

Sociolinguistics  
Soziolinguistik

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## IX. Regional Overview Regionaler Überblick

### 169. Scandinavia / Skandinavien

1. The geographical delimitation of the area
2. Linguistic delimitation and genetic relationships
3. The sociolinguistic history of the area
4. The sociolinguistic profile of the countries
5. The languages and their standardization
6. Language maintenance and language death
7. Literature (selected)

#### 1. The geographical delimitation of the area

The name *Scandinavia* may be used in a narrow (geographical) sense, encompassing Norway, Sweden and Denmark, but it is often taken to include Finland and Iceland as well, because of their strong historical and cultural ties to Scandinavia. We shall follow this wider usage here, in other words equate *Scandinavia* with 'Northern Europe'. The area covered in this article, therefore, includes the following countries: Iceland, Denmark (with the Faroe islands and Greenland – although the latter country geographically belongs to America rather than Europe), Norway, Sweden, and Finland.

#### 2. Linguistic delimitation and genetic relationships

The genetic relationships between the languages of Scandinavia are quite simple and clear-cut. There are three totally unrelated language phylums represented: Indo-European, Fenno-Ugric, and Eskaleutic. The Indo-European phylum is represented by the North Germanic sub-family of the Germanic family. The sub-family is divided into two: 'Insular Nordic', i. e. Icelandic and Faroese, which are two clearly independent *Abstand languages*, and *Scandinavian* (sometimes called *Mainland Scandinavian*, a tautology).

*Scandinavian* includes Norwegian, Danish, and Swedish, three mutually semi-intelligible varieties which are standardized in the form of three or four 'Ausbau languages'

(three or four because Norwegian has two closely related standards which may be called 'varieties' or 'languages', see 5.3.). Also the Gypsy languages of Scandinavia are Indo-European; see further chapter 182. The Fenno-Ugric phylum is represented by two branches of the Fennic family: Finnish is a Baltic-Fennic language (closely related to Karelian and Estonian), while Sámi forms a separate branch. We reckon seven main varieties of Sámi within Scandinavia (two more in Russia), mostly mutually non-intelligible and thus to be regarded as *Abstand languages*. The Eskaleutic phylum is represented by Greenlandic, an Inuit language which is closely related to the Inuit languages in Canada. (For overall treatments of the North Germanic languages, see Haugen (1976) and Braunmüller (1991); for treatments of the Nordic language scene generally, see Karker et.al., (1997) and Vikør (2001).)

#### 3. The sociolinguistic history of the area

##### 3.1. Language spread and diffusion

The ancestor of the present Scandinavian languages (Proto-Scandinavian) seems to have been established in Denmark and at least Southern and Central Norway and Sweden already before the beginning of our era. The oldest runic inscriptions in Proto-Scandinavian are dated to the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD. In central and northern parts of Norway, Sweden and Finland, Proto-Sámi seems to have been dominant over most of the area. But during the 1<sup>st</sup> and the first half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> millennium AD, Sámi has been on constant retreat for the expansion of Scandinavian (Old Norwegian and Old Swedish) from the south and Finnish from the south and east. During the 12<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> centuries, Old Swedish spread in the southwest of Finland. The present delimitation between Scandinavian, Finnish and Sámi seems to

have been reached around 1500. Westwards, Old Norwegian was brought by emigrant settlers to Shetland, the Orkneys, the Hebrides, the Isle of Man, the Faroes, Iceland, and Greenland during the 9<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> centuries – to cover the varieties spoken in all these areas, the designation *Old Norse* is often used. *Proto-Greenlandic* seems to have entered Greenland from the northwest around the last millennium turn, at the same time as speakers of Old Norse populated the southern tip of the island. Old Norse died out in Greenland around 1500. In the Hebrides and the Isle of Man, Old Norse became extinct in late medieval times. In the Orkneys and Shetland, it remained in use under the name of Norn until the 18<sup>th</sup> or early 19<sup>th</sup> century.

### 3.2. The spread of lingua francas

The dialects of Scandinavian were mutually intelligible until around 1500, when Faroese and Icelandic were established as separate languages (by preserving Old Norse structures and features, Icelandic being particularly conservative, while Danish, Norwegian and Swedish went through a radical transformation of grammar and vocabulary under the influence of Low German). In trade contacts with foreign peoples, the language problem was not big in southern and central Scandinavia, because the languages concerned, above all Low German, were relatively close to Scandinavian, so that some training on both sides made communication possible. In the north, things were different. Here, the Scandinavians were the politically, militarily, and commercially dominant peoples, and their languages, therefore, were mostly used in contacts with the others, but there are many testimonies that both Sámi and Finnish were used on a par with Scandinavian by bilingual or trilingual persons. From the 18<sup>th</sup> till the early 20<sup>th</sup> century a Russo-Norwegian pidgin language served as a lingua franca in the trade contact between Russians and Norwegians (Broch/Jahr 1990). Between the Scandinavian languages, mutual intelligibility remained high because of close linguistic proximity. In the late 20<sup>th</sup> century, a certain decline in this intelligibility is discernible in particular between Danish and Swedish, giving rise to the notion of ‘semi-communication’ (Haugen 1972, 215–236). This tendency is countered through a conscious policy promoting pan-Scandinavian language understanding.

Among young people, English may be resorted to as a new inter-Scandinavian lingua franca, although still on a limited scale. In wider Nordic contexts, however (when the Finns and Icelanders are included), English is already extensively used in this function, since the average Finnish-speakers’ competence in Swedish as a second language and the corresponding Icelandic competence in Danish, although promoted through the mandatory instruction in these languages at school, is clearly declining.

### 3.3. Foreign cultural languages

The oldest foreign cultural language in all of Scandinavia was Latin, which was introduced with Christianity from the late 10<sup>th</sup> century on in Denmark, during the 11<sup>th</sup> century in Norway and Iceland, and the 12<sup>th</sup> in Sweden. Latin was the ecclesiastical language and dominant written language in Denmark and Sweden until late medieval times, while Old Norse had a stronger position in Norway and Iceland. After the Lutheran reformation during the first half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, Latin still retained its position as a scientific language until after 1800. But the leading foreign cultural languages as the modern age approached became High German (particularly in Denmark and by extension Norway, increasingly even in Finland) and French (particularly in Sweden). In the 20<sup>th</sup> century, their position was eclipsed by that of English, in much the same way as in other European countries.

### 3.4. Colonial languages

There has been no external colonization of Scandinavia, but there have been colonial relations between the local peoples themselves. Denmark ruled Norway from the 15<sup>th</sup> century till 1814, and the Faroes, Iceland, and Greenland from the same period till the 20<sup>th</sup> century, and Danish was the language of administration in the whole of this area. In Norway, this led to a Danish-based written and spoken standard language which gave rise to movements for a norwegianizing language reform in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. In Iceland, Icelandic survived as a written cultural language beside Danish, and in the Faroes and Greenland, language revival movements during the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century made Danish a secondary official language in practice. Sweden ruled Finland from medieval times until 1809, when Russia took over until independence

came in 1917. Swedish was made the official language of Finland, and this was continued under Russian rule until a Finnish language movement towards the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century made this language dominant after hard struggle. In the Sámi areas, (Dano-)Norwegian, Swedish and Finnish have been so powerful colonial languages that Sámi has been repressed until the verge of extinction.

#### 4. The sociolinguistic profile of the countries

##### 4.1. Denmark

Almost all native Danes speak Danish. The only indigenous minority is about 20000 German-speakers in the South of Jutland (North Schleswig). This is a result of the division of Schleswig between Denmark and Germany after a referendum in 1920, where a majority of the Danish-speaking north voted for inclusion in Denmark while the German-speaking south remained within Germany. The governments of the two countries in 1955 signed an agreement giving the minorities in both parts of Schleswig full linguistic and cultural rights. The German-speaking minority in North Schleswig upholds a separate cultural identity with their own institutions, although most or all of them are bilingual in German and Danish. In addition to these, there are about 25000 immigrants from Germany. The other dominant immigrant languages are Turkish (up to 40000), Arabic and Serbo-Croat (about 30000 each). Immigrant languages have no official status – neither in Denmark nor in the other countries – but their speakers have a right to learn and be instructed in their mother tongue, official information are given in their language, they have the right to speak their language with interpretation in courts etc. Most of these immigrants are concentrated in the urban areas, particularly Copenhagen.

##### 4.2. Sweden

All native Swedes speak Swedish. The largest minority language is Finnish, with perhaps up to 300000 speakers. Most of these are recent immigrants, but there is an indigenous Finnish-speaking minority in the Tornedal area at the Finnish border. The Tornedal community, however, now tends to regard their variety of Finnish a separate language, which they call *meänkieli* ‘my language’

(Wande 1992). The other indigenous minority is the Sámi, with about 15000 people, mostly living in the north, where they have an exclusive right to herd reindeer. There are also a few thousand Romani-speakers. These languages were not acknowledged as official languages until 1999, although the speakers of Finnish and Sámi had extensive rights in the educational sector, in their contacts with the state and the judiciary. In 1999, the Swedish parliament gave Finnish, Sámi, Romani and Yiddish formal status as national minority languages with codified linguistic rights, in connection with Sweden’s ratification of the European language convention. The dominant immigrant language, after Finnish, is what can here still be conveniently labeled Serbo-Croat, spoken by immigrants from different parts of the former Yugoslavia (about 60000 – many having arrived several decades ago, others as refugees from Bosnia in the 1990s). The immigrant languages in total are spoken by about 5% of the population in Sweden, and the need to cater for their needs both as mother-tongue users and as users of Swedish as a second language, have given rise to an extensive ‘language-resource industry’.

##### 4.3. Norway

Norwegian is spoken by almost all the indigenous population except about 1% Sámi-speakers, mainly in the far north, and an even smaller minority of Finnish-speakers (who call themselves *Kvener*, and have recently had their variety of Finnish officially acknowledged as a separate language, *Kven*). There are also a few hundred speakers of Romani. Norwegian exists in two written varieties, *Bokmål* and *Nynorsk* (see 5.3.). They are acknowledged by law as official languages on an equal footing, but in practice, *Bokmål* is dominant in most of the country. Sámi has (since 1992) been acknowledged as an official language of some municipalities in the two northernmost counties, but also in the rest of the country, they have the right to be taught in and about their language in primary school. The Finnish-speakers have the same rights in this regard as other minorities to learn the standard variety of their language. Of the non-Scandinavian immigrant languages, English and Punjabi are dominant (more than 10000). The Punjabi, who come from Pakistan, mostly recognize Urdu as their national language and hence, school language.

#### 4.4. Finland

In Finland, around 95% speak Finnish, 5% Swedish (around 300000), and small numbers Romani (around 10000) and Sámi (around 5000). The Constitution of Finland states that Finnish and Swedish are equal as national and official languages. The Swedish-speaking Finns live along the south and west coast and on the Åland islands (which are unilingually Swedish according to a special law which grants the islands partly autonomy). They have far-reaching institutional guarantees in all sectors of society, and form an extremely vital linguistic and cultural community (Reuter 1981; Tandefelt 1992). Still, they suffer a gradual marginalization: although all Finns should learn both languages in school, the knowledge of Swedish among the Finnish-speaking majority is deteriorating, while the inevitable contacts between the two communities tend to strengthen the dominance of Finnish, e. g. in mixed marriages. The recent tendency to identify more with the European Union than with the Nordic community also weakens the position of Swedish, the natural Scandinavian contact language. Sámi has got an official position in some Sámi-dominated districts in the north, as in Norway. Also Romani has been given linguistic rights as a minority language. The dominant non-indigenous languages are Russian (about 20000 speakers) and Estonian (about 10000).

#### 4.5. Iceland

Iceland is practically universally Icelandic-speaking – one of the very few truly unilingual countries on earth (although even here, English as a second language is rapidly gaining ground among the youth – instead of Danish, which had this function up to a generation ago). The dominant immigrant languages pr. 2000 are Polish (about 1200, a very recent phenomenon) and Danish (about 1000).

#### 4.6. The Faroes

Faroese is used by the whole population, although almost all Faroese are in practice bilingual in Faroese and Danish. There are a few thousand Danish-speakers, and Danish and Faroese still are equal official languages. Since the institution of Faroese Home Rule in 1948, however, a gradual Faroecization of all public institutions has taken place, now only excluding parts of the judiciary, where the Su-

preme Court of Denmark still has the last word (Poulsen 1981; Sandøy 1992).

#### 4.7. Greenland

The situation is parallel with that of the Faroes: Greenlandic is in reality dominant, but formally, Danish and Greenlandic are both equal official languages, and there are a few thousand immigrants from Denmark who speak only Danish. But a gradual process of Greenlandization is going on.

### 5. The languages and their standardization

#### 5.1. Danish

Danish is spoken by the 5 million Danes. It is the official language of Denmark and co-official in the Faroes and Greenland. There is a Danish-speaking minority in German Schleswig, who have been granted cultural and linguistic rights according to an agreement between the Danish and the German governments (see 1.1.); Søndergaard 1981). Danish is a uniform written language, although in speech, it is changing rapidly, the lower class pronunciation norms of Copenhagen spreading throughout the country. A certain regional variation still exists, with Jutish and the Bornholm dialect distinguishing themselves from *Island Danish*. The Danish written standard dates back to the 16<sup>th</sup> century, but a more fixed and stable spelling developed only in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century, when Danish was promoted both in education and official use against the dominating German. This orthography has been dominant until now, despite a number of minor changes, concentrating in two spelling reforms of 1889 and 1948 (when the German inspired ‘Großschreibung’ and the grapheme sequence <aa> for /ɔ/ were replaced by ‘Kleinschreibung’ and <å>). One of the motives behind the reforms was a desire to come closer to Swedish, in the framework of a pan-Scandinavian cooperation ideology. The big difference between orthography and phonology in present-day Danish makes any thought of spelling reform impossible. The most hotly debated spelling issue probably was the rendering of foreign words. In 1892, a number of Danicizing rules were introduced, such as the use of <k> for <c> (but still <c> when the pronunciation was /s/). However, many etymologizing spellings remain, and attempts to modify them in indi-

vidual words have been hotly debated, but still implemented on a restricted scale. Danish is normally more 'faithful' to the original spelling of e. g. English words than any other Nordic language.

### 5.2. Swedish

Swedish is the main Scandinavian language, with 8.5 million speakers in Sweden and about 300 000 in Finland, as mentioned in 4. It is the official language of Sweden, although this is not stated formally anywhere, and an equal official language in Finland. Standard Swedish is quite uniform, with some accepted regional variation in pronunciation – South Swedish and Finland-Swedish are among the most clearly distinct regional varieties. The traditional dialects have been steadily receding, but are still more viable in several regions (e. g. Dalecarlia) than their Danish counterparts. Finland-Swedish has its own official cultivation bodies, which cooperate very closely with those of Sweden-Swedish (Reuter 1992). Swedish is a language with an even more stable written norm than Danish, and with a strong tendency towards spelling pronunciation (somewhat less in Finland than in Sweden). The modern spelling conventions are based on a standard developed by the lexicographer C. G. Leopold in cooperation with the Swedish Academy in 1801, and they have largely remained unchanged since the 19<sup>th</sup> century, despite lively discussions on reform. Only once did an official reform take place, viz. in 1906, when mute <h> before <v> was abolished, and (unpronounced) <d> before <t>: <hvit> /vi:tl/ 'white' thus became <vit>, and <rödt> /röt/ 'red (neuter)' became <rött>. The spelling of foreign words has been a somewhat difficult question in Swedish, too, but less controversial than in Danish. Leopold laid the ground for a number of rules favoring a rather consistent Swedification, although allowing many exceptions when he thought that changes stood no chance. Changes since then have not been numerous; modern Anglicisms are Swedified to a certain degree, but again, not consistently.

### 5.3. Norwegian

Norwegian is spoken by the 4 million Norwegians. It is the official language of Norway, being acknowledged equally in two varieties, *Bokmål* and *Nynorsk*. Bokmål is derived from written Danish as pronounced

by Norwegians. It is used in writing by around 3.5 mill., people over most of the country. Nynorsk is based on spoken Norwegian dialects. It is used in writing by up to half a million people, mainly in rural Western Norway and adjacent areas. (On Nynorsk and the social relations between the varieties, see Vikør 1975; Oftedal 1981; Venås 1993.) Most Norwegians speak a dialect in a more or less modified form. Dialectal variation is quite extensive and complex, and more enduring than in the neighboring countries. In Norwegian, language standardization has been one of the major political and societal controversies since the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century (see Haugen 1966). The struggle was rooted in the desire to attain linguistic autonomy in relation to Denmark after the political separation of the two countries in 1814. Two strategies developed halfway through the century: The first was a gradual Norwegianization of the Danish written language, based on Norwegian pronunciation. The other, associated with the well-known language planner Ivar Aasen (1813–96), was to codify a 'proto-form' of the dialects and endow it with the formal rules of a standard language. From the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, there were two standards in use. The Danish-derived one is now called *Bokmål* (its most traditional variety is called *Riksmål*), while a modified version of Ivar Aasen's standard was called *Nynorsk*. Both developed into living cultural languages. The prospect of a permanent linguistic cleavage, which also reflected a cultural cleavage between urbanity and rurality, created a desire to develop a common Norwegian standard through a gradual fusion of the two existing ones. This was attempted by a series of reforms of the orthography, the phonological base underlying it, and the morphology – based on Eastern Norwegian pronunciation, which united traits prevalent in both standards. Such reforms were issued in 1917, 1938, and 1959. This policy became extremely controversial, especially in the 1950's, when a huge movement defending the traditional Danish-derived *Riksmål* developed and finally forced the politicians away from the fusion policy. It was gradually modified and finally given up around 1980. Today, both standards have relatively stable norms, but with many optional forms which reflect the dichotomy between 'traditional' (Danish-like for Bokmål, Western Norwegian for Nynorsk) and

'radical' styles, the latter approaching the spoken language of the populous southeastern region. As to the spelling of foreign words, Norwegian has more consistently assimilated them to the indigenous spelling system than either Danish and Swedish. This has been done without much controversy, and the same policy is now attempted regarding recent Anglicisms. But here, it meets with more resistance, since the wide acquaintance with English makes the Norwegianized spelling more strange to many Norwegians than the accustomed patterns from English. In speech, there has also been a controversy between those favoring standardization, mostly towards Bokmål standards, and the use of dialects or intermediary forms on a nation-wide scale. Already in 1878, the Norwegian parliament issued a regulation to the effect that all children should be allowed to speak their dialects in school, and this principle acquired the force of law in 1915. But in the cities, there has been extensive informal pressure on dialect-speakers to standardize their speech. After 1970, such pressure has largely lost its force, and the use of dialects is widespread (Vikør 1990). On the other hand, there is a gradual convergence of dialectal speech towards speech forms with wider regional currency, so that the dialects become more similar to each other and to the standards.

#### 5.4. Icelandic

Icelandic is spoken by the 275000 Icelanders, and is the sole official language of Iceland. It is the most uniform language of Scandinavia, having only a slight regional coloring of a few particular pronunciation features. Icelandic has a traditional orthography which was fixed in its present form during the 19<sup>th</sup> century, with only minor changes in 1929 and 1974. Questions of standardization have never been much debated, not even the most far-reaching aspect of it, the intense and systematically organized 'purification' of the vocabulary, keeping it as free from foreign words as possible and updating it with neologisms of purely Icelandic elements. This large-scale purism has wide popular support and is seen as crucial for the national identity.

#### 5.5. Faroese

Faroese is spoken by the almost 50000 Faroese. It is one of the official languages of the Faroes. It has marked regional vari-

ations in pronunciation, but is a quite uniform language in other respects. Faroese orthography was codified in 1846 by the vicar V. U. Hammershaimb, who used Icelandic as a model for his graphical representation of a kind of 'proto-Faroese' in order to avoid the differences between the spoken dialects. Although more phonetic ways of spelling existed, Hammershaimb's standard quickly won the day, and it has not been disputed since. The vocabulary policy is more controversial. A purism resembling the Icelandic one has been tried, but a more moderate purism is now the official policy, while in practice, Danish words are very much in use. There is, therefore, a marked difference between written and spoken style.

#### 5.6. Finnish

Finnish is spoken by most of the 5.5 mill. Finns in Finland, and by up to 300000 in Sweden and a few thousand in Norway. It is one of two official languages in Finland, in practice totally dominant, and has recently acquired the status of officially acknowledged minority language in Sweden. Finnish is divided in a number of dialects, with Western and Eastern as the two main groups. The standardization pressure is less strong than in Sweden and Denmark, and the dialects therefore more viable. Finnish orthography is extremely regular and almost fully corresponds to the phonetic system. During its codification in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, there was a struggle between those favoring a Western and an Eastern dialect base, but the result became a compromise. No spelling controversies have arisen since. As to vocabulary, an initial purism was relaxed when Finnish had won a secure position in society.

#### 5.7. Sámi

Sámi is spoken in the north of Norway, Sweden, and Finland, by perhaps around 40000 people (20000 in Norway, 15000 in Sweden, 5000 in Finland – the figures being very uncertain, but the relation between them probably realistic). It is divided in seven mutually unintelligible varieties; by far the most dominant one is North Sámi, which is spoken in the northernmost provinces of all the three countries, but with its biggest population concentrations within Norway. In Norway and Finland, Sámi is an official language in the municipalities where Sámi-speakers are in a majority (in practice only North Sámi; see 4.7.; see also Keskitalo

1981 and Jernsletten 1993 on the situation of Sámi). Sámi was codified by non-Sámi linguists, mostly working for the church or the mission. North Sámi orthography was codified in two forms, one used in Norway and Sweden, the other in Finland. In 1978, an agreement by the Sámi organizations in the three countries agreed upon a common orthography. It is based on a phonetic principle, using a number of special characters (č, š, ž, ı, đ). The smaller Sámi languages (mainly South Sámi, Lule Sámi, Enare Sámi, Skolt Sámi) have orthographies based on digraphs from the Roman alphabet.

### 5.8. Greenlandic

Greenlandic is spoken in Greenland by around 60 000 people. It is one of the official languages of Greenland. It is rather uniform, in the sense that the numerically dominant West Greenlandic serves as the standard variety, but there are also a North Greenlandic and an East Greenlandic dialect area. Like Sámi, Greenlandic was codified initially by missionaries. The standard is based on West Greenlandic, which is used by the majority of the population and is relatively uniform. But the traditional orthography was difficult to learn because it was based on the morphemic principle, having a fixed and etymological spelling for each morpheme irrespective of pronunciation changes, particularly assimilations. Since people do not analyze their words in neat morphemic sequences, the spelling necessitated advanced morphological analysis of the actual word forms. In 1973, therefore, the newly formed official spelling commission of Greenlandic changed the orthography in a phonological direction. This was controversial at the time, but the new spelling is now generally accepted.

## 6. Language maintenance and language death

Most of the Nordic languages are in a rather safe position, in spite of pressure from English and the danger of losing certain domains within science and technology to that language. Even the small struggling languages, in the first place Greenlandic and Faroese, enjoy the position of being the almost universally spoken language in their respective countries, and their institutional support is steadily strengthened. Still, the smallness of

their speaker populations, and the fact that almost all of these speakers have a common second language (Danish), in any case as far as the Faroese are concerned, may make their position somewhat precarious in the long run. The really threatened languages, however, are the Sámi varieties, some of which are on the verge of extinction; even North Sámi is under strong pressure despite the development of Sámi education, linguistic rights and infrastructure. The varieties of Finnish spoken in North Norway and Northern Sweden are also under pressure (see Aikio 1990 and Lindgren 1990). The pressure does not, at least much less than formerly, derive directly from majority repression, but from the fact that a mobile and urbanized society which has lived through the industrial era and is entering the post-industrial one is very difficult to adapt to for small linguistic communities which have thrived in localized agrarian societies for many centuries. To survive, the languages have to be transferred to a young generation with options and outlooks very different from the traditional ones, and both official legislation and active movements within the language communities themselves are working very hard to create favorable conditions for this. For Norwegian Nynorsk, there is also a survival problem, although this variety belongs to a much larger community. But the fact that it is so similar to Bokmål, and that it does not symbolize a particular ethnic identity (but partly a regional identity), makes the transition to Bokmål easy for many young Nynorsk users. Bokmål dominates in urban life and in most employment sectors, while Nynorsk enjoys a high level of institutional support from the government and an active flora of interest organizations promoting it. The transition to an age dominated by information and communication technology gives new possibilities for these languages, but it also puts new challenges before them, and there is unfolding an increasingly intense activity within the language communities to meet these challenges.

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## 170. The British Isles / Die Britischen Inseln

1. Historical developments
2. The rise of English
3. Varieties of present-day English in the British Isles
4. Other languages in the British Isles
5. Literature (selected)

The British Isles consist of the United Kingdom, the Isle of Man, Orkney and Shetland and the Channel Islands. As such, they are linguistically highly diverse from both a historical and contemporary perspective. The following sketch is based on Milroy 1984; Trudgill 1984; Hughes and Trudgill 1987;

Trudgill 1999; LMP 1985 and Alladina/Edwards 1991.

### 1. Historical developments

English is clearly the dominant language in the British Isles now; the vast majority of the population of the islands are native speakers of English, and those who are not generally use English as a second language. But this has not always been the case: English was preceded in the British Isles by languages of Celtic origin. The Celts were known to have occupied parts of the territo-



ry now consisting of Bavaria, Switzerland, Austria, Bohemia and Hungary. They then started migrating to the mid-west of Europe, to France and at least parts of Spain, and eventually to the British Isles. It is far from clear when the first Celtic-speaking tribes actually arrived in the British Isles (estimates range from 2000 BC to the first century BC), or how many waves of Celtic migration were to follow them in later centuries, or what precisely were the ethnic and linguistic relationships between the different waves. During their migration to and settlement in the British Isles, the Celts developed two variants of their speech, known conventionally as Q-Celtic and P-Celtic. This rather curious terminology is based on a significant difference in the phonetic development of the two groups. Indo-European languages, of which Celtic is one, have a consonant *[kw]*. In languages where this sound occurs, it frequently changes to a *[p]*. This development took place both in the Celtic speech of Gaul, Gaulish, and in what is known as Brythonic or Brythonic, the branch of Celtic from which Welsh, Cornish and Breton are derived. These two sub-branches of Celtic are therefore grouped together as P-Celtic. On the other hand, the Goidelic or Gaelic languages, which, in their modern forms, are Irish, Scottish Gaelic and Manx, did not share this development but, for a while, retained the *[kw]*, though it has since been simplified to *[k]*. During the Roman period, the Q-Celtic and P-Celtic were confined to different geographical areas. But from the fourth or fifth century, Goidelic expansion planted colonies in the extreme west of North and South Wales and in north Cornwall. The colonization also took place in the Isle of Man and in Scotland, where it began in Argyll and spread gradually north and east to include the islands and the northern half of the mainland. Much later there was also substantial Gaelicization of the south-west of Scotland, and to a lesser extent in the south-east. At the coming of the Saxons, England, Wales and southern Scotland were purely Brythonic except insofar as Latin was used as the language of education, administration and culture amongst aristocracy and most town-dwellers. The expansion of the Angles and Saxons from the fifth century onwards gradually altered this linguistic distribution. The Goidelic expansion continued in Scotland but was absorbed in Wales and Cornwall; Brythonic was gradually re-

duced in area. By the end of the Old English period it was confined to approximately modern Wales and Cornwall. Scandinavian raids and later settlements affected the Western Isles, the Isle of Man and Ireland, as well as Wales. But their linguistic legacy is only found in a limited number of loanwords and a rather more substantial influence on placenames. The Gaelic-speaking nations retained a strong sense of community throughout the Middle Ages, and Cornish and Breton remained in close contact. But as the languages developed the two major groups lost any sense of a common identity so that when the underlying linguistic unity was rediscovered in the eighteenth century a unifying term Celtic, which had no existence in the individual languages, had to be sought in Classical sources. The Celtic languages, once the sole and predominant languages in the British Isles, began to decline. Cornish did so from the Anglo-Saxon conquest in the tenth century, but more especially from the sixteenth, dying out about the end of the eighteenth yet now being revived. Manx began to decline in the eighteenth century, and formally ended on 27<sup>th</sup> December 1974 with the death of the last native speaker, although there has been sufficient overlap with the last generation to secure a tenuous continuity for the future. In Scotland, Ireland and Wales, the decline in numbers of speakers has been accompanied by a retreat: in Scotland from the mainland Highland area to the Isles and adjoining coastline; in Ireland from all but the far west and a number of other small areas isolated from one another; in Wales from the south-east and the border counties. There are now very few monolingual speakers in the Celtic languages.

## 2. The rise of English

English is descended from the Germanic group of the Indo-European family of languages. Within this group it belongs to the West Germanic branch, with which Old English (Anglo-Saxon) shared some common developments. Scholars have traditionally distinguished three periods in the history of English. The Old English (OE) period lasts from the Anglo-Saxon settlements in Britain (traditionally dated 449 A.D.) until just after the Norman Conquest, i.e. 1100–1150. The linguistic break between OE and Middle English (ME) appears to be sharp and obvious, even in the earliest extensive ME

text. There is no such clear linguistic break between ME and Modern English. The conventional date for the transition (c. 1500) is dictated by cultural factors such as the beginning of the Renaissance in England and the introduction of printing by Caxton. Even the 'Great Vowel Shift', which is often held by linguistic historians to differentiate Modern English from ME, is not a safe guide: it may well have been in progress in some areas before 1400. The ME period can be viewed as transitional between OE and Modern English. There was significant and visible French and Scandinavian influence on vocabulary and orthography, a certain amount of levelling of OE inflections, a loss of grammatical gender and varying simplification of inflections. Linguistic conservatism during the ME period was geographically specific and shown most significantly in the south-west and south-west Midland texts (*Ancrene Wisse*). The texts maintained, amongst other things, relatively full inflection and grammatical gender. According to historians, this conservatism was a consequence of the Norman Conquest. It is known that whereas Saxon bishops and other leading men were rapidly replaced by Normans in many areas, the west Midlands remained less directly influenced, and texts in 'classical' OE continued to emanate from that area. In language, as in other matters, the effects of the Conquest were felt most rapidly in the south-east and east Midlands. After the thirteenth century, English in Britain was never again subjected to the cataclysmic effects of invasion. The language has, however, been subjected to other important influences, chiefly that of Central French from about 1250 to 1500 and the classical languages (Latin and Greek) from 1500 onwards. These effects have come about through literary rather than everyday spoken channels and are largely lexical. Their importance has been to increase the vocabulary available for formal and technical uses of the language and hence to contribute to the functional elaboration that is necessary in a national-standard language. In one sense, the history of English since 1200 is one of gradual acquisition of more and more of the functions appropriate to a standard language and rising 'respectability'. Literary writers and scholars regarded English as lacking in eloquence and sought to 'improve' it by large-scale lexical borrowing from Latin and Greek. Even the common folks thought a

man must know French if he was to be well thought of. It is not until the eighteenth century that the status of English was finally assured. Swift in 1712, while continuing to complain about the language being 'extremely imperfect', was confident enough of the importance of English to propose that the language should be fixed and standardized ('ascertained') by an Academy. However, the task of codifying and standardizing was in fact carried out by private persons: the lexicon and orthography were codified in Dr. Johnson's Dictionary of 1755, and the grammar was codified in a spate of grammar books, the most influential of which was Bishop Lowth's *Introduction to English Grammar* (1762). Yet, whilst standardization has been achieved in the written channel, English speech remains extremely variable, especially in phonology but also in aspects of syntax despite the present prestige of Received Pronunciation (RP) and the influence of grammar books.

### 3. Varieties of present-day English in the British Isles

The English in the British Isles today manifests itself in a wide range of varieties. In describing the similarities and differences between these varieties, linguists often make a distinction between 'accent' and 'dialect'. 'Accent' refers to varieties of pronunciation, while 'dialect' refers to varieties distinguished from each other by differences of grammar and vocabulary. The accent usually taught to foreign learners of British English is Received Pronunciation, or RP; 'received here is to be understood in its nineteenth century sense of accepted in the best society'. While British society has changed much since that time, RP has nevertheless remained the accent of those in the upper echelons of the social scale, as measured by education, income and profession, or title. It is essentially the accent of those educated at private schools, and is associated more with social prestige than any particular geographical region. Only a very small percentage of the population in the British Isles today speaks RP; the others have some form of regional accent. It is impossible to list all the regional accents. One can speak of a northern accent or southern accent, London or Yorkshire accent, Welsh accent or Scottish accent. But they are no more than convenient labels for groups of regional accents that share enough

phonological features to distinguish them from others. The so-called Standard English is the dialect of educated people throughout the British Isles. It is the dialect normally used in writing, for teaching, and heard on radio and television. Unlike RP, Standard English is not restricted to the speech of a particular social group and exhibits some regional variation. Subsumed under Standard English are Standard English English (in English and Wales), Standard Scottish English, and Standard Irish English. In addition to Standard English, there are many regional dialects in the British Isles. As with accents, it is impossible to list all the dialects and there are no sharp dialect boundaries. Dialectologists often draw lines on maps dividing areas which have a particular sentence construction, word or pronunciation from those which do not. But when they put all these lines together on a single map, they find that none of them are in exactly the same place. There is no such thing as a self-contained, entirely separate dialect. Key references on English dialects include Trudgill 1999 and Milroy/Milroy 1993.

#### 4. Other languages in the British Isles

Despite the apparent dominance of English, especially of Standard English, there are numerous languages routinely being used by significant numbers of people in the British Isles today. To begin with, there are many speakers of overseas varieties of English such as American and Australian present in the country. Other forms of English are brought in by speakers from countries where English is not a foreign but a second language. For example, in countries such as India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Ghana, Nigeria, Kenya, Tanzania, Singapore, Malta and many others, English is so widely used as the language of education, government and wider communication, even though there are no or very few native speakers, that distinctive forms of English have developed. There are also forms of English that are of Caribbean origin, now widely spoken in England. But by far the biggest challenge to the English dominance of the British Isles today comes from languages such as Panjabi, Gujarati, Bengali, Cantonese, Greek, Italian, and Turkish, spoken by large numbers of immigrants. These languages have come from overseas in relatively recent times, but are already making their marks on the lin-

guistic map of the British Isles. No official census data exist on the number of people speaking languages other than English in the British Isles today. But it is widely accepted that well over 200 different languages are routinely used by the so-called ethnic minority communities. The Linguistic Minorities Project's 1985 report remains the most extensive survey of the linguistic diversity in Britain. On the whole, the linguistic minority communities in the British Isles are experiencing a generational language shift from ethnic languages, via various degrees of minority language/English bilingualism, to English-dominant bilingualism or even English monolingualism. A variety of factors, cultural, educational, religious and political, affect language maintenance and language shift. Some communities seem to be more successful than others in their effort to transmit their ethnic language to the younger generations. There is a distinct lack of coherent national policy or strategy in protecting the linguistic diversity and bilingualism that clearly exist in the British Isles. One other minority community in the British Isles which, like other language minorities, has experienced a history of indifference and intolerance is that of the British Sign Language (BSL). BSL is the language of the deaf community and an indigenous language of the country. It has its own structures and expressive power, as well as recognisable regional variations. It does not bear a particularly close relationship to English. Nevertheless, it is only recently that BSL has come to be recognised as a genuine language in its own right. Comprehensive surveys of the languages in the British Isles can be found in Trudgill 1984; Alladina/Edwards 1991.

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## 171. The Low Countries/Niederlande

1. Introduction
2. The Dutch language area
3. Flanders
4. The Netherlands
5. Linguistic integration
6. German speaking Belgium
7. Literature (selected)

### 1. Introduction

Although the name is occasionally used, there is no political entity called *The Low Countries*. In unofficial usage it may refer to various regions but when the focus is on language and culture it usually refers to the Dutch language territory in Belgium and The Netherlands. The latter is also what the editors of this volume had in mind. The main focus of the article will be on the multilingual situation, i. e. the contact of different languages as well as of varieties of the same language.

### 2. The Dutch language area

From the very beginning of the Middle Dutch writing tradition a linguistic contrast between an easternly and a westerly shaped variety can be witnessed. The overwhelming majority of all texts displayed decidedly western language features and the written language of the Middle Dutch period was firmly western (specifically Flemish) in its roots even in the non-Flemish parts of the language territory. In the 16th century, though, the economic and political center of gravity of the Dutch language area shifted to Brabant. During this period a standard variety of the written language was gradually taking shape. After the political split of the Dutch language territory during the last quarter of the 16th century the center of gravity of standardization passed from the South to the North (more or less the present-day Netherlands) which had come out

victoriously and as an independent nation from the war against the Spanish rulers. The large number of (mostly wealthy and influential) southern immigrants accounted for a permanent live contact with Southern Dutch, which was, at that moment, still the prestige variety of the language. Yet, it was gradually ruled out as far as its influence on the evolution of Standard Dutch was concerned. Holland's 17th century is known as *The Golden Age*, reflecting both economic and cultural prosperity. Influential writers as Vondel, Hooft, Bredero, Cats coined the writing standard for ages to come in a Republic that had developed into one of the super powers of that time. In the 17th, but mainly in the 18th century efforts were made to regulate and uniform the language by means of dictionaries and grammars, a tradition started previously by the southern *spraeckconstenaers* of the 16th century. From a contemporary point of view it was definitely Lambert ten Kate (the first comparative linguist in the Low Countries) who proved to have the best insight in language change and linguistic evolution in general. It were less gifted colleagues of his, though, who were the most successful and influential. They deepened the gap between the spoken and the (over formalized) written language and their linguistic views came to be designated as 'language despotism'. Yet, at the dawn of the 19th century, the northern written language could boast a complete set of 'standardization instruments': Weiland's grammar (1805) and Siegenbeek's orthography (1804) were there for the use of all who wanted to write standard, 'cultivated' Dutch (De Vries/Willemys/Burger 1995, 99ff). Meanwhile, and as a result of the Spanish War of Succession (1702–1713), the southern, 'Belgian' territories were passed on from the Spanish to the Austrian Habsburgs. Throughout the 18th century the consolidation of French as the more socially

acceptable tongue continued and Dutch had little official status, except at a local level. Yet, during the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries the unity of the northern and southern language varieties was not challenged by anyone and the great poets of Holland's *Golden Age* were the important role models, highly recommended – yet much less complied with – by 18<sup>th</sup> – century Flemish grammarians and poets alike. The language situation deteriorated considerably when, in 1794, the Southern Netherlands were annexed by France: for the first time in history there was a massive official attempt to change the linguistic habits of the masses by suppressing the use of the Dutch language. The short-lived reunion of Belgium and Holland as one *United Kingdom of the Netherlands* (1814–1830) was of the utmost importance to the Flemings, who suddenly rediscovered their language for administration, politics, the courts, and higher education, areas where it had hardly been used for almost two centuries. A small group of cultural leaders and intellectuals were strongly influenced by both the Dutch standard language and the new linguistic opportunities. In this way the short period of reunion was decisive for the success of the Flemish Movement which would gradually succeed in turning the linguistic make-up of Flanders and Belgium upside down. By 1830 Belgium had become an independent constitutional monarchy with a parliamentary system dominated by the bourgeois elite, which secured its position by adopting a poll-tax system (out of 3.5 million people, only 46000 had the right to vote). For this bourgeoisie, French was a natural choice as the language of the state. The government appointed only French-speaking civil servants and the discrimination of Dutch throughout the 19<sup>th</sup> century was general and very deliberate (Willemys 2003, 185ff.).

### 3. Flanders

#### 3.1. Social and political aspects of multilingualism

3.1.1. Belgium ( $\pm 10$  million inhabitants) is a trilingual and federal country, consisting of 4 different entities constituted on the basis of language: the Dutch speaking community (called Flanders; 58% of the population), the French speaking one (called Wallonia; 32%), the small German speaking community (0.6%) and the bilingual com-

munity of Brussels (9.5%). Since regional governments have legislative power the frontiers of their jurisdiction, being language borders, are defined in the constitution.

3.1.2. The 'language struggle' which was going to dominate Belgian political life started in 1830. Although the new constitution provided for 'linguistic freedom', it was obvious that this 'freedom' was only profitable to the rich and the powerful, i.e. the bourgeoisie from Wallonia and Flanders, all of whom were French speakers. Hence, despite the fact that Dutch speakers constituted the majority of the population, no legal means was provided for their language. A so-called Flemish Movement started up almost immediately and fought a long lasting battle for cultural and linguistic rights for Dutch speakers. It took until 1889 for the *gelijkheidswet* to declare Dutch and French the two official languages of the country. It took a complete century to finally achieve the so-called *Dutchification* of the university of Ghent (in 1930), meaning that at last Dutch speaking university students were taught in their own language. Afterwards things developed considerably faster: two sets of laws in 1932 and 1963 guaranteed what had been the ultimate goal of the Flemish Movement i.e. the official and complete *Dutchification* of Flanders. The Walloons having been opposed to widespread bilingualism throughout the country, Belgium gradually turned to the territoriality principle model to accommodate the various linguistic groups. It officialized the language frontier as a domestic administrative border, made it virtually unchangeable and accomplished the linguistic homogeneity of the language groups and regions. Revisions of the constitution in 1970 and 1980 provided for cultural autonomy and a considerable amount of self-determination for the linguistically divided parts of the country. Subsequent constitutional changes in 1988 and 1993 finally turned Belgium into the federal country it is now (Coudenberg 1989; Alen/Suetens 1993).

The most important exception to the territoriality rule is Brussels, where there is no geographical demarcation of Dutch and French speakers and, consequently, the personality principle is the only possible one. The case of the capital is rather special in that it had turned into a bilingual city, although it is located entirely within the Flemish region. The *Frenchification* of the

capital started in the 18<sup>th</sup> century and developed considerably during the 19<sup>th</sup> century (Witte and Baetens Beardsmore 1987). Immigration of Walloons and French certainly played a part in this but the decisive factor has been the Frenchification of considerable parts of the indigenous population and of Flemish immigrants, due to the fact that upward social mobility seemed hardly possible without shifting to French (Demetsenaere 1988). It was only after World War II that serious efforts were made to safeguard Brussels' bilingual status and to secure the rights of the Dutch speaking population which had become a minority by then. Measures to slow down Frenchification started in the early sixties not so much through local regulations but mainly by extensive linguistic legislation on the level of the national, Belgian legislator (Willemys 1997a). Yet the actual balance of power is uncertain since no official figures are available (Gubin 1978 explains why it is impossible to collect reliable data). According to Baetens Beardsmore (1983) at least six different categories of speakers are to be discerned using, in a combination of bilingualism and diglossia, from one up to six different languages and codes. Also, the rapidly expanding population of foreign origin accounts for the fact that for probably one third of the capital's citizens none of Belgium's languages is their mother tongue. For the overwhelming majority of those, French is their first 'national' language.

3.1.3. The Belgian language struggle has never been an exclusively linguistic problem but has always been intertwined with social and political issues as well. Yet, a considerable change in nature is to be discerned from the early sixties onwards when language problems were definitively replaced by so-called 'community problems' and the border between Wallonia and Flanders ceased to be a mere linguistic one in order to become a social one as well. This can be accounted for by major domestic economic changes. From the late fifties onwards a dramatic industrial development was witnessed in Flanders, turning this formally agricultural territory into a highly industrialized region, largely dominating the national political, social and economic scene. At the same time the outdated industrial equipment of Wallonia was slowly breaking down, giving way to a serious economic recession of which it has not recovered to the present day. In 1996 74.5%

of the industrial gross added value was generated in the Flemish region (58% of Belgium's population). Consequently, the cultural and linguistic balance of power shifted towards Flanders. The present-day social and economic unbalance between Flanders, Brussels and Wallonia is to be considered potentially disruptive for the continuation of Belgium's existence, since it requires a considerable amount of so-called 'solidarity transfers' from Flanders to Wallonia (for 80%) and to Brussels (for 20%). Most of these transfers occur in the field of social security financing.

### 3.2. Linguistic varieties

3.2.1. Flanders is characterized by a rather complicated use of several codes. The theoretical range of the linguistic continuum reaches from dialect on the one side to standard Dutch on the other, with several intermediate codes in between. The decisive criterion is dialect interference: the more one goes into the direction of the standard, the less interference can be noticed. The diglossic and bilingual situation as it used to exist in the 19<sup>th</sup> century (Willemys 1999) has gradually been dissolved during the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Linguistic legislation already mentioned and the gradual loss of all functions for French resulted in Flanders becoming monolingual. Dialect loss and dialect leveling, having gained momentum after WW II, are responsible for the disappearance of the former diglossic situation in Flanders at large, with the exception of the province of West-Flanders, where the former situation: regional dialect in informal and the (intended) standard in formal and some semi formal situations still persists. The use made of the various codes also depends on the communicative competence of the individual. During the last few decades the mastery and the use of regional dialects have declined dramatically and, at the same time, the use of and the proficiency in the standard variety has considerably increased. Consequently, the communicative competence of most youngsters and most inhabitants of the central regions of Flanders has shifted towards the right pole of the continuum.

3.2.2. The close contact which exists between French and Dutch in Belgium in general and in bilingual Brussels in particular has led to a considerable amount of linguistic interference (Willemys 1996). The

contact situation also entailed consequences for the standardization process of Dutch itself. Aware of the fact that the societal influence of French in Flanders could only be successfully repelled by an equally standardized and normalized version of their own language, a majority of Flemings advocated strict language uniformity with Holland and in so doing pushed the standardization process in a northern direction.

#### 4. The Netherlands

##### 4.1. Linguistic varieties

4.1.1. The fact that almost half of Holland's  $\pm$  16 million people lives in the *Randstad* (the large urban agglomerations in the west of the country) is very revealing, not only for the social but also for the linguistic make-up of the country. From the Randstad, where the modern Dutch standard language took shape from the 17<sup>th</sup> century onwards, it spread geographically as well as socially over the rest of the territory, at first only within the borders of the Netherlands, and afterwards also in Belgium. A map shown in Hagen (1989) illustrates how dialect use and mastery increase the further one moves away from the Randstad. Yet, more recent studies (all discussed in Willemys 1997) demonstrate that very often matters are much less straightforward and more complicated. Both the acceptance of and the attitudes towards linguistic varieties are determined by the fact that the western flavored standard language is not only the supra regional means of communication but also the sociolect of the so-called 'better situated' classes in the country at large. Negative attitudes mainly derive from social resentment against this particular sociolect-function of the standard language. Socially determined linguistic attitudes are the strongest in the Randstad itself: the habitual language of the popular classes in this highly urbanized region, called *stadsdialecten* (urban dialects) mostly provoke negative attitudes. Despite the fact that, from a purely linguistic point of view, the so-called *regiolecten* differ more widely from the standard than the urban dialects do, the attitudes towards them are generally more favorable, mainly because they mostly (still) lack the social stigma. The *regiolect*, Hoppenbrouwers (1990) says, is "a complex of non-standard varieties in a given region". Although, overall, dialects appear

to loose ground rapidly, there is no unanimity among scholars as to the pace of their disappearance. Based on the observation that certain morphonological rules which are typical for the dialects, yet are not present in the standard language, are still productive (e.g. morphological umlaut alternations) some linguists believe that the dialects are still very much alive and that their existence is not (yet) threatened (e.g. Hamans 1985, 135). Other studies, though, demonstrate that such prognoses are dangerous for one because there are different ways to evaluate the data but also because the importance of attitudes is either neglected or overestimated. A discrepancy has indeed been observed between positive attitudes towards the dialects on the one hand and yet a rapid decrease of those dialects on the other hand. Also, there appears to be no more direct relationship between dialect proficiency and dialect usage: even in places where proficiency is still high, we observe a dramatic and rapid decrease in the figures of dialect usage (Willemys 1997).

4.1.2. It has never been possible to identify a clear cut border between the dialects spoken on both sides of the Dutch-German border which have in common such important features (not existing in the Dutch standard language, nor in the more western dialects) as e.g. the so-called Saxon common plural, morphological umlaut alternations in the building of the diminutive or of the plural, or the tone opposition (stoottoon > < sleптоon) shared by Limburg and the bordering German Rhineland. Yet, due to dialect decline and the ever increasing penetration of the respective standard languages on both sides of the border, what used to be a dialect continuum is rapidly falling apart into two different language areas. Studies published in Bister-Broosen (1998) detail all aspects of this evolution and demonstrate how the differing standard languages even affect the dialects themselves. As far as the state border between The Netherlands and Flanders is concerned, the most relevant observation is that not a single distinctive bundle of isoglosses is running parallel with it. Consequently, the West- and East-Flemish dialects constitute a continuum with those spoken in the Dutch province of Zeeland, as do the dialects of the Belgian provinces Antwerpen, Vlaams-Brabant and Limburg with those of the Dutch provinces of Noord-Brabant and Limburg. Yet, here

too, dialect decline is disrupting linguistic ties of old but since these dialects are roofed by the same standard language nothing as dramatic is happening as on the German side of the border.

#### 4.2. Language contact

4.2.1. A considerable amount of foreign languages are spoken by immigrant groups in The Netherlands. According to Van Bree and De Vries (1996, 1144) the largest ethnic minorities are (1) Turks, Kurds, Moroccans and other Mediterranean groups (2) Surinamese (3) Antilleans from Aruba, Bonaire and Curacao (4) Moluccans, and (5) Chinese. Also, there is the special group of the *Indo-Dutch*, the descendants of marriages between the Dutch and the indigenous people of the former Dutch East Indies (Indonesia). All groups, with the exception of the first and (partly) the fifth speak Dutch, alongside with (sometimes even without) their languages of origin. To the first group "Dutch is a second language with high prestige used particularly in formal situations and informal situations where speakers do not share a common tongue" (Van Bree/De Vries 1996, 1147). Special educational provisions are made not only to help them acquire mastery of Dutch but also to keep or gain proficiency in their native tongues. There are no such provisions for Surinamese and Antilleans, since Dutch is the official language of their country of origin. Consequently, the Dutch as spoken by those people is often considered a distinct variety of European Dutch. This is also partly the case with the language variety of the Indo-Dutch.

4.2.2. The only autochthonous contact language in The Netherlands is Frisian which has regional official status in the province of Friesland ( $\pm 4\%$  of the total population). It is in limited official use as a language of provincial and city administrations, of education, of the media and of the courts. There is some active promotion of the language by the regional and almost none by the national authorities. No census figures are available as to the mastery and the use of Frisian. According to surveys some 94% of the Frisians can understand Frisian, 73% can speak it, 65% can read it and only some 10% can write it (Gorter 1996, 1154). The active usage of the language is mainly concentrated in the domains of the family and the neighborhood

and the patterns of usage reveal that it is the habitual tongue of some 70% of the rural population and of only some 40% of the city dwellers. Its use in the educational system is still very limited. Since 1980 it has become an obligatory part of the primary school curriculum and since 1993 it has "obtained a modest place in the first three grades of secondary school" (Gorter 1996, 1155). The use of Frisian in the educational system is considered one of the spearheads of language policy, which is mainly coordinated by the *Fryske Akademie*, a mostly scholarly body engaged in both status and corpus planning. The publication of a scientific dictionary (with normative authority) is under its way and the spelling system the *Akademie* has devised has been officially authorized by the provincial government in 1980. There is no prescriptive grammar yet; Tiersma (1985) is a reference grammar written in English. Dutch authorities have always been insecure and often rather hostile in dealing with the Frisian situation. Most of the time they have been reluctant to grant official rights to Frisian speakers and as of today the official policy is mainly one of tolerating rather than of promoting or supporting the Frisian language. The Frisians, on the other hand, are increasingly influenced by Dutch and this contact not only affects the language itself but still gives way to language shift, mainly in the upper social strata and the urban population. Also, the migration pattern (with yearly some 25000 Frisians leaving the province and approximately an identical number of non-Frisian Dutch immigrating) is potentially threatening for the use and eventually the survival of Frisian (Gorter 1996).

#### 5. Linguistic integration

In both parts of the Dutch language community efforts towards *cultural integration* (i.e. to minimize the consequences of centrifugal tendencies) started almost immediately after the political split and can be exemplified by three interesting language planning initiatives: (a) The North, having become a protestant state, was badly in need of an appropriate translation of the Bible. The language of the resulting *Statenbijbel* (Bible of the States 1637), actually shaped for that purpose by a commission carefully composed of members representing all dialect regions from the South as well as from



the North, carefully combined northern and southern language features; (b) From the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> century onwards there appeared to be great need for a comprehensive dictionary of Dutch and here also we witness constant negotiations between northern and southern scholars on how to start and accomplish this project. The real work only started some 100 years later, sponsored by the *Linguistic and Literary Congress* bringing together writers and scholars from the Netherlands and Belgium on an biannual basis. Serious editing started in 1851 and the *Woordenboek der Nederlandse Taal (WNT)* can be considered the second major project aiming at closer cultural integration of both parts of the Dutch language community. Also, the very existence of those biannual *Linguistic and Literary Congresses* is a considerable integrationist effort in its own right (Willemys 1993); (c) A third initiative very essential to language unity is the mutual concern for orthography. From the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century onwards it was acknowledged that spelling reforms needed administrative approval and reinforcement and we witness governmental action to maintain orthographical uniformity in both countries. A large number of official reforms as well as aborted attempts made it a difficult task to secure this uniformity which was nevertheless always maintained. These three examples (and others, not mentioned here) show that there has been a constant desire for cooperation and integration which finally culminated in the creation of *De Nederlandse Taalunie* [Dutch Linguistic Union]. It was installed under a treaty passed by the Dutch and Belgian governments in 1980, transferring to this international body their prerogatives in all matters concerning language and literature. The 'Nederlandse Taalunie' is composed of 4 institutions: a *Committee of Ministers*, comprising ministers of both countries; an *Interparliamentary Commission*, comprising MP's of both countries; a *Secretary General* and a *Scientific Council for Dutch Language and Literature* (Willemys 1984). Aiming at "integrating as far as possible the Netherlands and the Dutch Community of Belgium in the field of the Dutch language and literature in the broadest sense" (art. 2), the *Nederlandse Taalunie* is undoubtedly a remarkable piece of work and a very unusual occurrence in international linguistic relations, since no national government has

so far conceded to a supra-national institution what is generally considered to be its own prerogative, i.e. to decide autonomously on linguistic and cultural affairs. The activities of the *Nederlandse Taalunie* lie both in the fields of corpus and of status planning.

