a solution is France.

3. The moderately monolingual model

In this model, the constitution defines the official language of the country, but guarantees simultaneously a broad range of rights to members of linguistic minority groups. Such a model is used in, for example, Austria, Bulgaria, Croatia, Poland, Serbia, Slovakia and Spain. Among these countries, the Spanish system stands out in that it applies the concept of

regional autonomy (*Comunidades Autónomas*). A similar solution is also being applied in the Republic of Serbia.

4. The multilingual model

This model establishes that different official languages with equal rights coexist in the country, and that none of these is designated as of a minority or region, and their use is not limited to a specific territory. The most characteristic examples of multilingual nations employing this solution are Belgium, Finland and Switzerland.

Conclusion

A study of European constitutions shows that the nations of the Old Continent guarantee minority and endangered languages a broad range of rights. The majority of them recognise minority languages as a part of their common cultural heritage, and not as threats. They also guarantee their free use in private life and official situations, as well as assure them a limited access to the media and educational system.

Unfortunately, this support for regional and vulnerable languages arrives very late. We discovered upon reading the *Red Book of Endangered Languages* how great a part of the linguistic richness has already been irrevocably lost: it counts as many as 94 languages and dialects at various stages of endangerment or which are already extinct. On the other hand, only a few of the constitutions explicitly speak of, for example, access to the media, respect for territorial boundaries when establishing administrative entities, or the rights of persons utilising special codes, such as sign language or Braille script. Another linguistic problem of Europe which its constitutions do not resolve is the status of immigrant languages which, according to the law, are not treated on a basis equal to that of minority languages (Article 1a of the *European Charter of Regional and Minority Languages*). Among the largest immigrant linguistic groups are Arabic in France, Hindi and Chinese in Great Britain, and Turkish and Slavic languages in Germany.

Finally, it is worth emphasising that the description presented here concerns legal status, and is, therefore, postulated and not de facto. The practical realisation of the lofty ideals of tolerance demands not only good law, but also financial resources, reason, as well as “social maturity” from both parties, i.e. from the legislature representing the majority of the citizenry as well as from the minority whose situation is the subject of adjustment. The experiences of several regions of Europe, most of all former Yugoslavia, but also Spain, France, Northern Ireland and the Baltic states, indicate that some Europeans still lack these attributes.

Lydia N. Ramahobo-Nyati

University of Botswana

Language policy, cultural rights and the law in Botswana

For years linguists, educators and academics have been calling upon the government of Botswana to develop a language policy which will recognize and empower all the ethnic groups represented in the country. Very little was known that a colonial language policy was embedded within the Chieftainship Act of 1933, which recognizes the Tswana speaking ethnic groups as the only tribes. As a result, the policy in operation recognizes Setswana as the only local language to be used in national life and English as the official language. The recognition of Tswana ethnic groups, and the exclusion of all other groups who spoke languages other than Setswana is reflected in other laws such as the Tribal Territories Act and Sections 77 to 79 of the Constitution. Consequently, the Tswana speaking ethnic groups came to represent the State power through the institution of chieftaincy and sovereignty over land, which recognized only these Tswana groups. All other groups had to be ruled by the Tswana, and their languages and cultures were relegated to the private domain to be eventually eradicated. In agitating for their cultural rights therefore, non-Tswana speaking groups must demand constitutional recognition as tribes, as the means to enjoy their linguistic and cultural rights.

This paper provides the language policy in Botswana within its legal framework, the impact of the policy on linguistic and cultural rights and the long-standing agitation activities of the unrecognized groups for such rights. These activities include parliamentary motions, court cases, the uprising of minority group organizations and the recent involvement of the United Nations Committee on the Elimination of All forms of Racial Discrimination. The paper concludes by interrogating the meaning of democracy in the context of institutionalized discrimination along linguistic lines, the defiance of court orders and the non-adherence to international advise. The major threat to democracy in Botswana is the resistance to change as a result of fear of its possible impact on the existing political power relations.

Farzad Sharifian

University of Western Australia

Cultural conceptualizations in Aboriginal English: Empowering Aboriginal children in the classroom

It is well known that students who speak non-standard dialects are disempowered in education systems which recognize only the standard variety. In Australia this affects the majority of Aboriginal students, for whom Aboriginal English is the home language. The problem is, however, more subtle than simply one of linguistic interference, since many Aboriginal students, especially in metropolitan contexts, adopt the phonological and grammatical features of Australian English to express their Aboriginal cultural conceptualisations. In such cases, the Australian English speaking educators operate on the assumptions that such students do not speak anything other than Australian English. The study reported here was an attempt to investigate the validity of such claims by exploring conceptualisations that two groups of Aboriginal and Anglo-Australian students would associate with a number of English words such as ‘family’ and ‘home’. The results provided evidence for the operation of two distinct, but overlapping, conceptual systems among the two cultural groups studied.

The differences between the associative responses from the two groups reflected cultural conceptualisations that usually characterise the two cultural groups, that is, Aboriginal and Anglo Australian. For example, many responses from the Aboriginal children to the word ‘home’ referred to the members of their extended family and some responses referred to family obligations, whereas the Anglo-Australian children mainly referred to parts of the building where they resided and commodities such as TV. The patterns of response from the two groups are in consonance with cultural categories and schemas of Home in the two cultures. The similarities in the overall responses across the two groups appeared to arise from several phenomena such as experience in similar physical environments and access to 'modern' life style. The results of this study call for a revisiting of the notion of ‘dialect’, in that a critical defining feature of a dialect may need to be its conceptual basis. The results also have important implications for the education of Aboriginal students. Educational systems in Australia need to recognise and build on the conceptual repertoire that Aboriginal children bring to the task of learning Standard English as a Second Dialect. This would help empower not only Aboriginal children but also their non-Aboriginal educators by reducing the possibility of mutual misunderstanding.

Jeff Siegel

University of Hawai'i, University of New England

Empowering speakers of unstandardized varieties: The awareness approach

Some of the most marginalized communities in the world consist of people who are considered to be speakers of the official language of education but whose vernacular language varieties differ markedly from the standard variety actually used in the educational process - for example, speakers of African American English in the USA and speakers of creole languages in the Caribbean. Students from these communities are clearly disadvantaged cognitively by not being allowed to express themselves in school using their own "unstandardized" variety of language. But they also face significant obstacles to acquiring the standard variety - both social and linguistic - that second language learners do not face. First, there are negative attitudes of some teachers, who mistakenly view students' unstandardized language as evidence of carelessness or lack of intelligence. Denigration of their home varieties leads to negative self image among students or conflict between home and school culture. Furthermore, because of the prevailing ideology that there is only one correct form of language, parents and teachers see the standard variety as the only legitimate language of education. At the same time, many students see the acquisition of the standard variety as a threat to their own ethnic and cultural identity. Even if students are motivated to learn the standard variety, its superficial similarity with their home variety leads to further obstacles. Because these varieties are to a large extent mutually intelligible, there is no communicative reason for students to switch to the standard. In addition, learners frequently do not notice the often subtle linguistic differences between the varieties.

The most popular language teaching methods - from the audiolingual approaches of the 1960s and 1970s to the communicative approaches of the 1980s and 1990s - do not take these factors into account, and have been unsuccessful. What appears to be needed is an approach that is clearly aimed at teaching the standard, but at the same time empowers students by enabling them to express themselves in their home variety, by valuing rather than threatening their language and culture, and by helping them to see the systematic differences between their variety the standard.

This paper describes such an approach - in which students' unstandardized varieties are seen as a resource to be used for learning the standard, rather than an impediment. It consists of three components. First, students learn about different varieties of language, such as dialects and creoles, and how one particular variety becomes accepted as the "standard" (the sociolinguistic component). Second, students are at times given the freedom to express themselves in unstandardized varieties and study literature in these varieties (the accommodation component). Third, students are taught how to examine the linguistic

characteristics of their own varieties and see how they differ from those of other students and from the standard (the contrastive component). Together these three components are known as the "awareness" approach.