## 6. German speaking Belgium

Apart from Flanders, there is yet another territory in Belgium where a Germanic language is spoken. It is divided into two parts which, in linguistic literature, though not in any administrative sense, are known as *Neubelgien* and *Altbelgien* (Nelde 1979). The former is Belgium's official German speaking part, in the latter German has by now become a minority language in an officially French speaking territory (Willemys/Bister-Broosen 1998). Both areas are situated in the eastern part of Belgium, adjacent to Germany and Luxembourg. In the 13<sup>th</sup> century the *Land van Overmaas*, to which these territories belonged became part of the Duchy of Brabant and shared its general and linguistic fate for a long time. Through the end of the *Ancien Régime* a triglossic situation had developed: Dutch was the language of the administration, High German the language of the school and the church, and the population communicated by means of a local dialect of which it is impossible to determine on the basis of linguistic criteria, whether it is to be regarded a Dutch or a German dialect (Nelde 1979, 69). From the split of the Low Countries onwards the region was subject to the same Frenchification process already discussed in § 3.1 for Flanders at large. At the Congress of Vienna in 1815 the region was split: part of it (later: *Neubelgien*) went to Prussia, the rest (*Altbelgien*) remained in the United Kingdom of the Netherlands, after 1830 in Belgium. Yet, in 1839 a considerable part of the latter returned to the Dutch King Willem I and is known since as the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg. As a result of the Frenchification policy of the Belgian authorities and of the loss of four fifths of its speakers to Luxembourg, French gradually superseded German in all official and formal domains in *Altbelgien*. Since it is geographically situated in the Walloon part of Belgium, the Frenchification was never stopped and as of today French is its sole official language and Ger-

man, if still used at all, has become limited to the private domain (Nelde 1979). The fate of *Neubelgien* was completely different. During the time it was part of Prussia (afterwards the German Empire) German was firmly established not only as the official language but also as the habitual means of communication of the population. The situation changed dramatically, though, when after WW I the Versailles Treaty allocated the region to Belgium. The Belgian authorities provided for no autonomy or linguistic protection and both the habitual Frenchification policy and the usual mechanisms of upward social mobility accomplished that French not only became the language of administration but also increasingly a language mastered and used by the upper social strata of the population. Yet, the approximately 65 000 inhabitants eventually profited of the struggle of the Flemings against Francophone domination. Linguistic legislation of 1963, installing the territoriality principle, upgraded German to an official language of the area, which, as a consequence of the constitutional changes discussed in 3.1 became an autonomous region. The *Deutschsprachige Gemeinschaft* as it is now officially called comprises the cantons of Eupen and Sankt Vith (some 65 000 people on 867 square kilometers) and has identical qualifications as the Flemish and Walloon communities. Through the means of an own parliament and government its population now constitutes, as Héraud (1989) observes, probably the best protected linguistic minority in Europe. German is the official language of the administration, education, the judicial system etc. and it is the every day language of the population.

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## 172. Die deutschsprachigen Länder/The German-Speaking Countries

1. Gegenstandsbestimmung
2. Zur Geschichte der deutschsprachigen Länder
3. Plurilingualität und Pluriregionalität (Plurizentrität) der deutschen Sprache
4. Verhältnis von Dialekt zu Standardvarietät
5. Sprachminderheiten innerhalb des geschlossenen deutschen Sprachgebiets
6. Schwindende Internationalität der deutschen Sprache
7. Literatur (in Auswahl)

### 1. Gegenstandsbereich

Zu den deutschsprachigen Ländern zählen hier im Einklang mit dem vorherrschenden Sprachgebrauch Deutschland, Österreich, die Schweiz und Liechtenstein. Kriterium für die Zuordnung ist der Umstand, dass die Muttersprachler des Deutschen die Bevölkerungsmehrheit bilden. Aufgrund dessen ist Deutsch in diesen Ländern Nationalsprache. Dies entspricht jedenfalls dem gängigen Gebrauch des Terminus, wonach die Muttersprachen substantieller Bevölkerungsteile einer Nation zu ihren *Nationalsprachen* zählen, besonders also die Muttersprache der Bevölkerungsmehrheit. Allerdings spezifiziert nur die Verfassung der Schweiz Deutsch ausdrücklich als *Nationalsprache* (Art. 116), die Österreichs dagegen als *Staatssprache der Republik* (Art. 8 des Bundes-Verfassungsgesetzes). Für Deutschland und Liechtenstein ist der Status als Nationalsprache so selbstverständlich, dass sich ein Hinweis in der Verfassung erübrigt. Außerdem ist Deutsch in allen vier Ländern nationale (zentrale) staatliche Amtssprache, was indes wieder nur die Verfassungen der Schweiz und Österreichs ausweisen (Art. 116 bzw. 8). Darüber hinaus ist Deutsch nationale staatliche Amtssprache in Luxemburg (neben Französisch und Letzeburgisch) und

regionale staatliche Amtssprache in Norditalien in der Provinz Bozen-Südtirol und in Ostbelgien in der Deutschsprachigen Gemeinschaft. Diese drei Länder zählen jedoch nicht zu den deutschsprachigen Ländern, da die Muttersprachler des Deutschen nur eine im Verhältnis zur Gesamteinwohnerzahl kleine Minderheit bilden bzw. das Letzeburgische, zu dem sich die autochthone luxemburgische Bevölkerung als Muttersprache bekennt, als eigenständige Sprache, nicht als Varietät der deutschen Sprache gilt (vgl. Art. 19). Das Gebiet, in dem Deutsch staatliche Amtssprache ist, bildet – abgesehen von Minderheiten (vgl. 5.) – ein geschlossenes Sprachgebiet. Allerdings erstreckt sich das in der Fachliteratur oft so genannte „geschlossene deutsche Sprachgebiet in Mitteleuropa“ noch auf die Randgebiete einiger weiterer Staaten, nämlich Frankreich (Elsass-Lothringen), Dänemark (Nordschleswig) und Polen (Niederschlesien, Pommern). In Dänemark und Polen ist die deutschsprachige Minderheit ausdrücklich anerkannt; in Frankreich dagegen nicht, trotz ihrer beachtlichen Zahlenstärke (über 1 Mio., eine repräsentative Sprachstatistik existiert nicht). Die folgenden Ausführungen beziehen Luxemburg und Ostbelgien ein, da sie in anderen Regionalartikeln nicht berücksichtigt werden, berühren aber nur die Schweiz, da ihr ein eigener Artikel (172 a) gewidmet ist.

### 2. Zur Geschichte der deutschsprachigen Länder

Die Länder mit Deutsch als National- oder Amtssprache haben eine lange, komplexe Geschichte, aus der hier nur wenige Stationen skizziert werden können. Aus ihrem Verbund im mittelalterlichen Heiligen

Römischen Reich ist die Schweiz schon mit dem Frieden von Basel 1499 ausgeschieden, was im Westfälischen Frieden 1648 bestätigt wurde. Dagegen blieben Österreich und Deutschland länger politisch verbunden. Von 1273 (Kaiserwürde Rudolfs von Habsburg) bis 1806 war – mit geringen Unterbrechungen – Wien Hauptstadt des Heiligen Römischen Reichs, das sämtliche hier behandelte Länder umfasste. Danach hatte Österreich den Vorsitz im Deutschen Bund, der auch das Gebiet des späteren Deutschlands umfasste und von 1815 bis 1866 bestand. Erst die Vereinigung Preußens mit den süddeutschen Staaten zum Deutschen Reich 1871 führte zur dauerhaften Trennung Deutschlands und Österreichs, wenn sie auch zwischen Erstem und Zweitem Weltkrieg rückgängig gemacht wurde (zunächst Vereinigungsbeschluss der österreichischen Nationalversammlung, von den Alliierten aufgehoben; dann dennoch ‚Anschluss‘ an NS-Deutschland 1938–45; dauerndes Verbot im Staatsvertrag 1955). Die Form der heutigen deutschsprachigen Länder und Länder mit Deutsch als Amtssprache ist in beträchtlichem Maße das Ergebnis von Grenzverschiebungen in der Folge militärischer Auseinandersetzungen: Abtrennung Schlesiens und Holsteins von Dänemark 1864 und Angliederung an Preußen 1866 bzw. an das Deutsche Reich 1871, Rückgliederung Nordschlesiens aufgrund von Volksentscheid 1918; Annexion Elsaß-Lothringens durch Frankreich im 17. Jh., dann wieder durch das Deutsche Reich 1871, Rückgliederung an Frankreich 1919, erneute Annexion durch Deutschland 1940 bis 1945, danach wieder an Frankreich; Ausscheiden Luxemburgs aus der Deutschen Zollunion 1918, zeitweilige Annexion durch Deutschland 1940–45; Abtretung Südtirols von Österreich an Italien 1919; Abtretung der Gebiete östlich der Oder und Neise von Deutschland an Polen (1945 faktisch, 1990 völkerrechtlich). Liechtenstein wurde 1806 souveräner Staat, der Österreich nahestand und mit dessen Bundesland Voralberg 1876–1918 ein Zollgebiet bildete. Nach dem Ersten Weltkrieg rückte es näher zur Schweiz: Zollvertrag 1922, Vertretung im Ausland 1924. Die Ergebnisse dieser vielfachen Grenzänderungen werden im zusammenwachsenden Europa nicht mehr in Frage gestellt, da die politischen Grenzen an Bedeutung verlieren.

### 3. Plurinationalität und Pluri-regionalität (Plurizentrität) der deutschen Sprache

Obwohl keine Ozeane zwischen den deutschsprachigen Ländern liegen, haben sich Unterschiede in ihren Standardvarietäten herausgebildet, die es rechtfertigen, Deutsch als eine *plurizentrische Sprache* zu bezeichnen (vgl. zu dieser Thematik ausführlich Ammon 1995; Clyne 1995; von Polenz 1999, Kap. 6.11). Bei den Sprachzentren mit standardsprachlichen Besonderheiten handelt es sich zum Teil um Regionen innerhalb einzelner Staaten, so dass man auch von *Pluri-regionalität* des Deutschen sprechen kann. So gibt es Wortschatzunterschiede zwischen Ost- und Westösterreich (z. B. *Obers – Rahm* ‚Sahne‘, *Fleischhacker/Fleischhauer – Metzger* ‚Fleischer‘), wie auch zwischen Nord- und Süddeutschland (*Sonnabend – Samstag*, *Apfelsine – Orange*), wo außerdem Unterschiede bestehen in der Wortgrammatik (z. B. *ich habe gestanden – ich bin gestanden*), der Pragmatik (Begegnungsgruß *Guten Tag – Grüß Gott*) sowie der Aussprache im Gebrauchsstandard (stimmhafte – stimmlose silbenanlautende Lenisplosive und -frikative, wobei die stimmlosen süddeutschen Varianten nicht als standardsprachlich kodifiziert sind). Insgesamt ist die staateninterne regionale Variation allerdings beschränkter als die zwischen den Staaten (Nationen), jedoch ist letztere, die plurinationale Variation, teilweise durch *unspezifische nationale Varianten* verwässert. Damit sind Varianten gemeint, die in mehreren Nationen gelten, aber nicht in allen (z. B. *Aprikose* in Deutschland und Schweiz – *Marille* in Österreich).

Nicht nur aus Quantitätsgründen sind die nationalen Unterschiede im Standarddeutschen gewichtiger als die bloß regionalen, sondern auch wegen ihrer politischen Symbolik und Funktion. Vor allem in Österreich (Muhr/Schrodt/Wiesinger 1995) haben sich patriotisch gesonnene Intellektuelle – Sprachwissenschaftler, Autoren und Politiker – für nationale standardsprachliche Besonderheiten engagiert. Beispiele dafür sind: Die Institutionalisierung eines *Österreichischen Wörterbuchs* (1. Aufl. 1951, 39. Aufl. 2001), das die nationalen Varianten des Landes enthält; die gezielte Bereicherung der nationalen Standardvarietät durch Einbeziehung bislang umgangssprachlicher und dialektaler Varianten, vor allem

in der 35. Auflage (1979) des *Österreichischen Wörterbuchs* (vgl. Clyne 1985; 1988); nationalvarietäts-puristische Bestrebungen, die sich insbesondere gegen das Eindringen von Sprachformen aus Deutschland richten, z. B. der Aufruf des Schriftstellers Friedrich Torberg zum „Kampf an der Sahnfront“ (*Sahne* ist die aus Deutschland eingedrungene Variante für österreichisch *Obers* oder *Rahm*) und durch die Warn-Markierung (Asteriskus) entsprechender Wörter im *Österreichischen Wörterbuch* (vgl. dazu Ammon 1995, 181–196); die vertragliche Absicherung beim Beitritt zur Europäischen Union (EU), dass spezifisch österreichische Sprachvarianten – bislang 23 an der Zahl – in Amtstexten der EU neben den Varianten Deutschlands genannt werden müssen (vgl. de Cillia 1998, 78–98). Diese Bemühungen lassen sich kaum anders erklären, als dass die österreichischen Sprachvarianten als Nationalsymbole dienen, vor allem zur Demonstration nationaler Selbständigkeit gegenüber Deutschland. Demgegenüber fungieren die kaum weniger zahlreichen Besonderheiten des Standarddeutschen der Schweiz nur als sekundäre Nationalsymbole. Zur Demonstration nationaler Eigenständigkeit dient der deutschsprachigen Schweiz vor allem der Dialekt (*Schwyzerdüütsch* – variierende Schreibung), der in Diglossie mit dem eigenen Standarddeutsch (*Schweizerhochdeutsch*) gepflegt und ‘rein’ erhalten wird (Dialektpurismus) (vgl. zur Schweiz Rasch 1998). Die Besonderheiten des Standarddeutschen in Deutschland schließlich haben keinerlei bewusst gepflegte national-symbolische Funktion, auch keine nachgeordnete. Allerdings fungieren sie als unwillkürliche Schibboleths, an denen die anderen deutschsprachigen Nationen die Bewohner Deutschlands erkennen. – Während der Teilung Deutschlands entstanden Ansätze staatspezifischer Varietäten, deren auffälligste Merkmale im ideologischen Vokabular und in der Bezeichnung institutioneller Spezifika lagen (Schlosser 1990). Die verhältnismäßig wenigen Wortschatzbesonderheiten (z. B. *Broiler* ‘Brathähnchen’, *Zielstellung* ‘Zielsetzung’) in Verbindung mit Diskursbesonderheiten entwickeln sich seitdem zu Regionalvarietäten für die neuen bzw. alten Bundesländer (Clyne 1995; Reiher 1996; Kühn 2000).

Die Plurinationalität der deutschen Sprache ist geprägt von der unterschiedlichen Größe der beteiligten Länder (Deutschland

82, Österreich 8, deutschsprachiger Teil der Schweiz 4 Mio. Einwohner). Hinzu kommt, dass sich Deutschland seit 1871 im Grunde als das Ergebnis der Vereinigungsbestrebungen aller deutschsprachigen Länder sieht, wenn auch nur als die ‚kleindeutsche‘ statt der ursprünglich angestrebten ‚großdeutschen‘ Lösung. Damit hängt die Namensidentität, zumindest bei adjektivischer Benennung, von Land und Sprache zusammen: *deutsch* bezieht sich sowohl auf ‚Deutschland‘ als auch die ‚deutsche Sprache‘. Daher rührt wiederum die terminologische Schwierigkeit einer geeigneten Benennung der spezifischen Sprachvarianten Deutschlands. Österreichs Nationalvarianten können problemlos *Austriazismen* und die der Schweiz *Helvetismen* genannt werden, während für die Nationalvarianten Deutschlands kein unproblematischer Terminus existiert: *Germanismen* bezöge sich auf die deutsche Sprache insgesamt oder womöglich alle germanischen Sprachen, *Deutschlandismen* passt wegen seiner kontaminierten Form nicht zu den anderen Termini, *Teutonismen* hat negative Konnotationen. Jedoch scheint sich letzteres allmählich als kleinstes Übel durchzusetzen. Außer der unterschiedlichen Größe hat das wiederholt aggressive Verhalten Deutschlands dazu beigetragen, dass die nationalen Sprachbesonderheiten Österreichs und der Schweiz hauptsächlich zur Distanzierung von Deutschland dienen.

Die Unterschiede im Standarddeutschen zwischen Deutschland, Österreich und der Schweiz erstrecken sich auf alle Zeichen- und grammatischen Ebenen bis hinein in die Pragmatik. Nur die Satzsyntax im engeren Sinn scheint so gut wie nicht betroffen, und die Orthographie aufgrund gezielter Koordination zwischen den deutschsprachigen Ländern nur in sehr geringem Maße (kein <ß> in der Schweiz, vereinzelte spezifische Wortschreibungen in Österreich, z. B. <Kü-cken> statt <Küken>). Eine ausführliche Darstellung der standardsprachlichen nationalen Besonderheiten Österreichs findet sich in Ebner (1998), für die Schweiz in Meyer (1989) und eine vorläufige Zusammenstellung für Deutschland in Ammon (1995, 330–357). Seit kurzem liegt auch ein umfassendes Wörterbuch aller nationalen und regionalen standardsprachlichen Besonderheiten des Deutschen vor (*Varietätenwörterbuch des Deutschen* 2004).

Im Gegensatz zu Deutschland, Österreich und der deutschsprachigen Schweiz verfü-

gen Luxemburg, Liechtenstein, die deutschsprachige Gemeinschaft in Ostbelgien und die Provinz Bozen-Südtirol in Norditalien nur über Wortschatz-Besonderheiten ihres jeweiligen Standarddeutschs. Sie haben außerdem keine eigenen Nachschlagewerke, keinen eigenen *Sprachkodex*. Dagegen ist der Sprachkodex Deutschlands sehr umfangreich (mehrere große Wörterbücher, darunter ein 10-bändiges des autoritativen Dudenverlags (1999), die Dudenreihe in zwölf Bänden (Grammatik, Aussprachewörterbuch usw.) und vieles mehr. Auch Österreich verfügt über ein Wörterbuch mittlerer Größenordnung (*Österreichisches Wörterbuch* [1951] 2001) und die Schweiz immerhin über eigene Schülerwörterbücher (z. B. Bigler u. a. 1987). Aufgrund der mangels eigenen Kodexes geringeren Autonomie der eigenen Nationalvarietät sowie der weit begrenzten Zahl spezifischer Varianten spricht man im Falle von Luxemburg, Liechtenstein, Ostbelgien und Norditalien nur von *nationalen Halbzentren* der deutschen Sprache, im Falle von Deutschland, Österreich und der deutschsprachigen Schweiz dagegen von *nationalen Vollzentren*.

#### 4. Verhältnis von Dialekt zu Standardvarietät

Die Dialekte haben sich in verschiedenen Regionen des deutschen Sprachgebiets unterschiedlich entwickelt. Dabei hat sowohl die politische Aufteilung in Staaten als auch die dialektgeographische Gliederung eine Rolle gespielt. Wissenschaftlich wurde letztere – bei vergrößerter Sicht – nach zweierlei Prinzipien durchgeführt: (1) durch empirische Ermittlung von Isoglossen und deren Bündelung zu Dialektgebieten; (2) durch Ansatz bei Vorwissen über Dialekte wie Bairisch, Schwäbisch, usw., deren Regionen durch empirische Erhebungen rekonstruiert wurden. (1) diente vor allem zur Grobeinteilung in *Oberdeutsch* (Süden des deutschen Sprachgebiets), *Mitteldeutsch* (Mitte zwischen Süden und Norden) und *Niederdeutsch* (Norden) einschließlich Übergangsbereichen und Auffächerungen, z. B. entlang des Rheins (‘Rheinischer Fächer’). Maßgebliche Grundlage dafür bildeten die Ergebnisse der ‘hochdeutschen Lautverschiebung’, wie sie bei den Datenerhebungen zum *Deutschen Sprachatlas* (Sitz Marburg; 1927–56) Ende des 19. und Anfang des 20. Jhs. ermittelt wurden. In grober Annäherung ist die

hochdeutsche Lautverschiebung im Oberdeutschen in allen Wörtern durchgeführt, im Mitteldeutschen in einem Teil und im Niederdeutschen überhaupt nicht. Verscho-ben wurden dabei vor ahd. Plosive, und zwar mit je nach Position im Wort unterschiedlichen Ergebnissen (zu Frikativen nach Vokal, und zu Affrikaten im Wortanlaut, bei Gemination und nach Konsonant – nach manchen Konsonanten unterblieb die Verschiebung gänzlich): niederdt. *Ap, Appel; dat, Kat; ick, Kind* – oberdt. *Aff(e), Apfel; das, Katze; ich, Kchind* (letztere Affrikata nur im Süden des oberdt. Dialektgebiets, im Alemannischen, und im Gegensatz zu den anderen oberdt. Formen nicht standarddeutsch). (2) war nützlich für die feinere Einteilung.

Das Verhältnis von Dialekt zu Standardvarietät hat sich in verschiedenen Dialektregionen und Staaten unterschiedlich entwickelt. Die niederdt. Dialekte sind weitgehend geschwunden (*Dialektschwundgebiet* im Norden): In der Sprechweise der breiten Bevölkerung finden sich nur noch Relikte davon, ansonsten ist der Gebrauch auf die alte Generation in ländlichen Regionen beschränkt; vereinzelt gibt es Wiederbelebungsversuche in städtischen Bildungsschichten. Ursache dieser Entwicklung ist vermutlich die Kombination zweier Faktoren: (a) die beträchtliche linguistische Distanz zwischen den niederdt. Dialekten und der hochdt. Standardvarietät, die um der Verständlichkeit willen zum Umschalten nötigt; aufgrund dieser linguistischen Distanz werden die niederdt. Dialekte bisweilen zu einer vom Hochdeutschen verschiedenen Sprache (*Niederdeutsch*) zusammengefasst, die allerdings über keine eigene Standardvarietät verfügt; (b) das Fehlen eines eigenen Staates bzw. einer eigenen Nation, für die diese Dialekte zum Nationalsymbol hätten werden können; Nationalsymbol des übergeordneten Staates (Deutschland) war stattdessen die hochdt. Standardvarietät. – Die Situation in der (deutschsprachigen) Schweiz ist anders (vgl. Art. 172a). Dort herrscht eine Diglossie Dialekt – Standardvarietät (*Schweizerhochdeutsch*). Auch die Dialekte der Schweiz sind stark verschieden vom Schweizerhochdeutschen; sie wurden jedoch seit der Zeit vor dem Ersten Weltkrieg gezielt als Nationalsymbol gepflegt, hauptsächlich zur sprachlichen Absetzung vom als bedrohlich empfundenen nördlichen Nachbarn. In der Schweiz ist der Dialektgebrauch in mündlicher Kommunika-

tion vorherrschend und der Gebrauch der Standardvarietät auf wenige, besonders förmliche Domänen eingeschränkt (Debatten im Berner Großen Rat, kirchliche Predigt, Hochschulvorlesung, Schulunterricht, überregionale Rundfunk-Nachrichten). Vor allem wird von allen Sozialschichten ausgeprägter Dialekt gesprochen; Dialekt ist also nicht sozial markiert. Möglicherweise ist jedoch die Standardvarietät Abzeichen höherer Sozialschichtenzugehörigkeit (Bildungsschicht), da ihre mündliche Verwendung auf Domänen beschränkt ist, in denen nur Angehörige privilegierter Sozialschichten agieren. Diese Art von Diglossie ist am ausgeprägtesten in der deutschsprachigen Schweiz, findet sich aber auch in Liechtenstein und abgeschwächt im österreichischen Bundesland Vorarlberg. – Die Situation im übrigen deutschen Sprachgebiet: im Mitteldeutschen und größten Teil des Oberdeutschen (Mitte und Süden Deutschlands, Österreich, norditalienische Provinz Bozen-Südtirol) lässt sich kennzeichnen als *Dialekt-Standard-Kontinuum*, wobei der Übergang zum Dialekt-Schwund-Gebiet im Norden fließend ist. Charakteristisch ist der Erhalt des Dialekts, allerdings bevorzugt in den bildungsferneren, unteren Sozialschichten ländlicher Regionen, und der graduelle Übergang vom ausgeprägten Dialekt zur Standardvarietät („Gradualismus“). Ausgeprägter Dialekt ist dementsprechend sozial markiert. Umgekehrt finden die autochthonen bildungsferneren Schichten Standarddeutsch teilweise unverträglich mit ihrer sozialen Identität. Alle Sozialschichten zeigen situative oder domänenspezifische Variation: In den privateren, nicht öffentlichen Situationen wird eher Dialekt und in den öffentlichen Situationen eher Standarddeutsch gesprochen. Dabei bleiben jedoch Schichtenunterschiede erhalten: Die höheren Sozialschichten meiden, im Gegensatz zu den unteren, den ausgeprägten Dialekt auch in privaten Situationen; oft achten sie darauf, dass die Kinder schon in der Familie Standarddeutsch lernen. Unterschiedliche Vorkenntnisse des Standarddeutschen führen zu schichtenspezifischen Schulproblemen, da die Schule den ungesteuerten Erwerb des Standarddeutschen erwartet, das nach den gesetzlichen Bestimmungen Unterrichtssprache und Lehrgegenstand ist (vgl. Ammon 1978; Reitmajer 1979). – Zur Neutralisierung der (schichtenspezifischen) Schulschwierigkeiten von Dialektsprechern wurden von sozio-

linguistischer Seite beträchtliche Anstrengungen unternommen. Teil davon war die Erarbeitung kontrastiver Sprachhefte *Dialekt/Hochsprache*, die aber mangels Unterstützung durch die Kultusministerien kaum Anwendung fanden (Besch/Löffler/Reich, eds., 1976–1981, beginnend mit Hasselberg/Wegera 1976).

Außer Sozialschichtenunterschieden im Gebrauch von Dialekt und Standardvarietät wurden vor allem Generationen- und Geschlechterunterschiede untersucht (Überblick in Mattheier 1980). In Bezug auf Generationenunterschiede wurden verbreitete Vorstellungen von Dialektschwund relativiert. Zwar sprechen die jüngeren Generationen tendenziell standardnäher, jedoch kehren sie im Alter teilweise zum Dialekt zurück, vermutlich auf Grund des Rückzugs aus dem Berufsleben und der Einschränkung auf die privaten Domänen. Außerdem sprechen Kinder häufig ausgeprägteren Dialekt als Erwachsene, weil sie von den Dialekt sprechenden Großeltern erzogen werden oder weil der Dialekt Teil des Jugendjargons ist (Ehmann 1992). Bezüglich der Geschlechter hat die traditionelle Dialektologie bei älteren Frauen den ausgeprägtesten Dialekt festgestellt. Dies gilt jedoch nur für die stark auf die private Lebenswelt eingeschränkte traditionelle Landwirtschaft. In modernen Berufen neigen Frauen dagegen stärker zur Standardvarietät als Männer, teils wegen sprachlicher Vorbereitung der Kinder auf die Schule, teils wegen mit der Standardvarietät assoziierter beruflicher Ambitionen.

##### 5. Sprachminderheiten innerhalb des geschlossenen deutschen Sprachgebiets

Es ist zweckmäßig, zwischen autochthonen und allochthonen Minderheiten zu unterscheiden. In Deutschland bilden die Sorben im Süden Brandenburgs und Osten Sachsens (Lausitz) die größte Gruppe der autochthonen Minderheiten (ca. 67000). Ihre Sprache gliedert sich in die beiden Varietätengruppen Niedersorbisch und Obersorbisch (Norberg 1996). Weiter zu nennen ist die Volksgruppe der dänischen Minderheit im Norden Schleswig-Holsteins (Südschleswig) mit ca. 50000 Angehörigen, von denen allerdings ein Großteil kein Dänisch spricht (Petersen 1996). Eine eigene Sprachgruppe bilden auch die Friesen, mit den

Nordfriesen als in Deutschland größter Gruppe (9000 – nach *Euromosaic* 1996, Table 3). Diese siedeln im Nordwesten Schleswig-Holsteins (Kreis Nordfriesland) und werden nach Wohnregion unterschieden in Festlands- und Inselfriesen. Daneben existieren noch die Saterfriesen in der Nähe Oldenburgs (2000 Sprecher). Die Westfriesen leben außerhalb Deutschlands, in den Niederlanden (Munske 2001; Walker 1996). All diese Minderheiten haben wenigstens einzelne eigene Schulen, und ihre Sprachen sind zumindest ansatzweise standardisiert. – Unklarer ist der Status der sich über das ganze norddeutsche Gebiet erstreckenden niederdeutschen Dialekte, die 1999 durch die Aufnahme in die Europäische Charta für Regional- und Minderheitensprachen spektakulär aufgewertet wurden. Ihr Status als eigenständige Sprache ist unter Sprachwissenschaftlern umstritten (Stellmacher 1996). Ihre Klassifizierung schwankt zwischen a) Dialekten der (hoch)deutschen Sprache, b) scheidialektisierter eigenständiger Sprache (nach Auffassung auch der Sprecher Dialekte des Deutschen, sprachwissenschaftlich aber eigene Sprache) und c) autonomer Sprache (*Niederdeutsch*). Die Zahl der Sprecher ist wegen großer Kompetenzdivergenzen kaum abschätzbar. – In Österreich gibt es zusätzlich die folgenden anerkannten autochthonen Sprachminderheiten: Kroaten im Burgenland (3000 – Jodelbauer 1996a) sowie Slovenen in Kärnten (14000 – Jodelbauer 1996b) und in der Steiermark (580 – Krizman 1996). Ihre Sprachen sind in den Wohngebieten in beschränktem Umfang Wahlfach in den Schulen (vgl. auch Wiesinger 1996).

Bei den allochthonen Minderheiten kann man unterscheiden zwischen Eingebürgerten und Ausländern. Die Einbürgerung setzt in der Regel deutsche Sprachkenntnisse voraus, die auf unterschiedliche Weise festgestellt werden. Viele Eingebürgerte halten außerdem an ihrer Muttersprache fest, besonders bei quasi ghettoisierter Wohnweise, zu der wegen ihrer großen Zahl und kulturellen Verschiedenheit vor allem Türken neigen. Statistiken, die Eingebürgerte und Ausländer derselben Sprachgruppe umfassen, liegen nicht vor. Die Proportionen dieser Sprachgruppen entsprechen ungefähr den Proportionen der betreffenden Ausländer. Danach bilden die Türken die größte Gruppe (über 2 Mio. in Deutschland), gefolgt von serbischsprachigen Jugoslawen, Italienern, Griechen, Polen und Kroaten (letztere in Deutschland

über 200000) (*Fischer Weltatlas* 2001: Kap. *Deutschland, Österreich*). Zu den Sprachproblemen der Immigranten und Migranten („Gastarbeiter“) liegen zahlreiche soziolinguistische Publikationen vor. Die Sprachbesonderheiten wurden teilweise kontrastiv untersucht (Meyer-Ingwersen/Neumann/Kummer 1977) und teilweise – ange-regt durch die Pidgin-Forschung – unter Gesichtspunkten sprachlicher Vereinfachung (Clyne 1968; Heidelberger Forschungsprojekt 1975; Roche 1989).

## 6. Schwindende Internationalität der deutschen Sprache

In den letzten Jahren ist die Rolle von Deutsch als internationale Sprache nicht nur ins Blickfeld der Soziolinguistik, sondern auch der Öffentlichkeit in den deutschsprachigen Ländern gerückt (Ammon 1991). Geprägt sind die Entwicklungen von der Globalisierung und damit zusammenhängenden rapiden Ausbreitung des Englischen als Welt-sprache, der Europäischen Union und der Kommunikation zwischen ihren Institutionen und den deutschsprachigen Ländern, der wissenschaftlichen Kommunikation, Belegung ganzer Domänen wie der populären Musik mit der englischen Sprache sowie einer Fülle von Anglizismen im Deutschen. Zu Beginn des 20. Jhs. gehörte Deutsch zu den drei weltweit wichtigsten Wissenschaftssprachen, mit Englisch und Französisch, hat jedoch seit Ende des Ersten Weltkriegs, ähnlich dem Französischen, fortlaufend an internationaler Bedeutung eingebüßt. Gründe waren der wirtschaftliche Ruin der deutschsprachigen Länder im Ersten Weltkrieg, der Boykott alliierter Wissenschaftsverbände gegen deutschsprachige Wissenschaftler und den internationalen Gebrauch von Deutsch bis zur Mitte der 20er Jahre (Schroeder-Gudehus 1990), der Nationalsozialismus, der Zweite Weltkrieg sowie der bis heute fortdauernde Brain Drain aus den deutschsprachigen Ländern hauptsächlich in die USA. In den Naturwissenschaften spielt Deutsch heute international keine Rolle mehr: Die meisten einschlägigen Fachzeitschriften, auch die in Deutschland selbst hergestellten, akzeptieren nur noch englischsprachige Beiträge; die deutschen periodischen Fachbibliographien sind von der englischsprachigen Konkurrenz absorbiert worden (z. B. *Chemische Berichte* > *Chemical Abstracts*); deutschsprachige Wissenschaftler publizieren mehr auf Englisch



als auf Deutsch; auf internationalen Konferenzen ist Englisch meist einzige Arbeitssprache. Beschränkte internationale Funktion hat Deutsch noch in manchen Sozial- und Geisteswissenschaften, in ‚Nischenfächern‘ wie Archäologie, klassische Philologie, Musikwissenschaft, Neuphilologien, Philosophie und protestantische Theologie. An den Universitäten in Deutschland werden in technischen und naturwissenschaftlichen Fächern seit Wintersemester 1997/98 zweisprachige Studiengänge erprobt, die in englischer Sprache beginnen und dann auch zu deutschsprachigen Veranstaltungen hinführen. Zielgruppen sind vor allem Ausländer. Diese Studiengänge sollen dem geringeren Umfang des Deutschlernens in der Welt Rechnung tragen, ohne Deutsch als internationale Sprache aufzugeben (vgl. Ammon 1998; Debus/Kollmann/Pörksen 2000). – Im Bereich der Wirtschaft spielt Deutsch eine Rolle bei bilateralen Kontakten und wenn ausländische Firmen ihre Produkte in deutschsprachige Länder verkaufen; in multilateralen Kontakten herrscht Englisch vor, auch als Geschäftssprache internationaler Konzerne mit deutschem Stammhaus (Vandermeeren 1998; Vollstedt 2001). – In den Organen der Europäischen Union (EU) war Deutsch im Jahr 2005 eine von 20 Amtssprachen und in beschränktem Maße Arbeitssprache, in der Kommission offiziell, neben Englisch und Französisch (vgl. auch Schloßmacher 1997; *Sociolinguistica* 5). Die Regierungen Deutschlands und Österreichs bemühen sich um Stärkung von Deutsch in den EU-Institutionen, was als bedeutsam für die zukünftige internationale Stellung von Deutsch eingeschätzt wird. In Mittel- und Osteuropa belegt Deutsch seit Auflösung der Sowjetunion als Fremdsprache den zweiten Platz hinter Englisch und vor Französisch.

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## 172a. Die Schweiz/Switzerland

1. Vorbemerkung, Statistik
2. Sprachgebiete und Sprachgrenzen
3. Sprachenrecht und Sprachenregelungen
4. Standardsprachen
5. Kontaktphänomene innerhalb der Landessprachen
6. Kontaktphänomene zwischen Landes- und anderen Sprachen
7. Literatur (in Auswahl)

### 1. Vorbemerkung, Statistik

#### 1.1. Vorbemerkung

Die Schweiz wurde in der Reihe der HSK mehrmals dargestellt (Haas 1988; Bischofsberger 1997; Knecht/Py 1997; Löffler 1997; Niederhauser 1997; Solèr 1997; Sieber 2001). Dieser Artikel übernimmt das Schema von

Haas (1988), konzentriert sich aber auf Entwicklungen und Literatur seit 1988. Das Manuskript wurde im März 2001 abgeschlossen und konnte nur geringfügig aktualisiert werden.

#### 1.2. Statistik

Das Zahlenverhältnis zwischen den vier ‚Landessprachen‘ Deutsch (dt.), Französisch (frz.), Italienisch (it.) und Rätoromanisch (rom.) ist charakterisiert durch Dominanz des Dt. und geringe Veränderungen seit 100 Jahren (Abb. 172a.1). Problematisch ist der Schwund der Rom.-sprachigen von 1,1 % der Gesamtbevölkerung (1941) auf 0,5 % (2000; zum Prozess: Kraas 1992; Furer 2005). – Von den 26 Kantonen und Halbkantonen sind 17 dt.-sprachig, 4 frz.-sprachig, 1 it.-sprachig, 1

Jahr	Gesamtbevölkerung	Deutsch		Französisch		Italienisch		Rätomanisch		Andere Sprachen	
			in %		in %		in %		in %		in %
1888	2917754	2082855	71.4	634855	21.8	155130	5.3	38357	1.3	6557	0.2
1900	3315443	2312949	69.8	730917	22.0	221182	6.7	38651	1.2	11744	0.4
1920	3753293	2594186	69.1	793264	21.1	302578	8.1	40234	1.1	23031	0.6
	<i>3201282</i>	<i>2326138</i>	<i>72.7</i>	<i>708650</i>	<i>22.1</i>	<i>125336</i>	<i>3.9</i>	<i>39349</i>	<i>1.2</i>	<i>1809</i>	<i>0.1</i>
1920	3880320	2750622	70.9	824320	21.2	238544	6.1	42940	1.1	23894	0.6
	<i>3477935</i>	<i>2540101</i>	<i>73.0</i>	<i>753644</i>	<i>21.7</i>	<i>138118</i>	<i>4.0</i>	<i>42010</i>	<i>1.2</i>	<i>4062</i>	<i>0.1</i>
1930	4066400	2924313	71.9	831097	20.4	242034	6.0	44158	1.1	24798	0.6
	<i>3710878</i>	<i>2735134</i>	<i>73.7</i>	<i>778998</i>	<i>21.0</i>	<i>148654</i>	<i>4.0</i>	<i>43372</i>	<i>1.2</i>	<i>4720</i>	<i>0.1</i>
1941	4265703	3097060	72.6	884669	20.7	220530	5.2	46456	1.1	16988	0.4
	<i>4042149</i>	<i>2987185</i>	<i>73.9</i>	<i>844230</i>	<i>20.9</i>	<i>158690</i>	<i>3.9</i>	<i>45653</i>	<i>1.1</i>	<i>6391</i>	<i>0.2</i>
1950	4714992	3399636	72.1	956889	20.3	278651	5.9	48862	1.0	30954	0.7
	<i>4429546</i>	<i>3285333</i>	<i>74.2</i>	<i>912141</i>	<i>20.6</i>	<i>175193</i>	<i>4.0</i>	<i>47979</i>	<i>1.1</i>	<i>8900</i>	<i>0.2</i>
1960	5429061	3765203	69.3	1025450	18.9	514306	9.5	49823	0.9	74279	1.4
	<i>4844322</i>	<i>3604452</i>	<i>74.4</i>	<i>979630</i>	<i>20.2</i>	<i>198278</i>	<i>4.1</i>	<i>49208</i>	<i>1.0</i>	<i>12754</i>	<i>0.3</i>
1970	6269783	4071289	64.9	1134010	18.1	743760	11.9	50339	0.8	270385	4.3
	<i>5189707</i>	<i>3864684</i>	<i>74.5</i>	<i>1045091</i>	<i>20.1</i>	<i>207557</i>	<i>4.0</i>	<i>49455</i>	<i>1.0</i>	<i>22920</i>	<i>0.4</i>
1980	6365960	4140901	65.0	1172502	18.4	622226	9.8	51128	0.8	379203	6.0
	<i>5420986</i>	<i>3986955</i>	<i>73.5</i>	<i>1088223</i>	<i>20.1</i>	<i>241758</i>	<i>4.5</i>	<i>50238</i>	<i>0.9</i>	<i>53812</i>	<i>1.0</i>
1990	6873687	4374694	63.6	1321695	19.2	524116	7.6	39632	0.6	613550	8.9
	<i>5628255</i>	<i>4131027</i>	<i>73.4</i>	<i>1155683</i>	<i>20.5</i>	<i>229090</i>	<i>4.1</i>	<i>38454</i>	<i>0.7</i>	<i>74001</i>	<i>1.3</i>
2000	7328010	4680359	63.7	1485056	20.4	470961	6.5	35095	0.5	656539	9.0
	<i>5792461</i>	<i>4201437</i>	<i>72.5</i>	<i>1216304</i>	<i>21.0</i>	<i>248980</i>	<i>4.3</i>	<i>33868</i>	<i>0.6</i>	<i>92072</i>	<i>1.6</i>

Abb. 172a.1: Entwicklung der Wohnbevölkerung nach Sprachgruppen (Hauptsprache) in absoluten Zahlen und in Prozent. Angaben ab 1920 zur gesamten Wohnbevölkerung aufrecht gedruckt, Angaben zur Schweizer Bevölkerung kursiv. (Nach Niederhauser 1997, 1840; Lüdi/Werlen 2005, 7f.)

dt. mit frz. Minderheit, 2 frz. mit dt. Minderheit, 1 dreisprachig dt., rom., it. – Die Volkszählung 1990 vermied erstmals den Begriff ‚Muttersprache‘ und fragte a) nach der ‚Sprache, in der Sie denken und die Sie am besten beherrschen‘ (‚Hauptsprache‘; keine Mehrfachnennungen); b) nach den in Familie sowie Beruf/Schule verwendeten Idiomen (samt Dialekten; Mehrfachnennungen erlaubt, vgl. Lüdi/Werlen 1997, 23ff).

## 2. Sprachgebiete und Sprachgrenzen

Die Sprachgebiete (Abb.172a.2) stehen seit dem Ausgang des Mittelalters fest, mit Ausnahme der Rätomania (Abb. 172a.3). Obwohl sie nicht durch Gesetz festgelegt sind, bilden ihre Grenzen scharfe statistische Scheiden. Enklaven mit anderssprachigen Mehrheiten gibt es kaum (vgl. Lüdi/Werlen 1997, 57ff.; Chiffelle 2000; Werlen

2000). Aber auch Orte mit rein einsprachiger Bevölkerung sind sehr selten.

## 3. Sprachenrecht und Sprachregelungen

### 3.1. Allgemeines

Rechtlich zu regeln ist der öffentliche Sprachgebrauch. Hier ist die Sprachenfreiheit eingeschränkt, indem eine oder mehrere Sprachen, aber nur diese, als offiziell anerkannt werden (Hegnauer 1947; Viletta 1978; Dessemontet 1984; Zustand 1989, 155ff).

### 3.2. Bundesrecht und Kantonsrecht

Das Bundesrecht zeigt eine immer stärkere Beachtung der Sprachen. In der Bundesverfassung (BV) von 1848 regelte Art. 109 in einem einzigen Absatz Sprachliches, die Fest-

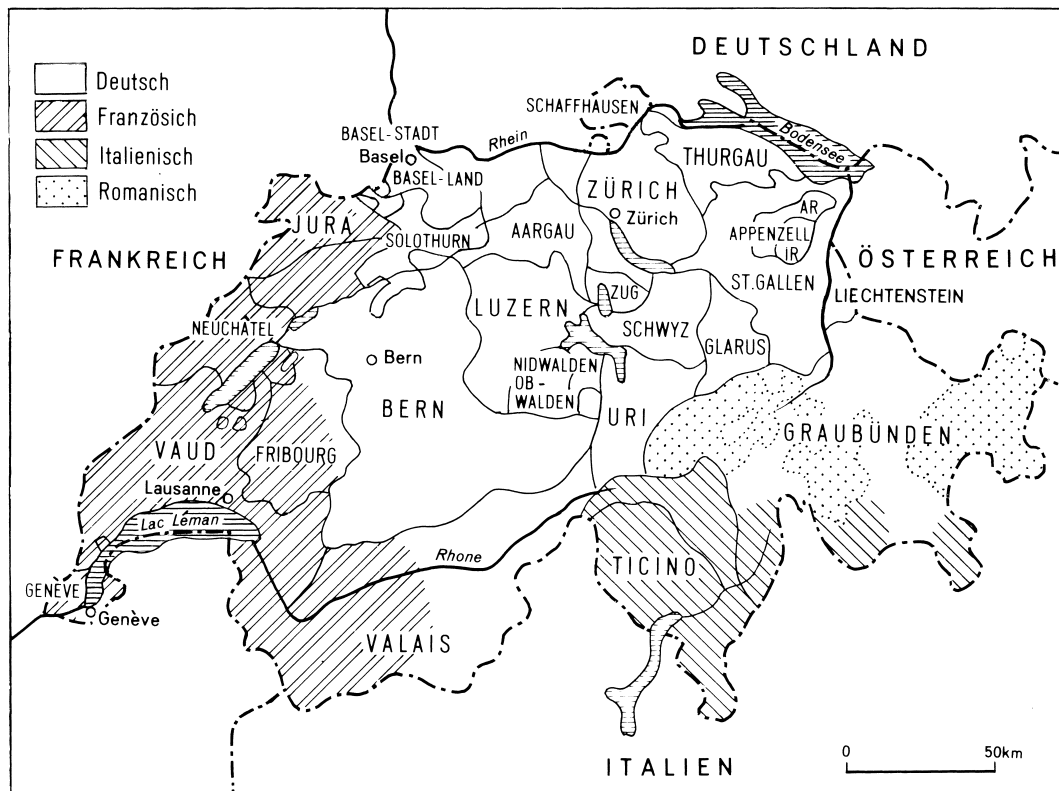


Abb. 172a.2: Schweiz: Sprachregionen und politische Einteilung

legung der drei ‚Amtssprachen‘. Er wurde unverändert als Art. 116 in die BV von 1874 übernommen, die zusätzlich in Art. 107 die angemessene Vertretung der Amtssprachen im Bundesgericht vorschrieb. 1938 führte der um einen Absatz erweiterte Art. 116 die Unterscheidung zwischen ‚Amts-‘ und ‚Nationalsprachen‘ ein; dies erlaubte die Verankerung des Rom. in der BV, ohne ihm Amtssprachstatus zuerkennen zu müssen. 1985 wurde im Parlament die Besserstellung des Rom. verlangt (Motion Bundi; Zustand 1989, XXI), was 1996 zu einer Erweiterung des Artikels 116 auf vier Absätze führte; der Begriff ‚Nationalsprachen‘ wurde im dt. Text durch ‚Landessprachen‘ ersetzt, dem Rom. teilweise Amtssprachstatus auf Bundesebene zuerkannt und die Unterstützung des Rom. und des It. zur Bundessache erklärt. Die Parlamentsdebatten brachten Meinungsverschiedenheiten zwischen den Sprachgruppen über die Sprachenfreiheit und das Territorialprinzip zum Vorschein (Knüsel 1994, 242ff). Die totalrevidierte BV von 1999 enthält nun einen ausführlichen Sprachenartikel (Art. 70), garantiert die Spra-

chenfreiheit (Art. 15) und geht in vier weiteren Artikeln auf Sprachliches ein. – Der Gleichstellung der Amtssprachen entspricht die Dreisprachigkeit aller offiziellen Texte und die Anerkennung aller drei Gesetzesversionen als Urtexte; das ‚Personalprinzip‘ im direkten Verkehr mit dem Bürger wurde 1996 auf das Rom. ausgedehnt. Die numerische Ungleichheit der Sprachen gefährdet allerdings ihre Gleichstellung und führt in der Verwaltungsarbeit zum Vorherrschen des Dt. (Hauck 1993; Babylonia 4/1996). – Ein Sprachengesetz ist in Vorbereitung; die Sprachenhoheit steht aber letztlich den Kantonen zu (Hegnauer 1947, 67ff). Die mehrsprachigen Kantone müssen eigene Regelungen treffen (Zustand 1989, 435ff; Babylonia 4, 1996; Werlen 2000, 181ff). Als letzter zweisprachiger Kanton hat Freiburg 1990 eine leichte Benachteiligung der dt.-sprachigen Minorität beseitigt und führte den Begriff ‚Territorialitätsprinzip‘ (ohne Def.) erstmals in eine schweiz. Verfassung ein. Für den relativen Sprachfrieden werden traditionelle Verhaltensweisen aber weiterhin entscheidender sein als formalrechtliche

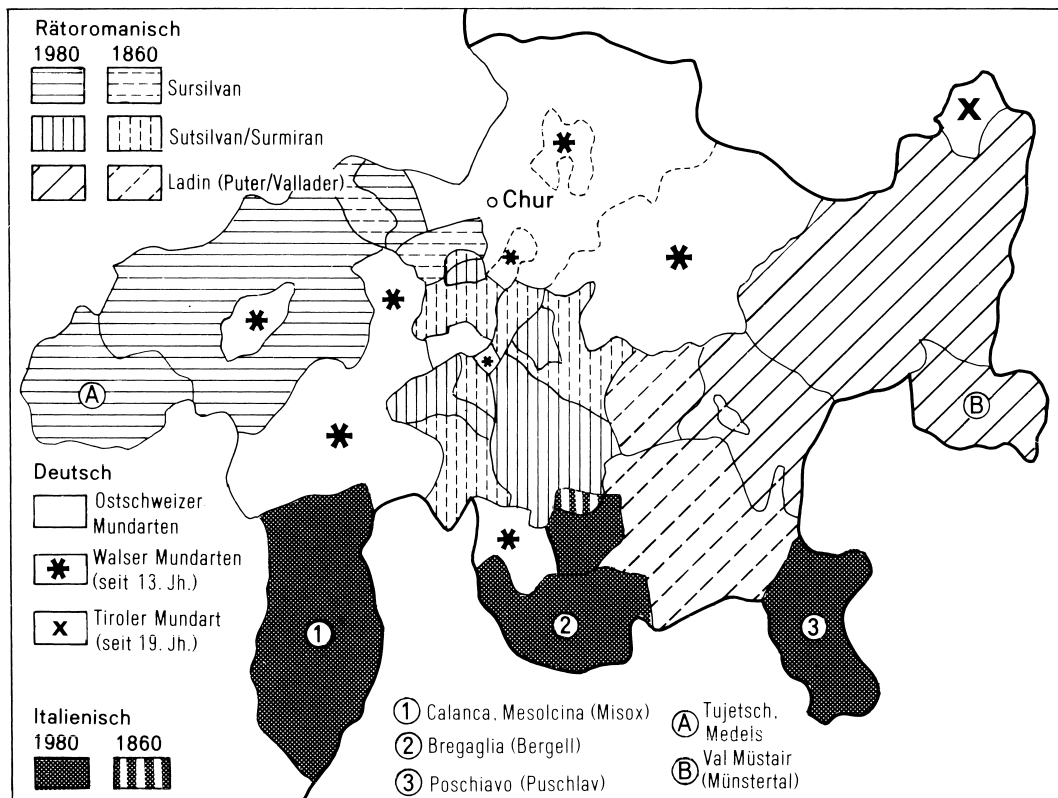


Abb. 172a.3: Sprachenkarte Graubündens

Garantien (Windisch 1992; Wilson 1999, 404; vgl. noch 6.6.)

### 3.3. Territorialitätsprinzip

In der schweiz. Sprachendiskussion spielt das sog. Territorialitätsprinzip eine große Rolle. Es geht dabei zunächst um den Grundsatz des *ius soli*, der den Geltungsbereich eines Rechtssatzes bestimmt, in Absetzung z. B. vom Personalprinzip. Die Geltung der kantonalen Amts- und Schulsprachen ist in der Tat nach dem *ius soli* geregelt; entsprechend ist die Gleichheit auch der eidgenössischen Amtssprachen zugunsten der lokalen Amtssprache aufgehoben. – Brisanz erhält das Territorialitätsprinzip im Sprachenrecht dadurch, dass es nach einigen Auslegungen zusätzlich die sprachliche ‚Homogenität‘ eines Rechtsterritoriums garantieren soll, was aufgrund nationalistischer Sprachideologien in der Regel als Einsprachigkeit verstanden wird. Das verschärfte Territorialitätsprinzip verhindert zweisprachige Gemeinwesen und gilt deshalb (wohl fälschlicherweise) als zweckmäßiges Instrument zur Verwirklichung der Bestandegarantie der

Landessprachen, die ihrerseits aus ihrer Verankerung in der Verfassung abgeleitet wird (Fleiner-Gerstner 1991). – Verstanden als Bestimmung des Amtssprachenbereichs schließt das Territorialitätsprinzip aber weder Sonderregelungen noch die Mehrsprachigkeit von Gemeinwesen aus. So genießen die dt.-sprachigen Gemeinden Ederswiler JU und Bosco Gurin TI in ihren je einsprachigen Kantonen (ungeschriebene) Sonderrechte, und die wenigen offiziell mehrsprachigen Gemeinwesen (z. B. Biel/Bienne) funktionieren mit zwei Amtssprachen. Da die statistischen, historischen und juristischen Sprachgebiete in der Regel zusammenfallen, könnten die wenigen abweichenden Regionen ohne Folgen für Sprachfrieden oder Finanzen als offiziell gemischt-sprachig bezeichnet werden. Die Festlegung der Amts- und Schulsprachen darf sich nicht nur auf die Sprachstatistik gründen, sondern muss auf die historischen Verhältnisse Rücksicht nehmen, um zufällige Schwankungen zu verhindern; in offiziell zweisprachigen Gebieten verringern sich diese Probleme (vgl. Charte des langues 1969, § 22;

Aebischer 1994; Wilson 1999, 166ff). – In Graubünden, wo das Rom. und das It. geschützt werden müssten, lässt das Amtssprachenrecht nur das statistische Prinzip zum Nachteil der (momentan) schwächeren Sprache gelten (Viletta 1984, 114f; vgl. 6.3.). Großzügigere Lösungen wären möglich (Zustand 1989 Materialien 70f; *Babylonia* 4/1996).

### 3.4. Gemischtsprachige Gremien

Propagiert wird ein Kommunikationsmodell, in welchem jedes Mitglied seine (Standard-)Sprache verwendet (EDK 1987). Eini-germaßen verwirklicht ist es nur für Dt. und Frz., Angehörige der kleineren Sprachen müssen Dt. oder Frz. sprechen, wenn sie gehört werden wollen. Dies gilt auch für die kleine Kammer des Parlaments, in der großen Kammer wird simultan übersetzt, aber nur ins Dt. und Frz. – Zum Englischen vgl. 4.2.3.