The paper illustrates the use of this approach in educational programs in North America, Australia and Europe, and presents research findings with regard to its effectiveness.

Hazel Simmons-McDonald

University of the West Indies, Barbados

Bi-literacy instruction as a means of empowering the native speaker of French Creole

Scholars who have written about the language situation in St. Lucia have commented on the disadvantages that most exclusive speakers of St. Lucian French Creole (FC) experience within the school system which requires the use of English only as the language of instruction and for academic purposes. A Literacy survey / Reading diagnostic project recently conducted in the Windward Islands has corroborated the finding that children who speak FC as a first language suffer severe setbacks within the primary school system. The following are some of the findings of the survey:

1. FC speakers in St. Lucia had the lowest scores on a series of reading tests and in some cases were unable to recognize some letters of the alphabet and letter sounds for a number of letters of the alphabet;
2. FC speakers in St. Lucia, ranging in age from 13 – 15, were the ones most likely to be held back in Grade VI, with considerably younger children, in the hope that they would learn to read;
3. despite keeping those students back in Grade VI, the schools did not provide an alternative instructional programme that would foster literacy in English, neither did they offer any instruction in the children's first language, FC.

This paper proposes to:

1. present comparative data from the literacy survey to show the differences between the performances of FC speakers and native speakers of English within the school system in support of the argument that the national educational policies and the teaching strategies used within the primary school system in St. Lucia have only served to disenfranchise and marginalize most FC speakers and exclude them from full participation in the development of the economic, literary and managerial domains of the nation
2. present data from case studies of FC speakers in primary school in St. Lucia who were instructed using a model that allowed for developing literacy in FC and English. The subjects, ranging in age from 12 – 15, participated in an intensive programme which used the bi-literacy model. The results showed that the subjects, who were unable to read at the start of the study, developed bi-literacy in FC and English and that their reading abilities had improved by at least three grade levels by the end of the study

3. show how the bi-literacy model which promotes literacy in the home language first, if implemented early, can enable native FC speakers to engage in full participation in the academic business of school at primary *and* secondary levels, and empower them to be productive citizens of St. Lucian society when they leave school.

The implications of implementing the bi-literacy model will also be addressed in the paper.

Augustin Simo Bobda

University of Hong Kong, University of Yaoundé

Life in a Tower of Babel without a language policy

The language situation of Cameroon is notoriously complex, and bears little resemblance with classic examples of multilingualism in the western world. Cameroon, in this regard, hardly even resembles most Asian and other African countries. It does not even resemble neighbouring Nigeria, which does not bear the extra burden of two exoglossic official languages, and whose 400 languages are shared by 130 million speakers, making a ratio of about 300,000 speakers to a language, contrasting with Cameroon's 260 languages for 15 million people, 57,000 speakers on average sharing a language; this smaller ratio means a greater concentration of languages over an area, a factor which exposes the speaker to a multitude of languages.

The unique sociolinguistic situation of Cameroon is paralleled by a conspicuous absence of language policy, and here again Cameroon differs dramatically from many other African countries, where the use of languages is subjected to some regulation or legislation. Although some literature is available on the complexity of the language situation in Cameroon, no study seems to have comprehensively examined how life goes on in this context, drawing the relevant comparisons with the societies in which language laws and other constraints exist. After explaining what is meant by the absence of a language policy in Cameroon, this paper discusses the manifestations of this situation, discusses some non-governmental attempts to give a direction to language use, and finally discusses some advantages and disadvantages of the lack of language planning in Cameroon. A language policy in Cameroon would involve English and French, which are the two official languages, the indigenous languages, and possibly Pidgin English. There is no policy on the official languages in Cameroon except the statement in the 1996 Constitution that English and French are the two official languages of Cameroon having equal status, and a few timid memos from the Prime Minister and some ministers calling on civil servants to be bilingual in English and French. Regarding the use of the local languages, the said constitution is even less coercive, as it contents itself with acknowledging the usefulness of the indigenous languages in the safeguarding of our cultural heritage. The 1996 Constitution is considered revolutionary, as no such recognition existed in the previous ones. Concerning Pidgin English, despite its continual spread and rise in status and repeated appeals from scholars for its recognition, there is no official pronouncement on the issue.