### 3.5. Sprache und Schule

Die Unterrichtssprache bestimmt sich aufgrund des *ius soli*, die Schule gilt als wichtigster Agent der gewünschten Assimilation (Wilson 1999). Die frz. Schule in Bern bildet eine Ausnahme im Interesse der Mehrsprachigkeit der Bundesverwaltung (Werlen 2000, 209f). Die rom. Schule geht ab der 4. Primarklasse zur dt. Unterrichtssprache über. Zum Unterricht von Immigrantenkinder vgl. 6.4. – Die Diglossie der dt. Schweiz (5.1.) behindert an sich die Entwicklung der standarddt. Kompetenz kaum (Häcki Buhofner/Burger 1998; Schneider 1998; Schmidlin 1999; Ostermai 2000), der Standard wird aber in den Schulen zu wenig kommunikativ verwendet (Siber/Sitta 1986; Ziberi-Luginbühl 1999); ferner begünstigen interaktive Unterrichtsmethoden private Register. Die Förderung des spontanen Standardsprechens auf formalem Niveau wird zur wichtigen Aufgabe des Unterrichts in allen lokalen ‚Mutter‘-Sprachen (Dolz/Schneuwly 1998). – Der Fremdsprachunterricht wurde seit den achtziger Jahren reformiert; zunächst sah man die Lösung aller Probleme in der Verlegung in die Primarschule. Ein ‚Gesamt-sprachenkonzept‘ (EDK 1998; *Babylonia* 4/1998) fordert, dass alle Kinder während der obligatorischen Schulzeit mindestens eine zweite Landessprache und Englisch lernen. Der Unterricht in der ersten L2 soll in der zweiten Primarklasse beginnen, derjenige in der zweiten L2 in der fünften. Maturitätsschulen bieten eine dritte Landesspra-

che als Freifach an. Bis vor Kurzem war unbestritten, dass eine Landessprache erste Fremdsprache sein soll, in den dt. Schulen das Frz., in den frz. das Dt., in den it. das Frz. (Tessin) resp. das Dt. (Graubünden); in Uri und Teilen Graubündens wird It. als erste Fremdsprache gelehrt. Zum Englischen vgl. 4.2.3. – Als unumgänglich hat sich nun aber auch die Reform der Methoden herausgestellt (Stern et al. 1999; Ziberi-Luginbühl 1999; Diehl et al. 2000) sowie die Festlegung konkreter Ziele und einheitlicher Beurteilungsinstrumente (Schneider/North 2000). – Für den Unterricht des Dt. als Fremdsprache stellt die Diglossie ein Problem dar, zu dessen Behebung kaum Rezepte entwickelt wurden; die psychologischen Hindernisse könnten durch landeskundliche Information (über deren Fehlen Cichon 1998, 328f) und durch Schüleraustausch entschärft werden (Schläpfer et al. 1991, 249f; Lüdi/Py 1994, 138ff; *Babylonia* 3/1997). – Die ökonomische Rendite des Fremdsprachenunterrichts kann als gesichert gelten (Grin 1999), gleichzeitig werden aber vorhandene Fremdsprachkompetenzen verschwendet, da auch die Schule der ‚viersprachigen‘ Schweiz auf einer ‚monolingual-unitarischen‘ (Cichon 1998, 361) Ideologie beruht, in der Pluralität kaum eine Rolle spielt (Berthoud et al. 1999; Allemann-Ghionda u.a. 1999; Lüdi et al. 2000). – Seit kurzem beginnt die Schweiz ihren Rückstand auf dem Gebiet der Sprachlernforschung aufzuholen (vgl. Langner 2001). Mehrere der hier genannten Arbeiten und das Sprachenkonzept (EDK 1998) entstanden im Rahmen eines nationalen Forschungsprogramms. In den Dienst der bewussten Förderung der Mehrsprachigkeit stellt sich seit 1993 die Zeitschrift *Babylonia*. – Wissenschaftliche Erkenntnisse sind auch bei gutem Willen der Behörden schwierig umzusetzen; so lehnten die Freiburger eine Änderung des Schulgesetzes ab, die den bilingualen Sachunterricht (Stern et al. 1999) verbindlich einführen wollte. Die rom. Schule bleibt weiterhin die einzige in der Schweiz, die Immersion seit jeher betreibt – ausgesprochen erfolgreich sowohl für L1 wie L2 (Carigiet/Cathomas 1996).

## 4. Standardsprachen

### 4.1. Standardsprachen und Dialekte

Alle vier Sprachgemeinschaften kennen das Nebeneinander von Standardsprache und

Dialekten, aber in äußerst unterschiedlicher Realisierung (vgl. 5.).

#### 4.2. Standardsprachen

Standardsprachen sind durch Polyvalenz und explizite Normierung definiert. Eine monozentrische Norm anerkennt ein möglichst variantenfreies Regelwerk für das gesamte Sprachgebiet; eine plurizentrische Norm lässt dagegen Varianten zu (Ammon 1995). Wenn eine Sprache in verschiedenen Ländern verwendet wird, kann die Norm entweder auf dem inländischen Sprachgebrauch beruhen (endonormativer Standard) oder aber auf einem ausländischen (exonormativer Standard; Stewart 1972, 534). – Diese Unterscheidungen sind für das Verständnis mehrsprachiger Staaten fundamental, besonders wenn die beteiligten Sprachen in bezug auf jene Eigenschaften divergieren.

##### 4.2.1. Die Amtssprachen als exonormative Standardsprachen

Die drei Amtssprachen sind im wesentlichen exonormativ, aber jede zeigt auch Ansätze einer plurizentrischen Norm. In den *geschriebenen Standardsprachen* betrifft dies v. a. das Lexikon. Die Bezeichnungen für nur in diesem Staate vorhandene Gegebenheiten („Sachspezifika“, Ammon 1995, 66) sind oft in allen vier Landessprachen parallel gebildet und gehören zu den hiesigen Standards („*Viersprachenparallelismus*“, Lurati in Schläpfer/Bickel 2000, 190). Normentheoretisch problematisch sind die „*Helvetismen*“, die nicht spezifisch Schweizerisches bezeichnen. – Das Schweizer Frz. kommt von allen Amtssprachen dem monozentrischen, exonormativen Standard am nächsten, Helvetismen und selbst Sachspezifika werden oft abgelehnt (konzis: Schmitt 1990; vgl. 5.2.). Am weitesten vom exonormativen Standard entfernt sich die dt. Standardsprache der Schweiz, wie die Tendenz zur gemäßigt plurizentrischen Norm für das Dt. überhaupt charakteristisch ist (Kaiser 1969/70; Meyer 1989; Sieber 2001, 493ff; Ammon et al. 2004). Im It. der Südschweiz konnte sich die stärker monozentrische Normidee der romanischen Sprachen weniger durchsetzen; es ist in seinem Wortschatz regional geprägt und unterscheidet sich vom exonormativen Standard weiter durch Altertümlichkeit und Einflüsse des Frz. und Dt. (Lurati in Schläpfer/Bickel 2000, 192; zum „*Übersetzungs-It.*“: Berruto 1984).

In den *gesprochenen Standardsprachen* sind Aussprache und ‚Akzent‘ (suprasegmentale Eigenschaften) überall am stärksten landestypisch geprägt, indirekt abhängig von der Lebendigkeit der Mundarten. Im dt. Gebiet ist die Mundart Hauptsprache aller Einheimischen, der gesprochene Standard entsprechend durch aktuelle Dialektinterferenzen und Ansätze zu einer einheimischer ‚Aussprachekonvention‘ geprägt (Hove 2002; Sieber 2001, 493ff). Das Standarddt. kommt in einigen mündlichen Funktionen kaum zur Anwendung; dies gibt ihm eher die Stellung einer Schrift- als einer polyfunktionalen Standardsprache. In der it. Schweiz erreichen mit dem Rückgang der Dialekte (5.1.) immer mehr Sprecher einen übernationalen Aussprachestandard. Die Aussprache des Schweizer Frz. zeigt höchstens historische Dialektinterferenzen; bei Gebildeten lassen sich Abweichungen vom exonormativen Standard nur in Sprechtempo und ‚Akzent‘ erkennen (vgl. 5.2.).

##### 4.2.2. Das Rätoromanische als endonormative, polyzentrische Kleinsprache

Das Rom. ist die einzige endonormative Landessprache. Der alpine Lebensraum und seine föderalistische Struktur förderten im 16. Jh. die Standardisierung, verhinderten aber einen gemeinsamen Standard (Darms 1989). – Schon zur Zeit ihrer Verschriftlichung waren die rom. Mundarten auf unzusammenhängende Gebiete ohne städt. Zentrum beschränkt, die neuen Schriftsprachen für die Nahkommunikation bestimmt. Fremdsprachen waren für die Eliten immer wichtiger als ein gemeinsamer Standard. In der modernen Medienkultur schwächt sein Fehlen das Rom. existentiell: Die Kleinsprachen können kaum ausgebaut werden, verfügen über ein mangelhaftes Textsortenspektrum und sind wenig präsent. Andererseits kann sich die Gemeinschaft eine standardisierte Nahsprache nur leisten, wenn sie durch Mundartnähe den Lernaufwand reduziert. Die Ansätze zu einem rom. Einheitsstandard blieben deshalb lange stecken (Billigmeier 1979, 255ff). Erst das 1982 geschaffene *Rumantsch grischun* (RG; Schmid 1982) scheint Aussicht auf Erfolg zu haben; es wird gut verstanden, problematisch sind allerdings die in einem beispiellosen korpusplanerischen Effort geschaffenen Neologismen (Darms/Dazzi Gross 1993). RG gewann rasch Anhänger bes. unter den Gebildeten,

erschloss bisher unzugängliche Textsorten und ermöglichte 1996 die Erhebung des Rom. zur Teilamtssprache des Bundes. Aufgrund der verhältnismäßig hohen Akzeptanz (Gloor et al. 1996, bes. 90ff) wurde RG 1996 zur einzigen rom. Amtssprache Graubündens erklärt. – Obwohl fast alle Autoren und die rom. Tageszeitung (seit 1997) mehrheitlich in den Regionalsprachen publizieren, tritt nun das RG in offene Konkurrenz zu ihnen, was die Einführungspolitik heruntergespielt hatte. Die (noch ausstehende) Einführung als Schulsprache scheint weniger umstritten als befürchtet (Gloor et al. 1996, 120; *Babylonia* 3/1998).

#### 4.2.3. Das Englische als lingua franca?

Die Idee, das Englische könnte als unverzichtbare Weltsprache den Schweizern auch als neutrale *lingua franca* („fünfte Landessprache“, Hohl 1997) dienen, wurde traditionell als staatspolitisch unerwünscht verworfen (vgl. Zustand 1989, z.B. 300f; zum ganzen Problem: Murray et al. 2000). Inwiefern Englisch tatsächlich schon als Sprache zwischen Schweizern dient, ist umstritten (Dürnmüller 1989; Andres/Watts 1993); die Schüler aller Regionen würden wohl bei freier Wahlmöglichkeit das Englische als erste L2 vorziehen (Bickel/Schlöpfer 1994, 232ff; differenziert Murray et al. 2000, 12). Ein Zürcher Schulversuch zur Einführung von Englisch als erster L2 in der ersten, von Frz. als zweiter L2 in der fünften Primarschulklasse schreckte auf (Mittler 1998) und führte zum Eklat, als der Kanton im Alleingang beschloss, das Konzept schon 2003 zu verwirklichen. Die Entrüstung ist vor allem in der Romandie groß, wo analoge Beschlüsse durchaus volkstümlich wären, wo aber aufgrund der Übermacht des Dt. Nachteile für den Einzelnen befürchtet werden. Das Zürcher Vorhaben entspricht dem Sprachenkonzept (EDK 1998; vgl. 3.5.), außer in der Reihenfolge der Zweitsprachen; falls in beiden wie geplant die gleichen Ziele erreichbar wären (woran gezweifelt werden darf), würden die staatspolitischen Auswirkungen neutralisiert.

### 5. Kontaktphänomene innerhalb der Landessprachen

#### 5.1. Diglossie in der dt. und it. Schweiz

Die dt. Schweiz diente Ferguson (1959) als Beispiel für sein Diglossie-Konzept (zur Ge-

schichte Haas 1992; 2004; in Schlöpfer/Bickel 2000). Bis um 1950 konnten die Sprachverhältnisse in der dt. wie in der it. Schweiz als diglossisch beschrieben werden; das allgemeine Dialekt-Sprechen wurde in gleicher Weise als Symbol schweiz. Identität interpretiert (Bianconi 1980, 199ff; anders Lurati in Schlöpfer/Bickel, eds., 2000, 207). Seither hat sich die Diglossie in den beiden Regionen verschieden entwickelt. – In der dt. Schweiz blieben die Dialekte herrschend: Laut Volkszählung 2000 sprachen 90,8% der Dt.-schweizer in der Familie Dialekt; 91% aller Erwerbstätigen benutzten ihn 1990 im Beruf, rund 45% ausschließlich. Gleichzeitig erwarb die Mundart mehr Domänen: Mündlichkeit einer Situation genügt meist, um die Wahl der Mundart zu veranlassen (empirisch am leichtesten zu greifen in den Medien, Ramseyer 1988). Die ‚mediale Diglossie‘ (Kolde 1981, 65ff) stellt die dt.-schweizerische Variante des globalen Zugs zu informellen Registern dar und verfestigt eine asymmetrische Kompetenz in der Standardsprache (vgl. 3.5.; 4.2.1.). – Die Diglossie der dt. Schweiz wird immer wieder als „Sündenbock“ für alle Konflikte zwischen den Regionen beschworen (Bickel/Schlöpfer 1994, 301ff; Knüsel 1994, 249ff; Kriesi et al. 1997, 80). Wichtiger als Verbote des (für Frankophone freilich symbolisch besonders stoßenden) Dialektgebrauchs in den Medien ist die schulische Förderung des gesprochenen Standards (3.5.). Staatspolitisch ist die Diglossie der dt. Schweiz positiv, da sie die größte Sprachgemeinschaft weniger monolithisch erscheinen lässt und die Anpassungsbereitschaft ihrer Glieder in den anderen Landesteilen fördert. – In der it. Schweiz wurde 1990 der Dialekt nur noch von 20% der Bevölkerung (30% der Schweizer) in der Familie ausschließlich verwendet, im Beruf von einem Drittel der Erwerbstätigen, immer neben anderen Idiomen (Lüdi/Werlen 1997, 211f; 218f). Die Entwicklung hat in den letzten Jahren an Tempo gewonnen (Bianconi ed. 1994, 212f.; Lüdi/Werlen 2005, 40). Zuerst gehen jüngere Städter höherer Schichten, insbesondere Frauen, zum Standard über. Gleichzeitig werden die mundartlichen Domänen abgebaut. Eine Korrelation zwischen Dialektgebrauch und ‚sozioprofessioneller Kategorie‘ (Bianconi 1980) wird 1990 nicht (mehr) bestätigt, Dialektsprechen scheint nun durch das Faktorenbündel einheimisch/ländlich/älter gesteuert zu werden und ist auch in den höchsten Kategorien



gut vertreten, während die Ungelernten als meist Nicht-Einheimische zu den am wenigsten Dialekt Sprechenden gehören. In dieser Phase des Dialektabbaus sind offenbar beide Varietäten als Marker ambig geworden; Moretti (1999) analysiert einige dabei zu beobachtende ‚Sprachtod‘-Phänomene. – Die Entwicklung in der it. Schweiz beruht auf zwei Voraussetzungen: (1) Die Erfahrung zeigt, dass für derartige Sprachwechsel einheimische Sprecher das Modell abgeben müssen. Im Tessin bestand nach Bianconi (1989, 180ff) seit je eine Praxis des gesprochenen Regional-It., die bei günstigen Umständen über die traditionellen Situationen hinaus verallgemeinert werden kann. (2) Diese Umstände scheinen durch die Einwanderung aus Italien geschaffen worden zu sein. Beide Voraussetzungen sind für die dt. Schweiz, die sich auch aufgrund ihrer Größe mehr sprachliche Autarkie leisten kann, nicht gegeben. – Die it.-sprachigen Bündnertäler sind dialektaler als das Tessin (Lüdi/Werlen 1997, 222; Bianconi 1998, 140; Lurati in Schläpfer/Bickel 2000, 182).

### 5.2. Monoglossie in der Romandie

In der Romandie sind die Mundarten fast völlig ausgestorben. Der Übergang zum Frz. als spontane Sprechsprache begann im 17. Jh. bei den höhern Schichten der Städte Genf und Neuenburg (Knecht in Schläpfer/Bickel 2000, 153). Zur Schwäche der Mundarten trug bei, dass die frz. (anders als die dt.) Schweiz nie eine auf den eigenen Mundarten basierte Schreibsprache besessen hat. Heute sprechen noch höchstens 22000 Personen (1,4%) in katholischen Randregionen Mundart (Werlen/Lüdi 1997, 193). Wiederbelebungsversuche sind aussichtslos; das gilt auch für Art. 42<sup>bis</sup> der jurassischen Verfassung, der die Mundartpflege zur Staatsaufgabe erklärt. Er ist aber Zeichen für einen auffälligen Einstellungswandel innerhalb der frz. Sprachkultur. – Das *français parlé (familial)* weicht in Wortschatz, Syntax und reduzierter Flexion stark vom Standard ab, ist aber seinerseits monozentrisch (Manno 1994). Davon zu unterscheiden sind *regionale* Sprachbesonderheiten. Die normative Kritik lehnte sie bisher wie das Volksfrz. ab; in der Regel handelt es sich um Archaismen, die oft und meist unbegründet auf dt. Einfluss zurückgeführt werden (Manno 1994). Heute weicht das „Unverständnis für die eigene Sprachtradition“ (Knecht in Schläpfer 1982, 207) einem regen Interesse; greifbar-

stes Symptom ist der Erfolg des *Dictionnaire Suisse-romand* (Thibault/Knecht 1997). – Der Untergang der Mundarten hat nicht zu einer sprachlich klassenlosen Gesellschaft geführt; die hohen Normerwartungen innerhalb der ‚gleichen‘ Sprache lassen soziale Unterschiede eher deutlicher zutage treten (Singy 1996, 190ff; Babylonia 3/1999; Knecht in Schläpfer/Bickel 2000, 186ff).

### 5.3. Zweisprachigkeit in der Rätoromania

Wichtigstes Kontaktphänomen innerhalb der rom. Sprachgemeinschaft ist ihr kollektiver rom.-dt. Bilingualismus, der zur Diglossie im Rom. wie im Dt. führt (Weinreich 1953; Cathomas 1977; Kristol 1984). Traditionell wurde Zweisprachigkeit als Gefahr für die ‚Reinheit‘ der Sprache und als Zwischenstufe zur Verdeutschung empfunden. Diese negative Sicht muss durch eine Sprachpolitik ersetzt werden, welche Zweisprachigkeit als funktional sinnvoll und kulturell positiv erscheinen lässt: Das Überleben des Rom. hängt von der gesunden Wirtschaft seiner Gebiete, damit von der Zweisprachigkeit seiner Sprecher ab (Dörig/Reichenau 1982; Lüdi/Py 1984, 17ff). – Die Einführung des Einheitsstandards RG in der Schule wird zu einer ausgeprägteren Diglossie innerhalb des Rom. führen (Gloor et al. 1996, 117).

### 5.4. Mundartausgleich, Ausgleichsmundarten, mundartliche Soziolekte

Eine literarische Koiné der Waadtländer Mundarten um 1900 blieb ohne Auswirkungen auf das Sprachleben (Knecht in Schläpfer/Bickel 2000, 159f). – In der it. Schweiz verbreitete sich Ende des 19. Jhs. für den überlokalen Verkehr eine lombardische Koiné (Petrini 1988; M. Moretti 1988), die im 20. Jh. viele Funktionen des Dialekts übernahm und nun mit diesem verschwindet. – In der dt. Schweiz besteht keine vergleichbare Ausgleichsmundart. Die nationalsymbolische Funktion (s. 5.1.) der Dialekte beruht auf der Fähigkeit der Sprecher, „eine bestimmte Spannweite von Dialekten“ als ‚zugehörig‘ zu kategorisieren (Werlen 1986, 282). Zwar lässt sich eine Annäherung der Mundarten feststellen, v.a. durch Verlust kleinregionalen Wortschatzes und gemeinsame Entlehnungen aus dem Standard; die Dialekte bleiben trotzdem regional lokalisierbar (Christen 1998; vgl. noch Ris 1979, 50 ff; Schnidrig 1986). Obwohl in kleinen Gruppen eine deutliche Tendenz zu sprachlicher Homogenität besteht (Berthele 2000),

könnte für Städte eine hohe idiolektale Varianz charakteristisch sein (Hofer 1997). Unerwartet ist Siebenhaars (2000, 235ff) Resultat, wonach die Anpassung an einen Dialekt keine positive Einstellung zu diesem voraussetzt. Die Studien zum Dialektwandel enthüllen mit steigender methodischer Raffinesse die Unzulänglichkeit einfacher Erklärungen. – Im rom. Sprachgebiet gehören Misch-Erscheinungen zwischen Rom. und Dt. zum Alltag. Übernahmen aus dem Dt. betreffen sämtliche Sprachebenen in einem Ausmaß, das mit der Durchlässigkeit der dt. Dialekte für standarddt. Phänomene vergleichbar ist und ein Argument für Diglossie zwischen unverwandten Varietäten abgeben könnte; von „*Kreolisierung*“ zu sprechen ist weniger empfehlenswert (Solèr 1998). – Sonderwortschätze gewisser Gruppen (Fahrende, Schüler, Soldaten u.a.) und Erscheinungen, die man als Slang bezeichnen kann (Blass 1990), machten zuerst auf soziale Differenzierungen innerhalb der Mundarten aufmerksam. Spät entdeckt wurde dagegen die soziale Schichtung des ‚gewöhnlichen‘ Dialekts. Klassisch ist Baumgartner (1940), Einzelbeispiele behandeln nach neueren Methoden Christen (1988) für das Swzdt., Bianconi (1980, 39 ff) für die it. Mundarten. Erstaunlich ist Hofers Befund, dass sich die Variation in seinem Stadtbasler Korpus einzig mit dem Parameter Alter korrelieren lasse (1997, 272). – Endlich ist auf die Unterschiede in der Beurteilung verschiedener Mundarten hinzuweisen; neuere empirische Daten für das dt. Gebiet haben Werlen (1985) und Hengartner (1993) vorgelegt.

## 6. Kontaktphänomene zwischen Landes- und andern Sprachen

### 6.1. Allgemeines

„La Suisse est un pays plurilingue peuplé de citoyens monolingues“ (Lietti 1994, 16; vgl. Kolde 1981, 60ff; Lüdi/Werlen 1997, 546ff, wo auch das Stereotyp des polyglotteren Dt.-Schweizers nicht bestätigt wird). Das Territorialprinzip (3.3.) sichert das Recht und die Pflicht der Bürger auf Einsprachigkeit, nur wenige Agenturen dienen dem Austausch zwischen den Sprachregionen. Im Rahmen der Staatsmedien verfügt jede Amtssprache über drei Radio- und zwei Fernsehprogramme, das Rom. über tägliche Radio- und wöchentliche TV-Sendezeiten (Mittelverteilung 43% dt., 33% frz., 23%

it., 1% rom.; SSR 1995, 55). Die dezentralisierten Programme können in der ganzen Schweiz empfangen werden, doch ist die Nutzung der anderssprachigen Medien sehr schwach (SSR 1995, 43). – Das Verhältnis zwischen den drei ‚lateinischen‘ Gruppen ist lose. Das Interesse der Tessiner für die Romandie ist nicht reziprok (Lurati in Schläpfer/Bickel 2000, 183), die Beziehung zwischen rom. und it. Bündnern eher von Abgrenzung geprägt, jene zwischen rom. und frz. Schweizern leiden unter der Entfernung. – Im folgenden gehe ich auf sprachliche Lehnbeziehungen zwischen den Landessprachen nicht ein (vgl. dazu Tappolet 1913/16; Steiner 1921; Schilling 1970).

### 6.2. Einstellungen und Normdifferenzen

Die Sprachgruppen unterhalten ausgeprägte Stereotype über sich selbst und die anderssprachigen Miteidgenossen (Schneider/Weil 1996). Welsche beurteilen die Dt.-Schweizer eher negativ, Dt.-Schweizer die Welschen eher positiv – ohne böse Folgen, weil die Dt.-Schweizer sich selber ähnlich sehen, wie sie von den Welschen beurteilt werden, und eine schlechtere Einschätzung erwarten (Kolde 1981, 335ff; McRae 1983, 94ff; Bickel/Schläpfer 1994; Werlen 2000, 275). Die geteilten Auto- und Heterostereotypen tragen zur schnellen Assimilierung der Dt.-Schweizer in der Romandie bei. – Von Stereotypen über Sprachgruppen lassen sich analytisch Stereotype über die Sprachen selbst unterscheiden (Kolde 1980, 1981; Schläpfer/Gutzwiller/Schmid 1991; Werlen 2000). Charakteristisch ist die negative Bewertung des Schweizerdt. durch Frankophone, die aber auch zu einer wenig positiven Einschätzung ihrer eigenen Sprachperformanz tendieren (vgl. Singy 1996; Werlen 2000, 268f). Die rigide monozentrische Norm des Frz. (4.2.1.) prägt die Attitüden der Sprecher gegenüber dem eigenen Standard, den Fremdsprachen und allem Dialektalen. Es bleibt abzuwarten, wie sich die Liberalisierung der frz. Normvorstellungen (5.2.) in all diesen Bereichen auswirken wird. – Die geringeren Schwierigkeiten der It.-sprachigen mit der Dt.-Schweizer Situation sind auf das größere ‚Machtgefälle‘, aber auch auf die vergleichbarere Sprachsituation (5.1.) zurückzuführen.

### 6.3. Gemischtsprachige Gebiete

In den dt./frz. gemischtsprachigen Gebieten setzt sich die ‚Gleichberechtigung‘ der Spra-

chen durch (3.2.), erkaufte mit zunehmender Abschottung der Gemeinschaften (vgl. Kolde 1981, 141). – Obwohl als Ideal gern beschworen, werden Mehrsprachigkeit und Bikulturalismus als eigene Werte kaum akzeptiert und gefördert (Lüdi/Py 1984; Brohy 1992; Moretti/Antonini 2000), von den Erfahrungen der rom. Sprachgemeinschaft wird nicht profitiert.

#### 6.4. Migration

Die Volkszählungen 1990 und 2000 ergaben für alle drei großen Sprachgebiete einen Rückgang des Anteils anderssprachiger Schweizer (Lüdi/Werlen 1997, 289ff; 327ff; 384ff; 446; Lüdi/Werlen 2005, 23). Besonders geschrumpft ist der Anteil der Dt.-Sprachigen in der Romandie, am stärksten ausgerechnet in der Kapitale des zweisprachigen Kantons Freiburg (Lüdi/Werlen 1997, 294). Nur in den Gemeinden mit rom. Bevölkerungsmehrheit steigt der Anteil der Dt.-Sprachigen ständig. – Die Vermeidung des Muttersprache-Begriffs in der Erhebung (1.2.) könnte manche Mitglieder der zweiten Generation von Loyalitätsverpflichtungen befreit und zur Angabe der lokalen als der am besten beherrschten Sprache veranlasst haben. Die Zahlen deuten aber v. a. auf eine verminderte Migration zwischen den Regionen. – Die Kinder der Einwanderer sind normalerweise auch sprachlich assimiliert. Assimilationskraft (resp. -druck) sind im frz. Sprachgebiet am stärksten; die Lokalsprache herrscht hier im Berufsleben am ausschließlichen und tritt am häufigsten auch in der Familie Anderssprachiger auf. Umgekehrt verhält es sich in der dt. Schweiz, wo die Familie einsprachiger ist, während sich das Berufsleben polyglott gestaltet. Die Diglossie der dt. Schweiz stellt für die Integration Probleme, u. a. die ungewohnte Situation, dass Kenntnisse des oft abgelehnten Dialekts fast nur ungesteuert erwerbbar sind (Lüdi/Py 1994, 140; Cichon 1998, 149). Das it. Sprachgebiet verhält sich in Familie wie Berufsleben mehrsprachig; die *italianità* des Tessin ist nicht gefährdet, obwohl nur 82,8% der Wohnbevölkerung it. Muttersprache sind und 17,6% der Schweizer it. Muttersprache nicht im it. Sprachgebiet wohnen (Zahlen von 1990). Die Emigration ist bedingt durch ein ungenügendes Stellenangebot in bestimmten Sektoren. Für die Bündner Täler it. Sprache ist die Abwanderung zum größten Problem überhaupt geworden (Dörig/Reichenau 1982, 58 ff; Bian-

coni 1998, 18; Lurati in Schläpfer/Bickel 2000, 179). – Im rom. Sprachgebiet ist nicht die Abwanderung an sich, sondern die Abwanderung der Rom.-Sprechenden das Hauptproblem: Rund 50% aller Rätoromanen wohnen nicht im statistisch rom. Sprachgebiet, während die Tourismus-Regionen einen Zustrom dt.sprachiger Einwanderer erleben; im Oberengadin z. B. ist der Anteil der Romanen 1990 auf 17,9% zurückgegangen. Mehrheit der Dt.-Sprachigen bedeutet dt. Schulen (s. 3.3.), Ende der Assimilation und langfristig Verdeutschung der Einheimischen. Die Ausnahmesituation des Rom. zeigt sich auch darin, dass die Hälfte aller verheirateten Personen rom. Muttersprache einen anderssprachigen Partner haben (vgl. noch Furer 2005).

#### 6.5. Immigration

Der ausländische Bevölkerungsanteil erreichte 2000 mit 19,7% seinen bisher höchsten Stand, dies führte auch zum höchsten Anteil Nicht-Landessprachiger (9%). Südslawisch, Albanisch, Portugiesisch, Spanisch und Englisch sind die sprecherstärksten Nicht-Landessprachen. 1950 waren 50% der Ausländer it. Muttersprache, 2000 nur noch 14,8%. Dennoch spielt das It. noch immer eine Rolle als *lingua franca*, ja sogar als *we-code* unter den Fremdarbeitern (de Jong 1986; Berruto 1991; Schmid 1994; Frischerherz 1997, 206; Lurati in Schläpfer/Bickel 2000, 182). Ökonomisch, sprachlich wie 'emotional' in einer besonderen Situation befinden sich die Deutschen in der Schweiz (Koller 1992). – Von den Ausländern wird sprachliche Assimilation erwartet, aber wenig speziell gefördert (s. 3.5.; Gretler 1989; Lüdi/Py 1984; 1994; Poggia et al. 1995; Schneider/Holenweger 1996). Unterricht für Immigrantenkinder in der Herkunftssprache steckt in den Anfängen (Gretler u. a. 1982; Allemann-Ghionda 1993; EDK 1998; Allemann-Ghionda et al. 1999). Die überproportionale Vertretung der Immigrantenkinder in Schultypen mit Grundansprüchen wird seit Jahren hingenommen; die Wurzeln des Problems liegen nach Müller (1997) v. a. in der monokulturellen Ausrichtung der Schule (3.5.). – In der dt. Schweiz erwerben Gastarbeiter ungenlenkt eine Form des Swzdt.; de Jong (1986) beschreibt das ‚Fremdarbeiterdt.‘ der Griechen, Zanollo-Müller (1998) die Varietäten der Italiener, die einen gewissen Identifikationswert besitzen. In gemischten frz.-dt. Gebieten schließen sich die

Gastarbeiter der frz. Gruppe an (Kolde 1981, 146 ff; Werlen 2000, 210). – Die schwierige Situation der Asylbewerber wird in der dt. Schweiz durch die Diglossie verschärft (Frischherz 1997, 203ff).

#### 6.6. Konflikte

Die schweizerische Sprachsituation gilt als konfliktarm. Geschichte und föderalistischer Staatsaufbau haben dazu geführt, dass konfessionelle, politische, wirtschaftliche und sprachliche Grenzen sich vielfältig überschneiden, statt sich zu verstärken (Weilenmann 1925; Pichard 1978, 84ff; McRae 1983, 229ff; Weibel 1988; Büchi 2000). – Dennoch bestehen zwischen den Sprachgemeinschaften überdauernde Kultur- und Verhaltensunterschiede (Nef 1980; Kriesi et al. 1996), die an den sprachlich definierten „Ethnien“ festgemacht werden können und ein erhebliches Konfliktpotential bilden (Altermatt 1997). Die Differenzierung nach dem Sprachkriterium nimmt durch den Bedeutungsverlust der Konfessionen zu (Knüsel 1994). – Untersucht werden die Gegensätze v.a. anhand der Ergebnisse der eidgenössischen Volksabstimmungen. Nef (1980) stellte z.B. fest, dass die lateinische Schweiz hohe Präferenz zeigt für sozialstaatliche Verteilungsmaßnahmen und föderalistische Kultur, aber geringe Präferenz für Privilegierung der Schweizer auf Kosten der Ausländer. In der Tat hat sich seither bestätigt, dass entsprechende Anliegen in der Romandie regelmäßig eine größere Anhängerschaft finden, ohne dass dies automatisch zu einer Minorisierung der Romandie führen muss. – Dies war jedoch in aufsehenerregendem Maße der Fall bei der Abstimmung vom 6. 12. 1992 über den Beitritt der Schweiz zum Europ. Wirtschaftsraum; bei hoher Beteiligung überstimmte die dt. Schweiz zusammen mit dem Tessin die mit über 73% zustimmende Romandie, was von den Medien als Zeichen des drohenden Auseinanderbrechens der Schweiz interpretiert wurde. Eine wissenschaftliche Untersuchung der Spaltungen (Kriesi et al. 1996) fiel differenzierter, aber nicht völlig beruhigend aus. Zwar hat sich das Abstimmungsverhalten der Gesamtnation seit 1900 homogenisiert, der ‚Graben‘ zwischen den Sprachregionen damit objektiv verschmälert. Da gleichzeitig die Abstimmungszahl dramatisch stieg, nehmen dennoch absolut gesehen die Minorisierungen der Romandie zu. Ferner haben sich die Landesteile im Innern ebenfalls homoge-

nisiert, während sich die Präferenz-Unterschiede halten; dadurch spielt der Sprachenfaktor bei den Abstimmungen eine immer prominentere Rolle (Knüsel 1994; Kriesi et al. 1996, 76f). – Die Effekte polarisierender Volksentscheide werden durch die polarisierende Berichterstattung der Medien multipliziert, die ihrerseits infolge der Pressekonzentration im Innern der Landesteile immer einheitlicher werden. Als Folge dieser Entwicklungen beginnen die lateinischen Bevölkerungen, sich ausgeprägter als Minderheiten zu verhalten und ein abweichendes Staatsverständnis zu entwickeln (Knüsel 1994, 341). Auch die wachsende Bedeutung der Sprachgesetzgebung (3.2.) und die verminderte Migration (6.4.) reflektieren die Tendenz zur ‚Segregation‘ (Cichon 1998, 364ff). – Unter diesen Umständen wird es eine dringende politische Aufgabe, alle Maßnahmen zu verstärken, die zu einer besseren Kenntnis der andern Landesteile beitragen (Cichon 1998, 366). Dazu gehört besonders auch der Unterricht in den Landessprachen, selbst wenn die Diskussionen darüber aufgrund der unterschiedlichen ‚sprachkulturellen Gedächtnisse‘ (Nef 1980, 173ff) heikel sind (vgl. 3.5.; 4.2.3.). – Die Homogenisierung im Innern der Sprachgebiete könnte auch scheinbar beigelegte Konflikte wieder aufleben lassen. So entsprach die Gründung des frankophonen Kantons Jura (1979) der Tradition der Konfliktlösung durch Föderalisierung; die neue Grenzziehung basierte auf konfessionellen Gegensätzen und vermied nach altem Schema die Bündelung sprachlicher mit politischen Grenzen. Nun aber könnte die verschärfte Minderheitenstellung der bei Bern verbliebenen Frankophonen zum Problem werden. – Die Lösung sprachlicher Konflikte mit Hilfe traditioneller Rezepte wird auch für die Schweiz schwieriger. Noch weniger lässt sich die Schweizer Lösung anderen Staaten als Modell empfehlen (vgl. Cumberg 1997, Ziff. 49, 50).

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## 173. France / Frankreich

1. General remarks
2. Diversity and variation
3. Attitudes towards the French language
4. Emergence of new language forms
5. Literature (selected)

### 1. General remarks

The general feeling among France's 60 million-strong population is that the official language, French, is the only language spoken in the country and that it is spoken in exactly the same way by everybody. In reality, though, things are not quite so simple. Nevertheless, this idea of a homogeneity persists on social and cultural grounds, and the language is seen as an important identity factor. French, like any other language, has changed over the last century and continues to do so: it comes in many different forms, may vary from one speaker to the next, and contacts between French and other languages (i. e. either the regional languages of France or those which are present as a result of immigration) are widespread. In summing up the present situation in France, it could be asked, then, what changes have been brought about by recent historical and social transformations, and what is different in relation to other western countries. Standardization has played a crucial part in building up the present-day image of the French language, allowing a false sense of uniformity to develop in relation to a particular conception of the norm and the values of a written language culture. The *bon usage* is preached via the norm whilst other varieties are often dismissed as 'faulty' or 'vulgar', and their speakers looked down upon (Gueunier et al. 1978). The norm is reinforced in the schools (Dannequin 1977), where considerable efforts have been put in ever since the introduction of free education

for all at the beginning of the 1880s. The French school system traditionally concentrates on spelling and writing, literature and *la belle langue*. Nevertheless, attitudes are changing: speakers have become less spontaneously normative in ordinary everyday speech, have accepted more readily the fact that there is no single best way of speaking French in France (or elsewhere in the world), and have come to view the spoken language more positively.

### 2. Diversity and variation

Linguistic phenomena are not all susceptible to variation to the same extent, and those phenomena which do vary can be accounted for. In the case of French, these are pretty much the same across the whole of the French-speaking world (Gadet 1997). The most salient variable phenomena are found in the sounds of the language (Fonagy 1989; Léon 1992) and the ways in which these combine. Prosodic features in particular are greatly affected, and it is essentially these phonic qualities which enable speakers within a given community to tell an outsider – i. e. by his/her 'accent' – whether it be a question of regional or social difference. Lexis is also highly variable and, existing alongside standard lexical forms, we still see numerous regional terms in France. These are mainly found in connection with everyday objects and activities: thus the word for 'mop' (*serpillière* in standard French) is *wassingue* in the north of France, *panosse* in the east, *toile* in the centre, and so on. We also find certain preferred usages in different social contexts (slang or 'argot' peculiar to certain areas of the population, familiar terms such as *fric* or *bouquin* instead of the standard *argent* and *livre*, and the 'verlan' of the younger generations). Verlan is a type of back slang.

The name *verlan* (/vɛrlɑ̃/) itself is formed from the French word (*l'*)*envers* (/lɑ̃vɛr/) meaning backwards (i. e. in *parler à l'envers* or “to talk backwards”). Morphology and syntax, however, prove to be more resistant, and those areas which do show variation mainly do so along the lines of the spoken-written divide: for example, certain syntactical patterns such as in *moi, son bouquin, je l'ai pas lu* (literally [me, his book, I haven't read it]) correspond for the most part to oral productions; the Passé Simple is virtually only to be found in writing; and questions are not formulated in the same way, as can be seen with the question “what does he want?” which gives *il veut quoi?* (spoken), *qu'est-ce qu'il veut?* (neutral) and *que veut-il?* (written). The existence of these different phenomena makes for a large scope of variability, and the way in which the language develops over time depends on the ever-changing balance between many influential factors; from spoken language in an everyday use in intimate circles to the language of more highbrow spheres, in writing or in certain institutions with the most conservative uses. Regional diversity along with important north-south differences constitute a major linguistic feature of France. Despite a steady decline in regional variation, in particular since the beginning of the twentieth century, certain regionalisms are nonetheless still very much present today. At the moment of the outbreak of the First World war, it can be estimated that barely a quarter of the population of France spoke French as its first language. The spread of French, helped all the while by an education system hostile to the use of regional languages, has, then, been a relatively rapid process. France's regional languages (Flemish, Alsatian, Occitan, Corsican, Catalan, Basque and Breton), which are still often referred to pejoratively as ‘patois’, no longer boast any monolingual speakers. However, at a time when the country is on the verge of officially recognising its regional languages – i. e. with the debate surrounding the ratification of the European Charter on regional languages – two opposing tendencies appear to exist: on the one hand they seem destined to become extinct in the face of growing national and international relations which massively favour standard French; on the other hand, constant demands for the acceptance of regional identity help to see that interest in the regional languages is maintained and

renewed. The speakers of these languages are all bilingual (i. e. French + regional language) to varying degrees (active/passive, spoken/written). It is, though, relatively difficult to get an accurate picture of the actual situation given the lack of real interest shown by public bodies such as those organisations appointed to cater for the regional languages (but see Cavbet 2002). The only regional languages which remain widely used as vernacular languages are the creoles spoken in the overseas *départements* (the French Antilles, Guyana, Reunion Island). Regionalisms in the French spoken in France, which are generally associated with older males, lack of education and rural areas, are in decline due to speakers' increased mobility and the effects of prolonged schooling. Phonology and lexis account for the majority of regional features, and these alone would enable a native French person to distinguish, say, between the speech of a Parisian and someone from Marseilles. Morphology and syntax account for but a few regionalisms, and these generally have a tendency to become stereotyped. Variation in language can also be linked to the social attributes of speakers: within a given region we find that speech will differ according to social class, level of education, profession, type of habitat (rural or urban) as well as according to demographic features. The degree of integration into social networks is also an important factor: a closeknit network, favouring socialisation at a local level only, restricts language change. Language can also be an important class indicator. However, the fact that a given feature may be open to variation does not necessarily mean that it will be subject to sociolinguistic judgements. Thus *ne* deletion in French (e. g. *je pense pas* [I don't think so]) vs *je ne pense pas*) has become a general feature of all ordinary spoken French. The *ne* is, though, maintained in written French. The ‘popular’ language of the working classes in France is traditionally referred to as *le français populaire* (Gader 2003). However, a decline in this *français populaire* has been brought about by the effects of mass schooling and the development of TV and radio, which favour the use of the standard language. As for ‘argot’, this concerns lexis only, although it also implies the use of certain ‘popular’ phonic and grammatical features (Guiraud 1956). At the opposite end of the spectrum, features gen-

erally considered to be archaic are no longer found other than in the speech of certain educated people where they function as marks of distinction: such is the case, for example, for the use of the Imperfect Subjunctive or the forming *Il* could be asked, even, whether, given the formal and discursive differences, the meanings vehicled are the same in the different social codes of interrogatives by subject-verb inversion (e.g. *Pierre est-il venu?* (literally [Pierre has/did he come?]). As for demographic factors such as age and sex, these generally account for differences in attitudes or opinions and practices (e.g. women finding it less easy to speak out in public than men, or younger speakers adopting a provocative spoken register); age often works hand in hand with social factors, as can be seen, for example, in the so-called 'youth language' or *langue des jeunes*.

Whilst there is a steady decline in the differences between regional and social 'accents', the main area of diversification in French is at present situational speech style (Sanders 1993): all normal speakers exhibit stylistic variation in speech according to situational factors, the topic, interlocutors (their number, the degree of intimacy between them and the speaker, hierarchical influence, and the eventual presence of overhearers), the nature and degree of personal engagement in the exchange (formal/informal, public/private, planned/off the cuff, personal/private objectives), and whether it is spoken or written. The characteristics of that which we call 'formal' speech may also be associated with writing. Less formal usages, though, bear little or no resemblance to written forms. The more social roles a given speaker embraces, the larger his/her verbal repertoire will be. This verbal repertoire will also diversify according to the degree of technicality, i.e. the handling of technical terms, recourse to abbreviations, acronyms or shortened forms which require the speaker to be 'in the know' or to have access to specialised terminology (e.g. '*PAC*' for *politique agricole commune* or '*alpha*' for *alphabétisation*). The linking of a given language practice to a given situation is, though, never an automatic process: speakers are not passively subject to the external influences of the situation, and there is always a possibility for them to take the initiative. Thus speakers can actually modify certain elements within the situation: they

can orient their speech towards the 'familiar' by choosing certain forms, thereby rendering the situation more familiar (on condition, of course, that the interlocutor accepts to go along with the speaker). Forms of politeness have been simplified over the last century: the use of *tu* is now pretty much standard in the workplace in many professions, and among younger generations, and forms of address which were formerly asymmetric between speakers of a different social standing are nowadays levelled to *monsieur/madame* ↔ *monsieur/madame* whatever their status. However, a vast majority of politeness markers such as *vous*, or formulations with the Imperfect (e.g. *je 'voulais' vous demander* [I wanted to ask you]) or Conditional (e.g. '*pourrais-je parler à M. X?*' [could I talk to Mr. X?]), are still used, even by younger generations. Stylistic diversification in French is also found within the spoken-written distinction. Indeed the difference between the spoken and written French is so marked that certain commentators choose speak of diglossia. Relations between spoken and written language have fluctuated considerably throughout the twentieth century in France (Gadet 1998); being marked by the 'literacy era', which saw, for the first time around 1900, the majority of French citizens able to read and write owing to compulsory schooling, followed by a period during which spoken language came to the fore with the development of sound transmission technology (telephone, radio, cinema, television, sound recording), and now the more recent return to writing in many different forms with the arrival of new technologies such as Internet (see Anis 1999). These new technologies, coupled with new working methods, have succeeded in blurring the spoken/written distinction, thereby helping to overturn the previously unquestioned domination of the written language.

### 3. Attitudes towards the French language

The French often view their language as a kind of living heritage which must be defended against all existing 'threats', whether they be internal (carelessness in speech or vulgarisms) or external (the invasion of foreign words). And certain metaphors which date back to the sixteenth century are still used today, namely those of

disease, contamination, morality, war, protection and policing. Purist attitudes frequently surface in language issues, with recurrent debates on spellings and spelling reform, falling standards in the schools, or the weakening position of French as a world language. The notion of 'language crisis', a longstanding complaint concerning the plight of the French language, first came to light in the field of education at the beginning of the twentieth century, a moment marked by the separation of the teaching of French from that of Latin and the breaking with a tradition which had dominated language teaching for years. The implication of this phenomenon is twofold, concerning both the 'crisis' of the transmission of the language as well as of the actual language itself (see *Études de linguistique appliquée* 2000). Those who prefer to go along with the language crisis idea put the blame mainly on youngsters, whose speech is apparently going downhill and who are no longer able to write properly (cf. the 'slipping standards' complaints tradition). Difficulties in transmitting the language, accentuated in French by the disparity between the spoken and written codes, and by the fixing of a norm which evolves at a slowed rate, are backed up by the loss of prestige by learning institutions and the fact that 'good' spoken French no longer guarantees upward social mobility. The somewhat bleak outlook suggested by the language crisis can be put into perspective, though, when we consider that it has been a constant source of concern ever since the beginning of the twentieth century (Gueunier 1985). Concern for the 'decay' of the French language (stance often adopted by the media) constitutes a typical line of approach for grammarians, teachers, journalists or amateur linguists. Changes, then, are only seen as being for the worse when compared with an earlier, idealised period, and in association with the decline in France's international status (Söll 1969).

As for the frequently recurring theme of foreign threats to French, the current concerns lie in the influx of English terms, a phenomenon which has been denounced in numerous writings. Whilst it is true that English borrowings are widespread, above all in technical expressions and in the speech of certain groups of young people, they may convey, all the same, a note of snobbery, in particular in cutting-edge technology. We

should also note that borrowing is an ongoing process and that it affects the spoken language far more than it does writing. Finally, it is concerned with lexis only and is not accompanied by any major phonological or grammatical changes. France boasts a large number of organizations to do with language protection or *défense de la langue*, the oldest of which is the *Académie Française* with its rather conservative views. State interventions on language matters, a constant issue in the history of French, have been particularly frequent throughout the twentieth century, concerning language forms as well as functions (i. e. decrees on spelling, the use of anglicisms, the status of the country's regional languages as well as the teaching thereof, and the use of feminised forms of masculine nouns denoting titles and professions). Since the 1960s France has been highly active within *la Francophonie* or French-speaking world. The country's overwhelming position in terms of numbers of speakers (the second largest Francophone community in the world is Quebec with approximately ten times fewer speakers) means, however, that the French often tend to behave as though they had exclusive rights to their language, and little thought is spared for their Belgian, Swiss, Canadian or African counterparts.

#### 4. Emergence of new language forms

Certain social transformations undergone by modern-day France, as a result of phenomena such as increased urbanisation and immigration, or even the rise in unemployment in young people, have had repercussions on the language, and questions can be asked as to their part in language change: has France witnessed an acceleration of the processes of language change or is it rather that these processes have changed in nature? Whilst the current youth language of suburban France does indeed resemble the 'traditional' popular French in certain respects, at the same time it also shows distinct innovations (Séguin/Teillard 1996).

Generally speaking, segmental phonology, morphology and syntax are not greatly affected, save in a handful of cases, such as, in the case of syntax, the forming of indirect interrogatives which follow the same pattern as direct interrogatives (e. g. *j'aimerais savoir c'est quoi?* (literally [I'd like to know it's what?])). However, modifications are par-

ticularly noticeable in prosody (intonation, accentuation and rhythm), and the prosodic characteristics of the speech of suburban youngsters are quite different from those of the *français populaire* of the 1950s (Gader 2003). The most spectacular changes, though, given the possibility for incomprehension, concern lexis, with the use of verlan, neologisms, argot, borrowings from English (*cool*, *au black*), or African languages (*toubab* from Arabic which gives the verlanised form *babtou* to designate a native-born French person), terms linked to the adolescent street culture (*haine*, *respect*, *racaille* and the verlanised form *caillera*), or certain formulations such as *on s'emmerde grave* (something like [we're real bored]) and truncation (e.g. *comme d'hab* for *comme d'habitude* [as usual]). The basic principles behind these types of formation, though, are not new: borrowings and loan-words have always existed, and the use of verlan is attested in the early 1800s. However, the verlanising of words brings about an increase in the number of syllables with the sounds /ø/ and /œ/ (e.g. in *meuf*, *relou* and *rebeu* for *femme*, *lourd* and *arabe*), thereby modifying the phonic aspects of the language. This, coupled with certain prosodic peculiarities, can give the impression of radical change. This apparent novelty is not, however, backed up by any major grammatical changes, with the odd exception such as *ouam* for *moi*, and *tu me fais ièche* for *tu me fais chier* [you're a pain in the arse], where the infinitive is not marked morphologically (/ʃɛʃ/ (*ièche*) instead of /ʃjɛ/ (*chier*)). These linguistic features are accompanied by the speakers' tendency to isolate themselves in small circles or peer groups, relying on networks with close, binding links (Bourdieu 1983), making do with a limited number of exchanges with the outside world and relying on go-betweens for contact with other social groups. However, it is not at all easy to predict how the situation will develop over time: how will these youngsters speak once they are forced to leave their network? How will they speak when they are fully socially integrated, are parents and have a profession? Are there differences in this respect between boys and girls? These are the questions which, as yet, have no convincing answers. Moreover, large-scale research surveys are also lacking. Still, it would be misleading to conclude that children from disadvantaged backgrounds have reduced

means of expression. Though their repertoire may not be as large as that of a speaker with a greater range of social roles, and who is more open to contact with outsiders, they are all the same capable of adapting their speech according to different interlocutors and situations. The major changes are, then, not to be found in grammar, but rather in the new types of urban interactions, i.e. street sociability and new oral culture marked by a strong sense for wordplay and reinforced by the importance attributed to certain types of music (from the English-speaking world, African or rap). This popular sociability of the younger generations gives birth to practices such as verbal duelling, swearing, taunting, ritual insult, and exaggeration. Some of these practices may be interpreted as uncivil or offensive, even, by speakers from outside the group (Lepoutre 1997). The vast increase in France's urban population over the last century has resulted in the convergence of different peoples and languages. This has given birth to new language practices, i.e. the promotion of vehicular language types, accommodation practices from speaker to speaker, language mixing and code-switching, and the emergence of group identity codes. Immigration, more pronounced in France since the middle of the twentieth century with the arrival of immigrant workers' families, often produces mixing among families and, in language terms, code-switching (Deprez 1994). This phenomenon, which arises from the partial or incomplete command of the language on the part of the first generation, may in turn serve as an identity marker for second generation speakers. The multiethnic suburban communities also become melting pots for different linguistic and cultural identities, which differ according to their geographical location (e.g. north vs. south side of a town; Paris vs. Marseilles) and the different race groups concerned. The written language also takes on an urban particularity in the form of graffiti or multilingual message writing in public places (Lucci 1998; Calvet 1994). Also concerning written French, the nature of certain new technologies is such that writing practices may be transformed, with the loss of punctuation, accents and certain capital/lower case distinctions, coupled with the use of shortened, phonetic forms ('*Cbo*' for *c'est beau* or '*A+*' for *à plus tard*). The intricate weaving of different factors tending towards either unifi-

cation or diversification makes it difficult to foretell the actual sense of evolution of the French language in France, even in the short term. Nonetheless, those commentators who are convinced of the language's rapid degradation show a conservative attitude towards language change. Although the current situation is characterised by radical changes in ordinary discourse practices, there are no real major upheavals within the actual language itself: whilst there has been a reduction in regional and social variation in French, there has been a growth in the importance of stylistic variation, accompanied by a widely shared desire to break away from the constraints of the norm and to allow creativity and local identity to flourish unhindered, and better acceptance of external influences.