The manifestations of the lack of language policy in Cameroon include the inordinate and unpredictable use of languages, which may be perceived as a positive variety by the optimistic observer, but which is perceived by many as a state of confusion, resulting in frustration and feeling of injustice to people excluded by language in a given situation. To

fill a vacuum left by state authorities, initiatives to regulate, maintain, control and promote languages are undertaken at home level by parents, at local community level by scholars and the elite, and elsewhere by school proprietors, oral and print media managers, and so on. Many problems are solved or avoided by the hands-off attitude of government in language planning. The avoidance of spending from the part of government, and the avoidance of civil strife possibly to arise from the choice of some languages can be considered as the gains of the lack of language policy in Cameroon. The disadvantages obviously include the gradual death of some local languages and the impossibility to reach the local communities in their own languages.

Concerning the use of official languages, the paper shows how the language issue permeates many facets of what is known in Cameroon as the "Anglophone problem", which results from the claimed marginalisation of the minority Anglophone section of the population.

Christine Simone Sing

University of Regensburg

Curriculum ideals and classroom reality in the process of empowerment through 'Euro-English' – A Case Study -

Much of the discussion centring around the issues of linguistic imperialism, on the one hand, and empowerment through language, on the other, has focused on the situation as it presents itself in countries which are part of what Phillipson once referred to as the cultural periphery.

In contrast, I would like to draw attention to some important parallels that could be drawn from language policies and its consequences in those countries in order to apply them to the specific linguistic situation in the EU. For that purpose, I shall concentrate on the spread of English in Europe and its status in the German educational system.

Typically, the politically-charged situation of language conflict, arising from the both overpowering and oppressive dominance of a language and resulting in the propagation of an in-built power asymmetry has led to, at least in the post-colonial context, two conflicting responses, which are carried out in the attempt to seek empowerment. The first attitude consists in the appropriation of English for all the promises it holds, coinciding with both the marginalisation and devaluation of the first language. A second response is the (categorical) resistance to the English language while the status and corpus of the first language are strengthened. There is, however, a third, more balanced way, as the oft-cited example of India has demonstrated. The appropriation of English included the reclamation of regional features and extended the functional range of the language by eventually establishing and codifying a variety of English of its own right.

Without intending to push this analogy too hard, I claim that we could transpose this pragmatic instance of empowerment to the specificity of the European context for, as I argue, there is reason to assume that learners of English may even have adopted a pragmatic view of the language problem.

The above mentioned extreme attitudes manifest themselves in the following way in the European context. For example, the appropriation of English has led to the inclusion of numerous lexical items in the vocabularies of virtually all European languages and has resulted in institutional multi-lingualism. As to the other extreme, the categorical rejection of English has gained new momentum by the foundation of a forum for the German language. But how are these positions represented in the educational system and the teaching of English?

The ideals formulated in the curriculum will not bear close scrutiny since the need for plurality expressed in the notion of 'Englishes' lacks resonance in the actual teaching of

English. On the contrary: analysing curricula will show that not only is there little consideration for the literature and linguistic features of English other than the 'dominant' varieties, but, in addition, the emphasis has been shifted from a, more or less, balanced study of British and American English to the advantage of the latter. Thus, while the superordinate directive given in the curricula is the pedagogical benefit of broadening students' horizons by imparting the concepts of a global language, the classroom reality narrows it down to acquainting students with the dominant variety. However, young learners have started to dissociate the English language from a specific country or cultural background, as first samples suggest. They appear to have adopted a more pragmatic view, instrumentalising the fact that, for now, English is the default language. This is, in my view, a useful starting point for teaching English as an international language, aiming at the acquisition and expansion of concepts in a multi-lingual context. This could be completed by a less prescriptive approach to the target language. Why not envisage the standard of Euro-English as the target language in education?

The closer analysis of the material I have chosen, consisting of curricula and student interviews, will cast some light on the issues raised above and will point the way out of a linguistic dilemma and towards the building of a European identity based on the variety of Euro-English as a means of communication adding to the existing linguistic plurality in the EU.

Birgit Smieja

University of Koblenz-Landau, Campus Landau

The impact of language stereotypes on education: A case study of Botswana students

One way of creating empowerment by language is to develop and implement measures to reduce the high dropout rates in schools, especially of minority-language speaking children, by preparing and inspecting teachers and their attitudes towards the children in their classes. This presupposes that teachers and future teachers are informed about the status of languages, the stereotypes of their ethnic group speakers, and, and the conscious or unconscious attitudes associated with them. The facts and data presented here are based on my study on language attitudes and language use conducted in Botswana in 1998/99, now available as *Language Pluralism in Botswana – Hope or Hurdle*.

Changes in the preferred use of one or several languages in multilingual environments often depend, not only on their assumed status, but also on the conditions and circumstances under which these languages are learnt. My study showed unexpected tendencies of status shift within the approximately 25 languages of Botswana, almost all of which belong to the so-called minority languages. Taking the language status of prestige languages as a criterion, it is predictable that Setswana and English will be the generally preferred languages, the more so because they hold out the promise of upward mobility on the social ladder. But at the same time they mean a constant struggle for many children on their roads to knowledge.

The paper will first take a brief look at the socio-hierarchical structure of the ethnic groups in Botswana and their languages. Then data from my study will be presented. The study reports on student judgements about stereotypes felt to be characteristic of certain speaker groups. The hypothesis is that such subconscious stereotypes have a strong impact on children's motivation to learn through the medium of that language. The study is an adapted matched guise technique (like the one used by Trudgill (1974) on British English accents) and comprises ten speech examples of accented English, spoken by members of five different language groups who were to be judged by about 130 secondary school students of different ethnic backgrounds.

Since English has the highest prestige, the question was researched which pronunciation or variety of Botswana English would be the most accepted one. Again, status factors intervene with practical reasoning and show unexpected results for American and British English in comparison with Botswana English, a cluster term comprising many differently accented pronunciations.

Accents, i.e. phonological traces of different mother tongues in the pronunciation of English, obviously trigger a certain image of the speaker and the ethnic group s/he belongs

to. As the data show, a hierarchical classification based on ethnic or social status is signalled via certain speech forms; they reveal the prejudices and attitudes of hearers, which are provoked by the status such accents and their respective ethnic groups have. This is also the case for teachers' judgements towards their pupils and vice versa.

Children react to accents and the question still is how much influence the different native language backgrounds may have on their learning behaviour and their educational success.

As a conclusion, it is suggested that teacher training and in-service training should not only concentrate on preparing teachers for the content of their jobs but also for the cultural, social and linguistic conditions they will find in the areas they may be sent to. If a particular accent leads to comprehension problems or may have some negative psychological impact on school performance, it is even more important and urgent to re-think the current teacher placement policies. Since one's own accent is understood best, it would help children to overcome the first learning hurdles in the rather alien and artificial school situation if they are instructed by teachers with the same linguistic background.

Bernard Spolsky

Bar-Ilan University

Language policy failures – why won't they listen?

With rare exceptions, most published research on language policy in schools provides backing for the principle, proclaimed half a century ago by UNESCO, of using the child's home language in the early years at least. Programs that keep doing this after an early successful experiment or that even start on this seriously are however quite rare. Bilingual education is likely to be maintained to increase the power and acceptance of a powerful ethnic or local or national variety (Irish, French in Quebec, Catalan or Basque in the autonomous regions, Maori in New Zealand), or to speed transition to an international language (Russian in the Soviet republics, English in Singapore) but seldom to ease the way into school for speakers of unfavored languages.