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## 174. Italien/Italy

1. Sprache und Staat. Sprachpolitik
2. Die These von der Neuordnung des Varietätengefüges der italienischen Gegenwartssprache
3. Geographische Begrenzungen
4. Die soziale Sprachstratifikation
5. Der augenblickliche Führungsanspruch der diaphasischen Funktionen in der Beschreibung des Gegenwartsitalienischen
6. Das Aufkommen neuer Varietäten
7. Gesamtbewertung
8. Literatur (in Auswahl)

### 1. Sprache und Staat. Sprachpolitik

Das Italienische ist die Staatssprache von (im Jahre 1999) 57 679 955 Einwohnern (Quelle: <http://www.istat.it>). In Italien leben etwa zweieinhalb Millionen anderssprachige italienische Staatsbürger, ferner etwa 1,4 Millionen Immigranten aus Nicht-EU-Ländern (sog. *extra-comunitari*). Gemäß Art. 6 der Verfassung genießen Minderheitensprachen (Albanisch, Katalanisch, Sardisch,

Kroatisch, Frankoprovenzalisch, Friaulisch, Deutsch, Ladinisch, Okzitanisch, Slovenisch sowie die Varietäten der Sinti und Roma) einen besonderen Schutz. Faktisch betrifft diese Regelung die Autonomiezuweisung für Regionen *a statuto speciale* (das Sizilianische als Dialekt weist allerdings keinen Minderheitensprachstatus auf). Die Umsetzung bestimmter Regelungen zum Bestand der jeweiligen Minderheitensprachen betreffen eigentlich nur Friaul, Julisch-Venetien, das Aostatal und Südtirol. Im Kern wird die Frage des Minderheitenstatus von Sprachen genauso wenig intensiv politisch umgesetzt wie die Probleme der Dialekte (De Mauro 1979). Die politisch umgesetzte Gleichberechtigung von Italienisch und Französisch im Aostatal, Italienisch und Deutsch in Südtirol, Italienisch und Slovenisch in Triest und Görz greift unterschiedlich. Im Rahmen des Minderheitenstatutenprogramms für Sprachen in der Europäischen Union tritt auch in Italien eine neue positiv konnotierte Einstellung zum Gebrauch dieser Varietäten in Erscheinung – mittelfristig lösen sich das Slovenische, Deutsche und Französische von der Gleichsetzung mit den Dialekten. Auch für das Sardische setzt sich noch etwas zögerlich ein solcher Emanzipationsprozess in Gang. Insgesamt gesehen ist festzuhalten, dass gegenüber dem noch in De Mauro 1963 thematisierten Sachverhalt der politischen Nachlässigkeit im Umgang mit Minderheitensprachen eine größere Sensibilität in den betroffenen Bevölkerungsteilen selbst und eine deutlich stärkere Wahrnehmung zumindest in der Regionalpolitik zu beobachten ist. Auch neue Anzeichen der Revitalisierung im Gebrauch von akut bedrohten Minderheitensprachen sind zu beobachten (etwa das *grico* im Salento). Insgesamt kann die anklagende kritische soziolinguistische (Sobrero 1974) und journalistische (Salvi 1975) Beschreibung von Sprachminderheiten als überwunden angesehen werden, da nunmehr die *Legge Nazionale* n. 482/1999 zum Schutz von sprachlichen Minderheiten, im Jahre 2001 in Kraft getreten, die Umsetzungsnormen des Art. 6 der Verfassung regelt und eine neue Entwicklung des Minderheitenschutzes zeigt – etwa mit den Modifizierungen des *statuto speciale* für Südtirol-Trentino (*legge cost.* 2/2001), für die slovenische Minderheit in Friaul / Julisch-Venetien (*legge* 38/2001). Eine ausführliche Debatte um die rezenten Neuerungen präsentiert Orioles 2002.

Auch die Schule hat in den letzten 25 Jahren einen Umschwung in der Sprachpflege zu verzeichnen. Hatte das traditionelle Schulsystem ein gezieltes und z.T. künstliches Italienisch als Gegenpol zur Dialektverwendung verbreiten wollen, so ist mit der von De Mauro propagierten Neuorientierung der *educazione linguistica* seit Ende der 60er Jahre des letzten Jhs. dieses Spannungsfeld aufgelöst worden, um an Stelle der Polarität die Koexistenz von Hochsprache und Dialekt als gleichwertige, positiv konnotierte Varietäten zu propagieren. Damit ist auch die hybride Varietät des *italiano scolastico* (dt. Schulitalienisch) bis heute weitgehend abgebaut worden (Cortelazzo 1995). Nicht zuletzt dank des schulpolitisch stark engagierten *Gruppo Interdisciplinare per la Scuola e l'Educazione Linguistica (GISCEL)* hat sich eine Neubestimmung des Italienischen als Schulfach ohne repressive Maßnahmen für die Dialektophonie durchgesetzt. War bis 1970 der Dialekt in der Schule geächtet, so sieht die Schule zwischenzeitlich eine Aufgabe darin, die Dialekte als Vermächtnis der Vergangenheit zu dokumentieren und das Dialektbewusstsein zu fördern, auch wenn die aktive Dialektkompetenz unter Jugendlichen in einigen Regionen stark eingeschränkt ist. Die Schule fungiert mittlerweile als Ansprechpartner für die Bewahrung des Erinnerungsdialekts mit zahlreichen Enquêtes im Unterricht.

## 2. Die These von der Neuordnung des Varietätengefüges der italienischen Gegenwartssprache

Gemeinhin gilt das Italienische unter den romanischen Sprachen als besonders konservativ – d.h. mit der größten Nähe zum Lateinischen im Vergleich mit anderen romanischen Sprachen – und wird so rigoros kodifiziert im Zuge der sog. *questione della lingua*, dass eine starke Stabilität bzw. Stasis sprachhistorisch attestiert werden muss. Mit anderen Worten: Nach dem Entwicklungssprung vom Lateinischen zum Romanischen verharret das Italienische gewissermaßen ab 1200 in seinen Grundstrukturen und verhält sich im Gegensatz zu den anderen romanischen Sprachen eher statisch. Natürlich ist Sprachwandel zu verzeichnen, aber er kennt keine massiven Schübe mehr. Mit der Durchsetzung einer italienischen Standardsprache gegenüber dem Lateinischen

und den vielfältigen Dialekten geht eine jahrhundertelange relative Erstarrung der Normvarietät einher – bis das Lateinische und / oder die Dialekte keine entscheidende Rolle mehr spielen. Dieses Bewusstsein einer unumstrittenen Vorherrschaft der Standardsprache setzt im Schriftsprachlichen ab dem Cinquecento ein auf Kosten des Lateins und im Mündlichen im letzten Drittel des letzten Jhs. auf Kosten des Dialektgebrauchs. Für letztere Situation wird ein von den Sprechern selbst empfundener *akzelerierter Sprachwandel* geltend gemacht, der als zentrale These die folgenden Ausführungen begleitet. Sie äußert sich im Sprecherwissen als *Destandardisierung* und in der linguistischen Beschreibung als *Neuordnung der sprachlichen Varietätenarchitektur*, die Sobrero (1997) radikaler als Beschreibung des gegenwärtigen Sprachzustandes im Sinne von *varietà in tumulto* sieht. Weder gegenüber der kanonisierten soziolinguistischen Beschreibung des Italienischen im Spannungsfeld von Dialekt und Standard noch bei der Bilanzierung von Di Luzio (1988) konzentriert sich die Dokumentation auf die Schnelligkeit des Sprachwandels als herausragendes Beschreibungsmoment (Radtke 2001). Dabei stellt die Polarität von Dialekt und Standardsprache nur eine Dimension unter anderen wie das Aufkommen neuer diaphasischer Varietäten dar (z.B. Jugendsprache, Kommunikation in den Massenmedien wie Internet, SMS u. ä.).

### 3. Geographische Begrenzungen

Die italienische Sprache ist als (erste) Staatsprache in Italien, im Kanton Tessin der Schweiz, in San Marino und im Vatikanstaat verbreitet. Dort ist sie das am häufigsten verwendete Kommunikationsinstrument und genießt einen herausgehobenen sprachpolitischen Status. Im Umfeld des Mittelmeerraumes nimmt das Italienische eine beachtenswerte Position auf Malta und in Albanien ein. Das Korsische als *langue régionale* in Frankreich steht dem Toskanischen und somit dem Italienischen genetisch sehr nahe. Des weiteren sind das Italienische und vor allem seine Dialekte durch die Emigrationsphasen seit der zweiten Hälfte des 19. Jhs. nach Amerika (Kanada, USA, Mexiko, Venezuela, Chile, Brasilien, Uruguay, Argentinien) und Australien verbreitet worden und haben z.T. einen festen Status als Sprachinseln. Ferner ist zu berücksichtigen,

dass das Italienische als Fremdsprache weit über Europa hinaus im Sinne einer Kultursprache historisch ein sehr hohes Ansehen genießt und zu einer großen Nachfrage im Lernangebot als Fremdsprache führt.

Innerhalb Italiens zeichnet sich jedoch ein regional sehr differenzierter Gebrauch des Italienischen ab. Zwar wird nunmehr das Italienische überall verstanden und akzeptiert, aber in dialektophonen Gebieten sowohl auf dem Land als auch in städtischen Ballungsräumen ist im mündlichen Gebrauch das Italienische den Dialekten nachgeordnet. Die Soziolinguisten haben bislang noch keine empirisch abgesicherte Erklärung für diese Form der uneinheitlichen Binnendifferenzierung gefunden. Die dialektale Vitalität unterliegt im Raum deutlichen Schwankungen: So ist das Lombarische in Italien in einem starken Abbau begriffen, während im Tessin der genetisch identische Dialekttyp (Lurati 1988) selbst schichtenübergreifend auch in der städtischen Alltagskommunikation überwiegt (Moretti 1999). Selbst die z.T. plumpen und unter wissenschaftlichem Anstrich geförderten Publikationen der *Lega Nord* bedeuten keinen Revitalisierungseffekt für die Dialekte. Während die Tessiner Sprecher ihre Identität noch über eine kleinräumige Markierung manifestieren, ist für die Lombardei ein großräumiges Identitätsempfinden in Form eines standardnahen Regionalitalienisch (Banfi 1997) ausschlaggebend. Auch die Formen des *code switching* zwischen Dialekt und Hochsprache, die die Koexistenz der beiden Varietäten dokumentieren könnten, scheinen für die Lombardei nicht mehr repräsentativ zu sein, wenn man an das Gegenmodell etwa für Catania denkt (Alfonzetti 1992), wo der Dialekt in der Alltagskommunikation einen bestimmten Stellenwert bewahrt. Die kleinräumigen lombardischen Dialekte hinterlassen allenfalls noch Spuren eines Erinnerungsdialekts. Ein entgegengesetztes Bild zeichnet sich hingegen für das Beispiel der Toskana ab, in der sich gegenwärtig die dialektalen Züge der *gorgia toscana* und der Konsonantenschwächung nach Westen und Süden deutlich ausdehnen (Giannelli/Savoia 1978 und 1979–1980). Es mutet fast schon paradox an, dass ausgerechnet die historische Dialektbasis für die Standardsprache in dem Augenblick ihre Dialektalität potenziert, in welchem die Prestigezuweisung des Toskanischen aufgelöst wird.



Die Ergebnisse der Sprachattitüdenbefragung des *Osservatorio Linguistico Siciliano* (Lo Piparo 1990) erhellt für die Region Sizilien die Koexistenz von Dialekt und Standardsprache, wobei sich die Alltagsdomänen *par excellence* für den Dialekt in seinem Gebrauch in der Familie und unter Freunden wiederfinden. Im Vergleich mit den letzten Doxa-Befragungen des *Istat* erkennt man jedoch, dass die Selbstzuweisung der Dialektverwendung durch stabile Werte gekennzeichnet ist. Das seinerseits von Mioni (1975) geprägte einflussreiche Bild von der italienischen Diglossie hat zwar noch die 70er Jahre des letzten Jhs. charakterisiert, es ist aber inzwischen faktisch davon abgelöst worden, dass die Nationalsprache bei allen Sprechern in irgendeiner Form präsent ist. Gesamtitalienisch, d.h. regional übergreifend, hat sich in Italien auf der Ebene der Regionalität ein neues Schema herauskristallisiert, das als Überwindung der von Mioni in der ersten Rezeptionsphase der angloamerikanischen Soziolinguistik geltenden Diglossiekonzeption zu werten ist. Im übrigen hat Mioni (1983) selbst schon auf diese Form von Varietätenwandel hingewiesen, indem er mit der Etikette *italiano tendenziale* frühzeitig auf die Dynamik hingewiesen hat. Mit der Ablösung des ursprünglichen Diglossiemodells geht auch die radikale Erneuerung der Gliederungsdimension von zu meist regionalen Varietäten einher:

Tab. 174.1: Diglossiemodell

H-Varietät	L-Varietät
italienische Standardsprache	Dialekte

Diese Vorstellung fußt auf der Annahme der sozialen Schichtung der Bevölkerung als Verwendungskriterium: Nur Sprecher sozial niederer Schichten hätten demnach den Dialekt verwendet, und die Mittel- und Oberschicht hätten standardnahe Varietäten zur Verfügung gehabt. Mit der Emanzipation der unteren sozialen Schichten hinsichtlich der aktiven Teilhabe an der Standardsprache ist die Bedeutung der Dialektverwendung als eine Art *social class marker* in Analogie zur englischen *Non-Standard*-Forschung im Gefolge von Bernstein neu bestimmt worden: Der Dialekt wird nunmehr nur noch diaphasisch genutzt zum Ausdruck von bestimmten Situationen subjektiver Betroffenheit, d.h. er wird nur noch als eine mögliche Kommunikationsform in informellen Kontexten ge-

sehen. Diese ist vor allem textsortengebunden wie etwa in der Mischform Dialekt – Standard in der *canzone italiana* (Scholz 1998). Dies bedeutet, dass die Dialektmanifestation sich zunehmend vom Basisdialekt weg bewegt und dass anstelle der sozialen Identität ein egozentrischer Befindlichkeitsindikator tritt, der alle Standardsprachen mehr oder weniger betrifft. Diese Entwicklungstendenz lässt sich im Varietätenmodell der Informalitätshypothese fassen (Radtko 2001):

Tab. 174.2: Informalitätshypothese

formelle Kontexte	informelle Kontexte
– italienische Standardsprache	– italienische Standardsprache
	– Dialekte (als Teil von Substandardvarietäten im Allgemeinen)

Mit dieser soziolinguistischen Einschätzung, die ein klar abgegrenztes Modell der soziolinguistischen Schichtung (im Sinne einer Makro-Soziolinguistik) ablöst und als Ausgangsebene eine Nivellierung der sozialen Kontraste in mittel- und westeuropäischen Gesellschaften propagiert, die die Standardsprache allen Sprachteilhabern zugänglich macht und in denen dem Dialekt nur noch eine Reliktfunktion zukommt, wird die Dialektologie in die Soziolinguistik integriert. So tragen dialektologische Unternehmen dieser gesellschaftlichen Veränderung Rechnung, indem sie wie im Fall des *ALS* sich nicht auf die ausschließliche Beschreibung des Basisdialekts zurückziehen, sondern das Wechselspiel von Dialekt und Standardsprache als genuinen Arbeitsauftrag ansehen. Für die Regionalitätsbeschreibung rückt damit auch der sog. mittlere Bereich (*sfera media*) zwischen den Polen Standardsprache und Dialekt in das Blickfeld der Soziolinguistik. Durch dieses Modell wird für den Soziolinguisten in Italien die Dialektalität relevanter als der Dialekt selbst. Vom regionalen Gliederungsgesichtspunkt ist die Beschreibung von Formen des Regionalitalienischen noch unbefriedigend. Die Dokumentation der Einzeldaten ist dabei noch vorrangig; soziolinguistisch relevante Studien sind erst in einer zweiten Bearbeitungsphase zu erwarten. Der Beschreibungsstand von De Mauro (1963) ist nach wie vor gültig. Als soziolinguistisches Desiderat ist dabei augenblicklich wohl noch die Ausbildung von neuen makroarealen

Sprachformen zu beschreiben, etwa das Norditalienische oder das in Sizilien gesprochene Italienische. Diese rezenten Ausgleichsprozesse zwischen Dialekt und Standard sind nur unzureichend untersucht (für Kampanien siehe Radtke 1997); die dialektophonen Sprecher bezeichnen sie mitunter als neue Dialekte oder sind sich der Regionalität des Italienischen nur wenig bewusst. Sprachwissenschaftler in Italien neigen dazu, vor allem im Wortschatz als Regionalitalienisch nur das zuzulassen, was auch in den Ortsdialekten attestiert ist (De Blasi 2001). Dies unterschlägt den Einfluss von neuen Kreationen, die regional begrenzt oder zumindest von einem Punkt in den Raum ausstrahlen und nichtdialektalen Ursprungs sind. Diese neue, nicht basisdialektal motivierte Regionalisierung des Italienischen nenne ich *sekundäre Diatopik*. Dies betrifft etwa die vermutlich ursprünglich regional gebundene Ausbreitung von Formen des *neostandard* wie die Konstruktion von *stare* + Gerundium als grammatikalisierte Verlaufsform, für die unterschiedliche Ausstrahlungszentren reklamiert werden (u. a. Rom und Neapel) oder die regionale Verbreitung der 'neuen Grußformen' aus den Massenmedien wie *buona giornata* oder auch *buon pomeriggio*. Während in Italien diese Abschiedsformeln numerisch zwar anwachsen, aber immer noch mit *arrivederLa* und *arrivederci* konkurrieren, hat etwa die italienische Schweiz die Durchdringung von *buona giornata* in Opposition zu *ciao* monopolisiert. Die sekundäre Diatopik betrifft also nicht die Umsetzung von dialektalen Vorbildern in das Italienische, sondern die Regionalität genuiner italienischer Formen. Der Begriff lässt sich auch auf supraregionale Varietäten ausdehnen, wenn man etwa die Ausstrahlungsprozesse jugendsprachlicher Einflüsse von Norditalien mit dem z. T. seit über zwanzig Jahren retardierendem Etablieren der Jugendsprache in Süditalien konfrontiert. Die italienische Soziolinguistik wird sich erst noch mit der Dynamik von Regionalismen der neuen Art vertraut machen müssen, wie sie für Frankreich Rézeau (2001) systematisch untersucht oder sie auch im Deutschen allfällig sind (vgl. rezente Ausbreitungen von *alles klar*, *Fakt ist* oder die Verabschiedung *schönen Tag (noch)*, die auch soziolinguistisch die Überregionalität anstreben). Es hat den Anschein, dass angesichts einer sich abzeichnenden gesellschaftlichen Nivellierung im supraregionalen Raum

sich neue regionale Ausformungen im Raum aufbauen. Bei der Beschreibung dieser Prozesse kommt insbesondere den Ballungsräumen mit submetropolitane Peripherie besondere Bedeutung zu (z. B. Mailand, Rom, Neapel; zum Sprachwandel im Golf von Neapel vgl. Radtke 2002). Während der süditalienische Immigrant in Mailand der 60er Jahre des letzten Jhs. neben seinem nativen Dialekt und dem Italienischen noch eine partielle Kompetenz des Mailändischen erwerben musste, steht heute eine *pannationale*, informelle Sprechsprache zur Verfügung, die nicht als Sprachbarriere, sondern als Integrationsinstrument fungiert. Die *regionalità stretta* ist einer *regionalità larga* gewichen.

Bei der Regionalitätsdiskussion des Gegenwartitalienischen darf nicht unerwähnt bleiben, dass es zumindest im Gesprochenen kein atopisches Italienisch gibt: Abgesehen von den Öffnungsgraden von [e, ε, o, ɔ], etwa in *bello* „schön“ oder *sole* „Sonne“, die allmählich eine Neutralisierung in Richtung einer mittleren Variante erfahren, gilt insbesondere die stimmhafte bzw. -lose Realisierung des intervokalischen *s* als untrügeliche räumliche Zuweisung:

Tab. 174.3: Regionalitätsmerkmale

	<b>casa</b>	<b>caso</b>
<b>norditalienisch</b>	z	z
<b>toskanisch</b>	s	z
<b>süditalienisch</b>	s	s

#### 4. Die soziale Sprachstratifikation

Die frühe italienische Soziolinguistik hat sich mit dem von De Mauro (1970) beschriebenen *italiano popolare* als Ausdruck einer genuinen Klassensprache dialektophoner Sprecher, die das Italienische unangemessen beherrschen, konzentriert. Berruto (1983) prognostizierte dieser Substandardvarietät lediglich einen Übergangscharakter, was aus heutiger Sicht auch eingetreten ist: Das *italiano popolare* scheint für den Sprachhistoriker insbesondere für die Zeit vor der Einigung interessanter zu sein als für den Soziolinguisten, was auch mit der konsequenten Präferenz für schriftsprachliche Quellen in der Forschung einherging (Rovere 1977). Mit dem Aufkommen eines neuen Normverständnisses durch Öffnung der Toleranzschwelle und mit dem Erkennen der

Eigenständigkeit des *italiano parlato* gegenüber dem Schriftsprachlichen für Normansprüche, kann entgegen der Situation der 70er Jahre (Di Luzio 1988, 1288) nicht mehr die Existenz einer Klassensprache aufrechterhalten werden. Diese Form der Senkung des Standardisierungsniveaus geht auf außersprachliche Faktoren zurück: Mit dem Aufblühen der Massenuniversität, dem Rückgang der Analphabetenquote, der definitiven Umwandlung eines Agrarstaats in eine Industriegesellschaft, der Ausweitung des Gebrauchs der Massenmedien, der schnellen Zunahme außereuropäischer Immigrationsströme ist eine gesellschaftliche Öffnung zu verzeichnen, die auch ihren sprachlichen Niederschlag in größerer Normtoleranz findet. Die Theorie vom Abbau des sprachlichen Schichtungsmodells nach gesellschaftlichen Gruppierungen findet ein weiteres Indiz in der Zuweisung neuer Funktionen der verschiedenen *gerghi* (Jargon, Argot), die ihre frühere Geheimsprachlichkeit und enge soziolektale Bindung in einem nationalen Kontext aufgeben. Dieser Prozess der *de-gergalizzazione* (dt. Entargotisierung) kennzeichnet auch das Französische. Der *gergo*-Wortschatz erfüllt nur noch rein diaphasische Funktionen zur Potenzierung des Expressivitätspotentials etwa im Bereich der Jugendsprache. Die soziale Schichtung verliert augenblicklich die Qualität der Varietätenstrukturierung.

##### 5. Der augenblickliche Führungsanspruch der diaphasischen Funktionen in der Beschreibung des Gegenwartsitalienischen

Die Soziolinguistik in Italien hat zunehmend erkannt, dass die regionale und soziale Strukturierung im Varietätengefüge an Bedeutung verliert und dass mit der Ausrichtung auf eine Abbildung der Informalität als Leitdimension die Diaphasik neue Parameter zur Bewertung des akzelerierten Sprachwandels an die Hand gibt. Die Markierung des Ausdrucks der subjektiven Personenbezogenheit in bestimmten Situationen wird normkonform bzw. rückt in die Nähe der Norm. Zum einen kann man dafür sprachexterne Gründe in Form eines rezenten Gesellschaftswandels verantwortlich machen, zum anderen wird diese gesellschaftliche Öffnung auch sprachlich gestützt durch die neue Normfindung für das ge-

sprochene Italienisch, das nicht länger auf die Adaption des geschriebenen Italienisch in der Sprechsprache setzt (d.h. der Grundsatz des *parlare come un libro stampato*). Substandardvarietäten wie die Dialekte oder das *italiano sgrammaticato* werden nicht mehr so stark stigmatisiert. Mit der Einschränkung der Dialektkompetenz geht eine Aufwertung der Dialekte im Sprecherwissen einher; die Dialekte gewinnen an Ansehen als Erinnerungsdialekte, als eine Art folkloristischer Bestandteil des Authentischen und Genuinen (Radtke 1997). In dieser Form dringen sie auch im Internet als herausgehobener ästhetischer Wert durch (Michel 2004). In dem Maß, wie das gesprochene Italienisch in seiner spontanen Realisierung als normkonform akzeptiert wird, werden die archaisierenden Normvorgaben des Schriftitalienischen in der Literatur oder der Verwaltungssprache diskutiert (Cortelazzo 2003). Als soziolinguistisches Kriterium dient die Normangemessenheit, die den präskriptiven Anspruch nachhaltig mildert. Für die Soziolinguistik verliert damit die soziale Schichtung an Interesse, und sie verbleibt allenfalls als Differenzierungselement im Sprachverhalten der Opposition *ländlich* : *städtisch*.

Es stellt sich aber das Problem, wie man die Konzentration auf einen diaphasisch orientierten Sprachwandel im Gegenwartsitalienischen nachweisen kann. Eine Form findet sich in der Beschreibung von dynamischen Prozessen in zumeist neuen Textsorten wie beispielsweise musikalische Texte (Scholz 1998) oder medienbedingte Innovationen (SMS, Chatten u.a.m.). Diese Textsorten belegen im Grunde eine größere Individualisierung oder gar den Rückzug in die Privatheit. Die sprachliche Kreativität lebt sich dabei stärker in der ephemeren Gestaltung aus und erreicht nicht mehr unbedingt eine Gesellschaftsschicht. Selbst in der Jugendsprache sind kaum mehr einheitliche Züge zu erfassen, die Allgemeingültigkeit beanspruchen könnten. Stattdessen sind in einigen Bereichen der Musikszene oder im Rauschgiftmilieu starke Frantumationen ohne größere Ausstrahlungskraft zu beobachten. Nur vereinzelt dringen einige Elemente in einen nationalen Substandard vor. Diese Form der Neubestimmung wird dabei nur partiell von der Soziolinguistik mitgetragen, denn ohne die interdisziplinäre Hilfe der Sprachhistoriker wäre eine solche Textsortenbestimmung kaum durchführbar.

Die Füllung der diaphasischen Dokumentation anhand von neuen Textsorten bleibt ein wesentlicher Schlüssel für das Verstehen der gegenwärtigen Sprachwandelprozesse. Bislang ist aber nur sehr wenig davon aufgearbeitet worden. Neben der reinen Textsortenbeschreibung ist insbesondere für die mündlichen Kommunikationsformen die Pragmalinguistik aufgerufen, die Dynamik im Varietätengefüge zu erhellen. Die Analyse der Gesprächseröffnungen bzw. -beendigungen zeigen einen plötzlichen Wandel, der auf die kommunikative Nähe bzw. den Familiaritätsgrad abhebt und die soziale Rolle abschwächt (*buongiornolarrivederci* vs. *ciao*). Ebenfalls bedarf das Anredevverhalten im Gegenwartsitalienischen einer solchen Überprüfung, da die Domäne des *dare del lei* zugunsten des Duzens Einbrüche erlebt. Eine empirische Studie zu den gegenwärtigen Verhältnissen steht aus (vgl. zuletzt die Fallstudie in Neapel Timm 2001). Die Gesprächsführung im Gesprochenen entzieht sich einer Bestimmung hinsichtlich des Sprachwandels, da die Gesprächsanalyse in Italien erst seit den 70er Jahren des letzten Jhs. in Erscheinung tritt.

## 6. Das Aufkommen neuer Varietäten

Die Neuordnung im Varietätengefüge des Gegenwartsitalienischen umfasst auch die Entstehung neuer Varietäten, die auf die Gesamtarchitektur einwirken. Unter den Neuerungen werden auch von den Sprechern selbst mit Nachdruck zwei rezente Varietäten aufgeführt, die Jugendsprache und das Italienisch der Immigranten (sog. *extra-comunitari*).

### 6.1. Jugendsprachlich markierte Kommunikation

Wie in den meisten von einer Destandardisierungsphase erfassten westeuropäischen Nationalsprachen ist seit den 80er Jahren des letzten Jhs. das Aufkommen jugendsprachlicher Elemente forciert worden (Radtke 1992; Androutopoulos/Scholz 1998). In dieser international verbreiteten Konsolidierung der Generationsspezifität als Varietätendimension ist auch für Italien die Tendenz zu erkennen, den sprachlichen Substandard neu auszubilden. Mit der Schwächung der Stigmatisierung des regionalen und sozialen Substandards wird im Gegenzug die Diaphasik neu markiert, wobei man *gergo*- und Dialektelemente aus den ,tradi-

tionellen' Substandardvarietäten quasi parasitär mit oft neuer Bedeutung in die Jugendsprache umschichtet:

mailändischer Dialekt / *gergo cüccá*

„nehmen, stehlen“

> mailänd. Jugendsprache

„(Mädchen) erobern“,

„anmachen“

römischer Vorortgergo *paraculo*

„Prostituierte“

> nationale Jugendsprache

„geil“

kampanischer Dialekt *pariá* „verdauen“

> neapolitanische Jugendsprache

„sich amüsieren“

Soldatenjargon des 1. Weltkrieges *nisba*

„nichts“

mit derselben Bedeutung

jugendsprachlich revitalisiert

Die Bedeutungsverschiebungen lassen erkennen, dass die traditionellen lexikologischen Bildungsweisen des *gergo* unverändert in der Jugendsprache Anwendung finden. Die Jugendsprache absorbiert geradezu Dialekt- und *gergo*-Reste, um sie in eine neue Varietät als historischen Grundstock zu integrieren (Radtke 1993b). Dies legt nahe, dass die jüngere Generation in informellen Situationen die ‚Lücke‘ der Dialektkompetenz durch jugendsprachliche Bildungen kompensiert. Die Hypothese wird dadurch erhärtet, dass die ersten Manifestationen jugendsprachlicher Kommunikation in Norditalien – insbesondere mit Mailand als Ausstrahlungszentrum – zu verzeichnen waren, wo der Dialekt in der häuslichen und schulischen Spracherziehung unterdrückt wurde, während südlich von Rom die jüngere Generation noch dem Dialekt verhaftet blieb (Radtke 1990). Seit Mitte der 90er Jahre des letzten Jhs. artikuliert sich die Jugendsprache jedoch auch in süditalienischen Ballungsräumen wie Neapel oder Palermo. Innerhalb von zwei Jahrzehnten hat sich in Italien eine informelle, generationsspezifische Varietät neu, aber gleichzeitig fest etabliert, indem sie das Spektrum von einer minimalen *in-group*-Kommunikation bis zu einer nationalen Varietät umspannt, die insbesondere in den Massenmedien einen kontinuierlichen Verbreitungskanal findet. Sie fängt gewissermaßen das Bedürfnis nach einer Kommunikation mit gesteigertem Expressivitätspotential auf, dem die regredierenden Dialekte bei den Jüngeren nicht

mehr in gleichem Maße gerecht werden können. Zwar kann man etwa im Fall des Großraums Neapel immer noch von einer *metropoli dialettale* (De Blasi 2001, 127) sprechen, aber dies hindert nicht daran, sprachliche Identität nicht mehr ausschließlich über die Familie zu realisieren, sondern die Generationenzugehörigkeit als Grundlage des sprachlichen Informalitätsrahmens zu wählen. Mit einer gewissen Verzögerung zeichnet sich auch im städtischen Raum Süditaliens die Krise der Familie als grundlegende soziale Organisationsform ab. Mit der nationalen Verbreitung jugendsprachlichen Wortschatzes ist das Reservoir zur Generierung eines neuen Substandards fest etabliert worden. Soziologisch geht mit dieser Entwicklung die Aufhebung der früheren Trennung von Kultur und Subkultur zugunsten einer generellen Nivellierung einher. Diese Eigenschaften lassen der Jugendsprache eine wichtige Funktion bei der Erzeugung von Dynamik im Varietätengefüge des Gegenwartsitalienischen zukommen. Dies begründet auch die Vorstellung von der Jugendsprache als *Avantgarde*-Varietät im Italienischen (Radtke 1993a).

#### 6.2. Der Einfluss des Immigrantensprachen auf die Gegenwartsprache

In den letzten fünfundsiebzig Jahren ist das Profil der italienischen Gesellschaft entscheidend von der Immigration aus Nicht-EU-Ländern verändert worden. In das sprachliche Bewusstsein der Gesellschaft ist diese Veränderung um 1986 mit der scherzhaften bzw. depreziativen Bezeichnung *vu-cum-prá* für den eingewanderten Straßenhändler gedrungen (als Deformation von *vuoi comprare?* „willst du kaufen?“). Seit den 90er Jahren des letzten Jhs. interessiert sich die italienische Sprachwissenschaft für die Prozesse des ungesteuerten Spracherwerbs des Italienischen (Banfi 1994), die zu meist auf einer niedrigen Lernervarietät des *italiano popolare* in der Vergangenheit gefußt haben. Wenngleich die Forschung sich vorrangig dafür interessiert, welches Italienisch wie erworben wird (Giacalone Ramat 1993; Vedovelli 2002), bleibt gleichermaßen zu hinterfragen, welche Auswirkungen die Präsenz dieser Substandardvarietät auf die italienische Sprechergemeinschaft zeitigt. Direkte sprachliche Einflüsse sind nicht zu verzeichnen, allerdings wirkt sich der *foreigner talk* gesellschaftlich dahingehend

aus, dass in weiten Teilen der Alltags- und Berufswelt die Präsenz von – wenn auch oft nur einseitiger – Substandardkommunikation die Akzeptanz normferner Varietäten erhöht; dieses gilt gleichermaßen für die Einwanderungsländer Spanien, Frankreich, Deutschland und Großbritannien. Der *foreigner talk* gehört in Italien zur Alltagsrealität der sprechsprachlichen Kommunikation und hebt die Akzeptabilitätsschwelle unweigerlich an. Das Immigrantensprachen trägt von daher indirekt dazu bei, dass die Normansprüche, die sich am Toskanischen ausrichten, mittlerweile einen musealen Charakter aufweisen und nur noch als eine Art archaischer Supernorm fungieren, die nicht mehr mit dem *italiano comune* (italienische Gemeinsprache) zusammenfällt.

### 7. Gesamtbewertung

Die entscheidenden Veränderungen im Sprach(en)spektrum Italiens der letzten 25 Jahre betreffen folgende Sachebenen:

- (1) In der Frage der adäquaten Behandlung der Minderheitensprachen ist zwischenzeitlich eine weitere Entspannung eingetreten unter dem Gesichtspunkt, dass in einem geeinten Europa die sprachpolitisch durchaus vorhandenen nationalistischen Züge in der Behandlung von sprachlichen Minderheiten entschärft werden. Da in der augenblicklichen öffentlichen Diskussion selbst für Dialekte wie das Emilianische ein Regionalsprachenstatus diskutiert wird, ist der politische Kontrast zwischen regionaler sprachlicher Selbstbestimmung und Roms zentralistischem Anspruch weniger prägnant. Die Rolle des Italienischen als offizieller Sprache wird immer weniger in Frage gestellt. Eine sprachpolitische Lösung der noch offenen Fragen ist aber nicht zu erkennen. Die Sprecherzahl von Minderheitensprachen ist nicht rückläufig, sondern erscheint konstant.
- (2) Die italienische Nationalsprache hat in den letzten 25 Jahren auch den sprechsprachlichen Bereich erfasst. Damit ziehen sich insgesamt die Dialekte weiter in die Privatkommunikation zurück und sind in Teilen auch bereits dort nicht mehr verwendungsfähig. Die *questione della lingua* ist nunmehr auch für die Sprechsprache gelöst, wobei damit

die Toskanisierung als Leitfaden der Normfindung obsolet ist. Das gesprochene Italienisch tendiert trotz seiner noch hörbaren regionalen Differenzierung zu einem neutralen, atopischen Italienisch.

- (3) Die derzeitige Destandardisierungswelle baut den Formalitätsgrad in den verschiedensten Bereichen ab und ersetzt die soziale Hierarchisierung als Gliederungsdimension zunehmend durch die Opposition *formell* : *informell*, indem der formell gesteuerte Überhang auch in informellen Situationen aufgegeben wird. Diese Entwicklung ist vor allem durch sprachexterne, gesellschaftliche Entwicklungen vorangetrieben worden (Radtko 2001).
- (4) Die italienische Entwicklung der soziolinguistischen Ausformung ist in einen gesamteuropäischen Zusammenhang integriert und nicht das Ergebnis eines isolierten historischen Prozesses. Das Italienische baut die Normkomponenten mit elitärem Charakter ab.
- (5) Der Stand des kleinräumigen Dialektes in Italien ist nicht länger gewährleistet, die klassischen Ortsdialekte in Italien behaupten sich in einigen Regionen kaum noch (z. B. Lombardei), in anderen Gegenden beeinträchtigt der Vormarsch der italienischen Sprechsprache ihre Stellung kaum (z. B. Golf von Neapel). Der Dialekt beschränkt sich in weiten Teilen des Landes mehr und mehr auf die diaphasische Differenzierung und ist nicht mehr primär diatopisch orientiert (vgl. auch zur *commistione di italiano e dialetto* eine ähnliche Einschätzung von Berruto 1993).
- (6) Mit der Festsetzung eines *neostandard* im Varietätengefüge (Berruto 1987) stellt sich im Anschluss daran auch die Frage eines neuen Italienisch (*nuovo italiano*, D'Achille 2003). Die Standardisierungsverschiebungen ebnen zwar akzelerierten Sprachwandelprozessen den Weg, was aber nicht nachweisbar zu einem Bruch führt, indem das Gegenwartsitalienische radikale Strukturveränderungen verzeichnet. Die Vielfalt in der historischen Einzelsprache wird größer angelegt, ohne dass das Italienische seine bisherigen Eigenschaften systematisch abstößt.

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## 175. The Iberian Peninsula / Die Iberische Halbinsel

1. Introduction: monolingual and bilingual Iberia
2. Sociolinguistic history of the area
3. Linguistic diversity
4. Literature (selected)

### 1. Introduction: monolingual and bilingual Iberia

To understand the contemporary sociolinguistic situation within the Iberian Peninsula three particular criteria should be borne in mind. Such criteria are factors which cover and define synchronic and diachronic processes affecting the linguistic varieties spoken within the area.

#### 1.1. Standardization

The first factor refers to the delimitation of the linguistic varieties within the verbal repertoire. Even though the definition of the varieties may have changed through time, standardization and the social and political recognition of a variety as a language (vs. dialect) allow us to differentiate between monolingual (Portugal) and multilingual (Spain) states. The existence of some Spanish dialect areas (Leonese) in Portugal (Miranda, Riodonor, Guadramil and Sendim) does not alter the fact that Portuguese “é uma língua nacional praticamente ‘perfeita’ [...] “is an almost perfect national language”] (Theyssier 1980, 40). The use of the term *estado* (‘state’) to refer to Spain as a multinational, multicultural and multilingual political entity, is better acknowledged than *nación* (‘nation’) or *pais* (‘country’) since, to many people, the latter terms are more appropriate for their own particular autonomous region. This terminological differentiation is acceptable, though legal documents – i. e. the 1978 Spanish Constitution and the majority of the Statutes of Autonomy – prefer less marked terms (usually, *comunidad autónoma* ‘autonomous community’). Furthermore, the study of standardization and destandardisation processes helps us to explain the evolution and the present situation in the whole area.

#### 1.2. Normalization

The second factor concerns normalization (Siguan 1992, 98–99) of the minority languages spoken in Spain after the Franco era

(1939–1975). These languages were normalised during the Second Republic (1931–1936) and banned after the Civil War (1936–1939). At the political level, this process of normalization connects the contemporary situation to that which existed before this attempt at *glotophagie* (See Siguan 1992, 14–106).

#### 1.3. Convergence

The third factor is associated with the dynamics of the varieties through time and space. Diachronic relationships between the linguistic varieties spoken in the area show two types of dynamic process: Firstly, a spatial southwards move corresponding to the historical events of the *Reconquista* (‘reconquest’) that took place between 718 and 1492. Secondly, a historical and contemporary periphery-to-centre process of convergence towards the central majority language, especially in Spain. This second process has been associated by peripheral sociolinguists with modern diglossic bilingualism within bilingual regions in Spain (Badia 1977; Fernández 1978; Rojo 1985; Etxebarria 1995; cf. Demonte/Varela 1982; García de la Concha 1986; Cano 1996). Moreover, convergence towards standard Spanish within monolingual Spain is increasingly taking place as national standard is winning prestige and dialects and regional dialects tend to lose functions (Villena 1996).

## 2. Sociolinguistic history of the area

### 2.1. Outline: the Iberian multilingual labyrinth

The Iberian Peninsula was originally a multilingual domain, where several Romance varieties (Galician-Portuguese, Catalan, Castilian, Asturian-Leonese, Navarro-Aragonese) and one non Indo-European language (Euskara or Basque) coexisted. Mozarabic was the Romance variety spoken in the territories under Arab rule. This variety would have to suffer a process of shift as the reconquered southern territories were being settled with northern speakers (cf. Galmés de Fuentes 1983). In spite of this original language diversity, two major Romance languages (Spanish and Portuguese) developed and were eventually established as the national super-ordinate and quasi-ex-



clusive languages in their respective states. The cause of this promotion is related, as expected, to the social prestige associated with these languages, and has to do with the Christian reconquest of the central and southern peninsular regions under Arab rule since the 8<sup>th</sup> century. Unlike Portugal, the case of Spain is fairly complicated (Ninyoles 1972; Bastardas/Boix 1999). Two main interpretations have been proposed (see 3.1., Table 175.1). These interpretations clearly condition sociolinguistic theory and practice, as well as the state and regional language policy: (1) A positive or optimistic perspective of the evolution and the present situation (in part sanctioned by law since 1978, and in line with the factor of normalisation stated in 1.2.) would consider the contemporary trend of language policy in democratic Spain as a retrieval or reparation of a revisited medieval multilingual utopia (González Ollé 1995, 45; López García 1980). (2) A negative or pessimistic stance would, conversely, interpret the same facts as a new period of language conflict, stressing that it is unrealistic to sustain the idea that language coexistence (balanced bilingualism) is conceivable without dominance (Aracil 1982; Ninyoles 1972, 1977; Vallverdú 1980). Both interpretations may be seen as ideological, since *positive* evaluation favours the dominant language, and *negative* evaluation aims at reversing the actual situation. This is essential to understand the present evolution of Iberian (especially Spanish) sociolinguistics, but it is hard to find a solution to this particular dilemma. Judgements about further developments of the contemporary situation vary, depending on the ideological positions. Since diglossic bilingualism is only an intermediate stage towards language shift, *covert* conflict should become *overt*, as this is one of the most important requirements for language diversity maintenance. Social, cultural, political and linguistic subordination and the speaker's personal attitudes towards one particular minority language are the decisive factors of the 'monolingual objective' and language shift. If subordination exists, it does not have to be concealed (cf. Bastardas 1996; Strubell 1996; Junyent 1998).

## 2.2. Historical sociolinguistic development

A previous geographical division has to be made: On one hand, the northern area of the Peninsula represents – even today – the orig-

inal and more conservative stage of the geolinguistic situation, with early lines of standardization separating language groups. In this area, three major groups of northern Romance varieties were spoken from the early Middle Age: Western or Galician-Portuguese, Central or Castilian and Eastern or Catalan. In addition, a non Indo-European language (Basque or Euskara) was maintained in spite of Roman rule. On the other hand, the middle and southern varieties developed as a consequence of the language spread during the reconquest. With the exception of Portuguese, which is a standardised dialect of Galician and has been submitted to fairly different political conditions, southern varieties have developed as dialects and none of them as a standard language (southern Spanish regional dialects and western and southern varieties of Catalan).

As stated in 1.3., two different historical processes characterise the linguistic formation of the Iberian Peninsula: the language southwards spread and periphery-to-centre convergence. The southwards spread of the Iberian Romance languages not only produced dialect variation (secondary or regional dialects), but also enhanced the expansion of the northern standards (particularly Spanish) at the expense of neighbouring varieties (historical or primary dialects). A few favoured groups of speech varieties gained prestige as a consequence of military and political advances of their respective groups of speakers (Menéndez Pidal 1919, 415–514; Entwistle 1969; Holtus/Metzeltin/Schmitt 1995, 473–753): (1) Castilian expanded as the central dominant variety and developed as a written standard in competition with Asturian-Leonese and Navarro-Aragonese (both used as written languages in the Middle Ages). As Menéndez Pidal (1919, 513) stated:

“Distinctive Castilian character acts as a wedge that, as it is hammered into the northern area, breaks the old unity of some shared Romance features, splitting certain primitive dialect uniformity, undoing Mozarabic early linguistic features, as well as most of Leonese and Aragonese, and progressively broadening its action northwards to southwards, to introduce the linguistic variety from the Cantabrian corner” [our translation].

The merger of the Aragonese and Castilian-Leonese Crowns in 1479 boosted the bilingualism among urban and literate speakers from those areas. Aragonese and Leonese varieties became dialects of a Castilian-based

koine (Spanish), which grew with the advance of the reconquest. A standard variety of Spanish was definitely established by the late 13<sup>th</sup> century (Menéndez Pidal 1919; Lapesa 1968; Lloyd 1987; Penny 1991). (2) Galician and Catalan resisted the Castilian expansion due to the prestige associated with their written standards, though their respective influence on the adjacent varieties (Leonese and Aragonese) has been fairly restricted. Nevertheless, the penetration of Castilian into its neighbouring Romance and non Romance languages was significant. Bilingualism among literate speakers progressively penetrated Basque (Echenique 1984, 63–103), Galician (García 1986; Brea 1994) and Catalan (Vallverdú 1984; Lüdtke 1991; Marí 1993) societies. Though rural and working class urban speakers (as well as the Catalan bourgeoisie) kept on using their own languages, the influence of Spanish continues to the present day (González Ollé 1995, 41–54). (3) With regards to Portuguese, conditions have been very different. During the 12<sup>th</sup> century, official and particular documents, as well as poetry and prose, were written in the common Galician-Portuguese language (Teyssier 1980, 21–74). Until the late 14<sup>th</sup> century (1350 is the accepted dead-end for the Galician-Portuguese *Escola Literária's* activities) we can not talk of Portuguese as a separate standard language. The political border established since 1128, separating Castilian-Leonese Galicia and the independent kingdom of Portugal, did not affect language use very much. However, divergence increased as the political and cultural centre of the new state moved southwards. Language norm shifted from Santiago to Coimbra and Lisbon (Lorenzo 1975; Maia de Azevedo 1995; Fernández 2001). Conversely, Galician has been undergoing strong influence from Spanish, being isolated as a rural variety dramatically in danger of extinction (Alonso Montero 1979). This represents an inversion of the geolinguistic peninsular trend, where northern prestigious varieties have been established as the standard norms (Barcelona, not Valencia; Burgos, Toledo and Madrid, not Seville nor Granada, etc.).

### 3. Linguistic diversity

#### 3.1. Language contact and conflict

Since the 15<sup>th</sup> century, the Iberian Peninsula has shown progressive penetration of the

Spanish koine into the peripheral territories. Even though the population did not abandon their own languages, a process of virtual unification at the most formal and institutional levels of use and among middle/upper class and educated speakers threatened language diversity (Siguan 1992, 14–73). Since the early 18<sup>th</sup> century, as a new conception of Spain as a modern European state was taking place, this trend of unification intensified. With some exceptions (1931–1936 Spanish Second Republic, 19<sup>th</sup> century cultural revivals developed within peripheral regions, etc.), this line has characterized the sociolinguistic history of Spain until the Franco era (1939–1975), which has been said to represent the worst peninsular period for language diversity. Nowadays, the sociolinguistic situation is fairly satisfactory when the past scene is considered. This is true, in spite of some difficulties due to practical circumstances associated with the implementation and the social acceptance of educational and institutional policy within the minority language regions (Hoffman 1996). Newspaper and academic debates were frequent as legal changes regarding language use were being introduced. Language minority and linguistic diversity arguments (especially within the field of education and regional institutions) have been opposed to those supporting balanced bilingualism (cf., among others, Salvador 1987; Marí 1993; Solé/Villarroya 1994; Lodaes 2000).

For most people, Ecology of Language's basic requirements are fulfilled or, at least, not contradicted, since stable diversity should be guaranteed by law (Siguan 1992, 74–106; San Vicente 1998). However, as suggested in 2.1., the portrait of the contemporary situation varies as interpretations of past events sharply differ and, hence, the expected evolution (Table 175.1).

It is usual to identify positive with centralist stances and negative with peripheral. Even though such an identification is not always true, it helps to understand the actual direction of regional language policy in Spain, as well as its sociolinguistic foundations. Obviously, different underlying ideological positions support such contradictory interpretations of the same historical events. These ideological and political issues cannot be separated from the academic and scientific evolution of Iberian sociolinguistics. Within the Iberian Peninsula, as in many other

Tab. 175.1: Two interpretations of language diversity and balance in contemporary Spain. Bold line separates optimistic (1) and pessimistic (2) stances.

	Early Period	Expansion of Spanish 15 <sup>th</sup> –17 <sup>th</sup>	‘Obscured’ centuries 18 <sup>th</sup> –19 <sup>th</sup>	Normalization period 20 <sup>th</sup>
1	Territorial Monolingualism	Balanced bilingualism Spanish as koine	Diglossic bilingualism Spanish as language <i>H</i>	Balanced bilingualism
2	Territorial Monolingualism	Language conflict		Territorial Monolingualism

parts in Europe, sociolinguistics has been formed through the synthesis of the American methodological and theoretical trends and each country's own traditions. Whereas in Portugal (de Rezende 1994) and within the monolingual Spain (Gimeno 1992), original sources were taken from traditional dialectology and geolinguistic practice, in bilingual Spain criteria have been fairly different. From the earliest stages, as in the case of Occitania or Wales, Galician, Basque and Catalan sociolinguistic work has focused on the preservation and defence of minority languages, language conflict and nationalism (Aracil 1982; Kremmitz 1979; Vallverdú 1980; Sánchez Carrión 1987; Alonso Montero 1973; etc.; cf. Gimeno/Montoya 1989, 43–66).

The above mentioned (1.3.) distinction between centre and periphery seriously determines the foundations and constrains the evolution of Iberian sociolinguistics, as it still does and has always done with regards to many other aspects of social and political life in Spain. Hence, variation and language attitude studies characterise sociolinguistics from monolingual Spain and Portugal, while Catalan, Basque and Galician sociolinguistic main issues are bilingual education, language planning and causes and consequences of language conflict.

### 3.2. Verbal repertoire

#### 3.2.1. Legal aspects

After the political crucial events which led Portugal (1973) and Spain (1975) to an overtly democratic position, language diversity is now guaranteed and sanctioned by law (Moreno Cabrera 2000, 213–226). Nowadays, almost everyone feels – particularly in Spain, where multilingualism has been seen as a problem – that linguistic diversity is a source of cultural wealth, instead of a particular source of trouble. However, many things remain to be done within this field. The basic legal principles regarding lan-

guage diversity in Spain come from the 1978 Spanish Constitution and may be briefly stated as (our translation): (1) Castilian is the state's official language. Every Spaniard has the duty to know it and the right to use it (Art. 3.1). (2) The rest of the languages of Spain will also be official within their respective autonomous communities in accordance with their Statutes of Autonomy (Art. 3.2). (3) The rich abundance of Spain's diverse linguistic varieties is a cultural inheritance which is to be especially respected and protected (Art. 3.3). These legal principles are complemented by each autonomous country's own Statute and specific normalization laws: Euskadi (1982), Catalonia (1983), Galicia (1983), Valencia (1983), Balearic Islands (1986), Navarra (1986); (cf. Siguan 1992, 74–106; San Vicente 1998, 173–180).

#### 3.2.2. Name and number of languages

Virtually, five languages are available: one in Portugal (Portuguese) and four in Spain (Basque, Catalan, Galician and Spanish). Their situation with regards to standardization and their respective degree of vitality are different. Furthermore, even the name and the number of languages are under discussion in some cases. Aranese (a Gasconese dialect) is spoken in the Vall d'Arán (Gargallo 1999). Valencian (a southern dialect of Catalan) has been accepted as a different language in its own *Statut d'Autonomia* (1983) (Sanchis Guarner 1960; Coromines 1984; Casanova 1995; Strubell 2001). Asturian and Aragonese have been said to be separate languages from Spanish and dictionaries and grammars have been written (Cano González 1999; Nagore 1999).

Current sociolinguistic data allow us to be optimistic about future prospects of language diversity in Spain. Education and language planning within minority language regions actually guarantee general acquisition by children and have increased their social prestige (Siguan 1992; Etxebarria 2002).

### 3.2.3. Languages and varieties

(i) *Español* (Spanish) is Spain's official language but its legal name is *castellano* (Castilian), as it is sanctioned in the Spanish Constitution (1978). The basic argument against the use of *español* is that the rest of the languages spoken in Spain are also Spanish. Nevertheless, it seems reasonable to use Castilian only where other official languages exist, and reserve Spanish for further contexts (Alonso 1938; Mondéjar 1981; 2002; González Ollé 1995). Spanish is known by almost 100% of the inhabitants of Spain, though it is not the first language of every speaker in Spain (0.38 of the population live in bilingual communities). Three main contemporary sociolinguistic issues should be mentioned. (1) The first one concerns dialect variation. On one hand, historical dialects (Aragonese and Asturian-Leonese) are in danger of extinction (protected, but are not official varieties in their respective autonomous communities) and their functions tend to be occupied by regional dialects (Neira 1982; Enguita 1999; Castañer 1999). Nevertheless, for some, these varieties should be classified as separate languages (cf., e.g. Moreno Cabrera 2000, 273–274). Attempts to create contemporary standards based on a koine from different geographical varieties have been made (Cano 1999; Nagore 1999). On the other hand, regional dialects can be classified into two major groups: northern and southern regional dialects (Menéndez Pidal 1962; Lapesa 1982). Southern varieties (especially Andalusian) are strongly divergent with regards to the national standard and less prestigious than northern varieties (which are the origin of the standard). However, they have been observed to be undergoing a process of convergence towards the national standard, similar, *mutatis mutandis*, to that suffered by the so called *lenguas vernáculas* 'vernacular languages' (Villena 1996, 2001). (2) The second issue has to do with the elaboration of a shared linguistic norm for Spain and Spanish speaking America (Moreno Fernández 1992). (3) The third issue concerns linguistic contact, especially with regards to education within bilingual communities, where new language conflicts are developing (Báez de Aguilar 1997).

(ii) *Portuguese* sociolinguistic main concern is the form of the *lingua padrão* ('standard language'), especially with regards to Bra-

silian Portuguese (Woll 1994). A major division of varieties (Boléo/Silva 1962; Cintra 1970; Kröll 1994) separates Portuguese dialects or *falares* (i.e., regional varieties of Portuguese) and *dialectos* 'dialects' of Portugal (i.e., the Leonese varieties spoken within the boundaries of Portugal). The latter, in turn, are classified into northern conservative varieties (close to Galician) and central and southern varieties (Lindley Cintra 1976). The standard is based on the Coimbra and Lisbon varieties. Dialect and sociolinguistic variation is not well known, though it seems to show great homogeneity (Kröll 1994; Holtus 1994; Ferreira 1997).

(iii) *Catalan* is spoken in eastern Spain (Catalonia, Valencia, Balearic Islands and in the Aragonese 'Fringe'), as well as in Andorra, and in southeastern France and Sardinia (Alghero) (see Payrató 1995; Casanova 1995; Martín Zorraquino/Fort/Arnal et al. 1995; Miralles 1995; Boix 1999). Since the 15<sup>th</sup> century, when a koine was established, Catalan has been used as home language for almost the whole population, even though there has been significant variation due to constant influence of Spanish. At the same time, Catalan was regularly used for literary and administration purposes. Since the late 18<sup>th</sup> century and in the context of the 19<sup>th</sup> century *Renaixença* ('Revival') a continuous common effort has been made to standardise and revitalise Catalan (Ros/Strubell 1984; Webber/Strubell 1991). Today there are about 6.5 million of Catalan speakers (1991 census). Catalan is co-official language (with Castilian) in Catalonia, Valencia (*Valencià*) and the Balearic Islands. After a long period of diglossic bilingualism with Catalan as *L* language, the laws of normalisation and language policy (1983; 1997) and its application within the field of education, have completely changed the scene (see Reixach 1985, 1990). The contemporary situation – particularly among the young – points to an alternate and tolerant use of both languages (Boix 1993). In addition to the central question of language conflict, the sociolinguistic main issues are (cf. Boix/Payrató 1994; Strubell 2001): (1) Standardization, with special reference to the development of regional standards (Valencian, Balearic). (2) Language conflict and death (Montoya 1996). (3) Language attitudes (Bierbach 1988). (4) Speech variation and code switching (Turell 1995; Woolard 1992).

(iv) *Galician* is spoken in Galicia and its neighbouring areas of Asturias, Leon and Zamora (Fernández Rei 1990, 1999). Galician had a high level of prestige in the Middle Ages and continues to be used by the majority of the population (especially among rural speakers). However, due to political and economical isolation from Portugal and Spain, Galician completely disappeared from written sources in the 16<sup>th</sup> century. Since the 19<sup>th</sup> century *Rexurdimento* ('Revival'), and especially after 1978, Galician has been revitalised and is winning prestige. Diglossic bilingualism with Galician as *L* language has been reported by everyone (Alonso Montero 1973; Fernández 1978). However, individual bilingualism associated with functional differentiation was rare until recently. Urban middle class speakers usually speak Spanish and rural and working class speakers, conversely, speak only Galician, so that, as Rojo (1981, 294 ff; 1982; 1985, 614–615) stated, Spanish is used within formal contexts and Galician for home functions, but as these languages are not functionally but personally distributed, we cannot talk of *diglosia funcional* ('functional diglossia'), but of *diglosia de adscripción* ('adscribed diglossia'). This enhances language shift towards Spanish, since this language is associated with upward mobility. Fernández/Rodríguez Neira's research (1994; 1995; 1995b) on the *Mapa Sociolingüístico de Galicia* ('Sociolinguistic Chart of Galicia') has clearly shown that the use of Galician is related to old and rural speakers, but that this situation is changing, thanks to new patterns of use derived from educational and social prestige consequences of the language normalization law (1983). The main sociolinguistic issues are: (1) Standardization, with special attention paid to the written standard. Portuguese-based /vs./ independent (close to Spanish) written standard Galician actually divide scholars: *lusistas* against *galeguistas* (Fernández 2001). (2) Description of sociolinguistic use and attitudes (Fernández/Rodríguez Neira 1995b; Monteagudo/Santamarina 1993). (3) Geolinguistic and sociolinguistic variation (Fernández Rei 1990; Alvarez Cáccamo 1989; Argente/Lorenzo 1990).

(v) *Euskara* or Basque is spoken in the Basque Country on both sides of the Pyrenees (Iparralde in France, Euskadi and Navarra in Spain). This non-indoeuropean language once occupied a wider area (Eche-

nique 1984, 63–71), but has been displaced since Roman rule, first by Latin and later by Romance languages (Tovar 1959; Michelena 1988). In spite of the European common trend aimed at revitalising vernacular languages in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the present situation of *Euskara* is difficult. Several factors have contributed to the existence of this extreme danger of extinction (more today in France than in Spain): Firstly, the non-existence of a broadly accepted standard as a written model for literature and administrative purposes until the late 20<sup>th</sup> century (Michelena 1982; Echenique 1984). Secondly, its being a minority language in isolation within rural areas with significant dialectal fragmentation (at least eight dialects). Thirdly, the lack of positive language policy and planning. Fortunately, since the Law of Normalization of *Euskara* (1982), the situation has changed and tendencies are reversing (geographically and socially) (cf. Euskaltzandia 1977; Siguan 1992; 1994; Etxebarria 1995; 2002). *Euskara* is nowadays coofficial (with Spanish) in Euskadi and in the *Euskara* speaking areas of Navarre. A written standard has been developed on the basis of a koine (*Euskara Batua*), and is taught in schools and universities (Etxebarria 1994). In addition to issues regarding standardization and literacy, language contact and code switching, as well as dialect variation, are other sociolinguistic topics of interest (Etxebarria 1994b).

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## 176. Hungarian In- and Outside Hungary Ungarisch – in und außerhalb Ungarns

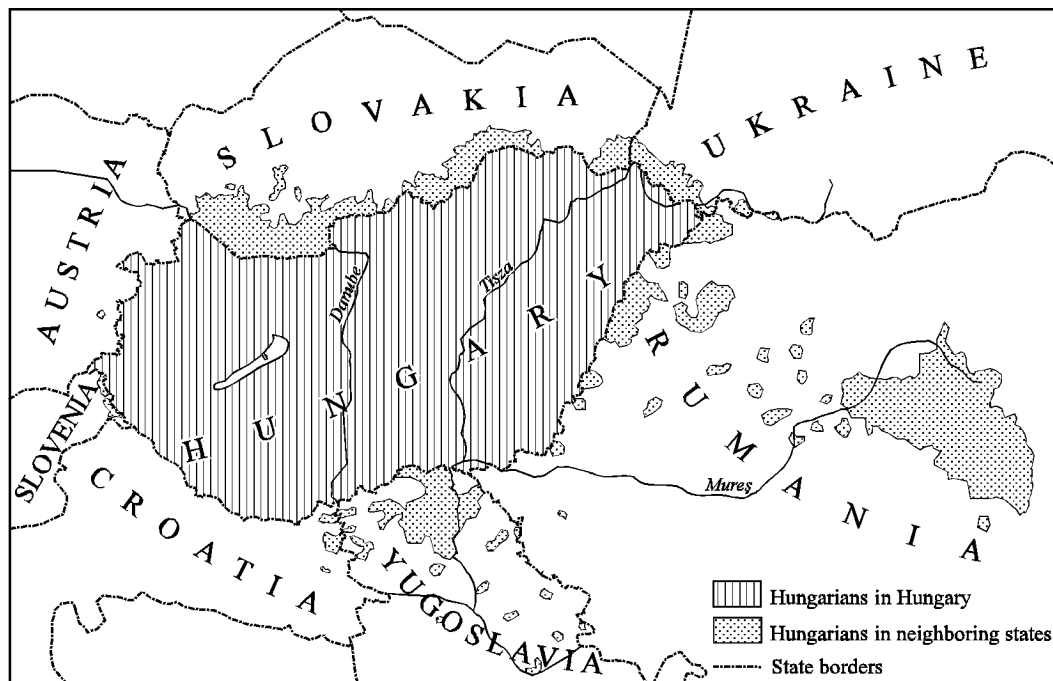
1. Hungarians
2. Sociolinguistic issues of Hungarian in Hungary
3. Sociolinguistic issues of Hungarian in the neighboring countries
4. Literature (selected)

### 1. Hungarians

At the turn of the 21<sup>st</sup> century at least one in four, possibly one in three native speakers of Hungarian live outside the Hungarian Republic. Genetically a Uralic language, Hungarian is unrelated to German, Rumanian, and the Slavic languages that it has been in contact with since the Hungarian Conquest of the Carpathian Basin in 895. For a millennium prior to World War I, historical Hungary extended over the entire central Danubian Basin, with a largely multilingual and multiethnic population. Following the dissolution of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and the Peace Treaty of Trianon in 1920, Hungary lost about two-thirds of her territory and population to Czechoslovakia, Ru-

mania, Yugoslavia and Austria, and millions of ethnic Hungarians became citizens of another country overnight. For the different things that the terms Hungary, Hungarians, and the Hungarian language have meant at different times, see Sherwood (1998). Ludanyi (2001, 1996) is a good general survey of Hungarian minorities in the neighboring countries. According to the census of 1990, Hungarian is the mother tongue of all but 1.5% of Hungary's total population of 10375000. L1 speakers of Hungarian also include the indigenous Hungarian national minorities in Slovakia (c. 600000), Ukraine (c. 180000), Rumania (c. 2000000), Yugoslavia/Serbia (c. 300000), Croatia, Slovenia, and Burgenland, Austria (less than 10000 each), see Map 1. Hungarian is spoken by an estimated one million speakers in the diasporas in west Europe, the Americas, and other continents; e. g., according to the 1980 U.S. census, 178995 people used Hungarian in their home.

L2 speakers of Hungarian in Hungary account for 1.5% of the country's population.



Map 176.1: Hungarians in the Carpathian Basin

(Map copyright by László Sebők, Teleki László Alapítvány, Budapest)

Tab. 176.1: Speakers of standard Hungarian as shown by oral sentence completion tasks and judgment tasks of five variables by a countrywide representative survey, N = 832

	<i>t</i> -final verbs 1	<i>t</i> -final verbs 2	nVk	-e	bVn
Oral sentence completion	93.4%	80.7%	85.2%	no data	no data
Judgment	70%	43.4%	52%	62.3%	39.1%

According to the 1990 census, Gypsy was claimed as their mother tongue by 48 072 people, German by 37 511, Croatian by 17 577, Slovak by 12 745, Rumanian by 8 730, Serbian by 2 963, and Slovenian by 2 627 people. A comparison with the 1970 census figures shows a 27.3% increase for speakers of Gypsy and a 5.2% increase for German, but a steady decrease for the other languages from Croatian (-19.6%) to Serbian (-63.1%). Detailed accounts of Hungary's minority languages are given in Kontra (1997a), Heský (1997), Gal (1995), Nyomárkay/Schubert (1997), Schubert/Szabó (1997); Gyivicsán/Schubert (1997), Borbély (1997, 2001), Réger (1995), Szalai (1999), Muzsnai (1999) and Fenyvesi (1998). Hungarian-American English contact is described in, for instance, Bartha (1995/96), Fenyvesi (1995a) and Kontra (1990), and Hungarian-Australian English contact in Kovács (2001).

## 2. Sociolinguistic issues of Hungarian in Hungary

### 2.1. Standard and nonstandard

The Hungarian language community in Hungary is a normatively oriented one with a strong tradition of stigmatizing nonstandard dialects and glorifying standard Hungarian as codified by purists (called *nyelv-művelők* 'language cultivators') associated with the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. In Hungary standard (literary) Hungarian is held up as the ideal variety to use in nearly all speech situations by hopefully all members of the nation, and nonstandard varieties are regarded as forms of careless and/or uneducated speech which may hinder mutual intelligibility. In reality, though, all varieties of Hungarian (with the exception of Csángó-Hungarian in Moldavia, Rumania, see Sándor (2000)), are highly mutually intelligible and the differences are much smaller than between, say, British English dialects. The ideal norms of language use propagated by language cultivators and school teachers are at variance with the real use of Hungarian by large numbers of speakers, as shown by

findings in the Hungarian National Sociolinguistic Survey (HNSs), the first empirical study based on a random stratified sample of literate adult Hungarians in Hungary (N=832), which was conducted at the eleventh hour of socialism, in 1988 (Kontra 1995; 2003, ed.). Table 176.1 shows the social distribution of oral sentence completion data and grammaticality judgment data on five selected variables. The variables are: (a) *t*-final verbs 1, in which standard Hungarian maintains a difference between indicative forms of verbs ending in a vowel+*t* such as *arat-ja* 'harvest-3SG.IND.DEF' and the imperative *aras-sa* 'harvest-3SG.IMP.DEF' but nonstandard Hungarian uses the latter for both functions; (b) *t*-final verbs 2, in which the same happens to verbs ending in an obstruent+*t* such as *halaszt-ja* 'postpone-3SG.IND.DEF' and *halasz-sza* 'postpone-3SG.IMP.DEF'; (c) the conditional suffix (nVk), which is invariable in standard Hungarian as in *en-nék* 'eat-1SG.CON' and *alud-nék* 'sleep-1SG.CON' but variable in nonstandard Hungarian: *alud-nák* 'sleep-1SG.CON'; (d) the placement of the interrogative particle *-e* 'whether', which in standard Hungarian must be attached to the V in the VP, but in other varieties it can be attached elsewhere, see Kassai (1995); and (e) the variable (bVn), that is the inessive case-ending meaning 'in', which has two variants: standard [bVn] and nonstandard [bV], the latter coincides with the standard illative suffix (bV) 'into'. Table 176.1 demonstrates that the speakers in the countrywide representative sample whose judgments correspond to codified standard Hungarian vary from 39 to 70%, and those who used standard Hungarian in the oral sentence completion tasks vary from 81 to 93%.

As can be seen from Tab. 176.1, in some cases language cultivators and school teachers aim to change the speechways and the notions of correct speech of more than half the population of Hungary. The majority of language cultivators and teachers subscribe to an elimination of nonstandard dialects philosophy rather than viewing standard and nonstandard Hungarian in an additive

relationship. Tab. 176.1 also shows that different phonological realizations of the same functional shift are stigmatized to different degrees: the nonstandard use of standard imperative forms for indicative forms is much more stigmatized in case of vowel+*t* stems than obstruent+*t* stems. Nonstandard speakers form an implicational scale: those who use the imperative declaratives with vowel+*t* stems also use them with obstruent+*t* stems, but the converse does not necessarily hold (Váradi/Kontra 1995).

## 2.2. Stigmatization and hypercorrection

Pléh (1995) studied stigmatization and hypercorrection in the HNSS and found that both processes are rampant in Hungarian. For instance, the stigmatized [bV] variant of the inessive case-ending variable (bVn) 'in' was accepted in 57% of the cases, and the hypercorrect variant [bVn] of the illative case-ending variable (bV) 'into' was accepted in 50%. Pléh suggests that the high incidence of hypercorrection in Hungarian may result from the strong stigmatization processes, and "In language communities where most of the speakers are subject to public channels of stigmatization and where low-status speakers also have access to high-status forms (Pléh, 1995)" a situation different from Labov-hypercorrection or group hypercorrection described by Labov in New York City can develop.

## 2.3. The locus of standard Hungarian

In contrast to long-standing views held mainly by intellectuals that the Budapest variety of Hungarian is incorrect, corrupt or ugly, there is some attitudinal evidence to Budapest as being the locus of standard Hungarian. In the HNSS study most speakers believed the most beautiful Hungarian is spoken in Budapest: 11.6% of those giving a valid answer (N=682) to "Where is the most beautiful Hungarian spoken?" named the capital. In a matched guise study Sándor/Langman/Pléh (1998) found strong associations between standard Hungarian speech and Budapest.

## 2.4. The effect of the typewriter on vowel shortening

Until the 1980s Hungarian typewriters lacked the keys for the long high vowels *í*, *ú* and *ű*. Many linguists claimed that this deficiency of the keyboards had been accelerating the spread of short high vowels at the ex-

pense of the corresponding long vowels in Hungarian speech. Using data from the Budapest Sociolinguistic Interview project, Pintzuk et al (1995) carried out a VARBRUL analysis to test the effect of typewriters on Hungarian reading style and found that four factors significantly affected vowel shortening: round vowels were shortened more frequently than the unround *í*, university students disfavored shortening more than speakers of other SES, fast reading yielded more frequent short vowels than normal reading tempo, and vowels were more frequently read short when typed short than when they were typed long. Pintzuk et al. (1995) claim that variation in speech is a more complex phenomenon than was proposed by Labov's audio-monitoring theory, and that orthography may interact in subtle ways with contextual styles, speech tempo, SES, and phonological environment. Nevertheless there remain many unanswered questions about Hungarian vowel shortening, and until they are answered, "the Hungarian typewriter is much less the cause of high vowel shortening than it is a scapegoat."

## 2.5. Educational malpractice: Gypsies and the Deaf

According to Baugh (1999), educational malpractice refers to the miseducation of schoolchildren by trained teachers. In a similar fashion to the linguistic diversity of the United States, Hungary has (a) students for whom standard Hungarian is native, abbreviated SHN, (b) those for whom standard Hungarian is not native, SHNN, and (c) those for whom Hungarian is not native, HNN. The most conspicuous cases of educational malpractice in Hungary concern two groups of HNN students: the Gypsies whose mother tongue is Gypsy or Boyash (a dialect of Rumanian), and the Hungarian students who are medically deaf. While most Gypsies in Hungary are native speakers of Hungarian, more than 48000 claimed Gypsy or Boyash as their mother tongues in the 2001 census. Almost all of their children are educated through the medium of Hungarian only, and the state's denial of their right to education in their mother tongue results in their dramatic overrepresentation among the unemployed. Discrimination based on the language of instruction gives rise to lifelong unemployment for many of them. This is a case of the rightholders' misidentification on the basis of mother tongue

(Kontra et al. 1999). In the case of medically deaf Hungarian students, who will never learn to hear, current oralist teaching practice deprives them of their right to develop a linguistic competence by age three, and it deprives the Deaf or hearing children born to Deaf parents of their right to a mother tongue, that is Hungarian Sign Language. This is a case of the rightholders' misidentification due to a lack of sound medical diagnosis. What is deemed to be good for the majority of the minority (for the hard-of-hearing who may learn to hear) is presented as good for all of the minority by obfuscating the heterogeneity of the rightholders (Kontra et al. 1999).

### 3. Sociolinguistic issues of Hungarian in the neighboring countries

According to official censuses, 2773944 people declared Hungarian as their mother tongue in Hungary's seven neighboring countries in the early 1990s. More than half of the minority Hungarians live in settlements with a local Hungarian majority: 70 to 77% of the Hungarians in Slovakia, Subcarpathia (Ukraine), and Slovenia, and approximately 56% each in Vojvodina (Yugoslavia) and in Rumania form a local majority in the villages and towns where they live. In 1990–91 there were 1410 localities with a Hungarian majority population in the neighboring countries. Linguistic assimilation is shown, for instance, by the number of native Hungarian speakers in Croatian-majority territories being 12% lower than those of Hungarian ethnic affiliation (Kocsis/Kocsis-Hodosi 1998, 25). A representative survey of minority Hungarians showed in 1999 that the overwhelming majority of those in Slovakia, Rumania, and Subcarpathia (Ukraine) believe their Hungarian minority has prospects of long-term maintenance. One in four minority Hungarians would like to emigrate to Hungary or an EU country. Visa-free travel has become a thorny issue since Hungary became a member of the European Union in 2004. In 2001 the Hungarian parliament passed a controversial law which grants special status to the Hungarians of neighboring countries. According to a statement made by Hungary's Prime Minister, the government aims to grant minority Hungarians a status 'more than a tourist's, but less than a citizen's'. Throughout the 20<sup>th</sup> century, state borders

changed often and as a result many people have held five different citizenships without ever leaving their hometown. The language rights situation of Hungarian minorities has varied from country to country and from time to time since 1920. Ever since the end of World War I, most of Hungary's neighboring states have exercised linguistic policies towards their Hungarian minorities. In what is probably a unique case, some leading Slovak linguists played an active role in designing and implementing linguisticism (Skutnabb-Kangas/Phillipson 1996) in Slovakia in the 1990s (see Simon/Kontra 2000). Recently the worst violations of linguistic human rights have been experienced by the Csángó-Hungarians in Moldavia, Rumania (Sándor 1999), but serious language conflicts have also been occurring in Slovakia, Transylvania (Rumania), Yugoslavia, and Subcarpathia (see, e.g. Kontra 1995/96; 1996; Jordan 1998, 216; Orosz/Cserniczkó 1999, 63–83). The indigenous Hungarians in Burgenland, Austria are in the final phase of peaceful language shift (Gal 1979).

#### 3.1. Contact varieties of Hungarian

With one exception (Gal 1979), the contact varieties of Hungarian in the neighboring countries began to be seriously studied only after the fall of communism in 1989 (Kontra 1997b). In 1996 a seven-country empirical survey was conducted with a quota sample stratified for age, education and settlement type in Slovakia (N=108), Ukraine (N=144), Rumania (N=216), Yugoslavia (N=144), Slovenia (N=67) and Austria (N=60), with a control group in Hungary (N=107), see Kontra (1998; 2001), Cserniczkó (1998), Göncz (1999), Cserniczkó/Fenyvesi (2000), Lanstyák (2000) and Fenyvesi, ed. (2005). In a written questionnaire study of high schoolers in Slovakia and Hungary, Lanstyák/Szabó Mihály (1996) found that a greater percentage of bilingual students with Hungarian as the medium of instruction used the codified standard Hungarian form *alsz-om* 'sleep-1SG.IND' vs. *alsz-ok* 'same, less formal' than monolingual Hungarian students in Hungary. (These two verb-forms are an example of universal Hungarian variables, which vary across the entire Hungarian-speaking area and have no parallel constructions in the contact languages.) The authors offer a psychosocial explanation for such phenomena: the Hungarians in Slovakia demonstrate a strong sense of belonging

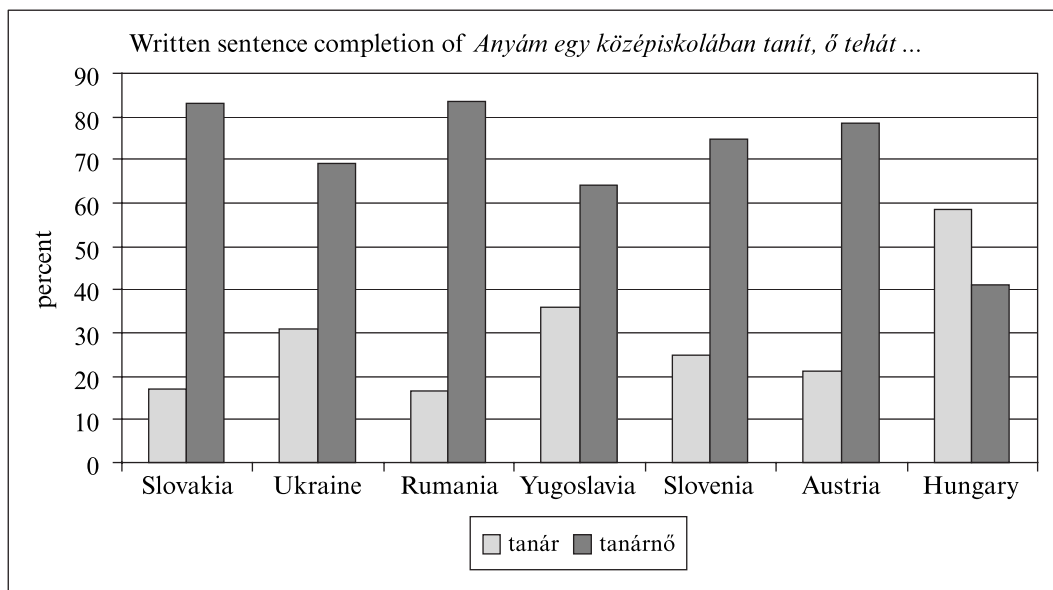


Fig. 176.1: The use of overt gender marking of profession nouns by Hungarians in seven countries. Written sentence completion. N=807. Chi-square (df = 6) = 73.118,  $p < .001$

to the Hungarian (cultural) nation but their 'Hungarianness' is often called into question by both the Slovaks and the Hungarians in Hungary. In their attempt to compensate for linguistic differences, Hungarians in Slovakia may overfulfill the norm or outperform Hungarians in Hungary.

The seven-country study has revealed statistically significant differences in the use of universal contact variables, that is variables which vary both in Hungary and in the neighboring countries, and one of whose variants has an analogous variant in the contact languages. In metropolitan Hungarian, compound profession nouns with the component *-nő* 'woman' are only used when it is important to stress the referent's gender. Such nouns were used by significantly more Hungarians in the neighboring countries than in Hungary. Fig. 176.1 shows the respondents in seven countries on the written sentence completion task *Anyám egy középiskolában tanít, ő tehát ...* (*tanár* 'teacher' or *tanárnő* 'teacher+woman') 'My mother teaches in a high school so she is a ...'.

Many differences have been described between Hungarian in Hungary and the contact

varieties (see Csernicskó 1998; Göncz 1999; Lanstyák 2000). For instance, as part of the seven-country survey, Csernicskó/Fenyvesi (2000) found that in 13 of the 16 variables studied, the rate of standard answers on judgment and sentence completion tasks was higher in Hungary than in Subcarpathia (Ukraine). They have also found some social differences: when sex was significant, women were more standard than men, and speakers' education and settlement type also showed important correlations with linguistic behavior. For instance, local-minority Hungarians (those constituting less than 30% of the population of a locality) always favored the contact-induced forms more than local-majority Hungarians (70+ % of the population of a locality). For example, as a result of the contact of Hungarian (a pro-drop language) with Slovak, Ukrainian and Russian, Rumanian, and Serbian (languages with overt objects), it can be expected that a construction with overt object will be more frequently used in contact varieties than in metropolitan (monolingual) Hungarian. When informants had to choose the more natural sentence of (i) and (ii):

(i)	<i>Tegnap</i>	<i>lát-t-alak</i>	a	<i>tévé-ben</i>
	yesterday	see-PAST-1SG.2OBJ	the	TV-in
(ii)	<i>Tegnap</i>	<i>lát-t-alak</i>	<i>téged</i>	<i>tévé-ben</i>
	yesterday	see-PAST-1SG.2OBJ	you.ACC	the TV-in
	'I saw you on TV yesterday.'			

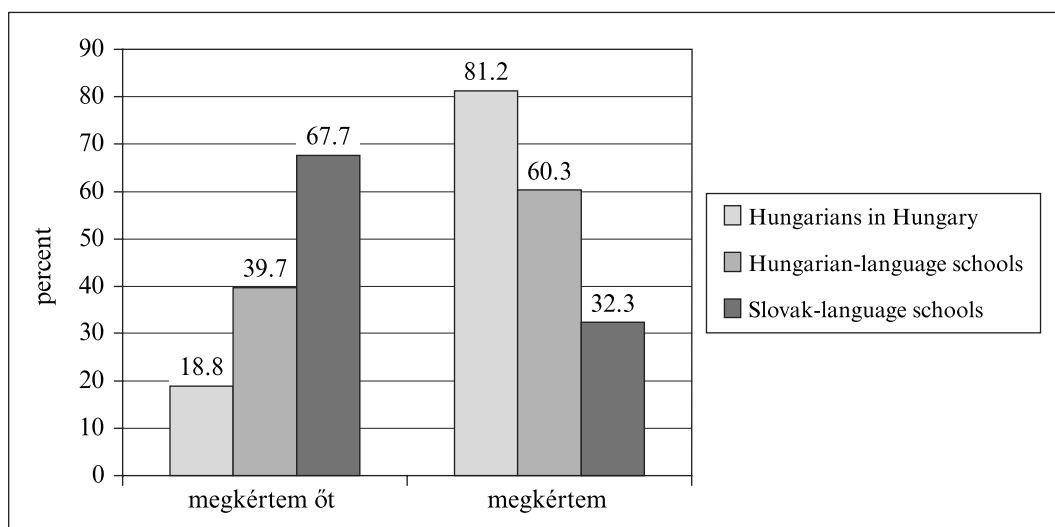


Fig. 176.2: Choosing the more natural sentence with pro-drop (*megkértem*) or with contact-induced overt object (*megkértem őt*) by three groups of Hungarian high schoolers, N = 798 (based on Lanstyák/Szabó Mihály 1997, 90–91)

37.7% of the local-minority subjects chose (ii) with the overt object as opposed to 27.7% of the local-majority subjects in Slovakia, Ukraine, Rumania and Yugoslavia, N = 536, a significant difference at the .05 level. This is empirical proof of ‘many more source-language speakers than borrowing-language speakers’ as a factor which increases the intensity of contact and hence borrowing hypothesized by Thomason/Kaufman (1988, 72), see Kontra (2001, 175–176).

### 3.2. Diglossia, pluricentricity, and education

Lanstyák/Szabó Mihály (1996) have claimed that there is an ongoing spontaneous standardization of Hungarian in Slovakia. Lanstyák (1994) has made an empirically and theoretically well-grounded proposal to view Hungarian in Slovakia and in Hungary as being in diglossia (see Fenyvesi 1995 b), and Lanstyák (1995) has demonstrated that Hungarian is a pluricentric language, with its dominant center in Hungary, and at least four other important centers in Slovakia, Ukraine, Rumania and Serbia. For the Hungarian national minorities the most important educational issue concerns the language of instruction. Lanstyák/Szabó Mihály (1996, 128) claim that “schools with Hungarian as the language of instruction counteract divergences typical of bilingual speech communities”. The important role of the language of instruction has been amply demonstrated

by Lanstyák/Szabó Mihály (1997). Figure 176.2, based on data in Lanstyák/Szabó Mihály (1997, 90–91), demonstrates significant differences between high schoolers in Hungary, high schoolers in Slovakia who go to Hungarian-language schools, and those who go to Slovak-language schools (N = 798). Informants had to choose the more natural of the two sentences *Találkoztam Hedviggel, s (i) megkértem őt* or (ii) *megkértem őt, hogy vegyen nekem egy kiflit* ‘I met Hedwig and asked her to buy me a croissant’. Nearly twice as many informants who go to Slovak-language schools chose the contact-induced form with the overt object *őt* ‘her’ as informants who go to Hungarian-language schools.

The right of minority Hungarians to learn the state language and preferably from bilingual teachers has been undermined by the reality of (a) attempts in Slovakia to employ monolingual Slovak teachers to teach Hungarian school children, (b) a total lack of Ukrainian-Hungarian school books and dictionaries and a dearth of teachers qualified to teach Ukrainian to Hungarians, and (c) the materials and methods used to teach them Rumanian as if it were their mother tongue (see Szilágyi 1999).

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## 177. Rumänien und Moldau/Romania and Moldavia

1. Einleitung
2. Geschichtlicher Hintergrund
3. Demographische Daten
4. Sprachliche Verhältnisse
5. Forschung
6. Literatur (in Auswahl)

### 1. Einleitung

Für die Behandlung Rumäniens (*Republica România*) und der Moldau (*Republica Moldova*) in einem Artikel sprechen gewichtige Gründe. Zum einen haben beide Staaten trotz der unterschiedlichen offiziellen Bezeichnun-

gen ‚Rumänisch‘ (*limba română*) bzw. ‚Moldauisch‘ (*limba moldovenească*) eine identische Staatssprache, nämlich Dakorumänisch. Sie gehört zusammen mit Arumunisch, Meglenorumänisch und Istrorumänisch zum ostromanischen Sprachzweig. Ferner bestehen zwischen den beiden heute selbständigen Staaten enge geschichtliche Verflechtungen, die sich über mehrere Jh. herausgebildet haben. Soziolinguistische Untersuchungen müssen zum besseren Verständnis der gegenwärtigen, sehr komplizierten Beziehungen innerhalb und zwischen beiden Staaten die historischen Wurzeln der Probleme berücksichtigen.



## 2. Geschichtlicher Hintergrund

### 2.1. Rumänien

Sprachlich und ethnisch verstehen sich die Rumänen als Nachfahren der autochthonen Daker sowie der römischen Kolonisten, welche nach der Eroberung Daciens durch Trajan (101–5) ins Land kamen. Obwohl die römische Kolonie Dacia nur bis 271 Bestand hatte, und das heutige Gebiet Rumäniens dann von weiteren Einwanderungs- und Eroberungswellen erfasst wurde, hat die rumänische Sprache ihre Latinität bewahrt. Die Eroberung Transsylvaniens (dt. *Siebenbürgen*, ung. *Erdély*) durch die Madjaren ab dem 9. Jhs. ist ein anderes wichtiges Element, das die Bevölkerungsstruktur und Sprachlandschaft dauerhaft geprägt hat. Ab Mitte des 11. Jhs. siedelten ferner die deutschsprachigen ‚Siebenbürger Sachsen‘ in Transsylvanien, und sie bildeten zusammen mit den ab dem 18. Jh. eingewanderten ‚Banater Schwaben‘ die drittgrößte Bevölkerungs- und Sprachgruppe. Das Gebiet gehörte zunächst zum Königreich Ungarn und dann zur Habsburger Monarchie und wurde religiös vom Katholizismus bzw. später auch vom Protestantismus sowie schriftsprachlich lange Zeit vom Latein dominiert. In den Gebieten östlich und südlich der Karpaten entstanden ab dem Spätmittelalter kleinere Fürstentümer, die allmählich in den Fürstentümern Moldau und Walachei (*Tara românească*) aufgingen. Geprägt wurden sie von der Orthodoxie, die bis ins 18. Jh. in Liturgie und Schrifttum die kirchenslavische Sprache verwendete. Diese fremde Liturgie- und Schriftsprache sowie das von den Orthodoxen benutzte kyrillische Alphabet wurden schrittweise von der rumänischen Sprache und dem lateinischen Alphabet abgelöst. Abgesehen vom vorübergehenden Zusammenschluss unter Mihai Viteazul Ende des 16. Jhs. führten die Rumänen in den drei Gebieten bis ins 19. Jh. weitgehend ein Eigenleben, ohne jedoch ihr ethnisches und sprachliches Zusammengehörigkeitsgefühl zu verlieren. Die heutige Republik Rumänien ist das Resultat eines Einigungsprozesses, der 1859 mit der Vereinigung der Fürstentümer Moldau und Walachei in die entscheidende Phase trat und 1918 mit dem Anschluss Transsylvaniens und des Banats abgeschlossen wurde. Ein Teil Transsylvaniens musste jedoch nach dem Diktat von Wien 1940 wieder an Ungarn abgetreten

werden, was 1947 im Vertrag von Paris rückgängig gemacht wurde.

### 2.2. Moldau

‚Moldau‘ (rum. *Moldova*) bezeichnet sowohl das Gebiet westlich wie auch östlich des Grenzflusses Pruth, das die heutige Republik Moldau und die gleichnamige Region in Nordostrumänien umfasst und vom 14. Jh. bis 1812 eine politische Einheit bildete. Trotz gelegentlicher Grenzverschiebungen wurde die territoriale Integrität des zunächst unabhängigen Fürstentums und des späteren türkischen Vasallenstaates bis zum Ende der Osmanenherrschaft nicht in Frage gestellt. Erst mit der Expansion Russlands nach Südosteuropa in Folge der Türkenkriege geriet die Einheit der Moldau in Gefahr, und der östliche Teil wechselte mehrmals den Besitzer. ‚Bessarabien‘, wie der östliche Teil der Moldau zwischen Dnjestr (rum. *Nistru*) und Pruth anfangs von den Russen genannt wurde, entwickelte sich zum Zankapfel zwischen Rumänien und dem Nachbarn im Osten. Von 1812 bis 1918 gehörte es zu Russland bzw. zur Sowjetunion, dann von 1918 bis 1940 zu Rumänien. Im Jahre 1924 gründete die Sowjetunion die „Autonome moldauische Sowjetrepublik“ am Ostufer des Dnjestrs, das nie Teil der Moldau war, um ihren Anspruch auf ganz Bessarabien fortzuschreiben. Nach dem Diktat von Wien fiel es zusammen mit der Bukowina an die Sowjetunion und wurde im Krieg erneut von den Rumänen besetzt. Im Vertrag von Paris 1947 wurde die 1944 erfolgte Wiederangliederung an die Sowjetunion bestätigt, und 1990 entstand dort die souveräne und 1991 für unabhängig erklärte Republik Moldau, die seit 1994 Mitglied der GUS ist. Das unterschiedliche Schicksal der von Rumänen bewohnten Gebiete hat tiefe Spuren in den sprachlichen Verhältnissen hinterlassen, was deutlich in den Spannungen mit den Minderheiten in Transsylvanien oder im weiterhin schwelenden Streit um die offizielle Bezeichnung und Stellung der Staatssprache in der Republik Moldau zum Ausdruck kommt.

## 3. Demographische Daten

Für die erheblichen Unterschiede in der gegenwärtigen sprachlichen Situation beider Länder sind auch die abweichenden demographischen Verhältnisse verantwortlich. Während in Rumänien nach der Volkszäh-

lung von 1992 von den insgesamt 22760449 Einwohnern 89,4% Rumänen sind, gibt es nach der Volkszählung von 1989 in der Moldaurepublik 4332263 Einwohner und nur 64,5% rumänische Moldauer. Die restlichen 10,6% bzw. 35,5% verteilen sich auf zahlreiche Minderheiten, von denen jeweils nur 2–3 Gruppen eine größere Bedeutung zukommt. In Rumänien gab es 1992 (1977) 7,1 (7,9)% Madjaren und nur noch 0,5 (1,7)% Deutsche; sie stellten früher die zweitgrößte Gruppe dar und wurden inzwischen von den Zigeunern mit 1,8 (1,1)% überflügelt. Die übrigen Minderheiten – in der Größenordnung von 0,1% und weniger – haben seit 1977 ebenfalls bis auf einige Ausnahmen abgenommen. Die stärksten Abnahmen verzeichnen die Deutschen mit 66,7%, gefolgt von den Juden mit 63,1%, den Kroaten mit 44,3%, den Griechen mit 37,8% usw. Den größten Zuwachs haben hingegen die Zigeuner mit 80,2%, ihnen folgen die Türken, Ukrainer und Russen mit jeweils etwa einem Viertel, d.h. 6 000 bis 10 000 Personen, während der Anteil der Rumänen nur um 7,1% wuchs. In größter Konzentration findet man die ungarisch sprechende Minderheit unter der Bezeichnung *Székely* im östlichen Teil Transsylvaniens, wo dieses madjarisierte Turkvolk nach der ungarischen Landnahme ab dem 9. Jh. angesiedelt wurde (Krefeld-Schmitt 1989, 231). In den Bezirken Harghita und Covasna erreicht ihr Bevölkerungsanteil sogar bis zu 90%, während in den Grenzgebieten zu Ungarn überall die Rumänen die Mehrheit haben. Der deutsche Anteil hat in den traditionellen Siedlungsgebieten um Kronstadt, Schäßburg, Hermannstadt und Temeschwar aufgrund der massiven Abwanderung unter der Ceausescu-Diktatur erheblich abgenommen. Während sich für die Zigeuner keine traditionellen Siedlungsgebiete angeben lassen, leben auch die übrigen Minderheiten meist in kompakten Gruppen zusammen und sprechen noch ihre jeweiligen Muttersprachen, für die größtenteils ein schulisches Angebot besteht. In der Republik Moldau verteilen sich die 35,5% für die Minderheiten im wesentlichen auf die Ukrainer 13,8%, Russen 12,9%, Gagausen 3,5% und Bulgaren 2,1%. Während die Russen fast ausschließlich in den Städten wohnen und dort in einigen Fällen sogar die Mehrheit stellen, leben die Rumänen mehrheitlich auf dem Lande. Die Gagausen und Bulgaren haben im Süden und die Ukrainer im Norden

geschlossene Siedlungsgebiete, wo sie manchmal den Anteil der Rumänen übertreffen.

#### 4. Sprachliche Verhältnisse

##### 4.1. Allgemeines

Die Verfassung beider Staaten legt fest, dass die Staatssprache Rumänisch ist, das allerdings östlich des Pruths offiziell ‚Moldauisch‘ genannt wird. Beide Länder garantieren dort und zusätzlich durch die Unterschrift unter die *Europäische Charta der Regional- oder Minderheitensprachen* (Rumänien: 17.07.95; Moldau: 20.11.96) den Gebrauch und Schutz der Minderheitensprachen, deren Verwendung in den Medien schon weitgehend sichergestellt ist. In Rumänien haben die Minderheiten mit dem Nationalitätenrat (*Consiliul pentru minoritățile naționale*) ein Organ zur Wahrnehmung ihrer Rechte und Interessen geschaffen. Er verwaltet die staatlichen Mittel und sichert u. a. den Druck der Schulbücher. Vor der Wende hatten die beiden größten Minderheiten bereits Sendezeiten im zentralen Rundfunk und Fernsehen sowie Kindergärten und Schulen. In Chișinău, wo die Presse und auch das Unterrichtswesen der rumänischsprachigen Mehrheit fast marginalisiert sind, hat die Akademie der Wissenschaften sogar ein Institut für die Probleme der nationalen Minderheiten eingerichtet. In der Republik Moldau gibt es ferner zwei autonome Gebiete mit Sonderregelungen für den Gebrauch der Minderheitensprachen. Das betrifft zunächst die um die Comrat entstandene Republik der Gagausen (*Gagauz Yeri*) – ein christliches, weitgehend russifiziertes Turkvolk – mit anerkanntem Autonomiestatus, wo neben Gagausisch vor allem Russisch und weniger die Sprache der Titularnation als *Lingua franca* verwendet wird (Troebst 1995, 577). Der Status der 1990 abgespaltenen russischsprachigen transnistrischen Republik (rus. *Pridnestrovskaja Moldavskaja Respublika*) um Tiraspol ist ungelöst. Dieses mehrheitlich von Russen und Ukrainern bewohnte Territorium hat weiterhin Russisch als Amtssprache und duldet *Moldauisch* nur in kyrillischer Schreibung. Ein wichtiger Grund für die Entstehung der autonomen Gebiete war die vom Obersten Sowjet im August 1989 verfügte Einführung des Rumänischen als Staatssprache und des lateinischen Alpha-

bets, was anfangs mit dem von den Minderheiten nicht geteilten Wunsch nach einer staatlichen Vereinigung mit Rumänien verknüpft wurde.

#### 4.2. Stellung der Amtssprachen

Schon die demographischen Zahlen lassen erkennen, dass sich die Situation beider Amtssprachen unterschiedlich darstellt. Während sie in Rumänien auf allen Gebieten eine unangefochtene Stellung hat, steht sie in der Moldaurepublik de facto unter dem Druck von 35% der Bevölkerung, die Russisch als Muttersprache bzw. als primäre Verkehrssprache (*lingua franca*) verwendet. Die Dominanz des Russischen im öffentlichen Bereich, die es durch seine unangefochtene Stellung als Amts- und Verkehrssprache im Zarenreich und in der ehemaligen Sowjetunion besaß und die sich in der GUS in abgeschwächter Form fortsetzt, blieb bestehen. Die Russifizierung der Moldau und auch des Moldauischen wurde während der Abhängigkeit von Russland bzw. der Sowjetunion kontinuierlich, wenn auch mit unterschiedlicher Intensität – unter Lenin weniger brutal als unter Stalin – betrieben (Gabinski 1997). Das zeigt sich besonders in den großen Städten des Landes, wo der Gebrauch des Russischen bisher kaum eingeschränkt wurde und diese Sprache vor allem im öffentlichen Bereich weiterhin dominant ist.

Die Versuche ab 1988, den Status des Rumänischen als Staatssprache in der Moldaurepublik zu festigen, haben bisher nur bescheidende Erfolge gezeitigt. Nicht nur die Russen, sondern auch die anderen Minderheiten zeigen wenig Neigung, Rumänisch zu lernen. Ungewöhnlich ist zudem, dass die Titularnation überwiegend zweisprachig ist und Russisch spricht (Dyer 1999, 86), während eine Minderheit, nämlich die Russen, aufgrund der besonderen historischen und politischen Umstände monolingual blieb. Die anderen Minderheiten sprechen ebenfalls Russisch und verfügen kaum über Rumänischkenntnisse (Haarmann 1997; 1936). Trotz des einhelligen Urteils der Wissenschaft wurde unter dem Druck der einflussreichen russischen sowie der russophilen Minderheiten die Staatssprache in der Verfassung von 1994 wieder als *Moldauisch* bezeichnet, und *Rumänisch*, was im inoffiziellen Sprachgebrauch weiterhin üblich ist, aus der vorhergehenden Fassung ersetzt. Der Terminus ist übrigens eine

Erfindung der sowjetischen Romanistik (Sergievskij 1936) ohne irgendeine wissenschaftliche Basis, und er fand daher außerhalb des Ostblocks nirgendwo eine nennenswerte Akzeptanz und stieß selbst in ihm – soweit sich das im totalitären System artikulieren ließ – gelegentlich auf Reserven. Das wichtigste äußere Merkmal des sogenannten *Moldauischen*, nämlich seine Schreibung mit dem kyrillischen Alphabet, wurde übrigens schon vor der politischen Wende wieder abgeschafft, so dass kein Unterschied mehr zwischen beiden Staatssprachen besteht (Heitmann 1989, 508). Die Russifizierung des geschriebenen *Moldauischen* scheint, wie Gabinski (1997, 210) feststellt, letztlich gescheitert zu sein, wenn auch der Regierungswechsel 1996 neue Probleme mit sich gebracht hat (Heitmann 1998, 123 ff).

Die gesprochene Sprache in der Moldau konnte sich freilich dem Druck der Russifizierung nicht entziehen. Daher wird von Sprachpflegern der ‚Semilinguismus‘ beklagt, der in sowjetischer Zeit sogar gefördert wurde, um den Unterschied den Rumänischen zu verstärken (Heitmann 1989a, passim). Gegenwärtig kann man das gesprochene *Moldauisch* durchaus noch als eine „slightly locally colored variety of Romanian“ bezeichnen (Gabinski 1997, 210).

#### 4.3. Stellung der Minderheitensprachen

In Rumänien sind alle Minderheiten bilingual und beherrschen neben ihrer Muttersprache, die sie meist in mundartlicher Form sprechen, auch das im Schulunterricht obligatorische Rumänisch, während die Rumänen die Minderheitensprachen selbst in Transsylvanien kaum noch sprechen, obwohl sie dort bis 1918 und während des 2. Weltkrieges in der Schule Ungarisch lernten. Der verfassungsmäßig garantierte Gebrauch der Minderheitensprachen unterliegt in der Praxis durchaus Beschränkungen (Krefeld-Schmitt 1989, 235 ff), die durch das Erziehungsgesetz von 1995 teilweise verschärft wurden. Amtliche Aufschriften sind in den Gebieten der Minderheiten meist zweisprachig, neuerdings auch die Ortstafeln. Weiterhin bestehen aber nationale Spannungen zwischen Ungarn und Rumänen in Transsylvanien, die sich manchmal sogar blutig entluden und in denen es um den Gebrauch der Sprache geht. In der Moldaurepublik hat die Sprache der Titular-

nation fast den Status einer Minderheitensprache, da die Minderheiten in der Regel als Verkehrssprache untereinander Russisch benutzen, das auch im öffentlichen Bereich weiterhin überall präsent ist. In den autonomen Gebieten wird das *Moldauische* teilweise sogar marginalisiert und in Transnistrien darf es zudem nicht mit lateinischen Buchstaben geschrieben werden (Gabinschi 1997, 209).

## 5. Forschung

### 5.1. Geschichte

Aus dem sehr detaillierten Forschungsüberblick von Ciolac (1989) über die rumänische Soziolinguistik bis zur Wende geht hervor, dass die Rezeption westlicher Forschungsansätze relativ früh begann und insbesondere von Cazacu und seinem Kreis soweit möglich umgesetzt wurde. Allerdings war die soziolinguistische Forschung in Rumänien und in der Sowjetunion zu jener Zeit ideologischen Beschränkungen unterworfen, insbesondere das Verhältnis zwischen den Nationalitäten sowie sozial bedingte Unterschiede des Sprachgebrauchs galten mehr oder weniger als Tabuthemen. Die Forschung in diesem Bereich war statt dessen meist historisch ausgerichtet und untersuchte die Entwicklung der Standardsprachen (Bahner 1967), den Ausbau des Moldauischen mit Hilfe des Russischen, lexikalische Entlehnungen aufgrund von Sprachkontakten usw. Nur die Dialektologie hatte einen gewissen ideologischen Freiraum und bezog gelegentlich soziolinguistische Aspekte unmittelbar in ihre Untersuchungen ein (Rusu 1982; Ciolac 1989). Synchrone, insbesondere mit dem Minderheitenproblem verbundene Fragen zur Mehrsprachigkeit und zur Stellung der Sprachen wurden fast nur im Westen behandelt (Petyt 1975; Steinke 1977) und waren dort nicht selten landsmannschaftlich gefärbt. Dort konnte man die territorialen Forderungen der jeweiligen Irredenta offen aussprechen, was in den Bruderstaaten des sozialistischen Lagers höchstens zwischen den Zeilen möglich war.

Für das *Moldauische* ist neben den grundlegenden Arbeiten von Heitmann auch Haarman (1978) zu nennen, der als einer der wenigen im Westen den Anspruch der Sowjets ernst nahm, eine neue Standardsprache zu

entwickeln, und den erreichten Status anhand der einschlägigen sowjetischen Arbeiten und der zugänglichen Statistiken zu überprüfen versuchte. In Rumänien, in der Moldaurepublik sowie in den ehemals sozialistischen Ländern fehlen einschlägige soziolinguistische Publikationen bzw. die vorhandenen gehen kaum auf aktuelle Probleme ein. Die Voraussetzungen für die Soziolinguistik haben sich inzwischen grundlegend verändert, und es werden dort mittlerweile gemeinsam und öffentlich so komplexe und brisante Themen wie das Verhältnis zwischen dem Rumänischen in beiden Staaten diskutiert (Limba română 1995), während es vorher höchstens indirekt z. B. durch die Übersetzung westlicher Werke geschah (Tagliavini 1977). Auch die nationale Emotionen erregende Kontinuitätsfrage, d. h. ob eine romanischsprachige Bevölkerung noch in Transsylvanien lebte, als dort die Ungarn eintrafen, steht wieder auf der Tagesordnung.

### 5.2. Aktuelle Problemfelder

Nach der Wende ergeben sich für die Soziolinguistik auch einige ganz neue Arbeitsfelder, dazu gehört insbesondere die totale Sprache (*limba de lemn*) des früheren politischen Systems (Vintilă-Rădulescu 1995). Vordringlich sind ferner empirische Untersuchungen, die mehr Klarheit in die tatsächlichen Verhältnisse bringen, die bisher nur aufgrund von Schätzungen und vorgefassten Meinungen diskutiert wurden. Erst mit ihrer Hilfe lassen sich der Status der verschiedenen Sprachen, der Umfang der Mehrsprachigkeit, die Attitüden und andere für die Sprachplanung relevante Aspekte klären. Ein wichtiger Bereich ist auch die Untersuchung der gesprochenen Sprache in beiden Staaten. Vom *Moldauischen* weiß man u. a., dass seine gesprochene Form von der Russifizierung stark betroffen war (Dyer 1999, 97), was zu entsprechenden sprachpflegerischen Diskussionen Anlass gab (Gabinschi 1997). Zweifellos wird die Forschung der nächsten Jahre noch viele wichtige Fragen in diesem Zusammenhang zu klären haben. Hinderlich bleibt bei der Behandlung vieler Fragen freilich die „unheilige Allianz“ zwischen Politik und Linguistik, die eine unvorgenommene Forschung ohne außerwissenschaftliche Vorgaben immer wieder erschwert.

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## 178. Die südslawische Region / The South-Slavic Area

1. Einleitung
2. Die südslawischen Sprachen
3. Slowenisch
4. Bosnisch/Kroatisch/Serbisch
5. Makedonisch
6. Bulgarisch
7. Ausblick
8. Literatur (in Auswahl)

### 1. Einleitung

Die südslawischen Idiome bilden ein ununterbrochenes sprachliches Kontinuum, in dem Nachbardialekte immer gegenseitig verständlich sind. Dieses Sprachgebiet wird im Norden von den Karawanken begrenzt. Von Nordwesten nach Südosten verläuft seine Grenze entlang der Adria von Istrien bis zum Skutarisee und weiter über die Nordalbanischen Alpen bis zum Ohrid- und Prespasee, biegt dann nach Osten, ohne das Ägäische Meer zu erreichen, und verläuft über das Rhodopengebirge bis zum Schwarzen Meer. Im Nordosten wird das Gebiet im Großen und Ganzen von der Drau begrenzt, umfaßt in der Vojvodina einen Teil des Einzugsgebiets von Donau und Theiß, folgt weiter dem Lauf der Donau und erreicht in der südlichen Dobrudscha das Schwarze Meer, dessen Küste seine östliche Begrenzung bildet. In den politischen Grenzen sind es im Wesentlichen die Nachfolgestaaten Jugoslawiens und Bulgariens. Nach den politischen Veränderungen ab 1989 werden auf dem Territorium des ehemaligen Jugoslawien (heute Slowenien, Kroatien, Bosnien-Herzegowina, Serbien und Montenegro, Makedonien) und Bulgariens folgende Staatssprachen, die in den jeweiligen Verfassungen verankert sind, gesprochen: Slowenisch, Kroatisch, Bosnisch, Serbisch, Makedonisch, Bulgarisch. Das Gebiet dieser Sprachen reicht stellenweise über die Staatsgrenzen hinaus: nach Österreich, Italien, Ungarn, Rumänien, Moldova, Griechenland, Albanien, in die Türkei, die Ukraine und nach Russland. Andererseits sind auch zahlreiche Minderheitensprachen in allen Staaten vertreten.

### 2. Die südslawischen Sprachen

Die südslawischen Sprachen sind Teil der slawischen Sprachfamilie. Sie besitzen nach

der in der Slawistik üblichen Abgrenzung Gemeinsamkeiten der phonetischen Entwicklung und im Wortschatz. Nach der grammatischen Entwicklung kann man jedoch das südslawische Sprachgebiet in zwei Teile teilen, in einen nordwestlichen, der die slowenische und bosnische/kroatische/serbische Sprache umfasst, und einen südöstlichen mit Makedonisch und Bulgarisch. Seine sprachlichen Unterschiede haben sich im Laufe des Mittelalters herausgebildet und sind strukturell tiefgreifend. Als innovativ kann der südöstliche Teil betrachtet werden. Es geht dabei um die sog. „Balkanisierung“, das heißt, eine konvergente Entwicklung auf allen Ebenen der Grammatik, die Bulgarisch und Makedonisch an Rumänisch, Albanisch und Griechisch angenähert hat. Die wichtigsten Erscheinungen sind: in der Phonetik der Verlust der Quantitätsopposition, in der Morphologie der Verlust der Nominaldeklinations, der postpositive Artikel, die Entwicklung eines reichhaltigen Verbal systems mit neun Tempora und dem Renarrativ. Während etwa im Slowenischen die Deklination von *lipa* ‚Linde‘ den ost- und westslawischen Sprachen entspricht (G.Sg. *lipe*, D. *lipi*, A. *lipo*, I. *lipo*, L. *lipi*, Pl. *lipe*, *lip*, *lipam*, *lipe*, *lipami*, *lipah*, dazu noch der Dual), sind es im Bulgarischen nur die Formen *lipa* für den Sg. und *lipi* für den Pl., mit dem bestimmten Artikel *lipata* ‚die Linde‘, *lipite* ‚die Linden‘. Der Verlust der Deklination hat wichtige syntaktische Unterschiede nach sich gezogen, nämlich den Gebrauch von Präpositionen und die Verdoppelung des Objekts im Balkanslawischen, z.B. blg. *na vas vi e izvestno tova* ‚euch ist dies bekannt‘. Während im Slowenischen nur die temporalen Kategorien Präsens, Präteritum, Plusquamperfekt und Futur bestehen, kommen im Bulgarischen dazu Aorist, Imperfekt, Futurum exactum, Futurum in der Vergangenheit und Futurum exactum in der Vergangenheit und dazu noch die entsprechenden Paradigmen im Renarrativ, z.B. blg. Präs. *piše* ‚er schreibt‘ : *pišel* ‚er schreibt (wie ich höre)‘ usw. Die Balkansprachen sind ferner durch zahlreiche gemeinsame Lehnwörter aus dem Türkischen und Griechischen charakterisiert. Die Grenzen zwischen den beiden Sprachgebieten sind nicht scharf, die südlichen und östlichen Teile des Serbischen nehmen ebenfalls an den balkanischen Ent-

wicklungen teil. In Bosnien sind Entlehnungen aus dem Türkischen weit verbreitet.