The gap between what appears to be accepted scientific theory and actual educational practice calls for study. A number of alternative explanations will be explored. One is that the principle ignores actual sociolinguistic situations. For example, the language chosen as "mother tongue" or "home language" may not in fact be what is spoken by the children. Or another example, the complexity of multilingualism may make any effort to use every language not feasible. A second is that the principle goes against the beliefs of the educational community in particular or of the speech community that the home language is of insufficient value to warrant using it in school. When the competing language is an international language, or a sacred language, or the national language, for the H variety in a diglossic situation, the ideological weight is against using a local or L variety. A third is that there is a conspiracy of the elite against any recognition of indigenous languages. For example, in former French or Portuguese or Spanish possessions, the advantages the elites have who speak these languages discourages them from recognizing any formal use of indigenous languages. A fourth is that the principle is wrong; in other words, that successful instruction is possible using the H language.

The paper will analyze a wide range of cases.

Zoe Yuen Hiu Sum

University of Hong Kong

Empowerment through Yiddish in American English

American English is an important portal through which investigations of the complex American identity and language ideologies can be made. Like American English, Yiddish – the vernacular language of Ashkenazi Jews – is known for its hybrid attributes. Although Yiddish has declined from its status as a mass language, its impact on American English has remained profound. This is reflected in a large set of lexical items and phrases derived from Yiddish which have infiltrated to varying degrees the mainstream of American English. Instead of interpreting the mixing of languages – linguistic hybridity - as a factor in marginalization, this paper aims to look at the possibilities of empowerment through language mixing by investigating the language change and language ideologies in the context of the influence of Yiddish on the English language. Specific focus will be put on the historical and textual details and on the context of New York as the main locus of the interaction between Yiddish and English.

Historically, Yiddish's status as a "legitimate" language has never been fully secured. While some praise it as the most characteristically Jewish of all Jewish languages (Susskind, 1987), other condemn it as a degraded form of German or merely a jargon. Even among the Jews, Yiddish has had to fight for its recognition and has long been considered barely a dialect (Ornstein-Galicia, 1988-1990). With regard to the meshing of Yiddish and English, resentments have come from both the "American" and the "Jewish" sides. Defenders of American identity as a fundamentally 'Anglo-Saxon' entity looked with horror at the transformations in American life and language produced by the mass immigrations of the late 19th century. As for Yiddishists, the dislike of hybridity is displaced onto the fate of Yiddish in American popular culture. They abhor the popularization of Yiddish in the context of American English, i.e. the vulgar, trashy or humorous image of Yiddish that is often portrayed in mainstream American culture. To Yiddishists, Yiddish is a language with originality and dignity and thus should be taken seriously. Hence books like Leo Rosten's *The Joys of Yiddish* are either ignored or attacked by Yiddishists for their popularizing elements perceived as reinforcing the stereotypical image of Yiddish as "unhealthy, crooked and hybrid".

This paper looks at the question of whether it is not after all these popularizing works that offer the more realistic picture of the sociolinguistic development of the Yiddish language in the context of American English. Could one not argue that it is a writer such as Philip Roth, who flaunts rather than hides his Jewishness by interweaving his Yiddish vocabulary with English, that best expresses the complexity of American identity? The paper will explore the ambivalent history and identity of Yiddish in relation to American

English, looking both at how Yiddish has impacted on everyday and literary English, and the ideological issues that underlie the often contentious conceptualizations of this relationship.

Alex-Louise Tessonneau

Université de Paris 8

From metis stories to the didactics of the French language

Since my teaching experience to Creole pupils in the West Indies (Guadeloupe), I have been working on the impact and the difficulties of growing up in a minored language and studying in a different one.

Thanks to my researches on oral literature in Haiti (from riddles to stories), I discovered that every literary genre enclosed a type of language acquisition and the aim of these different genre should be the advancement of initiation-acquisition of the particular and metaphorical Haïtian's language. Consequently, I experienced new pedagogical theories with students from different backgrounds :

- Haitian illiterate migrant farmers who could only speak Creole and who attended alphabetization courses or French acquisition as a foreign language classes.
- failing migrant students in different schools in France.
- kindergarden children.

I more recently undertook new researches while studying texts of French speaking countries with foreign students during a seminar at the University of Koblenz in Germany as well as at the University of Paris 8.