### 3. Slowenisch

#### 3.1. Sprachgebiet, Minderheiten, Statistik

Die slowenische Sprache wird in der Republik Slowenien (20255 km<sup>2</sup>) und in den Nachbarländern Italien, Österreich und Ungarn gesprochen (Karte Pohl 1997). Gemäß der jugoslawischen Volkszählung von 1991 (Seewann 1993, 81) hatte Slowenien 1962 606 Einwohner, darunter 87,6% Slowenen, 0,4% Ungarn, 0,1% Italiener und 0,1% Roma, während sich der Rest größtenteils auf verschiedene jugoslawische Binnenmigranten verteilte. Die jüngste Volkszählung fand zum 31. März 2002 statt. Die Einwohnerzahl wird mit 1964036 angegeben, der relative Teil der Slowenen beträgt 83,06% (Internet).

#### 3.2. Entstehung der Schriftsprache

Die Geschichte der slowenischen Schriftsprache beginnt mit dem *Katechismus in der windischen Sprache* von 1550. Sie ist vor allem einem Mann verbunden, dem Protestanten Primož Trubar, dessen erklärte Absicht im Zuge der Reformation es war, eine allen Slowenen verständliche Sprache zu schreiben. Mit seinen Katechismen, Übersetzungen von Teilen des Neuen Testaments und seinen Fibeln legte er den Grundstein für die überregionale Schriftsprache. Diese Tätigkeit wurde von anderen Protestanten, die 1584 die Bibel (Jurij Dalmatin), die erste Grammatik (Adam Bohorič) und 1594 das erste Wörterbuch (Hieronymus Megiser) herausbrachten, fortgesetzt. Die erste Blüte des slowenischen Schrifttums wurde durch die Gegenreformation zurückgedrängt, und so blieb es bis gegen Ende des 18. Jhs. auf die kirchliche Sphäre beschränkt. Wichtige Anstöße zur Weiterentwicklung der slowenischen Sprache wurden von Marko Pohlin, besonders mit seinen lexikographischen Werken, aber auch vom Mäzen Žiga Zois und zu Beginn des 19. Jhs. von Jernej Kopitar mit seiner *Grammatik der slavischen Sprache in Kärnten, Krain und Steiermark* (1809) und seiner wissenschaftlichen slawistischen Tätigkeit in Wien gegeben. Die dichterische Tätigkeit des Lyrikers France Prešeren (gest. 1849) zeigte erst die gestalterische Kraft der slowenischen Sprache auf. Die moderne Prosa wurde von Fran Levstik (gest. 1887) und Ivan Cankar (gest. 1918)

geschaffen. Die Frage der Standardisierung, besonders der Orthographie und Morphologie, zog sich durch das 19. Jh. dahin, wurde einmal im Sinne der Protestanten, dann wieder unter Einbeziehung einiger kyrillischer und erfundener Buchstaben und schließlich im Sinne der kroatischen Orthographie von Ljudevit Gajs Illyrischer Bewegung gelöst. Diese Bewegung war allerdings auch schädlich für die Slowenen, da sie alle Südslawen in einer gemeinsamen Schriftsprache vereinen und die Slowenen zur Aufgabe ihrer Muttersprache und zur Annahme der serbokroatischen Sprache bewegen wollte. Solche Bestrebungen (die die Sprache aber niemals ernsthaft bedrohten) konnten nur unter den gegebenen politischen Verhältnissen entstehen. Slowenien gehörte seit dem Beginn seiner Schriftsprache zum österreichischen Teil der Habsburgermonarchie und war nicht einmal eine administrative Einheit, sondern die Slowenen waren auf Krain, Kärnten, Steiermark, Istrien und Küstenland verteilt (ein ganz kleiner Teil befand sich in Ungarn). In diesem Staat spielte die slowenische Sprache nach dem Deutschen nur eine zweitrangige Rolle. Eine gemeinsame südslawische Sprache hätte diesen Status verändern können. Der Ausbau und die Standardisierung erreichten gegen Ende des 19. Jhs. ihren ersten Abschluß (Wörterbuch Pleteršniks, orthographische Werke, Grammatiken). Mit dem Ende des Ersten Weltkriegs schlossen sich die Slowenen dem Königreich der Serben, Kroaten und Slowenen (SHS) an, jedoch war auch hier die Sprache zeitweise durch die Hypothese der ‚serbo-kroato-slowenischen‘ Sprache bedroht. Durch den Mangel an slowenischen Schulbüchern wurden die Schüler vielfach gezwungen, Bücher aus Kroatien zu verwenden, was natürlich Folgen für ihre Sprachkenntnisse hatte. Eine wichtige Rolle für die Konsolidierung der slowenischen Sprache spielten die Gründung der Universität Ljubljana (1919) und der Slowenischen Akademie der Wissenschaften (1938).

#### 3.3. Sprache und Gesellschaft

In Jugoslawien war nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg die slowenische Sprache weiter in einem gewissen Ausmaß durch das Serbokroatische (im Allgemeinen in seiner serbischen Ausprägung) bedroht, z. B. durch militärische Einrichtungen, die auch zivile Bevölkerung serbokroatischer Sprache nach sich zogen, und durch die Binnenmigratio-

nen aus den südlicheren Republiken. Durch die phonetische und strukturelle Ähnlichkeit der beiden Sprachen konnten leicht serbokroatische Elemente in den slowenischen Substandard eindringen. Besondere Aufmerksamkeit wurde 1980–90 der slowenischen Sprache in der Öffentlichkeit gewidmet. Ein eigenes ‚Sprachgericht‘ (jezikovno razsodišče) bemühte sich, interferenzbedingte Fehler aufzuzeigen (Nećak Lük 1997, 1421).

Die slowenische Sprache war im Nachkriegsjugoslawien eine der ‚Sprachen der Völker‘, eine definierte Staatssprache gab es nicht, und Slowenisch war auch nicht offizielle Sprache der Republik Slowenien. In den geplanten Änderungen der Verfassung von 1974, zu denen es nicht mehr kommen sollte, war die serbokroatische Sprache als gesamtjugoslawische Verkehrssprache vorgesehen (Vidovič Muha 1998, 61 Anm. 37). Die Gesetzgebung wurde auf Serbokroatisch konzipiert und in die anderen Sprachen übersetzt (Amtsblätter). In dieser Sprache wurden gewöhnlich auch die Diskussionen im jugoslawischen Parlament geführt. Noch in den 60-er Jahren war Serbokroatisch in der slowenischen Öffentlichkeit (Fernsehen, Rundfunk, Film) stark präsent und bis zur Unabhängigkeit war Serbokroatisch Pflichtgegenstand in den Schulen, allerdings mit geringen Stundenzahlen. Seit der Unabhängigkeitserklärung 1991 ist Slowenisch zum ersten Mal in seiner Geschichte Staatssprache. Mit dem jugoslawischen Konzept der Territorialverteidigung hatte die slowenische Sprache schon in den 70-er Jahren Verwendung als regionale Kommandosprache im Heer gefunden. Wegen der fehlenden oder nichtgenormten Fachterminologie gab es jedoch Schwierigkeiten. Mit der Unabhängigkeit war man gezwungen, eine eindeutige militärische Fachsprache zu schaffen. Offiziellen Status besitzen auch die Minderheitensprachen Ungarisch und Italienisch, die in ihrem Geltungsbereich gleichberechtigt sind. Diese beiden Sprachen genießen Schutz ohne Rücksicht auf die Zahl ihrer Sprecher, und Vertreter der Minderheiten sind in der Staatsversammlung (državni zbor), dem slowenischen Parlament, vertreten.

Die heute aufgezählten Probleme der slowenischen Sprache liegen in der Überfremdung, besonders durch Englisch in der Wirtschaft und Administration, durch die Gegenwart nichtslowenischer Firmennamen u. ä. in der Öffentlichkeit, durch die ‚unnötige‘ Einführung von Schulen mit anderer als

slowenischer Unterrichtssprache usw. (Toporišič 1997, 9f). Zu den aktuellen Themen der slowenischen Sprachpolitik und Sprachplanung gehören die Frage der gesprochenen Standardsprache (Pogorelec 1998) und die Frage, was die Slowenen in bezug auf ihre Sprache und Kultur in der EU erwarten wird (Aufsätze in Štrukelj 1998). Slowenien ist ein Land mit einer ausgeprägten Sprachkultur. Seit den 60er Jahren bestanden verschiedene Ansichten zur ‚Reinheit‘ der Sprache, puristische, antipuristische und kompromissbereite; letztere werden heute von den maßgeblichen Linguisten vertreten (Vidovič Muha 1998, 103f). Dazu sei angemerkt, dass aber selbst die antipuristischen Strömungen im Vergleich etwa zum Deutschen noch immer sehr puristisch sind.

In den Gemeinden mit ungarischer Bevölkerung (Prekmurje) ist der Primär- und Sekundärunterricht zweisprachig, an der Universität Maribor besteht ein Lehrstuhl für Ungarisch, es gibt eine ungarische Wochenzeitung (Népújság), lokale Rundfunksendungen und eine wöchentliche Fernsehsendung. Bei den Italienern des Küstenlandes gibt es Schulen mit italienischer Unterrichtssprache und Slowenisch als Gegenstand, eine Tageszeitung (Voce del popolo) und umfangreiche tägliche Fernseh- und Rundfunksendungen. Italienisch als universitäres Fach besteht in Laibach/Ljubljana. Die italienische Volksgruppe erstreckt sich auch nach Kroatien hinein, wobei die Aktivitäten in beiden Ländern koordiniert werden. Beide Volksgruppen besitzen ihre Kulturvereine und haben religiöse Aktivitäten in ihrer Muttersprache (Nećak Lük 1997, 1421f).

Durch die Grenzziehungen nach dem Ersten und Zweiten Weltkrieg ist heute Slowenien ein ethnisch sehr homogener Staat. Freilich blieb dadurch ein Teil der Slowenen außerhalb der Staatsgrenzen, und zwar in Italien, Österreich und Ungarn. Diese Slowenen haben gewisse garantierte Rechte, dennoch spielt das Slowenische in den Siedlungsgebieten außerhalb Sloweniens eine untergeordnete Rolle.

#### 4. Bosnisch/Kroatisch/Serbisch

##### 4.1. Sprach- und Bevölkerungsverhältnisse im ehemaligen Jugoslawien und heute

Nach der Entstehung Jugoslawiens mit dem Ende des Ersten Weltkriegs bis zu seinem Zerfall herrschte die Ideologie, dass es eine



gemeinsame serbokroatische Sprache, wenn auch mit zwei Varianten (Belgrad – Zagreb) gebe. Diese Sprache wurde in den Teilrepubliken Kroatien, Bosnien-Herzegowina, Serbien und Montenegro sowie als Minderheitensprache in Nachbarländern gesprochen (Karte Pohl 1997). Die Variantenproblematik wurde dadurch kompliziert, dass neben den Unterschieden in Lexik und Terminologie auch Unterschiede in der Aussprache des urslawischen *Jat* (z.B. *rijeka* Fluss, *rječica* Fließchen: *reka*, *rečica*) bestanden, die nicht mit den Einflussphären Zagrabs und Belgrads übereinstimmen.

Die Daten der Volkszählung 1991 für ganz Jugoslawien (Seewann 1993, 78ff) sehen folgendermaßen aus: Die Gesamtbevölkerung betrug 23 528 230 Einwohner, darunter 36,2% Serben, 19,7% Kroaten, 10% Muslime (Bosniaken), 9,3% Albaner, 7,5% Slowenen, 5,8% Makedonier, 3% Jugoslawen, 2,3% Montenegriner, 1,6% Ungarn. Gegenüber der Volkszählung von 1981 haben die Muslime einen Zuwachs von 17,65% und die Albaner einen solchen von 25,85% verzeichnet, während die Zahl der Jugoslawen infolge der politischen Polarisierung (um 41,25%) und die der Ungarn infolge Assimilation und niedriger Geburtenrate (um 11,2%) abnahm. Kroatien (56 538 km<sup>2</sup>) besaß eine Bevölkerungszahl von 4 760 344 Einwohnern, davon 77,9% Kroaten, 12,2% Serben, 2,2% Jugoslawen, 0,5% Ungarn, 0,4% Italiener, 0,3% Tschechen. Die jüngste Volkszählung fand in Kroatien zum 31. März 2001 statt. Demnach hatte Kroatien 4 437 760 Einwohner. Die Einwohnerzahl ist zurückgegangen. Das Verhältnis zwischen den Volksgruppen hat sich wesentlich verändert. Heute beträgt der Prozentsatz an Kroaten 89,63%. Die Zahl der Serben ist nach der Flucht der Krajina-Serben von 1995 auf 4,54% zurückgegangen, der Prozentsatz der übrigen Minderheiten sieht so aus: Italiener 0,44%, Ungarn 0,37%, Tschechen 0,24%, Roma 0,21% (Internet).

Bosnien-Herzegowina (51 129 km<sup>2</sup>) hatte eine Bevölkerungszahl von 4 364 574, darunter 43,7% Muslime (Bosniaken), 31,4% Serben, 17,3% Kroaten, 5,5% Jugoslawen. Innerhalb eines Jahrzehnts haben die Muslime um fast 17% zugelegt, während die Zahl der Serben und Kroaten abgenommen hat. Nach den Ereignissen des Krieges von 1992–95 mit den ethnischen Säuberungen ist nach Schätzung des *CIA-Factbook* (Internet) für Juli 1999 die Zahl der Bewohner auf

3 482 495 gesunken, wobei die Serben 40%, die Muslime 38% und die Kroaten 22% ausmachten. Die Bevölkerungsverluste gingen in erster Linie auf Kosten der Muslime. Die Daten für 2004 schätzen die Bevölkerung auf rund 4 Mio. Einwohner mit muslimischer Mehrheit.

Serbien (88 361 km<sup>2</sup>) hatte 9 791 475 Einwohner, darunter 65,8% Serben, 17,2% Albaner, 3,5% Ungarn, 3,2% Jugoslawen, 2,4% Muslime, 1,4% Roma, 0,6% Slowaken, 0,4% Rumänen, 0,3% Bulgaren, 0,2% Ruthenen (Russinen), 0,2% Vlahen, 0,1% Türken. Die Volkszählung wurde von den Albanern boykottiert, die angegebene Zahl wurde vom Statistischen Provinzamt Kosovo geschätzt, in Wirklichkeit war die Zahl der Albaner wesentlich größer (vgl. Newkowsky 1997, 1409). Das *CIA-Factbook* gibt für 1999 für Serbien 10 526 478 Einwohner an, die Differenz zu 1991 dürfte zu Gunsten der Albaner gehen. Die jüngste Volkszählung fand 2002 statt, und zwar nur in Serbien ohne Kosovo, und auch nicht in Montenegro. Aus den Daten geht hervor, dass die Bevölkerungszahl dieses Gebiets 7 479 437 Personen ausmacht, was einen Rückgang auf 99,1% der Bevölkerungszahl von 1991 ausmacht. In der Vojvodina beträgt der Anteil der Ungarn 14,28%. Das *CIA-Factbook* schätzt die Bevölkerungszahl Serbiens und Montenegros für 2005 auf 10,8 Mio.

Montenegro (13 812 km<sup>2</sup>) hatte 6 152 76 Einwohner, darunter 61,8% Montenegriner, 14,6% Muslime, 9,3% Serben, 6,6% Albaner, 4% Jugoslawen.

Im Vergleich zu 1981 fällt das starke Anwachsen der Zahl der Albaner in Serbien um 29,4% (in Wirklichkeit noch mehr), in Montenegro um 8,3%, ebenso das Anwachsen der Zahl der Muslime in Serbien um 10,3%, in Montenegro um 15,2% auf. Die Türken leben im Kosovo, ihre Zahl geht trotz hoher Geburtenrate wegen ihrer Auswanderung in die Türkei zurück.

#### 4.2. Entstehung der Standardsprachen: Serbokroatisch, Serbisch, Kroatisch, Bosnisch

Am Beginn des Schrifttums (ab ca. 1100) stand das Altkirchenslawische als Sprache der Liturgie, welche bald lokale Züge annahm; daneben sind aber auch volkssprachliche Texte wie Inschriften oder Gesetze zu finden. Für die Serben im byzantinischen Kulturbereich blieb die kyrillische Schrift bis heute die nationale Schrift, während die

Kroaten (territorial begrenzt auf Istrien, die Quarnerinseln und einen Teil der Küste) zunächst die glagolitische Schrift gebrauchten, in Teilen Dalmatiens auch die kyrillische Schrift. Der Einfluss und die Nähe Italiens und die katholische Religion begünstigten den Gebrauch der lateinischen Sprache von Anfang an und den Gebrauch der lateinischen Schrift in kroatischen Texten ab dem 14. Jh. (Katičić 1999, 394ff). In Bosnien stand die kyrillische Schrift in verschiedenen Varianten bei Serben, Kroaten und Muslimen in Verwendung, erst ab dem 18. Jh. begann sich bei den bosnischen Kroaten die Lateinschrift durchzusetzen, bei den Muslimen noch später. Bei diesen wurde auch die arabische Schrift für die einheimische Sprache verwendet. Im Mittelalter finden wir in den Ländern des serbischen Herrschaftsbereichs eine relativ einheitliche Sprache, deren bedeutendste Leistungen die Heiligen- und Herrscherbiographien, Chroniken, Gesetzestexte u. a. sind. Im 14. und 15. Jh. fiel der größte Teil der Balkanhalbinsel unter die Herrschaft der Osmanen, wodurch die literarischen Entfaltungsmöglichkeiten eingeschränkt wurden. Die kroatischen Gebiete sind sprachlich viel uneinheitlicher, es entwickelten sich verschiedene lokale Schriftsprachen mit einem reichhaltigen kirchlichen Schrifttum, ab dem 15. Jh. (Renaissance) mit vielfältiger weltlicher Literatur (Marulić, Hektorović, später Gundulić u. a.). Für die Serben waren seit der ‚Großen Wanderung‘ von 1690 (Ansiedlung in Südungarn) nur in den unter habsburgischer Regierung stehenden Gebieten die Voraussetzungen für ein kulturelles Leben gegeben. Die unbefriedigende Situation um den kyrillischen Buchdruck veranlasste sie, Hilfe beim russischen Zaren zu suchen. Die Tätigkeit russischer Lehrer und der Einfluss ihrer mitgebrachten Bücher verursachten, dass die Serben gegen die Mitte des 18. Jhs. Russisch und Russisch-Kirchenslawisch als Schriftsprache gebrauchten. Dann setzten sich mehr und mehr serbische, volkssprachliche Elemente durch, so dass es zu einer willkürlichen Mischsprache, dem *Slaweno-serbischen*, kam. Gegen diesen Zustand trat Dositej Obradović auf, indem er als erster die Einführung der Volkssprache (1783) vertrat. Seine Bewegung setzte sich allerdings erst mit Vuk Karadžić, der als Flüchtling aus der Türkei 1813 nach Wien gekommen war, in einem langwierigen Prozess bis 1866 durch.

In Kroatien entstand in den dreißiger Jahren des 19. Jhs. die Illyrische Bewegung, die eine gemeinsame Sprache aller Südslawen propagierte. Sie verfolgte eine Annäherung an die von Karadžić geschaffene Volkssprache der Serben auf der Grundlage des gemeinsamen štokavischen Dialekts, was keineswegs leicht war, denn es bestanden daneben auch andere kroatische Sprachformen, die ebenfalls ihre, zum Teil viel längere, Traditionen besaßen. Bis in die siebziger Jahre hielt sich die kajkavische Schriftsprache (Zentrum Zagreb), dann setzte sich die štokavische Schriftsprache durch. Sowohl hinter Karadžić als auch hinter der Illyrischen Bewegung standen politische Ideen. Bei Karadžić mit seiner radikalen Reform des serbischen Alphabets und der Einführung der Volkssprache war es die Loslösung der Serben von Russland (Programm des Austroslawismus, hinter dem Kopitar stand), bei der Illyrischen Bewegung war es die Bestrebung, alle Kroaten – zumindest sprachlich – zu vereinen.

Die Okkupation Bosniens und der Herzegowina durch Österreich-Ungarn 1878 brachte keine großen sprachlichen Probleme mit sich, man hatte sich dort schon vorher dem neuštokavischen Dialekt angeschlossen (ebenso wie in Montenegro). Problematisch war allerdings der Name der Sprache (Serbisch, Kroatisch, Serbokroatisch, Kroato-serbisch, Serbisch oder Kroatisch, in Bosnien kurzzeitig auch *Landessprache* und Bosnisch).

Die staatliche Vereinigung der Serben und Kroaten im Königreich SHS 1918, ab 1929 Jugoslawien genannt, brachte eine eindeutige Vormachtstellung der serbischen Variante mit sich. Als Reaktion darauf wurde im Unabhängigen Kroatien während des Zweiten Weltkriegs die kroatische Sprache von allen serbischen und anderen fremden Elementen gereinigt.

Nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg waren alle Völker und Völkerschaften Jugoslawiens durch die Verfassung gleichberechtigt, was einen großen Aufwand und beträchtliche Kosten mit sich brachte, denn Schulbücher, Zeitungen, Gesetzestexte etc., später auch das Fernsehen in serbokroatischer Sprache mussten auf alle sprachlichen Varianten und auf zwei Schriften (lateinisch und kyrillisch) eingestellt werden. Im Abkommen von Novi Sad 1954 wurde die These der einheitlichen serbokroatischen Sprache mit zwei Varianten bestätigt, und die nötigen Orthogra-

phien in zwei Versionen ausgearbeitet, die ekavische in kyrillischer, die jekavische in lateinischer Schrift (1960). Die konvergenten Tendenzen kamen 1967 mit der „Erklärung zur Lage und zum Namen der kroatischen Sprache“ zum Erliegen. Die zentrifugalen Tendenzen des Landes, auch in der Sprache, wurden mit den Verfassungsänderungen von 1974 immer stärker. Damals wurden die autonomen Gebiete Kosovo und Vojvodina, die faktisch die gleichen Rechte wie die Republiken erhielten, eingerichtet. Bosnien-Herzegowina meldete immer mehr die Forderung nach einer gleichberechtigten sprachlichen Variante an (Okuka 1998). Die jugoslawische Überföderalisierung brachte nun Nachteile für die Serben, die weit verstreut über fünf Republiken (alle außer Slowenien) und zwei autonome Gebiete lebten, mit sich, außerdem sprachlich nicht geeint waren und zwei Alphabete gebrauchten (Brborić 1999). Durch die politische Entwicklung der Loslösung Sloweniens, Kroatiens (1991) und Bosnien-Herzegowinas (1992) aus dem jugoslawischen Staatsverband wurden in den einzelnen Republikverfassungen auch die Sprachen neu definiert. In der Verfassung der Bundesrepublik Jugoslawien wurde 1992 die serbische Sprache ekavischer und jekavischer Aussprache und die kyrillische Schrift als amtlich bestimmt, in Montenegro gilt das Jekavische (Radovanović 1996, 29f; Neweklowsky 1997). Nach der Verfassung Kroatiens von 1990 ist Kroatien der Nationalstaat des kroatischen Volkes und der Staat der Angehörigen seiner Völker und Minderheiten. Als amtlich gelten die kroatische Sprache und die lateinische Schrift (Pupovac 1997). In Bosnien-Herzegowina werden offiziell seit 1993 Bosnisch, Kroatisch und Serbisch gesprochen und beide Schriften als gleichberechtigt erklärt (Kovačec 1997, Dokumente in Šipka 2001). Allerdings hat sich die Serbische Republik (Republika srpska) 1992 eine eigene Verfassung gegeben, gemäß der die serbische Sprache ekavischer und jekavischer Aussprache sowie die kyrillische Schrift verwendet werden. In der Republika srpska ging man in den Medien in der Praxis 1993 zum Ekavischen über, was 1996 durch Gesetz erhärtet, 1998 aber wieder zurückgenommen wurde. Dies hat zeitweise zu Konflikten unter den Serben geführt (Neweklowsky 2000a, 9f). Die Kroaten in Bosnien richten sich heute nach dem Standard in Kroatien.

#### 4.3. Sprache und Gesellschaft

In der komplizierten sprachlichen Situation des Staates war es Aufgabe der Gesetzgebung, die sprachlichen Rechte der ‚Völker‘, ‚Nationalitäten‘ und ‚ethnischen Gruppen‘ zu regeln. Bundesgesetze wurden in nicht weniger als sieben Versionen veröffentlicht (Bugarski 1992, 19). Serbokroatisch (eher in der serbischen Ausprägung) fungierte als Verkehrssprache Jugoslawiens ohne den Status einer Staatssprache zu besitzen. Die jugoslawischen Linguisten befassten sich mit der Standardisierung der in Jugoslawien autochthonen Sprachen: mit Serbokroatisch in seinen zwei Varianten (die wie Standardsprachen funktionierten) – die sprachliche Situation in Bosnien wurde als „Bosnisch-herzegowinische schriftsprachliche Manifestation“, ihr Zustand als Neutralisierung der Varianten, die Sprache Montenegros oft als Subvariante bezeichnet, ferner mit Slowenisch und Makedonisch, außerdem mit Russinisch (Ruthenisch), das eine eigene Schriftsprache in Jugoslawien entwickelte, während die Standardisierung der übrigen Sprachen auch Angelegenheit von anderen Ländern war. Solche ‚Sprachen der Nationalitäten‘ sind: Albanisch, Ungarisch, Slowakisch, Tschechisch, Italienisch, Türkisch, Bulgarisch, Rumänisch u. a. (vgl. Neweklowsky 1998). Romani (Zigeunerisch) und Vlahisch (Walachisch) (‚Sprachen ethnischer Gruppen‘) haben eine Sonderstellung. Die Roma sind Außenseiter der Gesellschaft (auch wenn Anstrengungen für ihre Schulbildung und ihr Kulturleben, besonders im Kosovo, gemacht worden sind). Die Vlahen, die sich meist als Serben deklarieren, verwenden ihre Sprache nur als Haussprache. So ergaben sich Sprachplanung und Sprachpolitik als die Hauptgebiete linguistischer Aktivitäten (Radovanović 1998). Neben den inneren Angelegenheiten fühlte sich der Staat, später die Einzelstaaten, auch verpflichtet, sich um die Sprache der eigenen Minderheiten in Italien, Österreich, Ungarn, Rumänien, Albanien zu kümmern. Im Kosovo wurde 1972 die gesamtalbanische Schriftsprache eingeführt, vorher stand Gëgisch im Gebrauch.

Ein Musterbeispiel der Vielsprachigkeit war die Vojvodina, wo es fünf offizielle Sprachen gab: Serbokroatisch, Ungarisch, Russinisch, Rumänisch und Slowakisch. Die Vielsprachigkeit wurde angefangen von den Aufschriften auf den Autostraßen bis hin

zum Schulwesen und den Medien (Radio, TV, Zeitungen) durchgeführt (vgl. Mikeš 1992).

Die Aktivitäten der Linguisten gingen im zu Ende gehenden Jugoslawien dahin, das Trennende zu betonen, wobei in allen Republiken eigene lexikographische Standardwerke, Grammatiken, Orthographien usw. entstanden (Lončarić 1998; Okuka 1998; Radovanović 1996; Ivić 1999, 7f). Die Unabhängigkeitserklärungen Kroatiens und Bosniens drückten sich im Namen der Sprache aus: Anstelle Serbokroatisch finden wir nun Kroatisch, Serbisch, Bosnisch, wobei Bosnisch die Sprache der Muslime (Bosniens, Montenegros und des serbischen Sandžaks) ist. In den letzten Jahren konnte man auch in Montenegro Bestrebungen zu einer sprachlichen Verselbständigung beobachten (Nikčević 1997). Dennoch ist vorläufig die serbische Sprache Amtssprache Montenegros geblieben.

Für die Entwicklung in Kroatien ist die verstärkte Suche nach der Identität charakteristisch, was den traditionellen Purismus verstärkt, ferner zur Entstehung von Differentialwörterbüchern zum Serbischen, zu Sprachratgebern und neuen Standardwerken geführt hat. Weniger Änderungen gab es in Serbien. Die Situation in Bosnien hat dazu geführt, dass das Amtsblatt *Službeni glasnik* in drei Sprachen erscheint. Während in Serbien, Montenegro, Kroatien und der Republika srpska das Schulwesen zentralisiert ist, ist dieses in der Bosnischen Föderation Kantonsangelegenheit. Hier besteht heute immer mehr die Tendenz, national getrennte Schulen einzuführen. Im geteilten Mostar haben die Kroaten ihre eigene, national definierte Universität eingerichtet. Im Kosovo wurden an den Schulen 1990 im Zuge der Aufhebung der Autonomie die serbischen Lehrpläne eingeführt und die Zahl der zuzulassenden albanischen Schüler und Studenten beschränkt. Seither gab es ein albanisches Schulwesen nur noch im Untergrund. Mit der Übernahme der Verwaltung des Kosovo durch die internationale Gemeinschaft 1999 haben sich hier die Vorzeichen verändert. Wenn wir von den traditionellen Unterschieden zwischen Serbisch und Kroatisch absehen, können wir die sprachlichen Situationen folgendermaßen charakterisieren: Kroatisierung der Sprache in Kroatien durch Ausmerzung serbischer Wörter, Bereicherung des Wortschatzes durch Reaktivierung veralteter und Einführung dialek-

taler Wörter, Vermeidung von Internationalismen, wobei auch eine eigene Computeterminologie geschaffen wird, usw. (Samardžija 2000). Auch grammatische Erscheinungen werden in bestimmte Bahnen gelenkt (Pranjković 2000; Kunzmann-Müller 2000b). In Serbien ist es einerseits die ‚Balkanisierung‘ (gewisse Merkmale der Balkansprachen breiten sich aus), andererseits die Europäisierung (Offenheit gegenüber Einflüssen von außen, auch aus dem Kroatischen; vgl. Hinrichs 2000). In der bosnischen Sprache sind es die Pflege traditioneller lokaler Merkmale (z.B. Pflege des *h*) sowie eine Auswahl aus den serbischen und kroatischen Ausdrucksmöglichkeiten, wobei heute eine leichte Favorisierung kroatischer Merkmale beobachtet wird, und die (moderate) Pflege orientalischer Wörter (Neweklowsky 2000b, 554f; Čedić 2001).

## 5. Makedonisch

### 5.1. Sprachgebiet, Minderheiten, Statistik

Die makedonische Sprache wird in der Republik Makedonien (25713 km<sup>2</sup>) und in angrenzenden Gebieten Albaniens, Griechenlands und Bulgariens gesprochen. Andererseits ist Makedonien auch Heimat von Minderheiten, von denen die wichtigsten die Albaner, Türken, Roma und Vlahen (Aromunen) sind. Nach den Daten der Volkszählung von 1994 (Minova-Gurkova 1998, 56f) hatte Makedonien 2033964 Einwohner, darunter 66,5% Makedonier, 22,9% Albaner, 4% Türken, 2,3% Roma. Im Vergleich zu den früheren Volkszählungen fällt die deutliche Zunahme der Albaner (1981 19,8%) und die Abnahme der Türken auf. Mit den Auslandsmaqedoniern wird die Zahl der Makedonier auf 2 bis 2,5 Mio. geschätzt. Zu nennen ist für 1994 auch die Gruppe der *Muslimani* mit 16366 (makedonischsprachige Muslime, genannt Torbeši, und wohl auch Bosniaken) und der Bulgaren mit 1711 Personen.

### 5.2. Entstehung der Schriftsprache

Die makedonische Sprache wurde 1944 nach den militärischen Erfolgen der Partisanen zur Sprache der neu gegründeten jugoslawischen Teilrepublik Makedonien bestimmt. Die Vorgeschichte geht bis 1934 zurück, als die Führer der kommunistischen Internationale beschlossen, eine makedonische Nation zu schaffen (Preinerstorfer 1998, 236f). So-

wohl die Sprache als auch ihr Territorium und Name waren und sind nicht unumstritten. Der Name Makedonien gründet auf einem seit der Antike bekannten geographischen Begriff, der viel mehr als die heutige Republik Makedonien umfasst. Die Makedonier teilen ihr Sprachgebiet in Vardar-Makedonien (= Republik Makedonien), Pirin-Makedonien (Verwaltungsdistrikt Blagoevgrad in Bulgarien) und Ägäisch-Makedonien (Nordgriechenland). Griechenland beansprucht den Namen des Staates und der Sprache, da es den Namen *makedonisch* als griechisches Erbe ansieht. Daher hat es durchgesetzt, dass der Staat international FYROM (Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia) genannt wird. Griechenland erkennt auch nicht an, dass in Nordgriechenland eine makedonisch- und/oder bulgarischsprachige Bevölkerung lebt. Diese Slawen werden als slawophone Griechen bezeichnet. Während Bulgarien die makedonische Sprache zunächst auch auf seinem Territorium in Pirin-Makedonien anerkannte und sogar Schulbücher aus Makedonien zum Unterricht zuließ, änderte sich diese Haltung mit den politischen Veränderungen auf der Balkanhalbinsel, nämlich dem Bruch Titos mit Stalin 1948 und der damit verbundenen Aufgabe der Idee einer Balkanföderation. Immerhin wurde bis 1958 die Existenz einer makedonischen Volksgruppe in Bulgarien noch anerkannt. Seither wird Makedonisch in der bulgarischen Slawistik als Westbulgarisch, als bulgarischer Schriftdialekt oder als regionale Variante der bulgarischen Sprache (so in Dimitrova 1997, 164) bezeichnet. Die jeweiligen Akademien der Wissenschaften haben 1978; ihre entsprechenden Standpunkte vertreten (BAN 1978; Dimitrovski/Koneski/Stamatoski 1978). Die bulgarische Seite argumentiert dabei immer nur historisch-dialektologisch, soziolinguistische Aspekte werden nicht berücksichtigt. (Als nach den Balkankriegen 1913 das heutige Makedonien dem Königreich Serbien angeschlossen wurde, wurde die dortige Sprache einfach als südserbischer Dialekt betrachtet.)

Erst vor wenigen Jahren hat die Bulgarische Akademie der Wissenschaften neuerlich eine Stellungnahme bezüglich der makedonischen Sprache abgegeben (BAN 1997/98). Ihr Kernsatz lautet „Makedonski ezik ne săstestvuva“ (Eine makedonische Sprache gibt es nicht), sondern die makedo-

nische Sprache sei eine regionale Form der bulgarischen Sprache, die als offizielles Kommunikationsmittel in der Republik Makedonien verwendet wird.

1999 wurde eine gemeinsame bulgarisch-makedonische Deklaration unterzeichnet; sie sollte einen Schlusstrich unter den Sprachenstreit ziehen (Riedel 2000, 215), was aber bis heute nicht gelungen ist (vgl. die Stellungnahmen in Stamatoski 2001). Vom Standpunkt der Kommunikationsfähigkeit war die Schaffung einer eigenen makedonischen Standardsprache nicht unbedingt notwendig, bekannte Slawisten und Balkanologen haben sie als Bulgarisch bezeichnet. Andererseits wird die makedonische Sprache heute von der Bevölkerung akzeptiert. Sie erfüllt alle Anforderungen, die an eine Standardsprache gestellt werden, d.h., sie besitzt Funktionalstile für jeden Funktionsbereich in einer modernen Gesellschaft. Als man 1944 Makedonisch per Gesetz einführte, konnte die Sprache natürlich nicht aus dem Nichts kommen. Es hat schon vorher Schriftsteller gegeben, die makedonisch schrieben, dies im 19. Jh. aber unter dem bulgarischen Namen taten, wie etwa die Brüder Miladinov (*Bulgarische Volkslieder* 1861). Die ersten bewusst makedonischen Schriftsteller des 19. Jhs. schrieben in verschiedenen, eher westmakedonischen Dialekten, aus Reaktion gegen die mögliche Einvernahme durch die Nachbarn, durch Griechenland, das durch den vom Patriarchen von Konstantinopel eingesetzten Klerus Einfluss ausübte, durch Serbien, aber auch Bulgarien (Schaffung des bulgarischen Exarchats 1870), dessen Schriftsprache auf den sprachlich weiter entfernten ostbulgarischen Dialekten beruhte. Als programmatisches Werk gilt Krste Misirkovs Buch *Za makedonkite raboti* [Über die makedonischen Angelegenheiten] von 1903, bedeutendster Dichter der Zeit vor dem Zweiten Weltkrieg war Kočo Racin. Die Zeit nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg ist durch die Tätigkeit von Blaže Koneski, dem Grammatiker, Schriftsteller und ersten Präsidenten der Makedonischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, geprägt.

### 5.3. Sprache und Gesellschaft

Die makedonische Sprache ist gemäß der Verfassung Staatssprache, anzuwenden ist die kyrillische Schrift, bei der die serbische und nicht die bulgarische Kyrilliza Vorbild war. Für die neueste Entwicklung der Stan-

dardsprache sind folgende Faktoren von Bedeutung: Skopje als Hauptstadt und kulturelles Zentrum (Prestige des dortigen Stadtdialekts), die Zugehörigkeit zu Jugoslawien bis 1991 (Prestige der serbokroatischen Sprache), die Proklamierung eines antipuristischen Prinzips, Ausweitung des Gebrauchs der makedonischen Sprache in Sphären, die früher dem Serbokroatischen vorbehalten waren (Parlament, Fluglinie, Militär etc.), neu bzw. wiederbelebt ist auch der Bereich der Religion. Die Kontakte zu den übrigen Balkansprachen spielen bei der Standardisierung keine Rolle; wichtig scheint hier die Abgrenzung zum Bulgarischen, die für das makedonische Selbstverständnis nötig ist. Während in der Vergangenheit die französische Sprache eine wichtige Rolle bei der Internationalisierung des Wortschatzes gespielt hat, ist es heute die Amerikanisierung des Lebens, die englischen Einflüssen die Tore öffnet (Stamatoski 2001, 99f).

Im Bildungswesen existieren Grund- und Mittelschulen mit den Unterrichtssprachen Albanisch, Türkisch und Serbisch. Makedonisch wird in ihnen 2–3 Stunden wöchentlich unterrichtet (Minova-G'urkova 1998, 58). An der Universität Skopje bestehen Lehrstühle für die genannten Sprachen. Vor der Unabhängigkeit wird von Druck auf die Minderheitensprachen berichtet (Friedmann 1993). 1997 wurde ein Sprachgesetz verabschiedet, nach dem für die Angehörigen der nationalen Minderheiten das Recht auf Hochschulbildung an der staatlichen Universität Skopje in ihrer Muttersprache garantiert wird. Die albanische Universität von Tetovo (1994 gegründet) wird nicht anerkannt (Minova-G'urkova 1998, 59). Derzeit kann man in der Presse lesen, dass die Anerkennung dieser Universität auf Drängen der EU vorbereitet wird. Die erste Romani-Grammatik wurde in Makedonien 1980 veröffentlicht. Wichtig für die Standardisierung der makedonischen Sprache ist die Makedonische Akademie der Wissenschaften (Gründung 1967) und das unabhängige wissenschaftliche *Krste Misirkov*-Institut für die makedonische Sprache. Heute hat sich eine große Zahl von neuen Zeitungen, auch privaten, etabliert, die für die Versorgung der Minderheiten gegründet wurden, ebenso bestehen Radiosendungen für sie. Im staatlichen Fernsehen gibt es Sendungen für Albaner, Türken, Serben, Vlahen und Roma (vgl. Friedman 1997, 1447f).

## 6. Bulgarisch

### 6.1. Sprachgebiet, Minderheiten, Statistik

Die bulgarische Sprache wird in der Republik Bulgarien (110994 km<sup>2</sup>), in einem kleinen Gebiet des angrenzenden Serbien, in Siebenbürgen, in Bessarabien, der Türkei, ferner in der Ukraine und Russland gesprochen. Bei den Bulgaren in Rumänien und Bessarabien haben sich schriftsprachliche Varianten entwickelt, die Bulgaren in der Ukraine und Russland sind Auswanderer, ihr größter Teil lebt im Bezirk Odessa, insgesamt wird ihre Zahl auf 350000 geschätzt (Dimitrova 1997, 164). Bei der Volkszählung von 1992 (Gjuzelev 1994, 362) hatte Bulgarien 8487317 Einwohner, darunter 85,7% Bulgaren, 9,4% Türken, 3,7% Roma. Die übrigen, zahlreichen Volksgruppen sind klein: Russen, Armenier, Vlahen, Karakaçanen (griechisch-sprachig), Griechen, Tataren, Juden, u.a. (vgl. zur Statistik Fielder 1997). 1946 erklärten sich 252908 Einwohner als Makedonier, 1956 178862 (Minova-G'urkova 1998, 239f), 1965 noch 9632 Personen. Später bestand diese Wahlmöglichkeit nicht mehr. Nach Dimitrova (1997, 168) gibt es 143000 oder 2% Bulgaren islamischer Religion (andere Schätzungen sind höher). Sie werden als *Pomaken* bezeichnet und sind hauptsächlich in den Rhodopen ansässig. Diese Gruppe setzt sich an den Südhängen der Rhodopen im griechischen Westthrakien fort. Die muslimische Minderheit in Griechenland wurde nach dem griechisch-türkischen Krieg als Ganzes betrachtet, und so sind die Pomaken in die Verträge über den Bevölkerungsaustausch mit der Türkei eingegangen. Ihr Schicksal spiegelt sich in den jeweiligen Beziehungen Griechenlands mit Bulgarien und der Türkei wider.

Beim Vergleich mit früheren Volkszählungsdaten zeigt sich, dass die Zahl der Türken trotz der massiven Auswanderung und Vertreibung fast gleich geblieben ist; die Zahl der Roma hat sich mehr als verdoppelt. Die Daten der Volkszählung 2001 zeigen einen markanten Rückgang der Bevölkerung auf 7928901 Einwohner, unter denen sich 6,7 Mio. als Bulgaren, 0,76 Mio. als Türken und 0,33 Mio. als Roma und 71000 als 'andere' deklarierten. Nach der Religionszugehörigkeit bezeichneten sich 6,64 Mio. als Christen, 0,97 Mio. als Muslime, während sich 0,28 Mio. nicht äußerten (Internet). Die Zahl der Muslime ist wesentlich größer als

die Zahl der ethnischen Türken; hierher gehören auch viele Roma und die Pomaken.

### 6.2. Entstehung der Schriftsprache

Die bulgarische Sprache ist direkte Nachfahrin der altkirchenslawischen oder altbulgarischen Sprache, die 863 von Kyrill und Method geschaffen wurde. Sie wurde als liturgische Sprache konzipiert, hat sich aber bald auch andere Domänen erobert und wurde von Bulgarien aus in die slawische Welt exportiert. Die Bulgaristik spricht von Altbulgarisch (9. bis 12. Jh.) und von Mittelbulgarisch (13./14. Jh.), besonders während der Blütezeiten des Ersten und Zweiten Bulgarischen Reiches. Dann folgte die osmanische Eroberung mit einer starken Einschränkung der literarischen Möglichkeiten. Dennoch ist diese Periode von Bedeutung, denn in ihr erfolgte der Übergang zur neubulgarischen Sprache mit ihren tiefgreifenden grammatischen Veränderungen. Die religiös-belehrenden Werke in der Volkssprache, die ‚Damaskinen‘, zeigen bereits grammatische Strukturen der modernen bulgarischen Sprache. Dennoch sind nicht sie der Beginn der bulgarischen Schriftsprache, sondern es ist dies die *Slawobulgarische Geschichte* von Paisij Chilendarski (1762), denn hier geht es erstmals um Phänomene wie Volk und Sprache und um die sozialen, historischen und nationalen Angelegenheiten des bulgarischen Volkes (Georgieva et al. 1996, 21ff). Aus soziolinguistischer Hinsicht sind diese Merkmale wichtiger als die Dialektmerkmale der Damaskinen. Im 17. und zu Beginn des 18. Jhs. spielte das Russisch-Kirchenslawische eine wichtige Rolle, russische Kirchenbücher wurden nach Bulgarien gebracht. Diese Sprache, die den Bulgaren ja nicht völlig fremd erschien, wurde von ihnen als ihre alte Muttersprache betrachtet. Das erste volkssprachliche Buch ist die ‚Fischfibel‘ (*Riben bukvar*, 1824), ein enzyklopädisches Lehrbuch von Petär Beron, das ebenfalls als Beginn der Schriftsprache angesehen wurde. Die erste Hälfte des 19. Jhs. brachte eine Reihe von aufklärerischen Schriftstellern hervor, aufgrund deren Tätigkeit die Sprache in der zweiten Jahrhunderthälfte aufgebaut und nach der Erringung der Unabhängigkeit im Fürstentum, später Königreich Bulgarien, standardisiert wurde. Dies geschah in einem langwierigen Prozess, bei dem auch Schriftsteller aus Makedonien ihren Anteil hatten. Eine der wichtigsten Persönlichkeiten war der Dichter,

Publizist und Revolutionär Christo Botev. Ivan Vazov legte die Grundlagen der bulgarischen Prosa. In die Rechtschreibkommission von 1892 wurden Sprach- und Literaturwissenschaftler und andere Gelehrte aus verschiedenen Gebieten Bulgariens berufen, um die Standardisierung voranzutreiben. Die türkischen Elemente wurden ausgemerzt und durch bulgarische, evtl. russische Bildungen ersetzt, eine wissenschaftliche Terminologie musste geschaffen werden, wobei wiederum die russische Sprache eine wesentliche Rolle spielte. Wissenschaftliche Institutionen griffen in die Normierung der Sprache ein. Eine gewisse Einheitlichkeit der bulgarischen Schriftsprache ist mit dem Ende des 19. Jhs. erreicht. Es entstanden die grundlegenden Grammatiken, Wörterbücher und Lexika, es wurden Sprachdenkmäler herausgegeben, eine wissenschaftliche Terminologie geschaffen, die Rolle der Dialektismen geklärt, man beschäftigte sich mit der Kultur der Umgangssprache. Puristische Strömungen merzten vielfach fremde Elemente, nun auch russische, aus. Seit den 20er Jahren begann die Diskussion um die Orthographiereform, die 1945 im heutigen Sinne durchgeführt wurde. Die neue Gesellschaftsordnung brachte eine Bereicherung des Wortschatzes im kommunistischen Geist mit Übernahmen und Lehnprägungen aus dem Russischen, aber auch die Internationalisierung des Wortschatzes durch westliche Sprachen mit sich. Charakteristisch für die Zeit vor 1989 war die qualitative Kontrolle der Sprache der Medien. Umgangssprache und Standard klafften auseinander.

### 6.3. Sprache und Gesellschaft

Die heutige sprachliche Situation ist gekennzeichnet durch: das Selbstverständnis Bulgariens als einheitlicher Nationalstaat, das vereinheitlichte bulgarische Schulsystem, die Urbanisierung und die Reduktion des Minderheitenschulwesens. Erst seit 1990 kommt es wieder zur sprachlichen Demokratisierung, einerseits im Schulwesen, andererseits in der bulgarischen Sprache selbst. Problematisch ist das Verhältnis zu den Türken, den Roma und den Pomaken, während die kleinen Minderheiten kein Problem darstellen. Symptomatisch für die gegensätzlichen Auffassungen Bulgariens und Griechenlands zur slawischen Sprache im griechischen Thrakien ist die Stellungnahme der Bulgarischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zur ‚pomakischen‘ Sprache, die als

bulgarischer Dialekt bezeichnet wird (BAN 1996). Seit dem Ende der 50-er Jahre hat die BKP ihre Politik gegenüber den großen Minderheiten kontinuierlich verschärft, vor allem wurden Maßnahmen gegen die 'Türkisierung' ergriffen. Wegen ihrer Religion haben sich viele Pomaken als Türken registrieren lassen, auch wenn sie Türkisch gar nicht sprachen. Ein parlamentarischer Ausschuss hat 1993 festgestellt, dass in den westlichen Rhodopen eine (statistische) Türkisierung der bulgarischen Muslime stattgefunden hat (Gjuzelev 1994, 362f). Die türkische Minderheit lebt vor allem in den östlichen Rhodopen (Kärdžali) und im Gebiet Ludogorie (Deliorman) zwischen den Kreisen Razgrad, Silistra und Šumen (Karte Steinke 1997). Zur türkischen Minderheit zählen sich auch viele islamische Roma. In den 70er und 80er Jahren versuchte man durch die Bulgarisierung muslimischer Namen und das Verbot des Türkischunterrichts und der türkischen Sprache die Türken zu bulgarisieren. 1989 gipfelte der Konflikt schließlich in der Auswanderung von hunderttausenden Türken, von denen viele aber wieder zurückgekehrt sind. Nach der Wende von 1990 erlangten die Türken, die sich politisch organisierten, ihre Minderheitenrechte wie die Rückgabe der muslimischen Namen, das Recht auf Unterricht in türkischer Sprache, Rundfunksendungen usw. Dennoch bleibt die Auswanderung (jetzt aus wirtschaftlichen Gründen) das größte Problem der türkischen Minderheit. Seit 1991 können die Türken Privatschulen errichten (derzeit bestehen drei religiöse Gymnasien), doch ist an ihnen Türkisch nicht Unterrichtssprache, sondern wird – abgesehen von Religion – nur als Freifach unterrichtet (Popov 1998, 57). Die Zahl der Roma schwankt wegen des Fehlens eines nationalen Bewusstseins, von Experten wird sie auf 550 000 bis 600 000 geschätzt. Sie scheiden sich nach Religionen (Orthodoxe, Muslime), Sprachen (bulgarisch, türkisch, rumänisch), Sesshaftigkeit, Berufen usw. (Gjuzelev 1994, 367). Durch den Übergang zur parlamentarischen Demokratie und zum Mehrparteiensystem entstand eine bunte Vielfalt der Presse, es gab keine gleichgeschaltete Kontrolle der Sprache der Medien mehr. Das Verhältnis zwischen Standard und Nichtstandard ändert sich, umgangssprachliche Elemente – darunter Turzismen, die längst aus der bulgarischen Sprache verbannt schienen, Slang, vulgäre Sprechweise (*ka-*

*fanski ezik* ‚Kaffeehausprache‘) dringen in die Sprache der Medien ein. Es kommt zur Überschwemmung der Sprache mit Amerikanismen, aber auch zur Wiederbelebung geächteter Lexik aus vorkommunistischer Zeit und zum Verlust von Lexemen der kommunistischen Ära (Riedel 1995; Steinke 1996; Nicolova 1997). Allerdings scheint es, dass die ärgsten Auswüchse vorüber sind. Zu den grammatischen Veränderungen der letzten Jahre s. Nicolova (2000).

## 7. Ausblick

Slowenisch, Serbokroatisch und Makedonisch waren jahrzehntelang dadurch charakterisiert, dass sie in Jugoslawien den Status von 'Sprachen der Völker' innehatten, wobei es aber keine offizielle Staatssprache gab. In der Praxis hatte Serbokroatisch den Status einer Verkehrssprache. Kroatisch und Serbisch galten als gleichberechtigte Varianten, während Bosnisch diesen Status nicht besaß. In den Nachfolgestaaten Jugoslawiens erlangte jede der genannten Sprachen die Funktion einer Staatssprache. Besondere Probleme stellen dabei Bosnien-Herzegowina mit drei gleichberechtigten Standardsprachen (Bosnisch, Serbisch, Kroatisch) und Serbien und Montenegro (mit der ekavischen und jekavischen Variante der serbischen Sprache) dar. Die Rechte der Minderheitensprachen wurden von den neuen Staaten übernommen oder modifiziert (Unterdrückung der albanischen Sprache im Kosovo bis 1999). In Makedonien kann heute eine eher restriktive Auslegung der Rechte der Minderheiten beobachtet werden, wenn auch Konzessionen an die wachsende albanische Minderheit gemacht werden mussten. Am wenigsten hat sich am Status der bulgarischen Sprache geändert, sie galt seit jeher als Nationalsprache des bulgarischen Staates. Wenn auch den Türken seit 1991 gewisse Rechte zurückgegeben wurden, bleibt die Sprachenpolitik Bulgariens gegenüber den Minderheitensprachen restriktiv. Die Entwicklungstendenzen der Sprachen selbst sind durchaus verschieden: Slowenisch war immer eine puristische Sprache, Anglizismen (auch Germanismen aus früherer Zeit) sind auf den Substandard beschränkt. In Slowenien geschieht mit der Sprache das, was immer geschehen ist: über die Namen für neue Begriffe wird nachgedacht und, wenn nötig, werden neue slowenische Begriffe geschaffen; die Sprache hat



sich nicht verändert. In Kroatien sind die puristischen Tendenzen ebenfalls sehr stark und es werden heute viele Wörter (Serbismen, Internationalismen), auch wenn sie jahrzehntelang in Gebrauch standen, durch kroatische Wörter ersetzt. In Serbien und Montenegro sind die Veränderungen gegenüber früher gering, traditionell ist die Sprache gegenüber Einflüssen von außen offen. Die Sprache der Medien wird durch ein gewisses Eindringen von Elementen aus dem Substandard charakterisiert. Auch die bosnische Sprache ist gegenüber Einflüssen von außen offen, Veränderungen ergeben sich durch die Empfehlung von bestimmten Kroatismen und Serbismen (die früher alle als stilistische Reserve zur Verfügung standen) und die Empfehlung lokaler sprachlicher Ausdrücke (besonders orientalischer Wörter). In der Praxis wird mit diesen Empfehlungen sehr unterschiedlich umgegangen. Im Bulgarischen (im Makedonischen vielleicht weniger) kommt es in der Sprache der Medien zur Beseitigung der Funktionalstile als Reaktion auf die versteinerte Rhetorik aus der kommunistischen Zeit, indem die Vulgärsprache Eingang in den Druck findet.