I intend discussing about my different experiences and their results. First of all, I will explain some pedagogical problems that I had to face in my classrooms in the West Indies. Some of them already existed on the island. Then, I will introduce some factors due to the conditions and contexts of the migration as they have consequences on the acquisition process: for example, the desire to emigrate, the valorization or depreciation of native culture, the problems of cultural transmission, etc. Finally, I will develop the experiences in more details.

My current works focus on finding interactive strategies in the classroom in order to make students more involved into their learning. Therefore, I will question the efficiency of such a pedagogy based on students knowledge as well as on stories and their cultural dimension. I will also debate on the possibility to use that pedagogical frame with other languages and subjects.

Tumelontle Thiba

University of North West

In response to threatened languages: The case of indigenous languages in South Africa with special reference to language attitudes in the North West Province

Prior to the 1994 democratic elections in South Africa and the articulation of the country's constitution, there were two official languages, English and Afrikaans. The nine main indigenous languages in the country were not recognised as either official or national languages. The 1996 language policy is based on the provision of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, Act 108 of 1996. This policy gives the status of official languages to the Afrikaans, Setswana, Sesotho, Sepedi, IsiNdebele, IsiXhosa, IsiZulu, Tshivenda and Xitsonga. Sign language was added as the 12th official languages in 2002 in response to the objections of discrimination raised by organisations and associations for the hearing impaired.

One of the reasons for the declaration of the 12 official languages policy was the promotion of previously marginalized languages. The national government deliberately elevated the status of the nine indigenous languages in the country to official languages as part of the country's effort to redress the imbalances brought by the apartheid government. Language and ethnicity were used by apartheid South Africa to formulate the Group Areas Act that restricted the movement of native South Africans to certain areas in the country (Omer-Cooper 1994:198). This act eventually led to the formation of the Bantustan or homelands, small pockets of "countries" within South Africa that robbed indigenous South Africans of their citizenship. Such blatant abuse and misuse of language contributed to the intensification of the struggle against apartheid in general and racial, ethnic and linguistic discrimination in particular.

A number of theorists such as Pennycook (2001) and Fishman (1998 and 2000), Tollefson (2001) and Skutnabb-Kangas (2001) argue extensively about the predominance of English and the possibility of linguistic imperialism and death. Although the language policy in South Africa in principle guarantees the survival of previously marginalized languages, in practice English continues to dominate mass media, the civil service and education. A number of arguments are postulated for to justify the continuous use of English in almost all spheres of life in South Africa. Some of these arguments have been presented in various contexts across the globe in defence of the continuous use of colonial languages in post-colonial countries. They include financial constraints, lack of development of indigenous languages, promotion of national unity and many more. However, the visible dominance of English in South Africa might defeat the intentions of

the government and the provisions of the Constitution of the country. This state of affairs might give rise to the possibility of linguistic death for indigenous languages.

The proposed paper will attempt to give the results of and comment on a study carried out in the Bophirima region of the North West Province, specifically the Kuruman, Taung and Ganyesa districts to determine the language preferences of citizens and attitudes towards the Setlharo and Setlhaping dialects of Setswana, one of the official languages in the country. The overall aim of this study is to establish the possibility of linguistic death of both Setswana and the predominant dialects in the region in the face of continued use of English in the public service, law and education.

Christa van der Walt

University of Stellenbosch

Motivation and empowerment: Opposing forces?

This paper will be presented in the context of the South African higher education landscape where each institution has had to develop a language policy in line with a national policy for language in higher education. The policy document[1] requires that institutions submit language policies in which they indicate how they will go about creating "a receptive institutional culture which embraces linguistic diversity" as one of the "crucial ways for promoting a climate where all people feel affirmed and empowered to realise their full potential" (2002:15).

In higher education the empowerment of learners (by supporting multilingualism) must inevitably take place in opposition to the status of English as a language of science. Learners are constantly torn between the convenience of using their own languages and the compulsion to master English as the perceived key to a good job and a bright future. In this paper I will discuss the results of a language survey and a baseline questionnaire for first year students conducted at the University of Stellenbosch. The results of these studies clearly show that students are aware of the advantages of studying in their home languages, especially when they have to master cognitively demanding content. However, the motivation to use English (with a view to securing a job in the future) and the fact that the majority of their textbooks are in English, militate against the more empowering decision to speak and write in their home languages.