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- Gerhard Neweklowsky, Wien (Österreich)*

## 179. Die westslawischen Sprachen / The West-Slavic Languages

1. Zeit und Raum
2. Die tschechische Sprache
3. Die slowakische Sprache
4. Die sorbischen Sprachen
5. Die polnische Sprache
6. Die kaschubische Sprache
7. Ausblick
8. Literatur (in Auswahl)

### 1. Zeit und Raum

Die Bestimmung ‚westslawische Sprachen‘, die hier benutzt wird, bezieht sich auf die vermutliche Sprachgemeinschaft, die im 10. Jh., infolge des Zerfalls der urslawischen Sprache, entstanden ist. Man nimmt an, dass die westslawischen Sprachen von einer Bevölkerung gesprochen wurden, die den geschlossenen Raum in Mitteleuropa in folgenden geographischen Grenzen bewohnte: im Norden wurde die Grenze der slawischen Besiedlung vom Baltischen Meer bestimmt, im Westen von der Oder und dem Tschechischen Wald (mit der Enklave der Sorben zwischen Oder und Elbe), im Süden von Donau und Theiß und im Osten von den Flüssen Bug und San. Dieses Sprachgebiet grenzte im Westen an die Bevölkerung, die deutsch sprach, im Süden an die ungarische und deutsche Sprache. Die südslawischen Sprachen, die sich gegen Ende des 9. Jhs. selbstständig machten, sind vom oben erwähnten Sprachgebiet durch die Länder getrennt, die von ungarischer und rumänischer Bevölkerung besiedelt wurden. Die Westslawen haben, wegen des Einfalls der Ungarn im 9. Jh. in die pannonische Tiefebene, die unmittelbare, sprachliche Gemeinschaft mit ihren Stammverwandten im Süden verloren. Sie sind dagegen in Sprachbeziehungen zur deutschsprachigen, litauischen und ungarischen Bevölkerung getreten. In der westslawischen Sprachgruppe entwickelten sich zwischen dem 13. – 19. Jh. die Standardsprachen, zuerst das Tschechische (seit dem 13. Jh.), dann das Polnische (seit dem 16. Jh.), dann die sorbischen Sprachen (das Ober- und Niedersorbische) seit dem 16. Jh., das Slowakische (seit dem 19. Jh.) und endlich die gerade sich bildende kaschubische Standardsprache, die auch für eine Mikrosprache oder einen polnischen Dialekt gehalten wird. Außerdem war bis zur ersten Hälfte des 18. Jhs., in der Gegend von Lüne-

burg, Lüchow und Süten, am linken Ufer der Elbe, die polabische Sprache gebräuchlich. Die Texte dieser Sprache wurden während der folkloristischen Forschungen aufgeschrieben. Im 18. Jh. hat die polabische Sprache aufgehört zu bestehen. Im Mittelalter bestanden in Westpommern, in Rügen, in der Gegend von der unteren Oder auch einige westslawische Dialekte, die definitiv im 18. Jh. ausgestorben sind. Sie haben ihre Spuren nur in der Onomastik hinterlassen. Von der soziolinguistischen Situation dieser Dialekte wissen wir jedoch sehr wenig.

Vom historischen Standpunkt aus betrachtet, wurden die westslawischen Sprachen aus der urslawischen Gemeinschaft im 9. Jh. abgesondert. Diese Gemeinschaft bildete in der Zeit zwischen 2000–2500 v. Chr., zusammen mit der baltischen Gruppe, den nördlichen Teil der urindoeuropäischen Sprache, welcher die baltoslawische Sprache genannt wurde. Die Expansion der Slawen (bis heute dauern heftige Diskussionen an, wo eigentlich ihre ältesten Wohnsitze gewesen sind) in alle Richtungen begann n. Chr. Im 6.–9. Jh. besetzten die Slawen sehr große Gebiete: Im Nordwesten bildete die Grenze ihrer Besiedlung das Baltische Meer und die Jüttische Halbinsel, im Nordosten die Flüsse Oka und Wolga, im Süden das Ägäische und Adriatische Meer, im Westen überschritt die Grenze die Elbe und erreichte den Fluss Solau, den Tschechischen Wald und die Ostalpen. In der Zeit der Expansion fangen die urslawischen Dialekte an, sich zu differenzieren. Als Resultat dieser Differenzierung kam es zu kurz andauernden Annäherungen sowohl der ost- u. südslawischen Sprachen als auch der südlichen Gruppe der Slawen mit der tschechischen und der westlichen, der lechitischen mit den ostslawischen Slawen. Schließlich wurden im 10. Jh. drei Gruppen, eine östliche, eine westliche und eine südliche, gebildet. In der westlichen Gruppe wurden, drei Sprachgruppen gestaltet in der Folge: 1) die lechitische (polnische, kaschubische und polabische Sprache), 2) die sorbische (ober- u. niedersorbische Sprache) und 3) die tschechische und slowakische Gruppe (tschechische u. slowakische Sprache). Jede dieser Gruppen charakterisiert sich durch spezifische grammatikalische und lexikalische Merkmale und jede dieser Sprachen bildete sich unter leicht va-

riierenden Umständen und mit Rücksicht auf verschiedene nationale und staatliche Schicksale der Kommunikationsgemeinschaften heraus. Die westslawischen Sprachen waren als Ganzes wahrscheinlich kein Kommunikationsmittel der einheitlichen Kommunikationsgemeinschaft. Anhand von Aussagen über sie kann man nur historisch-kulturelle und soziolinguistische Erscheinungen treffen, die mit den großen Wanderungen slawischer (im Übrigen nicht nur slawischer) Stämme, die in Europa zwischen den 5. u. 9. Jh. stattfanden, in Verbindung standen. Diese Wanderungen verursachten die Entstehung von neuen ethnischen Verhältnissen in ganz Europa. Nach dem Verfall des römischen Kaiserreichs wurden dann die Kontakte zwischen den Stämmen und den romanischen und germanischen Sprachgruppen gelockert. Aufgrund dessen erfolgte die Stabilisation der romanischen, germanischen und slawischen ethnischen Gruppen und Sprachen in ganz Europa. Gegen Ende des 5. Jhs. waren bereits die Namen von vermutlichen Vorfahren der Slawen bekannt, wie z. B. Neuren, Weneden/Weneten, Anten, Sklawinen, die an der Eroberung Europas zusammen mit mongolischen Awarern beteiligt waren, aber ihre Wohnsitze sind nie genau begrenzt worden. Es ist jedoch bekannt (Bayrischer Geograph – 9. Jhs.), dass die Westslawen in kleineren Stammesgruppen organisiert waren, und dass sie es sowohl auf tschechischem, mährischem und sorbischem Boden als auch auf den Gebieten vom heutigen Kroatien und Slowenien zur Entstehung eines Staates, genannt Samon (623–660), brachten. Dieser Staat war wahrscheinlich der Vorläufer einer weiteren Staatsgründung, nämlich des Großmährischen Reiches. Dieser Staat entstand am Anfang des 9. Jhs. in Mähren und umfasste dann auch die Gebiete der heutigen Slowakei. Er bestand bis an das Ende des 10. Jhs. Politisch gesehen war er dem Fränkischen Staat untertan. Wir wissen auch, dass Prinz Rostislav, der sich von den politischen und kirchlichen Einflüssen der Franken loslösen wollte, 863 die griechischen Missionare Cyril und Methodius aus Byzanz herbei rief. Sie haben die, ins Slawische übersetzte, Heilige Schrift mitgebracht, welche als Grundlage für christliche Missionararbeit auf den bisher heidnischen, westslawischen Gebieten diente. Wahrscheinlich waren damals die Unterschiede zwischen den slawischen Sprachen noch nicht so groß, wenn die Westsla-

wen von Schriften, die in südslawischen, makedonischen Dialekten (aus der Gegend von Saloniki) geschrieben waren, Gebrauch machen konnten. Man darf also vermuten, dass in dem Großmährischen Reich, speziell in kirchlichen und politischen Kreisen, die in jener Zeit das Kulturzentrum bildeten, eine slawische (altslawische, altkirchenslawische oder altbulgarische) Sprache gebraucht wurde. Im Mittelalter und auch später funktionierte eine Weiterentwicklung dieser Sprache als literarische Sprache (ebenso als kirchliche und amtliche Sprache) und seit dem 19. Jh. als eine sakrale Sprache der ost- und südslawischen Orthodoxen. Die im 9. Jh. von Cyrill und Methodius kodifizierte altkirchenslawische Sprache, geschrieben in glagolitischem und dann kyrillischem Alphabet, hat auch im tschechischen und slowakischen Schrifttum und wahrscheinlich auch in der polnischen Liturgie vor der offiziellen Annahme des Christentums durch den Fürst Mieszko I (996) eine wichtige Rolle gespielt. Die Gebiete, in denen Latein als die Sprache der Kirche, der Ämter und in großem Maße auch der Literatur vorherrschte und die mit dem westlichen (katholischen) Ritus verbundene Anwesenheit der altkirchenslawischen Sprache bis Ende des 11. Jhs. (im Kloster von Sazava, nahe bei Prag), zeugen auch von der Anziehungskraft der ostslawischen Kultur. Das weitere Schicksal der westslawischen Sprachen wurde jedoch mit der Entstehung der Staaten und der Verbreitung des Christentums und des römischen Ritus auf die heidnischen Gebiete der Slawen verbunden. Die Vorfahren der Slawen, zunächst noch als eine einheitliche Gruppe, dann schon geteilt, standen in Kontakt mit verschiedenen, nicht-slawischen Sprachen (germanische, lateinische, griechische Sprachen), von welchen sie eine Reihe von Wörtern entlehnten. Zum Beispiel der Vorname von Karl des Großen wurde überall als Synonym für den Herrscher angenommen, also hat sich das Wort *karb* < *rex Carlius* (Anfang des 9. Jhs.) schließlich gemäß den, in einzelnen Gruppen der slawischen Sprachen geltenden phonetischen Regeln, folgendermaßen umgeformt: im Polnischen *król*; im Tschechischen, Slowakischen und in den südslawischen Sprachen: *král* (*králj*); in den ostslawischen Sprachen: *korol*. Es gibt viele frühmittelalterliche Entlehnungen im Urslawischen (vgl. u. a. das slawische *stb̄klo* ‚Glas‘ < got. *stiklas*; *osb̄b* < got. *asilus*; *k̄bn̄dz* <

*kuningas*; *kotěb* < *katilus*. Besonders deutlich wird dies aber auch bei Begriffen, die mit dem Christentum verbunden sind und bereits in der Endphase der slawischen Gemeinschaft entlehnt wurden, diese Wörter treten z.B. bei altkirchenslawischen Denkmälern auf: *postě* < got. *fastan*; *koěda* < lat. *calendae*; *obtar* < *altare*; *poganě* < lat. *Paganus*. Aber auch Wörter, die später durch tschechische (auch deutsche) Vermittlung zur polnischen Sprache gekommen sind, verdienen Beachtung. So z.B. pol. *kościół* < tsch. *kostel* < *castellum*; pol. *komża* < tsch. *komže* < lat. *camisa*. Die alten slawischen Sprachen, aber auch speziell die westlichen, entlehnten den deutschen Wortschatz mit verschiedener Intensität.

## 2. Die tschechische Sprache

Man vermutet, dass es in der ganzen Welt etwa 12 Millionen Menschen gibt, welche die tschechische Sprache benutzen (etwa 10 Millionen in Tschechien, Mähren und Schlesien, aber auch in Polen, in der Gegend von *Kudowa*). Außerhalb dieser Gebiete wird sie am häufigsten in den USA (etwa 1,5 Mill.) und in Kanada (etwa 28000) verwendet. In kleineren Gruppen von etwa 21000 wird sie in der Ukraine, von einigen Tausend in Bulgarien, Österreich, Israel, Slowakei und Slowenien gesprochen. Die Grundlegung der tschechischen Standardsprache wird im 13. Jh. angesetzt. Im folgenden Jh. treffen wir bereits auf eine ziemlich reichhaltige Literatur, die von verschiedenen literarischen Gattungen repräsentiert wurde. Dazu gehörten: Kirchenlieder, Hagiographie, historische und ritterliche Epik, Liebes-, Satiren- und Dramendichtung, Annalen, juristisch-amtliche Texte und Wörterbücher. Am Ende des Jhs. wurde die Bibel erstmals ins Tschechische übersetzt. Eine sehr wichtige Rolle bei der Entwicklung der tschechischen Standardsprache spielte die hussitische Bewegung des Reformators Jan Hus (1369–1415). Diesem Reformator wird die frühzeitige Würdigung der Rolle des Tschechischen als gesprochene Nationalsprache zugeschrieben, die er dem offiziellen, kirchlichen Latein und der deutschen Sprache gegenüber stellte. Dank der Böhmischen Brüder wurde im 16. Jh. die sechsbändige, vorzüglich übersetzte *Kralická Bible* (die Bibel aus dem Dorf *Kralice*) veröffentlicht. Weiterhin wurden auch Grammatiken von *Blahoslav* und *Hudožerský* ausgegeben. Be-

reits im 16. Jh. hat die tschechische Sprache volle Polyvalenz gewonnen, obwohl sie diese noch mit dem Latein teilen musste. Das Aufblühen der tschechischen Sprache und Literatur wurde am Anfang des 17. Jhs., nach der Militärniederlage der Tschechen bei *Bilá Hora* und dem Verlust der staatlichen Souveränität, unterbrochen. Die Neubelebung fand erst im 19. Jh. statt und war mit der Nationalbewegung verbunden, welche die Wiederherstellung des tschechischen Nationalbewusstseins und die Wiedergewinnung der vollen, staatlichen Unabhängigkeit bezweckte. *Josef Dobrovský* hat eine tschechische normative Grammatik (mit dem Titel: *Ausführliches Lehrgebäude der böhmischen Sprache*, 1809) veröffentlicht. Diese Grammatik stützte sich auf den aus dem 16. Jh. kommenden Text der *Kralická Bible*. Es wurde die alte Schriftsprache wiedergeboren, welche zusätzlich mit dem polnischen und russischen Wortschatz unterstützt wurde. Dieses Modell hatte jedoch in Anbetracht seiner Altertümlichkeit keine Chancen. Man darf sich also nicht wundern, dass sich daraus die Notwendigkeit einer Standardisierung der lebendigen, gesprochenen Sprache ergab. Dies wurde auf der Grundlage der Interdialekte, Dialekte und ihrer städtlichen Varianten, welche die *hovorová čeština* genannt wurden, durchgeführt. Aufgrund der zu Tage tretenden Abweichung zwischen der archaischen Form der Schriftsprache und der sozial differenzierten Form der Umgangssprache, wurden drei Varianten der Allgemeinsprache ausgebildet: 1) *spisovná čeština* (offizielle Schriftsprache); 2) *hovorová čeština* (der Intelligenz angehörende Mustersprache); 3) *obecná čeština* (die Umgangssprache mit eigener Phonetik und Grammatik). Die mittelalterliche Grundlage der Standardsprache war wahrscheinlich der städtliche Dialekt von Prag. Die Standardsprache von Dobrovský hatte keine dialektale, sondern eine literarische Grundlage. Die neu belebte Standardsprache stützte sich seit dem 19. Jh. auf die tschechischen Zentraldialekte der Umgebung von Prag und eine Zeitlang auch auf den westmährischen Dialekt (*Bohoslav*). In dem im Jahre 1918 entstandenen zweinationalen Staat – Tschechoslowakei – lebte die tschechische Sprache mit der slowakischen zusammen. Jedoch nahm das Tschechische in dieser Verbindung die vorherrschende Stellung ein. Der Einfluss des Tschechischen auf das Slowakische dauert bis heute an, allerdings mit

wechselnder Intensität. Für diese Prozesse, sowohl in Bezug auf die zahlenmäßige, ökonomische und kulturelle Überlegenheit als auch in Bezug auf die lange schriftliche Tradition des Tschechischen, waren die in Eintracht des tschechischen und slowakischen Volkes verkündeten, panslawistischen Ideen günstig (Ján Kollár). In diesem Sinne wurden die in der Tschechoslowakei gebrauchten Sprachen gesetzlich fixiert. Die im Jahre 1920 beschlossene Staatsverfassung der demokratischen Tschechoslowakei (Československá republika 1918–1938) sah das Bestehen der *tschechoslowakischen* Nation und der *tschechoslowakischen* Sprache vor, die aus der in Tschechien gesprochenen tschechischen und in der Slowakei gesprochenen slowakischen Sprache bestand. Dieses Prinzip war die Grundlage der damaligen Sprachpolitik, welche z. B. das Lehren dieser Sprache in zwei Varianten vorsah, nämlich der tschechischen und der slowakischen Sprache. Diese Tatsache wurde und wird verschiedenartig von den Tschechen und Slowaken bewertet. Erstere sehen darin die demokratische Freiheit für die Mehrsprachigkeit (dies galt auch für die deutsche Bevölkerung, die im Jahre 1930 drei Millionen zählte); diese Gruppe wird etwa zur Hälfte von Tschechen repräsentiert und die andere Hälfte setzt sich aus Ungarn, Ukrainern, Polen und Juden zusammen (Kořenský 1997, 260 f). Die Slowaken bewerten die damalige Sprachpolitik als Möglichkeit zur Ausbreitung des Tschechischen und der Behandlung des Slowakischen als eine ausschließlich folkloristische Sprache (Bosák 1998, 16 f). Die tschechische (tschechoslowakische) Sprache hat sich jedenfalls, dank der Staatsverfassung, als Staatssprache gefestigt und konnte, in offizieller Funktion, die bisher mit ihr rivalisierenden Sprachen (besonders der deutschen und slowakischen Sprache) zurückdrängen. Einen wichtigen Beitrag dazu lieferten auch die Sprachwissenschaftler, die im *Prager Sprachwissenschaftlichen Kreise* (Cercle Linguistique de Prague) vereinigt waren. Sie haben eine neue strukturalistische, sprachwissenschaftliche Methodologie im Rahmen der funktionellen Theorie der Schriftsprache (B. Havránek), der Stilistik (Mukařovský), der Phonologie (N. S. Trubeckoj) ausgearbeitet. Nach dem Krieg bis 1948 hat sich die Sprachsituation des Tschechischen insofern geändert, als dass die Verwender des Deutschen, die als der wesentliche Rivale der Nationalsprache

angesehen wurden, infolge der Aussiedlung der Sudetendeutschen reduziert worden sind. Nach den politischen Änderungen im Jahre 1948, als die Macht in der Tschechoslowakei von den Kommunisten übernommen wurde und als nach dem 9. Mai des selben Jahres eine neue Konstitution in Kraft getreten war, wurde der Fiktion der tschechoslowakischen Sprache ein Ende gemacht. Dem tschechischen und slowakischen Volk wurde das Recht auf ihre eigenen Nationalsprachen eingeräumt. Das bestätigte auch die nächste Konstitution der Tschechoslowakischen Sozialistischen Republik vom 11. Juli 1960. Noch deutlicher wurde dieses Problem in der Staatsverfassung von 1968 gelöst, in welcher der Staat den Status eines Föderativstaates erlangte. In der Staatsverfassung wurde betont, dass das tschechische und slowakische Volk und ihre Sprachen in allen Organen des Staates und in der Schule gleichberechtigt sind. Auch die Sprachen der nationalen Minderheiten waren in den Regionen, die sie bewohnten, gleichberechtigt. Die Zeit zwischen den Jahren 1948–1990 war jedoch charakterisiert durch eine tiefe Ideologisierung der Sprache, und dies bedeutete, dass sich manche Ausdrücke der staatlichen Zensur unterwerfen mussten (Lotko 1997, 110–123). Diese Zensur macht sich besonders in der Tschechoslowakei bemerkbar. Die Situation hat sich erst nach der Teilung der Tschechoslowakei in zwei souveräne Staaten (der Tschechischen und der Slowakischen Republik) im Jahre 1993 geändert. Die Konstitution der Tschechischen Republik vom 16. Dezember 1992, die sich von der westlichen, liberalen Ideologie und dem Individualismus leiten ließ, verminderte die Rolle der Sprache bei der Gruppenbildung und deshalb wurden dort Begriffe wie Nationalsprache, Staatssprache usw. nicht verwendet. Im Gegensatz dazu wurde nachdrücklich auf das Recht der Nationalität auf freie Wahl der Sprache und ihrer Verwendung, gemäß ihrem Willen, verwiesen, was von der internationalen Menschenrechtscharta geregelt wurde. Es war jedoch für eine bessere Kommunikationsgewandtheit empfehlenswert, die Sprache der Mehrheit (d.h. das Tschechische) zu lehren. Eine liberale Einstellung zur Sprachpolitik, und demzufolge auch zur Sprachnorm, verursachte einerseits die Entideologisierung der Sprache und der Sprachwissenschaft, andererseits verursachte sie aber auch, der Ansicht von vielen

Beobachtern zufolge, eine Abschwächung der Norm und ihrer zunehmenden Variabilität, besonders in bestimmten Stilen, was dazu geführt hat, dass viele englische Ausdrücke in den Wortschatz aufgenommen wurden. In den 90er Jahren trat eine neue Kodifizierung der Rechtschreibung, Aussprache, Grammatik und Lexik hinzu (Balowski 2001, 39–48). Das Ziel dieser Unternehmung war es, die Sprachnorm in der Zeit der Demokratisierung und Liberalisierung des Lebens zu ordnen. Eine neue Komponente in der Sprachsituation des Staates, die nach 1993 erschien, war die Diskussion um die, durch Ondra Šysohorský lancierten, Idee ‚einer kleinen lachischen Schriftsprache‘, welche eine Rivalin des offiziellen Tschechischen auf dem Gebiet der gemischten polnisch-tschechischen, lachischen Mundarten sein sollte. Es tauchten weitere neue Ideen auf. Es handelt sich dabei um die Selbstständigkeit der mährischen Schriftsprache (Šustek 1998, 128–142) und die Gewährung sprachlicher Freiheit in Bezug auf die nationalen Minderheiten, besonders der Zigeunerminderheit, welche in hohem Maße des Schreibens nicht kundig ist und welcher das Lehren in ihrer eigenen Sprache nun ermöglicht wurde. Die tschechischen Behörden gewährleisteten den Unterricht der tschechischen Sprache in allen Lehrstufen. Sie ermöglichen dies durch das Vorbereiten von Unterrichtsprogrammen, Handbüchern und indem sie für Ausbildung der Lehrer Sorge tragen. Es werden auch Fremdsprachen gelehrt; in der Zeit des Kommunismus betraf dies hauptsächlich das Russische. Im Gegensatz dazu steht heute das Englische im Vordergrund. In Tschechien gibt es auch Organisationen und Zeitschriften, die sich mit Verbreitung der Sprachnorm und der Sprachpflege befassen. Sie stützen sich dabei auf eine wohl fundierte Sprachtheorie, die ehemals von den Mitgliedern des *Prager Sprachwissenschaftlichen Kreises* ausgearbeitet und dann von hervorragenden tschechischen Sprachwissenschaftlern (Havránek, Daneš, Jedlička, Kraus, Chloupek, Jelinek, Sgall, u. a.) fortgesetzt wurde. Die tschechische Sprache hat jetzt ihren gesicherten Platz in der Presse und im Fernsehen; in der tschechoslowakischen Periode sogar mit ausdrücklicher Überlegenheit gegenüber dem Slowakischen. Das Tschechische hat die kulturellen Bedingungen (und wie es scheint auch die ökonomischen) in Bezug auf die uneingeschränkte Entwick-

lung, gemeinsam mit den anderen Sprachen der nationalen Minderheiten im Staat und in der demokratischen Gesellschaft ermöglicht. Es scheint auch, dass der Weg zur Vereinigung der tschechischen Standardsprache aus den drei oben genannten Varianten möglich ist, denn die traditionellen Mundarten sind im Schwinden begriffen, resultierend aus der von den kommunistischen Behörden durchgeführten Kollektivierung des Ackerbaus und der zu Ende geführten Verstädterung. Diese Prozesse haben zur Entstehung der städtischen Substandard und Interdialekte geführt, auf welche die *obecná čeština* gestützt wird.

### 3. Die slowakische Sprache

Slowakisch sprechen heute etwa 4,5 Millionen Slowaken, die in der Slowakischen Republik wohnen. Außerhalb der Grenzen der Slowakei wird diese Sprache von über 500 000 in den USA, von über 100 000 in Ungarn, von etwa 40 000 in Polen, von über 34 000 in Rumänien, von 12 000 in der Ukraine, von etwa 17 500 in Kanada und von über 100 000 in Jugoslawien gesprochen. Dazu gibt es in der Slowakei, in welcher 85% der Bevölkerung slowakisch sprechen, auch Minderheitensprachen, so das Ungarische (etwa 500 000), das Tschechische, das Deutsche, das Zigeunerische (etwa 80 000), das Polnische und das Ukrainische.

Die slowakische Schriftsprache, deren Anfänge an das Ende des 18. Jhs. datiert werden, entstand erst in der 2. Hälfte des 19. Jhs.; die gesprochene Variante entstand erst nach dem 2. Weltkrieg in der kommunistischen Tschechoslowakei (Stieber 1956, 74). Die Bevölkerung, welche die slowakischen Mundarten benutzt, bewohnte Gebiete, die verschiedenen Staaten angehörten, so dem ehemaligen Königreich Ungarn, in dem die habsburgische Dynastie herrschte, Tschechien und der Österreichisch-Ungarischen Monarchie. Deshalb waren die tschechische, deutsche, ungarische und selbstverständlich auch die lateinische Sprache in jener Zeit die geltenden Staats- und Schriftsprachen. Besonders das Tschechische beeinflusste sehr stark die slowakischen Mundarten, beginnend in den Hussitenkriegen (in den 20er-30er Jahren des 15. Jhs.), als es in seiner vollen Blüte stand (bis ans Ende des 16. Jhs.) und schließlich auch während des Bestehens des tschechoslowakischen Staates (1918–1938), als die Konstitution das ‚tsche-

choslowakische' Volk und die 'tschechoslowakische' Sprache anerkannte. Auch heutzutage übt das Tschechische noch Einfluss auf das Slowakische aus. Eine wichtige Rolle spielten dabei auch die deutsche und die ungarische Sprache. Letztere wurde in der Zeit der österreichisch-ungarischen Monarchie in den Schulen unterrichtet und oft kam es zur brutalen Madjarisierung der Slowaken. Im 19. Jh., als sich die slowakische Nationalbewegung entwickelte, tauchten verschiedene Auffassungen über die Standardsprache auf. Es fehlte nicht an Positionen, die als eine slowakische Standardsprache das Tschechische vorschlugen (z. B. Ján Kollár), aber es gab auch genügend Verfechter, welche die Standardsprache auf eine bodenständige Grundlage stellen wollten. Der erste Schöpfer solch einer Standardsprache, der die slowakische Rechtschreibung, die normative Grammatik und Lexik aufgrund der westlichen Mundarten festgelegt hat (vgl. *Dissertatio philologico-critica de litteris Slavorum* 1787) war Anton Bernolák. Zuerst wurden die westslowakischen Mundarten (bernolačtina) als Grundlage benutzt. Aber unter dem Einfluss der Aktivität von Ľudovít Štur, einem hervorragenden Sprachwissenschaftler, Philosoph, Pädagoge, Journalist, Historiker und Politiker, der in den Werken *Nárečja slovenskuo alebo potreba písania v tomto náreči* von 1848 [Die slowakische Mundart oder das Bedürfnis, in dieser Mundart zu schreiben] und *Nauka reči slovenskej* [Der Unterricht der slowakischen Sprache], die wissenschaftlichen Grundlagen für die slowakische Standardsprache geschaffen hat, hat sich nun die slowakische Standardsprache auf die Grundlage der mittelslowakischen Interdialekte gestützt. Diese Kodifikation, im weiteren Verlauf ergänzt und aktualisiert, sollte in den 30er Jahren des 20. Jhs. in verschiedene Etappen des Purismus übergehen. Dieser Purismus richtete sich gegen die ungeheueren tschechischen Einflüsse, die besonders von den, unter der Leitung des tschechischen Sprachwissenschaftlers Václav Vážný veröffentlichten, *Pravidlá slovenského pravopisu* [Grundgesetze der slowakischen Rechtschreibung] sanktioniert wurden. Der Purismus war aber auch gegen den Nationalchauvinismus gerichtet, als in den Jahren 1939–1945 unter dem Protektorat des Hitlerdeutschlands die sogenannte Slovenská Republika entstanden ist und als andere *Pravidlá slovenského pravopisu* (1940) ausgegeben wurde. In der

Nachkriegsperiode funktionierte die slowakische Sprache aufgrund der Zweisprachigkeit als zweite Staatssprache. Nach der Entstehung der souveränen Slowakischen Republik (1993) wurde die slowakische Sprache als Staatssprache anerkannt. Folglich galt das Tschechische als die Sprache der Minderheit, ebenso wie die ungarische, polnische und ukrainische Sprache. Trotz der konstitutionellen Sicherung der sprachlichen Rechte für nationale Minderheiten (die Minderheiten in der Slowakei beziffern sich auf 15%, davon trug den größten Anteil mit 11% die ungarische Bevölkerung), gab und gibt es oft Streitigkeiten auf sprachlichem Boden, besonders zwischen den Slowaken und Ungarn. Dieser Situation sollte ein Sprachgesetz Einhalt gebieten, welches im Jahre 1995 beschlossen wurde (*Zákon Národnej rady Slovenskej republiky z 15. novembra 1995 o štatnom jazyku Slovenskej republiky – Zbirka zákonov č. 270/1995*) – [Gesetz des Staatsrates der slowakischen Republik vom 15. November 1995 über die Staatssprache der slowakischen Republik – Gesetzblatt Nr. 270/1995]. Dieses Gesetz setzt jedoch nicht das Recht der Staatssprache mit den Sprachen der Minderheiten gleich, was jetzt und in Zukunft weiterhin sprachliche Konflikte hervorrufen kann. Die Kodifikationsbemühungen der slowakischen Sprachwissenschaftler zielen, durch Beseitigung der tschechischen und anderen fremden Entlehnungen (meistens deutsche und ungarische), auf eine Verstärkung der slowakischen Sprache und auf die Schaffung eines ausdrücklichen Identifikationsfaktors bzgl. der nationalen und politischen Souveränität hin. Es macht sich eine große Diskrepanz zwischen den kodifizierten Formen und dem Sprachgebrauch bemerkbar, deshalb versucht man, diese durch sprachliche Edukation und Vertiefung des sprachlichen Bewusstseins auszugleichen (Bosák 1998, 31). In der Sprachpolitik vertritt man den Standpunkt, dass alle Bürger der Slowakischen Republik die Sprache der Mehrheit beherrschen sollen, doch dies erschwert das Gruppenleben der Minderheiten, vor allem das der Ungarn und Zigeuner.

#### 4. Die sorbischen Sprachen

Es wird allgemein angenommen, dass zwei sorbische Sprachen, nämlich das Niedersorbische und Obersorbische, bestehen. Es wird aber auch behauptet, dass es nur eine sorbi-



sche Sprache (sogenannte sorbšcina) mit zwei Varianten gibt (Faska 1998, 13–18). Diese Sprachen werden von jener sorbischen Bevölkerung gesprochen, welche an dem Ober- u. Mittellauf der Spree (Bautzen und Cottbus) lebt. Die Grenze im Süden nähert sich nicht der tschechischen Grenze an, im Osten reicht sie bis an die Lausitzer Neiße. Im Westen endet das obersorbische Sprachgebiet in der Gegend der Stadt Kamenz, und das niedersorbische Sprachgebiet reicht bis an die Stadt Lübbenau heran. Früher waren die von den Sorben bewohnten Gebiete weiter ausgedehnt. Im 16. Jh. waren die sorbischen Mundarten auch am rechten Ufer der unteren Lausitzer Neiße bekannt und standen dort mit den polnischen Mundarten des Niederschlesischen in Verbindung. Die ständig vorwärtsschreitende Germanisierung der Bevölkerung verursachte Territorial- u. Bevölkerungsverminderungen. Dies erscheint nicht verwunderlich, da es sich um eine Rivalität der nicht gleichwertigen Sprachen bezüglich der Anzahl der Benutzer und Bevölkerungsverhältnisse im Staat handelt. Mittlerweile ist erkennbar, dass die Anzahl der Benutzer der sorbischen Sprachen sinkt. In den 60er Jahren des 20. Jhs. waren es noch 80000 Menschen, die Sorbisch sprachen, im Jahr 1987 waren es dagegen nur 67000. Die sorbischen Sprachen (oder eher die zwei Systeme derselben Sprache) wurden schon im 16. Jh. als Standardsprachen benutzt. Ein Beispiel hierfür ist die Übersetzung des Neuen Testaments in die niedersorbische Standardsprache, welches ursprünglich von Mikołaj Jakubica im Jahr 1548 in einer ostniedersorbischen Mundart geschrieben wurde. Allerdings basierte die handschriftliche Bearbeitung der Grammatik der niedersorbischen Sprache von J. Chojnanus (1650) und das Leuthener Gesangbuch auf einer Mundart aus der Gegend von Cottbus. Die Bedeutung dieses Dialektes stieg an, als im 18. Jh. in diesem Dialekt das Neue und Alte Testament übersetzt wurde. Diese Standardsprache erlangte ihre Selbstständigkeit jedoch erst im 19. Jh., als sich eine niedersorbische Belletristik entwickelte (zu nennen wäre der Dichter Mato Kósyk) und als der hervorragende Sprachwissenschaftler E. Muka eine historische und vergleichende Phonetik und Morphologie der niedersorbischen Sprache bearbeitete und Anfang des 20. Jhs. ein Wörterbuch der niedersorbischen Sprache herausgab (1911–1918).

Die Grundlegung der obersorbischen Sprache ist mit der Reformation und mit dem Kleinen Katechismus von Martin Luther verbunden, welcher von Wjasław Warychius (Bautzen 1597) in einen Löbauer Dialekt übersetzt wurde. Im 17. Jh. entstand eine handschriftliche Grammatik der obersorbischen Sprache von G. Ludovici und im Jahr 1679 erschien in Prag die Grammatik dieser Sprache von Jakub Ticinius. In Bautzen erschien in den Jahren 1693–1697 auch das Wörterbuch der obersorbischen Sprache (*De originibus linguae sorabicae*) von Abraham Frencl. Die Entwicklung der Literatur fiel auf den Anfang des 17. Jhs. und war vor allem mit einer Übersetzung der katholischen Bibel eng verbunden. Allerdings war dies bis zu Beginn des 19. Jhs. keine mundartliche Grundlage, auf die sich die Standardsprache hätte stützen können (zuerst die nordwestlichen, dann die südwestlichen Dialekte). Erst in der ersten Hälfte des 19. Jhs., als sich die europäische Bewegung zur Erweckung des nationalen Bewusstseins auch unter den Sorben verbreitete (J. A. Smolar, H. Zejler, M. Hórník, u. a.), was u. a. zur Gründung der Gesellschaft ‚Mačica Serbska‘ [Sorbisches Vaterland] und der Zeitschrift ‚Serbske Nowiny‘ [Sorbische Zeitung] geführt hat, kam es zur Veröffentlichung der Rechtschreibung und der normativen Grammatik von K. B. Pfuhl, welche auf tschechischem und polnischem Vorbild bearbeitet war. Derselbe Verfasser leistete auch Vorarbeiten zu einem normativen Wörterbuch der obersorbischen Sprache (1866), versehen mit vielen Neubildungen, die sich hauptsächlich auf die tschechische Sprache stützten. Dies hat schließlich zur vollen Polyvalenz der obersorbischen Sprache geführt. Sie wurde weiterhin von hervorragenden Schriftstellern (H. Zeiler, J. Bart čišinski, M. Andricki) und der Zeitschrift *Lužica* [Lausitz] gestärkt. Die Herrschaft Adolf Hitlers war für die Sorben sehr schwer. In jener Zeit kam das öffentliche Kulturleben zum Erliegen und die Benutzung der sorbischen Sprache war aufgrund ihrer slawischen Herkunft verboten. Nach dem Krieg, als sich Lausitz innerhalb der Grenzen der DDR befand, entstanden gesetzliche Vorgaben sowohl zur Entwicklung der sorbischen Kultur und Sprachen, als auch zur Entwicklung der Sprachen der Minderheit. Die Verfassung der DDR und die entsprechenden Gesetze (Gesetz über den Rechtsschutz der sorbischen Bevöl-

kerung (1948), die Verfassungen der DDR (1949, 1968, 1974) und die Regelungen in den 15 Gesetzen und Verordnungen) gewährleisteten die Gleichberechtigung mit der deutschen Sprache in Schulen und Ämtern, in jenen Gebieten, in denen die sorbische Bevölkerung wohnte. Nach der Vereinigung Deutschlands haben die Regierungen Brandenburgs und Sachsens 1992 neue Verfassungen verabschiedet. In beiden Verfassungen wurden Grundrechte gewährleistet, welche die Interessen und Erwartungen der Sorben befriedigen sollten. Dagegen wurde im Jahr 1994 bei der Verabschiedung des Grundlagenvertrages das Sorbische nicht in den Schutz nationaler Minderheiten mit einbezogen. Zur Pflege und Erhaltung der sorbischen Sprache und Kultur wird von der 1991 gegründeten Stiftung des Sorbischen Volkes finanzielle Hilfe geleistet. In neuen Gesetzesentwürfen und Verordnungen der beiden oben genannten Bundesländer wurden die sorbischen sprachlichen und kulturellen Probleme vorwiegend in Übereinstimmung mit der Gesellschaft ‚Domowina‘ berücksichtigt. Es kann aber nicht behauptet werden, dass sich die rechtlichen Regularien auf einem höheren Niveau befinden würden, als es damals in der DDR der Fall gewesen war (Faska 1998, 306–307). Die sorbische Sprache wird v.a. in der Kirche benutzt, wobei die Mehrheit (fast 90% der Bevölkerung) protestantisch ist. Außerdem werden sorbische Literaturwerke, Handbücher, populärwissenschaftliche Literatur und Zeitschriften veröffentlicht. Die entsprechenden Organe von *Maćica Serbska* befassen sich mit der Sprachkultur, deren Pflege sie sich durch die Verbreitung der Rechtschreibregeln, von Bulletins und von Lehr- und Lernstoffen verschrieben haben. Auch sprachwissenschaftliche und völkerkundliche Forschungen werden geführt, mit denen sich die entsprechenden Forschungsinstitute (Institut für Sorbische Völkerkunde in Bautzen und Sorbisches Institut an der Leipziger Universität) befassen. Dank der Forschungsarbeiten dieser Institutionen konnten praktische deutsch-sorbische Wörterbücher entstehen. Besonders erwähnenswert ist das zweibändige Wörterbuch *Němsko – hornjoserbski słownik* (1989–1991) [Deutsch – obersorbisches Wörterbuch], sowie vor allem solche Werke wie die *Gramatika hornjoserbskeje řeče přitomnosće: Morfologija* (1981) [Grammatik der gegenwärtigen obersorbischen Sprache:

Morphologie] und die, von H. Šewc-Schuster bearbeitete *Gramatika hornjoserbskeje řeče: Fonematika a morfologia* (1968), *Sintaksa* (1976) [Grammatik der obersorbischen Sprache: Phonologie und Morphologie, Syntax] und die Niedersorbische Grammatik (1976, 1984) von P. Janaš. Diese Werke sind von normativem Charakter. Eine Sonderkommission bei *Maćica Serbska* führte Kodifikationsarbeiten durch. Die Kodifikationsarbeiten gehen auf die Uniformierung der katholischen und protestantischen Variante der obersorbischen Sprachnorm ebenso ein, wie auf die Ausarbeitung der, nach Möglichkeit uniformierten, diasystemhaften Norm der Sprache – *serpšćina*. Meiner Meinung nach fällt es vorläufig schwer, mit den Ansichten mancher Forscher überein zu stimmen, die besagen, dass sich die sorbischen Sprachen auf dem Weg zum Aussterben befinden. Aus objektiven Gründen kommt es wohl eher zur Einengung ihrer Sprachgebiete, trotz gesetzlicher Gewährleistung ihrer Existenz.

## 5. Die polnische Sprache

Polnisch sprechen 37 Mill. der in Polen wohnenden Menschen und etwa 10,5 Mill. von jenen die außerhalb Landes leben (etwa 7 Mill. leben in Nordamerika, in Europa etwa 2,5 Mill.). Polnische Dialekte sprachen die alten polnischen Stämme (*Polanie*, *Wiślanie* und *Ślężanie*), die dann vom ersten historisch belegten Fürst Mieszko I. vereinigt wurden. Im Jahre 966 empfing der Fürst die Taufe von den Tschechen und auf diese Weise wurde im 10. Jh. der polnische Staat in den Kreis der römischen Westkultur eingeführt. Das Gebiet des polnischen Staates unterlag im Laufe der Zeit vielen Veränderungen. Das jagellonische Polen wurde im 16. Jh. vielsprachiger und daher zu einem Vielvölkerstaat mit vorherrschender Stellung der polnischen Sprache. Diese Stellung teilte sie bis Ende des 18. Jhs. mit dem Lateinischen, im Amts-, Kirchen- u. Schulgebrauch und im Lokalgebrauch mit den ruthenischen, deutschen, lithuanischen, tschechischen, tatarischen, jüdischen und armenischen Sprachen. Nach dem Verlust der Unabhängigkeit 1795 und der Okkupation Polens durch die Eroberungsmächte Preußen, Österreich und Rußland, verminderte sich das Verbreitungsareal der polnischen Sprache. Der 1918 entstandene freie polnische Staat (die Zweite Republik) über-

nahm bis zu einem gewissen Grad die frühere demographische Struktur, in der die Polen etwa 65% der Bevölkerung bildeten. Die polnische Sprache erlangte offiziell wohl die Vormachtsstellung, aber im Vielvölkerstaat musste sie mit den Minderheitensprachen des Deutschen, Ukrainischen, Belarussischen, Jüdischen und mancher kleineren Minderheitensprache konkurrieren. Nach dem zweiten Weltkrieg veränderte sich fast vollständig das territoriale Bild Polens, dessen Grenzen westwärts bis an die Oder und Lauzitzer Neiße verschoben wurden. Zum polnischen Staat gehören nun nicht mehr die ehemaligen polnischen Ostgebiete, von denen aus sich die Polen nach Westen begaben. Es verminderte sich auch die Bevölkerung des polnischen Staates (von 35 Mill. auf 24 Mill.). Etwa 1/3 dieser Bevölkerung besiedelte nun ehemalige deutsche Gebiete. Diese Siedler brachten das Polnische verschiedener Regionen mit (hauptsächlich das Polnische, welches in den Ostgebieten und teilweise auch in Małopolska (Kleinpolen) gesprochen wurde), und dies schuf in Folge dieses Besiedlungsprozesses auf den neubesiedelten Gebieten eine mundartliche ‚Leere‘ (eine Ausnahme bildete der größte Teil Schlesiens und teilweise auch Teile des Warmlandes). Diese Situation verursachte das Entstehen von Interdialekten, die der polnischen Standardsprache angenähert sind. Die territorialen und sozialen Veränderungen verursachten auch die Entstehung einer neuen demographischen Struktur der polnischen Gesellschaft, die in nationaler Hinsicht zu einem fast einheitlichen Staat wurde (95–98% von Polen). Dieser Staat wandelte sich von der Agrargesellschaft (vor dem Kriege wohnten 60% der Bevölkerung auf dem Land) in eine industriell-städtische Gesellschaft (1980 wohnten bis zu 60% der Polen in den Städten). Dieser Prozess beeinflusste die Verstärkung des Prestiges der polnischen Sprache, die im gesetzlichen und öffentlichen Verkehr eine überragende Stellung einnehmen konnte. Die polnische Standardsprache hat sich definitiv in der ersten Hälfte des 16. Jhs. entwickelt, obwohl ihre handschriftlichen Anfänge bis in das 14. Jh. reichen. Die dichterische Religionsliteratur stand auf hohem künstlerischen Niveau, allerdings war sie in grammatischer und lexikalischer Hinsicht ungleichartig; sie wurde im nächsten Jh. zum Leierschrifttum erweitert. Im 16. Jh. entwickelten sich sehr günstige Bedingungen

für die Entstehung einer Variante der polnischen Standardsprache. Hierfür waren auch die politische und territoriale Macht des jagellonischen Staates, neue Renaissanceideen in der Kunst und Literatur und endlich die Reformation günstig. Die erste gedruckte Ausgabe des lutherischen ‚Neuen Testaments‘ (1551–1555) von Jan Seklucjan, übersetzt von Jan Murzynowski, erschien vor der katholischen Ausgabe und einige lutherische und katholische Ausgaben der Bibel erschienen gleichzeitig. Gefördert wurde die Entstehung der polnischen Standardsprachen auch durch die Ausbreitung des Druckes, dank derer sich schnell und gleichzeitig in vielen Zentren entwickelnden Druckkunst (Kraków, Wrocław, Poznań, Gdańsk, Leszno, Wilno, Lwów, Brześć Litewski, Nieśwież). Es erschienen auch hervorragende, literarisch begabte Dichter, allen voran ist der führende Renaissancedichter Jan Kochanowski zu nennen, der Schöpfer der polnischen Dichtkunst, aber auch Schriftsteller wie z. B. Mikołaj Rej, der über die Verbreitung der Polivalenz des Polnischen entschied. Die systemhaften und orthographischen Normen dieser Sprache wurden von den Krakauer Buchdruckereien ausgearbeitet. Es gab auch Versuche der Standardisierung der Rechtschreibung (z. B. ‚Ortografia‘ von Stanisław Zaborowski (1. Ausgabe 1514), die mit verschiedenen Umarbeitungen, im selben 16. Jh., elfmal herausgegeben wurde). Die Grundsätze der Rechtschreibung des 16. Jhs. haben sich, mit kleinen Änderungen, bis zum heutigen Tage erhalten. Das System der Standardsprache stützte sich zunächst im Spätmittelalter auf großpolnischen (wielkopolski), dann auf kleinpolnischen (małopolski) und schließlich auf masowischen (mazowiecki) Dialekt, als Warszawa im 16. Jh. die Hauptstadt Polens wurde. Seit dem 17. Jh. wurde diese Sprache mit der Sprache der Ostprovinzen bereichert, aus der hervorragende Schriftsteller wie Szymon Szymonowicz, Szymon und Józef Zimorowic, Zbigniew und Stanisław Morsztyn, ebenso wie die Schriftsteller der plebejischen Strömung entstammten. In der Aufklärungszeit tat sich Ignacy Krasicki hervor, in Bezug auf die Dichter der Romantik sind v. a. Adam Mickiewicz, Juliusz Słowacki, Bohdan Zaleski, Antoni Malczewski zu nennen. Die moderne Standardsprache wurde jedoch erst gegen Ende des 18. Jhs. gestaltet, als die entsprechenden Institutionen (Kommission der Nationalen Erzie-

hung), die Ausbildung in dieser Sprache gestalteten. Die Verallgemeinerung der Norm wurde offiziell und im großen Ausmaß organisiert, sie fand ebenfalls eine Stütze bei wissenschaftlichen Publikationen. Schließlich hat das gegenwärtige Polnisch zwei Varianten ausgebildet, die Standard- und die Umgangssprache. Letztere hat seit neuester Zeit an der öffentlichen Literatur- u. Medienkommunikation immer größeren Anteil.

Die ältesten Sprachkontakte gab es mit der tschechischen Sprache, dorthin kam auch die christliche Terminologie (z. B. *kościół* [Kirche] < tsch. *kostel* < lat. *castellum*; *krzyż* [Kreuz] < *kříž* < lat. *crux*, *crucis*). Diese Sprache genoss lange Zeit große Autorität (aus dem Tschechischen wurde z. B. die *Biblia Królowej Zofii* [Die Bibel der Königin Sophie] übersetzt). Das Tschechische hinterließ Spuren in der Phonetik (z. B. *masarz* [Metzger], *teść* [Schwiegervater], *porucznik* [Oberleutnant], *wesoły* [lustig], *hańba* [Schande]). Im Mittelalter wurde gemeinsam mit der Agrikultur und mit der Stadtverwaltung und Kommunalwirtschaft ein reicher Wortschatz aus dem Deutschen entlehnt, z. B. *bruk* [Brücke], *grunt* [Grund], *hebel* [Hobel], *huta* [Hütte], *ratusz* [mhd. *rathūs*], *murarz* [mhd. *mûrer*], *kierat* [Kehrrad], *stragan* [Schragen], *kitel* [Kittel], *myto* [ahd. *mûta*], *burmistrz* [Bürgermeister], *wójt* [mhd. *vog(e)t*] und auch *barwa* [Farbe], *rycerz* [mhd. *ritaere*], *handel* [Handel], usw. Der Einfluss des Lateinischen hat sich bis heute erhalten, obwohl gegen Ende des 18. Jhs. die Vorherrschaft in Wissenschaft und Amt geendet hat. Aus der Literatur wurde das Lateinische bereits in den 20er Jahren des 16. Jhs. verdrängt, obwohl manche wissenschaftliche Werke noch lange auf Lateinisch geschrieben wurden. Das Polnische kam sehr früh mit den ruthenischen Sprachen in Berührung, daher stammen solche Wörter wie *kniaź* [Fürst im alten Rußland und Litauen], *bojarzyn* [Bojar]; in den nächsten Jh. waren Wörter wie *holota* [Pöbel, Bande], *chlystek* [Jungelchen, Rotzjunge], *holysz* [Habenichts], *rubież* [Grenzland], *serdak* [Trachtenweste], *wertep* [Irrweg], *znachor* [Kurpfuscher] besonders auffällig. In den 50er Jahren des 20. Jhs. sind in das Polnische der politische, russische Wortschatz sowie ganze Redensarten eingedrungen, z. B. *prawidłowo* [vorschriftsmäßig], *komсомо́л* [Komsomol, kommunistischer Jugendverband in der UdSSR], *колхо́з* [Kolchos ‚Kollektivwirtschaft‘]. In geringem Ausmaß

kamen auch italienische Entlehnungen hinzu, z. B. *antykamera* [Vorzimmer], *pałac* [Palast], *antypast* [Imbiß], *salata* [Salat], *bastion* [Bastion], *forteca* [Festung], *bank* [Bank], *bankiet* [Bankett], *bandyta* [Bandit], *bomba* [Bombe]. Der Kontakt mit der französischen Kultur, der Mode, dem gesellschaftlichen Leben, dem Heereswesen und allen mit ihnen verbundene Wörter, zogen im 18. Jh. Entlehnungen wie *amant* [Liebhaber], *bal* [Ball], *bilet* [Billet], *bransoleta* [Armband], *bukiet* [Buket], *pistolet* [Pistole], *peruka* [Perücke], *perfumy* [Parfüm], *rywal* [Rivale], *ponton* [Ponton] nach sich. Trotz der scharfen Einsprüche gegen die französische Mode im 18. Jh., dauerten ihre Einflüsse noch im nächsten Jh. an, da sich dieser Sprache die ‚besser‘ gebildeten Klassen bedienten, allen voran der Adel und die Aristokratie. Das Französische wurde jedoch im weiteren Verlauf von dem Englischen verdrängt. Diese Sprache fing im 19. Jh. an, das Polnische zu beeinflussen. Allerdings konnte erst im nächsten Jh., besonders aber in den Nachkriegsjahren und den 90er Jahren des 20. Jhs. eine enorme Steigerung in Bezug auf die Einwirkung der englischen Sprache auf das Polnische verzeichnet werden. Es wurde berechnet, dass innerhalb von zehn Jahren mehr als 1000 englische Entlehnungen in das Polnische eingeführt worden sind. Deswegen spricht man auch von polnischem ‚pidgin‘ und ruft gleichzeitig zum Widerspruch gegen diese Überfremdung auf. Nach 1990, als Polen die Freiheit wiedergewann, hat sich die Situation der polnischen Sprache ein wenig geändert, allerdings waren das keine radikalen Wandlungen. Zum Ausdruck kam die Selbstständigkeit der offiziellen polnischen Sprache, befreit vom Druck der totalitären ‚Neusprache‘ (newspeech) und befreit vom, auf politischem Gebiet herrschenden, Einfluss des Russischen, doch die Anwendung von *Überredung* ist erhalten geblieben. Diese *Überredung* bestand in der semantischen Übertragung und in der negativen Bewertung der aktuell (politisch und ideologisch) negativ geschätzten Phänomene. Aufgrund einer starken Rückwirkung der Umgangssprache auf die Stabilität der systemhaften und kommunikativen Norm, wie auch aufgrund des starken Drucks des Englischen in den 90er Jahren des 20. Jhs. entschloss man sich am 7. Oktober 1999, ein Gesetz über die polnische Sprache (Ustawa o języku polskim z dnia 7 października 1999) zu verabschieden. In diesem Gesetz

wurde betont, dass der Schutz der polnischen Sprache insbesondere auf folgende Punkte zu beruhen habe: 1) die Sorge für eine richtige Benutzung der Sprache, Vervollkommnung der Sprachgewandtheit ihrer Benutzer und Erschaffung von Bedingungen zur richtigen Entwicklung der Sprache als Instrument der zwischenmenschlichen Kommunikation; 2) Gegenwirkung ihrer Vulgarisierung; 3) Erweiterung der Sprachkenntnisse und ihres Anteils an der Kultur; 4) Achtung für örtliche Spracheigentümlichkeiten und Mundarten, ebenso muss ihrem Schwund entgegengewirkt werden; 5) Förderung der polnischen Sprache in der Welt; 6) Unterstützung des polnischen Unterrichts in der Heimat und außerhalb des Landes. Das Gesetz beschloss auch, dass der „Gebrauch von fremdartigen Bestimmungen im Rechtsbereich auf dem Gebiet der Polnischen Republik ausschließlich, mit Ausnahme von den Eigennamen, verboten ist“. Das bedeutet, dass in dem offiziellen (amtlichen und geschäftlichen) Bereich, in der inneren Kommunikation, in den fremdsprachigen Redewendungen, Aufschriften, Werbungen Fremdwörter nicht benutzt werden dürfen. Das oben genannte Gesetz ruft den Rat der Polnischen Sprache (Rada Języka Polskiego) ins Leben und überträgt ihm die entsprechenden Kompetenzen. Es wurde festgesetzt, dass der Rat „ein Begutachtungsorgan in den Angelegenheiten von Benutzung der polnischen Sprache ist [...] und auf Antrag des Kultur-, Unterrichts- u. Erziehungsministers, des Präsidenten der Polnischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, oder aus eigener Initiative, ein Gutachten über das Benutzen der polnischen Sprache in der öffentlichen Tätigkeit und dem Rechtsbereich abgibt und die Grundsätze der polnischen Rechtsschreibung und Interpunktion feststellt“. Dieses Gesetz besagt jedoch nicht, dass die Sprachen der nationalen Minderheiten mit dem Polnischen gleichberechtigt sind, obwohl es nur unzureichend erklärt, dass man „nicht in die Rechte der sprachlichen und ethnischen Gruppen eingreifen darf“, was übrigens bereits von der Konstitution der Polnischen Republik vom 2. April 1997 gewährleistet wurde. In Bezug auf die Probleme, die eng mit der Sprachkultur verbunden sind, muss gesagt werden, dass wir diesen seit der Entstehung der ältesten polnischen Texte (also seit dem ausgehenden Mittelalter) begegnen.