This paper will discuss the apparent opposition between empowerment and instrumental motivation by not only taking the abovementioned data into account, but also by redefining and refining the concept of empowerment in an academic environment where international contact and standing is paramount. I will argue that empowerment has to be seen as part of what Johl[2] (2002:52) calls a sociocultural approach to academic literacy, where processes of creating reality and making meaning take place in a specific sociocultural framework and with a specific agenda to raise students' awareness of the contesting discourses within that context.

1 Language Policy for Higher Education. 2002. Pretoria: Ministry of Education.

2 Johl, R. 2002. Akademiese geletterdheid: van studievaardighede tot kritiese geletterdheid. [Academic literacy: from study skills to critical literacy.] *Journal for Language Teaching,* 36(1&2):41-61.

Tobie van Dyk

University of Pretoria

Testing for academic literacy in a historically disadvantaged context

If one considers the correlation between the number of first- and second-language speakers of English who register at universities in South Africa and the relative success of each group at the end of their first and further years of study, it is apparent that a significantly larger proportion of mother-tongue students are successful. A number of socio-economic and political factors, rooted in the educational policies implemented during the era of apartheid have contributed to this discrepancy. The policies surrounding Bantu Education in particular have resulted in a legacy of educational deprivation for black students. These students, as second-language speakers of English, represent the 'linguistic minorities' who continue to suffer the effects of a racist segregation policy and unequal distribution of resources. As a result, the development of academic literacy with specific reference to academic English is becoming increasingly important in the context of tertiary education in South Africa.

In this paper it is shown how the largest residential university in South Africa (University of Pretoria) proactively addresses the above-mentioned situation through the establishment of the Unit for Language Skills Development (ULSD). Since 2000, this Unit administers annually a test of academic language proficiency to more than 6000 first-time students; those who are identified by this measure as being at risk academically as a result of too low a level of academic language proficiency are compelled to enrol for a set of four academic literacy courses in order to minimise their risk of failure. The testing instrument used to test levels of language proficiency at the University of Pretoria as well as some test results are discussed. Based on these test results students who need language support and who are subsequently required to enrol for an academic language support course are identified. To conclude, an outline of the academic literacy course offered by the ULSD and the effect of this course on the language proficiency of students are presented.

Albert Weideman

University of Pretoria

Design considerations for academic literacy courses: Meeting the challenges of higher education

Academic literacy courses are an attempt to lower the risk of failure at university for students with low English academic proficiency levels. Students who attend these courses generally are disadvantaged in several respects: English is often not their first or even second language; the quality of the schools where they finished their pre-higher education studies is suspect, and they may be from poor family and community backgrounds. The urgency of the challenge to design appropriate academic literacy courses for these students therefore needs very little argument. How does one design such courses with care and deliberation?

One of the prime functions of a design discipline such as applied linguistics is that it enables the language task and course designer to justify the design in terms of widely accepted, current insight. The presentation argues that we too often neglect this. In order to make such justification accessible to course designers, the presentation attempts to articulate a selected number of general considerations that influence course design in communicative language teaching, and one overriding condition: that the task or course must make language learning possible in the classroom. The latter is not as uncomplicated as this kind of formulation suggests, but involves attention to stress-generating or stress-reducing methods.

The presentation concludes with a consideration of three final criteria: the need for the task or course design to embody a broad (communicative) perspective on language, to provide learners with opportunities for focussing on the learning process itself, and to use learners' personal experiences as a starting point for tasks. How the criteria discussed can be met, and integrated into the design of courses, is the central concern of the paper. Most of the illustrations are taken from a new course in academic literacy at the University of Pretoria. The presentation therefore does not pretend to deal exhaustively with all possible criteria, but suggests a limited number for consideration by course designers who, like the teachers who will use their designs, wish to act professionally, and with integrity.