Man vgl. u. a. das *Traktat ortograficzny* (orthographisches Traktat) von Jakub Parkoszwic (1440); eine lateinische Grammatik, die im literarischen Schaffen des kalvinischen und arianischen Lehrers in Pińczów Statorius – Stojęński (1568) entstanden ist; das Lateinisch – polnische Wörterbuch von Jan Mączyński (1564) und auch die in zwei oder mehreren Sprachen geschriebenen Wörterbücher von Mikołaj Volkmar (1596), Gregorius Cnapius (Knapski; Anfang des 17. Jhs.), Michał Abraham Trotz (1744 u. 1747) sowie das größte Werk der polnischen Lexikographie vor der Teilung Polens „*Słownik języka polskiego*“ (Wörterbuch der polnischen Sprache) von Samuel Bogumił Linde 1807–1814. Im 19. und 20. Jh. gibt es noch einige größere Wörterbücher (z. B. das sog. „*Słownik Warszawski*“ (Warschauer Wörterbuch) von J. Karłowicz, A. Kryński, W. Niedźwiedzki 1900–1927).

Eine sehr reichhaltige Sammlung des modernen Wortschatzes treffen wir in den neuerlich erschienenen Wörterbüchern an, unter welchen eines hervorgehoben werden soll, das *Słownik języka polskiego* (Wörterbuch der polnischen Sprache), bearbeitet von Witold Doroszewski (1958–1969), ein größtenteils normatives Werk. Das *Słownik współczesnego języka polskiego* (Wörterbuch der gegenwärtigen polnischen Sprache), bearbeitet von Bogusław Dunaj (1996, 2. Aufl. 1998), das auf neuere lexikographische Grundlagen gestützt wurde, macht u. a. ausgiebigen Gebrauch von Ausdrücken der Umgangssprache. Der polnische Wortschatz wurde etwa in zehn allgemeinen, mundartlichen, stadtsprachigen, historischen, orthographischen, ortoepischen, etymologischen, synonymischen, antonymischen, phraseologischen, die Sprichwörter, Vulgarismen, Aphorismen, Jargons, einzelne Schriftsteller und auch den Sex betreffenden Wörterbüchern dokumentiert. Ähnlich verhält es sich mit den synchronischen und historischen Grammatiken. Sie erschienen kontinuierlich seit dem 18. Jh., und die neuesten, die zur Zeit gebräuchlich sind, sind die Grammatik von Z. Klemensiewicz (deskriptiv und historisch), die Kollektivgrammatik (die sog. ‚gelbe Grammatik‘), welche von den Autoren Grzegorzycowa, Laskowski, Wróbel, Puzynina, Topolińska, Karolak bearbeitet wurde und die *Gramatyka języka polskiego* [Grammatik der polnischen Sprache] von Henryk Wróbel. Im Zuge der Normierung werden die Zehner Ratgeber für Sprachbenutzer veröffentlicht, die eine variantenreiche Norm propagieren. Solche Normen werden seit Neuem zur polnischen Kodifi-

kation eingeführt, da die soziolinguistischen Forschungen gezeigt haben, dass die rigorose Befolgung der gänzlich uniformierten Grundsätze nicht möglich ist (Lubaś/Urbańczyk 1993). Es erscheinen auch Schulbücher, die pragmatisch und rhetorisch eingestellt sein werden. Unter diesen verdient ein besonderes Lob das Handbuch *Mówię więc jestem* [Ich spreche also bin ich] von Halina und Tadeusz Zgółka, welches der reformierten Oberschule gewidmet ist. Die polnische Sprachpolitik wird auf die Verallgemeinerung der variantenreichen Sprachnorm eingestellt (Mazur (Verf.) 1989). Zeitschriften wie *Język Polski* [die polnische Sprache] und *Poradnik Językowy* [Ratgeber für Sprachbenutzer] erteilen nicht nur ausführliche Ratschläge, sondern sie propagieren auch in größerem Umfang die theoretischen Begründungen der Norm. Gegenstand leidenschaftlichen Interesses der Forscher ist verstärkt die Sprache der Presse, des Rundfunks und des Fernsehens (Bralczyk u. Mośiot(t)ek – Kłosińska (Red.) 2000).

## 6. Die kaschubische Sprache

Die Kommunikationsgemeinschaft für die kaschubische Sprache bildet eine polnische Volksgruppe, welche sich Kaszubi (Kaszëbë) nennt. Die Bevölkerung lebt in geschlossener Gruppe auf dem Gebiet von Pomorze Gdańskie (Danziger Pommern) und im östlichen Teil von Pomorze Zachodnie (West Pommern) in Polen und umfasst 200 000–500 000 Menschen. Sie gehören zu einer einheimischen Bevölkerung, die der slawischen Bevölkerung Pommerns entstammt und sind die Nachkommen eines östlichen Zweiges der ehemaligen Pommern. Sie leben auch außerhalb des Landes (10 000–20 000 Menschen), vorwiegend in Kanada. Überall bewahren sie ihr starkes Gefühl von der Eigenart ihrer Sprache und Kultur (Damm/Mikusińska 2000). Die einheimische kaschubische Bevölkerung wurde besonders stark seit dem 17. Jh. und verstärkt im 18. Jh. von dem Deutschen beeinflusst. Nach dem letzten Krieg änderte sich infolge der Emigration das Siedlungsgebiet der Kaschuben, und als unmittelbare Folge dieses Prozesses veränderte sich nicht nur die ethnische Struktur der Bevölkerung, sondern auch ihre Sprache, mit anderen Worten: die kaschubischen Mundarten. Daher kann man von dem historischen und dem gegenwärtigen kaschubischen Sprach-

gebiet sprechen. Die kaschubische Sprache hat noch nicht ihre volle Anerkennung gefunden. Sie erfüllt auch noch nicht die Aufgaben, die den normalisierten Standardsprachen zueigen sind (Radovanović 1986, 186–197.) Bis heute wurde für diese Sprache keine normative Grammatik festgesetzt und die Beschreibung ihres Sprachsystems befindet sich noch im Anfangsstadium (Breza, Treder 1981.) Darüber hinaus wird weder eine spezialisierte wissenschaftliche Terminologie noch ein poetischer, abstrakter und fachlicher Wortschatz ausgebildet. In dieser Sprache gibt es keine differenzierten, stilistischen Varianten. Die rechtlichen Grundlagen, welche die Standardisierung, die Verbreitung und Pflege der kaschubischen Sprache sicherstellen, befinden sich auf der lokalen und nicht auf der staatlichen Ebene. Das Polnische Sprachgesetz aus dem Jahr 1999 (Gesetzblatt 90/1999 aus dem 8. November 1999, Absatz 999) lässt den Status der kaschubischen Sprache in Polen unberücksichtigt. Wahrscheinlich wird aus demselben Grunde die kaschubische Sprache in den sprachwissenschaftlichen, kulturellen und politischen Kreisen noch nicht als eine selbstständige Literatursprache anerkannt (vgl. Urbańczyk, Kucala 1999, 66–68; Polański 1999, 228, auch *Nowa Encyklopedia Powszechna PWN*, Warszawa 1997, Band 3, 303). Sie wird nur als eine Mundart der polnischen Sprache angesehen. In manchen Publikationen wird das Kaschubische allerdings als eine polnische Regionalsprache oder als eine gut entwickelte „kleine slawische Literatursprache“ behandelt (Duličenko 1997, 227–246). Es hat den Anschein, als dass der aktuelle Status der kaschubischen Sprache von einem ihrer Kodifikatoren, Edward Breza, am Besten formuliert wurde: „[So] gelangte ich zu der Feststellung, daß das Kaschubische auch weiterhin noch eine Literatursprache *in statu nascendi* darstellt. Jetzt möchte ich Überlegungen darüber anstellen, welche Merkmale der kaschubischen gesprochenen Sprache sich in einer kaschubischen Literatursprache wiederfinden oder bei der Schaffung einer solchen Vorrangstellung einnehmen sollten, wobei ich auch auf bisherige schriftstellerische Praktiken zurückgreifen werde“ (Breza 1997, 323). Auf dem Wege zur Ausarbeitung einer selbstständigen Literatursprache sind seit einiger Zeit Fortschritte zu verzeichnen. Das Kaschubische hat sehr alte schriftstellerische und literarische Traditionen. Kaschubische

Druckschriften sind schon im 16. Jh. erschienen (z.B. von Szymon Krofey *Duchowne piesnie D. Marcina Luthera y ynszych naboznich meżow Zniemieckiego w Sławięski ięzik wilozone*, herausgegeben in Gdańsk 1586; die phototypische Ausgabe: R.Olesch, S.Krofey, Geistliche Lieder D. Martin Luthers und anderer frommer Männer, Danzig 1586, herausgegeben in Köln 1959). Die eigentliche Entwicklung des literarischen und ethnographischen Schrifttums fällt jedoch auf das 19. und 20. Jh. und ist mit der Tätigkeit einiger hervorragender kaschubischer Schriftsteller und Intellektueller verbunden: z.B. Florian Ceynowa (1817–1881), ein Arzt, Ethnograph, Sprachwissenschaftler, der eine Schrift *Skórb kaszebsko-słowjnskjé mowé* [Schatz der kaschubisch-slowinzischen Sprache] herausgegeben hat, in welche er sehr reiche, aus Kaschubei kommende, ethnographische und onomastische Materialien einbrachte. Derselbe Autor veröffentlichte auch 1879 *Zares do gramatikij kašebko-słowjnskjé mowé* [Grundzüge der kaschubisch-slowinzischen Grammatik]. Eine fundamentale Rolle in der Entwicklung der volkstümlichen kaschubischen Literatur spielte in der 2. Hälfte des 19. Jhs. Jan Hieronim Derdowski (1852–1902), ein Journalist, Verfasser von epischen Dichtungen, wie z. B. *O Panu Czorlińšcim, co do Pucka po sece jachol* (1880) [Vom Herrn Czarliński, der nach Puck fuhr, um neue Fischernetze zu kaufen]. Von den anderen kaschubischen Dichtern soll Aleksander Majkowski, Begründer, Herausgeber und Autor der kaschubischen, literarischen Halbmonatsschrift *Družba, pismo dlo polscich Kaszubów* [Freundschaft, eine Schrift für polnische Kaschuben] und auch der Gründer und Chefredakteur der Zeitschrift *Gryf* [Greif] erwähnt werden. Diese, in Kościerzyna, Gdańsk und Kartuzy erschienene Zeitschrift spielte eine wichtige Rolle bei der Entstehung und Befestigung der jungkaschubischen Bewegung. Eine besondere Stellung unter den kaschubischen Dichtern nahm der Ethnograph, Lexikograph und Schriftsteller Ks. (Priest) Bernard Sychta (1907–1982) ein, Autor eines sehr populär gereimten *Szopka kaszubska* [kaschubischen Puppenspiels]. In den späteren Jahren schrieb er (manche veröffentlichte er auch) einige Schauspiele in polnischer Schriftsprache und in kaschubischen Mundarten (wie u.a. *Hanka się żeni. Wesele kaszubskie w pięciu aktach z muzyką i śpiewem* [Hanka verheira-

tet sich. Eine kaschubische Hochzeit in fünf Akten mit Klang und Sang], Weiherowo 1937; *Dzėwczę i miedza* [Mädchen und Rain], Weiherowo 1938. Sychta erwarb sich aber auch durch die Erforschung von kaschubischen Dialekten ganz besondere Beachtung. Es ist noch zu bemerken, dass nach dem Krieg Sammlungen von Werken der älteren kaschubischen Schriftsteller erschienen: Ceynowa, Derdowski, Majkowski, Karnowski, Heyke, Śędzicki, mit einem Vorwort von Leon Roppel. Eine Anthologie dieser Literatur bringt auch das Buch von F. Neureiter, *Kaschubische Anthologie. Slawistische Beiträge XVI*, München 1973. Zwischen den 70er und 90er Jahren des 20. Jhs. begann eine neue Normierungsetappe des Kaschubischen (Radovanović 1986, 186–187). Es werden Grundlagen der kaschubischen Rechtschreibung (Breza/Treder 1981) und Grammatik (Breza/Treder), ein Wörterbuch (Labuda 1981; Trepczyk 1994), Handbücher zur Erlernung der kaschubischen Sprache für die Schüler aus diesem Raum und ein Handbuch für Ausländer erarbeitet (Wosiak-Sliwa, Cybulski 1992.) Schließlich wurden die Grundlagen der kaschubischen Rechtschreibung festgesetzt. Dies geschah aufgrund einer Initiative des polnischen Schriftstellerverbands und der Kaschubisch-Pommerschen Gesellschaft, welche eine Kommission für Kaschubische Rechtschreibung unter dem Vorsitz von Edward Breza einberufen haben. Im Jahr 1974 hat diese Kommission die bis heute geltenden Grundlagen der kaschubischen Rechtschreibung angenommen. Diese Grundlagen wurden dann von E. Breza und J. Treder unter dem Titel: *Zasady pisowni kaszubskiej*, (Gdańsk 1984) veröffentlicht. Die kaschubische Rechtschreibung passt sich den lateinischen, nach Art der polnischen Orthographie modifizierten Buchstaben an, und man wendet auch die Buchstabenkombination an. Die kaschubische Grammatik (Breza/Treder 1981) hat keinen normativen Charakter. Sie ist eine synchronische und zum Teil diachronische Beschreibung der kaschubischen Dialekte. Sie enthält jedoch auch Weisungen, welche die Verbreitung bestimmter dialektalischer Merkmale und ihrer Zusammenhänge mit der polnischen Literatursprache und den polnischen Dialekten betreffen. Es werden sehr deutlich auch die kaschubischen Eigenarten hervorgehoben, besonders die Archaismen, die im starken Kontrast zum Polnischen stehen.

Die Grammatiken von Breza und Treder können in der Periode der Selektion der Sprachnorm sehr hilfreich sein. Solche Grammatiken dienen jedoch nicht der Beschreibung der schon festgesetzten Norm. Diese grammatische Normierung befindet sich wie gesagt in einer Phase der Beschreibung und zum Teil in einer Periode der Selektion. Die grammatische Beschreibung zeigt bis zu einem gewissen Grade die vollständig systemhafte und geographische Varianz grammatischer Einheiten und weist auch auf jene Einheiten hin, welche die Standardprädispositionen aufweisen. Es handelt sich hier um: 1) Archaismen und 2) ausschließlich kaschubische Einheiten, die im Polnischen fehlen. Die Normierung der kaschubischen Sprache soll in der nächsten Etappe über die Elaboration bis zur Evaluation fortschreiten (Radovanović 1986, 190–192). Aber auf diesem Weg kann sie auf unvermutete Hindernisse stoßen. Dabei kann eine wichtige Rolle in Bezug auf den Entwicklungsprozess und der sozialen Akzeptanz ein in Kaschubei eingewurzelttes Zeitschriftenwesen spielen (z.B. *Gryf*, *Gryf Kaszubski*, *Zrzesz Kaszebskô*, *Klëka*, *Chëcz*). In den Jahren 1957–1961 wurde in Gdańsk die Halbmonatsschrift *Kaszëbe* [Die Kaschuben], ein Organ des Kaschubischen Vereins, veröffentlicht. Ausgehend von diesem Verein wurde im Jahr 1961 auch eine der Wissenschaft und Literatur gewidmete Beilage *Pomerania* herausgegeben. In Bezug auf das kulturelle Schaffen in der Region engagiert sich aktiv der *Kaschubisch-Pommersche Verein*, welcher seit 1963 Bulletins unter den laufenden Titeln *Biuletyn Zrzeszenia Kaszubskiego* [Bulletin des Kaschubischen Vereins] und *Biuletyn Zrzeszenia Kaszubsko-Pomorskiego* [Bulletin des Kaschubisch-Pommerschen Vereins] sowie die *Pomerania* herausgibt. Der letzte Titel wurde zunächst als eine Zweimonatsschrift, seit 1979 als eine Monatschrift herausgegeben.

Die kaschubische Schriftsprache (Standardsprache) beginnt, noch intensiver als früher, in den verschiedenen Bereichen der gesellschaftlichen Wirklichkeit, ihre wichtige Funktion zu erfüllen. Die grammatische und lexikale Norm dieser Sprache ist aber noch nicht ausgebildet. Die äußeren Umstände, d.h. das Verhältnis der polnischen Intellektuellen und Gelehrten zur Idee der selbstständigen kaschubischen Sprache ist nicht günstig. Auf den Status des Kaschubischen in Polen übt sicherlich die heimliche,

wissenschaftliche linguistische Tradition einen Einfluss aus, v.a. aber die Ansichten sowohl des Begründers der polnischen Dialektforschung Kazimierz Nitsch, als auch die Ansichten der hervorragenden Forscher der kaschubischen Sprache Zdzisław Stieber, Zuzanna Topolińska, Hanna Popowska-Taborska (1980) und andere. Sie teilen eine Ansicht, die vor vielen Jahren von dem kaschubischen Schriftsteller und Aktivist Hieronim Derdowski (1852–1902) geäußert wurde: *Czujta tu ze sërca toni sklod nasz apostolsczi: Ni ma Kaszub bez Polonii a bez Kaszub Polsczi* [hört ihr aus den Tiefen des Herzens unser apostolisches Credo: Es gibt keine Kaschuben ohne Polen, und keine Polen ohne Kaschuben] (Breza 1998, 171).

## 7. Ausblick

Das weitere Schicksal der westslawischen Sprachen, die sich nach den Regierungsänderungen in den Jahren 1989–1993 von den totalitären und ideologischen Doktrinen frei gemacht haben und den Weg der Demokratie beschritten, welche ihnen ihre ungehinderte und eigenständige Entwicklung gewährleisten, ist jetzt mit dem Fortschritt der Globalisierung verbunden – mit anderen Worten: Ihr Schicksal ist verbunden mit dem Anteil von Polen, Tschechien, Slowakei in der europäischen Union. Die auf Polyvalenz begründeten westslawischen Sprachen, namentlich das Polnische, Tschechische und Slowakische, werden gewiss den Weg der Rivalität mit dem Englischen beschreiten, wobei sich die Konkurrenz als sehr schwer erweisen kann. Die kleinen sorbischen Sprachen und die sich zur Zeit bildende kaschubische Standardsprache (zumindest im Rahmen der Rechtsbedingungen des Vereinten Europas), werden bestimmte Möglichkeiten für ihr Funktionieren finden. Aber die unerlässliche Bedingung für eine günstige Zukunft aller westslawischen Sprachen, ist das Betreiben der staatlichen Sprachpolitik, frei von ethno-nationalistischen und chauvinistischen Tendenzen, gepaart mit der Achtung für die Gleichberechtigung aller, sowohl der Mehrheits- als auch der Minderheitensprachen.

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## 180. Die ostslawische Region / The East-Slavic Area

1. Soziolinguistische Forschung in der ostslawischen Region
  2. Soziolinguistische Aspekte des Russischen
  3. Soziolinguistische Aspekte des Weißrussischen
  4. Soziolinguistische Aspekte des Ukrainischen
  5. Literatur (in Auswahl)
1. Soziolinguistische Forschung in der ostslawischen Region
    - 1.1. Soziolinguistische Aspekte von Sprache und Sprachverwendung wurden von Linguisten in Russland bzw. der UdSSR (gegründet 1922) schon sehr bald nach der Ok-

toberrevolution 1917 thematisiert. Der hier gebotene kurze Überblick erfasst nur die Perioden soziolinguistischer Theorienbildung und Methodenerarbeitung in den Zentren der russischen Teilrepublik der UdSSR. In den anderen beiden slawischen Sowjetrepubliken, in Weißrussland und der Ukraine, gab es erst in den letzten beiden Jahrzehnten des 20. Jhs. Ansätze zu eigenständiger soziolinguistischer Forschung. Der Umbruch der politischen und sozialen Strukturen im ehemaligen Zarenreich warf die Frage auf, welche Auswirkungen der grundstürzende Wandel in allen gesellschaftlichen Bereichen auf Sprache und Sprachverhalten von sozialen Gruppen und Individuen hat. Die alten Eliten, die bislang Träger der russischen Standardsprache waren, wurden nur partiell in die neue Ordnung integriert. Die neuen Eliten, insbesondere auf der mittleren und unteren Ebene, beherrschten die Normen der Standardsprache nur unvollkommen, ihre Sprachverwendung war durch die Anwesenheit von Elementen des Dialekts, des *Prostorečie* (s. dazu 2.2.2.) und der Soziolekte geprägt. Den Zusammenbruch des zaristischen Russlands hatten nicht nur die sozialen Spannungen, die durch den Weltkrieg eine zusätzliche Zuspitzung erfahren hatten, sondern auch die ungelöste nationale Frage bewirkt. Der Sowjetmacht gelang es zwar, die territoriale Masse des Zarenreichs bis auf Randgebiete wieder zu sammeln, doch war eine Fortführung der zaristischen Sprachenpolitik, deren Kern die exklusive Stellung des Russischen war, zunächst nicht möglich. Sie wurde ersetzt durch die sog. Leninsche Nationalitäten- und Sprachenpolitik, die den Verzicht auf das Russische als Staatssprache erklärte. Da die meisten nichtrussischen Ethnien nicht über elaborierte Standardsprachen verfügten oder sich schriftloser Idiome bedienten, mussten sprachpolitische Grundsätze und Kodifikationsprinzipien entwickelt werden, um funktionsfähige Standardsprachen mit einem angemessenen Funktionsbereich zu schaffen. Soziolinguistische Aspekte der Sprache rückten somit in den Vordergrund. Deren unterschiedliche Fokussierung in der Forschung und Politik erlaubt die Annahme von fünf Perioden der sowjetischen und seit 1991 postsowjetischen Soziolinguistik (Girke/Jachnow 1974, 17 ff). In der ersten Periode (von der Oktoberrevolution bis Anfang der 30er Jahre) entstanden zunächst empirische Arbeiten über Neuerungen in der russi-

schen Sprache, insbesondere im Wortschatz, als Folge von Revolution und Bürgerkrieg. In der materialreichsten Publikation dieser Art (Seliščev 1928) stellt der Autor schon ausdrücklich den Bezug zu soziologischen Ansätzen und gliedert sein Material nach den verschiedenen Redefunktionen (kommunikative, emotional-expressive und nominative). Mitte der 20er Jahre wurden auch von anderen Linguisten soziolinguistische Ansätze der vorrevolutionären russischen und der *westlichen*, vor allem der romanistischen und der germanistischen Sprachwissenschaft, aufgegriffen. Die Theorie- und Methodendiskussion wurde jedoch bald bestimmt durch die Einordnung der *soziologischen Linguistik* (der Terminus wohl zuerst von B. A. Larin verwendet; vgl. Brang 1973, 3) in eine marxistisch-leninistische Makrotheorie der Gesellschaft. Sie sollte die Basis liefern für die Erfassung und Interpretation folgender Phänomene:

- a) des sozial bedingten Sprachwandels in Einzelsprachen und Varietäten, der Herausbildung der Standardsprachen und anderer Varietäten im Zusammenhang mit der Abfolge von Gesellschaftsformationen (Urgesellschaft, Sklavenhaltergesellschaft, Feudalismus, Kapitalismus und schließlich Sozialismus/Kommunismus);
  - b) der klassenmäßigen Differenzierung von Sprachsubstanz und Sprachverwendung;
  - c) der Sprachenpolitik und Sprachplanung in einem multiethnischen und multilingualen zentralistischen Staat.
- In diesem Rahmen wurde der Diskurs mit zunehmender Schärfe geführt; er endete mit dem Sieg der Marristen und ihrer vulgärmarxistischen Interpretation des Verhältnisses von Sprache und Gesellschaft.

Die folgende marristische Periode (1934–1950) war gekennzeichnet durch eine bevorzugte, wenn auch nicht ausschließliche Behandlung von glottogonischen Fragestellungen und durch Versuche, Stadien der Sprachstrukturen mit dem stadialen Wandel von Gesellschaftsformationen direkt in Beziehung zu setzen. Sprache wurde (wie meist auch schon in der 20er Jahren) dem gesellschaftlichen Überbau zugerechnet und hatte demnach Klassencharakter. Seit Mitte der 30er Jahre wandten sich einige Linguisten aber auch den soziolinguistischen Faktoren der Herausbildung der modernen Standardsprachen (*Nationalsprachen*) zu. Zu nennen

sind hier V. M. Žirmunskij (1936; am Material westeuropäischer Sprachen) und L. P. Jakubinskij (1953). Jakubinskij war auch einer der ersten, die die russischen bäuerlichen Dialekte als soziales Phänomen untersuchten (s. 2.2.3.). Die dritte Periode begann 1950 mit der Schrift Stalins über *Marxismus und Fragen der Sprachwissenschaft*. Die Zurückweisung der Lehre vom Klassencharakter der Sprache, insbesondere der Literatursprache (Standardsprache), und die Betonung ihres *gesamtnationalen Charakters*, wozu auch die Prognose gehörte, dass in der weiteren Entwicklung die Dialekte allmählich absterben, schließlich die Hervorhebung der *inneren Gesetze* der Sprache, die ihren Wandel bewirkten, hatten den negativen Effekt, dass der soziolinguistische Aspekt in der sprachwissenschaftlichen Arbeit erst nach dem 20. Parteitag der KPdSU (1956) allmählich wieder berücksichtigt wurde. Dazu trat in der vierten Periode (1956–1985) die Wiederzulassung der Soziologie, die Nutzung ihres Begriffsapparates und ihrer Methoden sowie die Rezeption der westlichen, insbesondere der amerikanischen Soziolinguistik. In den 1970er Jahren etablierte sich die Soziolinguistik als Disziplin: sie benannte ihre Gegenstandsbereiche wie z. B. sprachliche Situationen, Sprachenpolitik, das Gefüge der Varietäten des Russischen, die Funktionen des Russischen in der UdSSR als *zwischennationales Kommunikationsmittel*, Sprachkontakte, Zwei- und Mehrsprachigkeit. Zunehmend wurden auch Fragen der Methoden soziolinguistischer Forschung diskutiert. Trotz der Rezeption der westlichen Soziolinguistik blieb aber nach wie vor die Berufung auf die marxistisch-leninistische Gesellschaftslehre verpflichtend. Sprachkonflikte in der UdSSR wurden ausgeblendet, indem die Beziehungen zwischen dem Russischen und den sog. nationalen Sprachen, zu denen auch das Ukrainische und das Weißrussische gehörten, mit den Schlagwörtern *Aufblühen und Annäherung* und *Wechselwirkung und wechselseitige Bereicherung* definiert wurden. Erst seit den 70er Jahren thematisierte man vorsichtig die unterschiedliche Funktionswertigkeit der Sprachen (Avrorin 1975). Seit 1985 können wir von einer fünften Periode sprechen. Auf dem Hintergrund der allgemeinen Demokratisierung und des Pluralismus von Theorien und Methoden in der Wissenschaft durften nun unbefangen und ohne Berufung auf die Klassiker des Marxismus-Leninismus

die sprachliche Situation in der multilingualen Russischen Föderation, in den Republiken Ukraine und Weißrussland sowie in der Gemeinschaft Unabhängiger Staaten (GUS) untersucht und bewertet, Varietäten wie Interdialekte, Prostorečie und Soziodialekte beschrieben und die Problematik der Kodifikation und der Normen diskutiert werden. Im Folgenden wird wegen des begrenzten Raums nur ein soziolinguistischer Aspekt der sprachlichen Situation im ostslawischen Raum, die Gliederung der Ethnosprachen in Varietäten, behandelt.

## 2. Soziolinguistische Aspekte des Russischen

### 2.1. Verbreitung des Russischen, Zahl der Sprecher, Status und Funktionen im nationalen und internationalen Rahmen

Das Russische ist Staatssprache der Russländischen Föderation (weiterhin Russland) und der Republiken Belarus<sup>4</sup> (Weißrussland; neben dem Weißrussischen) und Kirgistan (neben dem Kirgisischen). Sowohl in Russland als auch in der Sowjetunion und der heutigen Gemeinschaft Unabhängiger Staaten ist das Russische interethnische Verkehrssprache. Es ist Amts- und Arbeitssprache der UNO, der UNESCO und weiterer internationaler Organisationen. Bei der Volkszählung 1989 bezeichneten in der UdSSR 163,5 Mio. Einwohner das Russische als Muttersprache. Davon waren 144,8 Mio. Russen und 18,7 Mio. Angehörige anderer Ethnien. Außerdem gaben 69 Mio. Sowjetbürger an, dass sie das Russische perfekt beherrschten (Lopatin/Uluchanov 1997); für Russland heute werden 127,3 Mio. Russischsprecher genannt, davon waren 119,8 Mio. Russen (Pis'mennye jazyki mira 2000, 370 ff; dort auch Angaben zu den bilingualen Sprechern, getrennt nach Männern und Frauen). Die Sprachloyalität der Russen liegt bei fast 100%. Die Zahl der Russischsprecher im Ausland hat seit Beginn der 90er Jahre durch die sog. dritte Welle der Emigration beträchtlich zugenommen, insbesondere in den USA, in Israel und auch in Deutschland, wo ein beträchtlicher Anteil auf die deutschstämmigen Spätaussiedler entfällt. Sowohl für die frühere Sowjetunion als auch für das heutige Russland sind zwei prototypische Gruppen von Russischsprechern zu konstruieren. Die Gruppe A umfasst

Sprachteilhaber, die das Russische ausschließlich (abgesehen von Fremdsprachen) verwenden bzw. als Muttersprache (russisch: *rodnoj jazyk*) bezeichnen; die Mehrzahl sind auch ethnische Russen. Die Gruppe B umfasst Sprachteilhaber, die neben einer nichtrussischen Sprache, z. B. Weißrussisch, Tatarisch oder Armenisch auch das Russische (in vielen Fällen sogar bevorzugt) verwenden.

## 2.2. Die sprachliche Situation in Russland im Hinblick auf das Russische

Der russische Sprachraum wird durch die Existenz und Verwendung von Varietäten in unterschiedlichen Kommunikationssituationen durch soziolinguistisch beschreibbare Gruppen in einen kodifizierten und eine nichtkodifizierten (kolloquialen) Bereich gegliedert. Im Zentrum des kodifizierten Bereichs befindet sich die russische Standardsprache (bzw. *Literatursprache*, russisch: *literaturnyj jazyk*), deren mündliche Form, die nichtkodifizierte Standardumgangssprache (russisch *razgovornaja reč'*, d.h. *Alltagsrede*) die Brücke zum Substandard bildet, aber noch Teil des Standards ist. Eine weitere Varietät des kolloquialen Bereichs gehört zum Substandard, nämlich das *Prostorečie* (soviel wie *einfache Sprache*, s. 2.2.2.). Die Standardsprache, sowohl die kodifizierte als auch die nichtkodifizierte Subvarietät, und das *Prostorečie* sind die prototypischen Varietäten der urbanen Kommunikation. Die Dialekte hingegen sind die prototypische Varietät der Kommunikation auf dem Lande (s. 2.2.3.). Mit der Standardumgangssprache und dem *Prostorečie* verbindet sie die Dominanz der Mündlichkeit. Zum Substandard gehören weiterhin die Soziolekte (s. 2.2.4.).

### 2.2.1. Die russische Standardsprache

#### 2.2.1.1. Die kodifizierte Standardsprache (russisch *kodificirovannyj literaturnyj jazyk*, abgekürzt KSS)

Die Herausbildung der KSS begann zu Beginn des 18. Jhs., in der Zeit der Reformen Peters des Großen (regierte 1682–1725), und mündete in den ersten drei Jahrzehnten des 19. Jhs. in Substanz, System und Normen, die auch heute noch den Standard prägen. Etwas vereinfacht beruht sie auf drei Komponenten: der Moskauer Kanzleisprache, dem mittlrussischen Dialektkontinuum mit dem Zentrum Moskau und auf einem voll

integrierten beträchtlichen Anteil lexikalischer und auch grammatischer Elemente des Russisch-Kirchenslawischen. Die Kodifikation des KSS setzte ein mit der *Rossijskaja grammatika* (1755/1757) von M. V. Lomonosov verfasst, auf die zahlreiche Schulgrammatiken, oft von bedeutenden Philologen (A. Ch. Vostokov, F. I. Buslaev), folgten. Normativen Charakter haben auch die sog. Akademie-Grammatiken (seit 1952/54 drei Fassungen) und mehrere große einsprachige Wörterbücher. Die KSS war in der Zeit vor den Revolutionen zu Beginn des 20. Jhs. Kommunikationsmittel eines zahlenmäßig kleinen Teils der russischen Sprachgemeinschaft, zuerst vor allem des gebildeten Adels, dann der neuen Schicht der *Intelligenz* und schließlich auch von Teilen des gehobenen Bürgertums. Die zum großen Teil analphabetische russische Bauernschaft bediente sich der Dialekte, das Proletariat und die Unterschichten in den Städten des *Prostorečie*. Die politische und soziale Umwälzung seit den 20er Jahren führte zu einer Krise des Standards des KSS, den die neuen Eliten sich erst aneignen mussten. Für die Sprachenpolitik stand zunächst die Schaffung neuer Schriftsprachen für zahlreiche Ethnien der UdSSR oder die Durchsetzung schon vorhandener nichtrussischer Schriftsprachen in den Teilrepubliken bzw. anderen ethnisch definierten autonomen Staatsgebilden im Vordergrund. Status und Beschaffenheit der russischen Standardsprache wurden erst in den dreißiger Jahren zentrales Objekt der sowjetischen Sprachpolitik. Eines ihrer Ziele waren die Festigung der traditionellen Normen und die Hebung der Sprachkultur. Fernziel war der Ersatz aller Varietäten durch eine einheitliche Standardsprache. Die Beseitigung des Analphabetismus, der Ausbau des Schulwesens und auch die Verwendung der KSS in den Medien sollten die Voraussetzungen für die Erreichung dieser Ziele schaffen. Doch blieb die Standardsprache in ihren beiden Existenzformen, der KSS und der Standardumgangssprache (s. 2.2.1.2.), das Kommunikationsmittel der *Intelligenz*. Diese in sich differenzierte gesellschaftliche Gruppe war in den 60er Jahren das Objekt einer soziolinguistischen Untersuchung mittels Fragebogen, die nach maschineller Auswertung eine Menge von Daten zum Zustand der Normen der KSS, zum Normbewusstsein und zum Usus erbrachten (Panov 1968; Krysin 1974).

Die eher konservative Auffassung der Aufgaben der Sprachpflege und die formelhafte Gestalt der offiziellen Texte und Medien trugen jedoch dazu bei, dass nach dem Ende des Sowjetregimes und der spontanen Entstehung von gesellschaftlichem Pluralismus im öffentlichen Sprachgebrauch die strengen Normen der KSS spontan gelockert wurden. Diese Lockerung äußerte sich im Wortschatz durch Einbringen von Kolloquialismen, Wörtern aus dem Jargon und Slang, Neuwörtern, die unter Nutzung von Wortbildungsmodellen des Substandards entstanden, fast ausschließlich engl. Lehnwörtern usw., betraf aber u. a. auch die Orthoepie und einige grammatische Normen. Es ist noch nicht abzusehen, wann sich ein neues Normensystem stabilisiert hat. Puristische Bestrebungen zur Begrenzung des Einströmens englischer Entlehnungen dürften wegen der politischen, wirtschaftlichen und kulturellen Öffnung Russlands nach Westen im Rahmen der Globalisierung nur begrenzte Aussichten auf Erfolg haben.

#### 2.2.1.2. Die Standardumgangssprache (Razgovornaja reč')

Die Standardumgangssprache (weiter US) wird definiert als spontane Standardform, die in nichtoffiziellen Situationen bei direkter Teilnahme der Sprecher verwirklicht wird und sich auf pragmatische Bedingungen der Kommunikation stützt (Širjaev/Graudina 2001, 50). Die soziale Basis der US sind in der Stadt sprachlich sozialisierte Sprecher, deren Muttersprache Russisch ist, sie verfügen über Hoch- und Fachschulbildung bzw. befinden sich im Studium. Diese Sprecher sind gleichzeitig auch die Träger der KSS. Die Gestalt der US beruht auf drei Faktoren: 1) Spontaneität des Sprechaktes, 2) Ungezwungenheit des Sprechaktes und 3) direkte Beteiligung des Sprechers am Sprechakt (Koester-Thoma/Zemskaja 1995, 17 ff). Die nichtkodifizierte US weist bestimmte sprachliche Merkmale auf allen Ebenen des Systems auf, besonders in der Syntax und in der Nomination, u. a. Derivation und Benennung mit anderen Mitteln, z. B. Umschreibungen. Viele Bildungen sind situativ bedingt bzw. okkasionell. Für die US ist die spielerische Verwendung der sprachlichen Mittel charakteristisch. Aus typologischer Sicht fällt die stärker als in der KSS ausgeprägte Tendenz zum Analytismus auf (Hinrichs 1999).

#### 2.2.2. Prostorečie

Das Prostorečie gilt als spezifisch russisches Phänomen (Krysin 1989, 53 ff). Im Gegensatz zu den Dialekten handelt es sich um eine Stadtsprache des Substandards mit geringem gesellschaftlichen Prestige. Sie ist lokal wenig differenziert. Träger der Standardsprache verwenden das Prostorečie nicht. Dessen Existenz lässt sich bis ins 18. Jh. zurückverfolgen und ist das Ergebnis der Herausbildung städtischer Unterschichten durch Zuwanderung vom Land, seine Wahrnehmung ist an die Herausbildung einer kolloquial verwendbaren Standardsprache geknüpft. Die heutigen Sprecher des Prostorečie haben einen niedrigen sozial-kulturellen Status, sind wenig gebildet, gewöhnlich älter und häufig nicht in der Stadt geboren (Chimik 2000, 194). Als weiteres Charakteristikum wird ein unterentwickeltes Sprachgefühl der Nutzer genannt, das die Unterschiede zwischen dem Normativen und Nichtnormativen in der Sprache nicht wahrnehme. Die Ursache dafür liege im engen Kreis von Kommunikationspartnern, geringer Lesefreudigkeit, beruflicher Tätigkeit, die keine *metasprachliche Reflexion* erfordere. Die Fähigkeit zum Codewechsel sei schwach entwickelt (Žuravlev 1997, 391). Die Sprecher des Prostorečie verwenden es in allen Kommunikationssituationen, offiziellen und nichtoffiziellen, während die Benutzer der Standardsprache im offiziellen Bereich die KSS, im nichtoffiziellen Bereich die US verwenden. Im Gegensatz zu den Soziolekten handelt es sich beim Prostorečie um ein Idiom mit spezifischen Phänomenen auf allen Ebenen der Sprache, besonders in der Morphologie, dessen Systemstatus allerdings umstritten ist (zur diesbezüglichen Diskussion vgl. Marszk 1999, 632). Zum Unterschied von der KSS und der US einerseits und den Dialekten andererseits sind die spezifischen Phänomene des Prostorečie in der Rede keineswegs obligatorisch oder ihr Erscheinen nicht vorhersagbar. Die Grenzen zwischen den Mitteln des Prostorečie und der US sind nicht immer scharf zu ziehen. In neuester Zeit dringen auch Elemente der Jargons in das Prostorečie ein, so dass in der Forschung inzwischen eine alte und eine neue Form des Prostorečie unterschieden werden (Krysin 1997, 40). Die russistische Soziolinguistik hat sich nach bemerkenswerten Ansätzen zur Erforschung der Stadtsprache der Unterschichten in den 20er Jah-

ren (Larin 1928; 1928a); erst in den letzten Jahrzehnten des 20. Jhs. dem Prostorečie zugewandt. Für diese Verzögerung gibt es außerlinguistische und linguistische Gründe, unter den linguistischen ist insbesondere die Auffassung des Prostorečie als verdorbene Hochsprache, nicht als eigenständige Varietät, zu nennen. Da es fast ausschließlich mündlich verwendet wird (s. aber Marszk 1999 zum Vorkommen in Briefen), waren auch technische Voraussetzungen erforderlich, um eine ausreichende Datenbasis zu erhalten. Inzwischen liegen mehrere Sammelbände mit gut fundierten Untersuchungen vor (Skvorcov 1977; Zemskaja/Šmelev 1984; Šmelev/Zemskaja 1988).

### 2.2.3. Dialekte

Die russischen Dialekte werden in zwei Hauptdialekte, das Süd(groß)russische und das Nord(groß)russische, und die dazwischenliegenden mittlrussischen Dialekte gegliedert. Diese Einteilung bezieht sich auf die Dialekte im älteren zentralen Siedlungsgebiet in Europa. Hinzu kommen Dialekte unterschiedlicher Entstehung in den Gebieten späterer Besiedlung des europäischen Russlands und Asiens. Die russischen Dialekte weisen eine beträchtliche Zahl von Übereinstimmungen auf. Die Unterschiede betreffen vor allem den Vokalismus, die Formenbildung des Substantivs, weniger des Verbs, und in geringem Maße die Syntax. Hinzu kommen einige Divergenzen im traditionellen Wortschatz (s. Berger 1999; Avanesov/Orlova 1965; Zacharova/Orlova 1970). Die mittlrussischen Dialekte haben Merkmale beider Dialektgruppen. Ihre zentralen Mundarten bildeten die Grundlage des phonologischen und z. T. auch morphologischen Systems der KSS, die sich aber seit langem unabhängig von den Dialekten entwickelt. Die Dialektsprache war bis in die ersten Jahrzehnte des 20. Jhs. die in der Kommunikation am meisten verbreitete Varietät des Russischen (noch 1926 lebten nur 14,3% Bevölkerung der UdSSR in Städten). Ihre relative Stabilität beruhte u. a. auf dem sehr hohen Stand des Analphabetismus, der geringen Mobilität der Dorfbevölkerung und der großen Ausdehnung des Siedlungsgebietes. Mit Beginn der 30er Jahre änderten sich die politischen, wirtschaftlichen und kulturellen Verhältnisse auf dem Lande grundlegend. Die Einzelbauernwirtschaft wurde durch die Zwangskollektivierung abgelöst. Mit der neuen ideologisch bestimmten Wirt-

schaftsweise kamen die Dialektsprecher in einen stärkeren Kontakt mit den standardsprachlichen Ausdrucksmitteln, anfangs in ihrer mündlichen Gestalt, dann mit zunehmender Alphabetisierung auch in ihrer schriftlichen Form. Der standardsprachliche Einfluss betraf zunächst die Lexik, zunehmend aber auch die Phonetik und den grammatischen Bau. Im Dorf wurde das Sprachverhalten differenzierter. Bereits Mitte der 30er Jahre konnten Dialektologen beobachten: „Die Mundarten des heutigen Dorfes kann man entsprechend ihrer Nähe zur Literatursprache in Gruppen einteilen – eine archaische Mundart – die Sprache von Personen, die dem Einfluss der Literatursprache wenig ausgesetzt waren; weiterhin eine fortschrittliche Mundart – eine Sprache, die literatursprachennah ist.“ Die archaische Mundart werde von alten Leuten, die selten in der Stadt gewesen sind, gesprochen, die andere Mundart von der Jugend mit Grundschulabschluss, Kolchosfunktionären und vielen anderen Dorfbewohnern (Ma'cev/Filin 1949, 24f.). Eine weitere Beobachtung wurde auch von anderen Dialektologen bestätigt, nämlich dass selbst illiterate alte Frauen sich bemühen, in bestimmten Kommunikationssituationen nicht im Dialekt zu sprechen, dass aber andererseits auch ein des Lesens und Schreibens Kundiger den Dialekt noch beherrsche, somit eine zweisprachige Situation entstanden sei (Avanesov 1949, 196). Der Rückgang der Dialektsprache in ihrer ursprünglichen Form ging langsam vor sich, am Ende der 60er Jahre sprach noch ein erheblicher Teil der Dorfbevölkerung Dialekt (Ossoveckij 1968, 131). Allerdings traten keine systemimmanenten (für den einzelnen Dialekt spezifischen) Innovationen mehr auf. Auf dem Lande koexistierten die Systeme des Dialekts und der KSS. Teile der zugewanderten Bevölkerung in Städten der Peripherie verwendeten Halbmundarten, so dass die im 19. Jh. bestehende deutliche binäre Opposition von Dialekt vs. KSS in eine ternäre Opposition umgewandelt wurde. Faktoren dieser Entwicklung waren außer der allgemeinen Schulbildung, dem wachsenden Einfluss der Medien und den Kontakten zu Sprechern der Standardsprache (neuen Dorfeliten), das bereits benannte bewusste Streben der Dialektsprecher in bestimmten Situationen ihre Sprechweise dem Standard anzunähern und der damit einhergehende Prestigeverlust des Dialekts (Orlova 1968).

In den 90er Jahren des 20. Jhs. sind an die Stelle der Lokalmundarten weitgehend Regiolekte getreten. Diese sind nicht mehr schriftlos und werden nicht nur von illiteraten Sprechern im bäuerlichen Milieu benutzt. In den Regiolekten gibt es einerseits integrative Tendenzen der Annäherung an die KSS bzw. an die RR, andererseits in Abhängigkeit von der sozialen Zugehörigkeit der Sprecher auch differenzierende Tendenzen, die zu einer gewissen Dialektalisierung der Stadt führen. Die sprachliche Situation weist in den Dörfern, in kleineren Städten und in Großstädten ein jeweils spezifisches Verhältnis der Varietäten auf. Neu sind dabei die Wechselbeziehungen zwischen den Soziolekten und den Regiolekten einerseits und dem Prostorečie und den Regiolekten andererseits (Šapošnikov 1999).

#### 2.2.4. Soziolekte (Gruppensprachen)

Anders als die bisher beschriebenen Varietäten des Russischen, die für ihre Nutzer hinreichende Kommunikationsmittel mit vollständigen Systemen sind oder waren (die Dialekte), sind die Soziolekte komplementäre Sprachgebilde mit speziellen Funktionen, die durch einen besonderen Wortschatz realisiert werden. Während in den 20er Jahren die Soziolekte Objekt der frühen sowjetischen Soziolinguistik waren, wurden sie bis in die 70er Jahren mit wenigen Ausnahmen, z.B. die alten Berufsjargons, tabuisiert (Timroth 1983 u. 1986) oder wie die Jugendsprache meist als normwidrige negative Erscheinung bewertet. Nach 1991 erschien eine große Zahl von Wörterbüchern, die die soziolektale Lexik dokumentieren (z.B. Mokienko/Nikitina 2000; Bykov 1994; Korovuškin 2000; Juganov/Juganova 1997). In der Russistik gibt es keine einheitlichen Kriterien der Klassifizierung und der Benennung der Soziolekte. Der heutigen Sachlage entspricht wohl am besten die Einteilung in Berufsjargons und soziale Jargons (Krysin 2003, 68ff.). Bei den Berufsjargons handelt es sich um Sonderwortschätze der Angehörigen handwerklicher Berufsgruppen, weiterhin von Eisenbahnern, Fliegern bis hin zu Ärzten, Ingenieuren und Wissenschaftlern, sowie von Sportlern, Anwendern der Computertechnik und Mitgliedern anderer Interessengruppen. Die Sonderwortschätze werden in der Regel in der Kommunikation im Milieu und über Gegenstände des Tätigkeitsbereichs geschaffen und genutzt. Liegen diese Faktoren nicht vor, wer-

den je nach sprachlicher Kompetenz die Standardsprache und das Prostorečie verwendet. Die sozialen Jargons bestehen aus zwei Gruppen: Gruppenjargons und Geheimsprachen.

Zu den Gruppenjargons gehören z. B. die Schüler- und die Studentensprache, die zwar einen gewissen Anteil von „Professionalismen“ aufweisen, aber eher den Charakter eines Slangs haben. Die Soldatensprache steht den Berufsjargons nahe. Die Geheimsprachen (Argots) verfügen über einen sehr umfangreichen Wortschatz, der auch Bereiche abdeckt, die von den Sprechern der Berufsjargons und auch der Gruppenjargons mit allgemeinsprachlichen Lexemen bezeichnet werden. In den besonders umfassend ausgearbeiteten Argots existiert auch ein spezielles System der Benennungsbildung. Die bereits im 19. Jh. aufgezeichneten Argots der Wanderhändler, der Bettler und der professionellen Diebe sind während der Sowjetzeit zusammen mit den entsprechenden Gruppen verschwunden. Ihre Substanz wurde aber im erheblichen Umfang in den Gefängnis- und Lagerjargon übernommen, das für das Russische spezifische Phänomen der Sprache des GULAG (Baldaev/Belko/Jsupov 1992). Seine Quellen sind neben der traditionellen russischen Gaunersprache zahlreiche Neologismen und Neosemantismen, die sich auch auf das Leben im GULAG beziehen. Die Nutzer waren neben Kriminellen eine weitaus größere Zahl von Lagerinsassen, die aus politischen Gründen verurteilt wurden und aus den unterschiedlichsten gesellschaftlichen und ethnischen Gruppen stammten. Die Lagersprache ihrerseits wird nach den politischen und sozialen Veränderungen am Ende des 20. Jhs. und der Entstehung neuer Außenseitergruppen zur Grundlage neuer sozialer Jargons (der Mafiosi, Prostituierten, Drogenabhängigen usw.), die aber zum größten Teil nicht deutlich von einander abgegrenzt sind. Charakteristisch für die heutige sprachliche Situation in Russland ist das Eindringen von Elementen der Lagersprache in die Rede aller sozialen Gruppen, auch in die Rede der Gebildeten und in den Sprachgebrauch der Medien (Krysin 2003,76). So entsteht ein *allgemeiner Jargon* (Ermakova/Zemskaja/Rozina 1999). Dabei handelt es sich um einen meist expressiv markierten Wortschatz. Seine aktive Verwendung führt zu einer abgesenkten Form der US, für die die Bezeichnung *Slang* geeignet scheint.

### 3. Soziolinguistische Aspekte des Weißrussischen

#### 3.1. Verbreitung des Weißrussischen, Zahl der Sprecher und Status

Das Weißrussische in Gestalt seiner Varietäten ist in der Republik Weißrussland (Belarus') verbreitet, weiterhin in Nordostpolen, relikthhaft auch im Südwesten Litauens. In der Diaspora wird das Weißrussische vor allem in den USA, Kanada und England gesprochen. Die Angaben über die Volkszählung von 1989 zeigen, dass von 7,9 Mio. Weißrussen sich 6,34 Mio. zu ihrer Ethnosprache bekannten, von denen aber wiederum nur 3,58 Mio. Sprecher eine aktive oder passive Kompetenz in ihrer Muttersprache hatten (Bieder 1998, 111). Wie A. A. Lukašanec (1998, vgl. auch Lukašanec/Lukašanec 1998) durch eine Befragung in Minsk festgestellt hat, bedeutet das Bekenntnis zum Weißrussischen als *rodnaja mova* (Muttersprache) nämlich keineswegs, dass der betreffende Sprecher das Weißrussische beherrscht oder benutzt und schließt nicht einmal aus, dass er schon in der Familie russischsprachig aufgewachsen ist. Das ist umso häufiger der Fall, je jünger die Befragten sind. In der Stadtbevölkerung sind die Benutzer der weißrussischen Schriftsprache klar in der Minderheit. Bei der letzten Volkszählung von 1999 nannten von 8159100 Bürger weißrussischer Nationalität 85,6% das Weißrussische als Muttersprache, aber nur ca. 3,370 Mio. (41,3%) als die Sprache, in der sie gewöhnlich in der Familie kommunizieren; von der Stadtbevölkerung waren es nur 23% (Angaben nach der Zeitung *Naša slova*, Heft 4/2001). Die Zahl der aktiven Benutzer der weißrussischen Standardsprache dürfte vor allem auf dem Lande noch erheblich darunter liegen (zu den Zahlenangaben vgl. auch Cychun 2002, 563).

In der Republik Weißrussland wurde das Weißrussische 1990 zur alleinigen Staatssprache erklärt, per Referendum 1995 aber auch das Russische, das den offiziellen und öffentlichen Sprachgebrauch heute dominiert (Bieder 1996).

#### 3.2. Die sprachliche Situation in Weißrussland

Neben dem Russischen, das in seiner Standardform schriftlich und mündlich nicht nur von ethnischen Russen, sondern auch von vielen Weißrussen ausschließlich verwendet

wird, wobei anzunehmen ist, dass Teile der Bevölkerung der Großstädte und der Industriestädte Sprecher des russischen Prostorečie sind, existieren die Varietäten der weißrussischen Standardsprache, der Dialekte und einer städtischen russisch-weißrussischen Hybridsprache (vgl. Gutschmidt 2000).

##### 3.2.1. Die weißrussische Standardsprache

Die heutige weißrussische Standardsprache ist eine typische Ausbausprache und ein beständiges Objekt meist hemmender und selten fördernder Sprachenpolitik. Ihre Entwicklung begann am Anfang des 20. Jhs. Als Schulsprache während der deutschen Besetzung 1915 im Westen des Landes eingeführt, erhielt sie auf der Grundlage populärwissenschaftlicher, publizistischer und literarischer Texte 1916 (Gutschmidt 1999) und 1918 erste Kodifikationen des Schriftsystems (lateinisch und kyrillisch), der Phonetik und Grammatik. Die sehr schmale Trägerschicht der weißrussischen nationalen, kulturellen und sprachlichen *Wiedergeburt* bildeten vor allem Intellektuelle aus dem z. T. polonisierten Kleinadel und der Bauernschaft. Grundlegende Bedeutung für die bis heute ungefestigte Stellung der weißrussischen Standardsprache hatte der soziale Status der Sprecher des weißrussischen Idioms (d. h. seiner Dialekte) in der ersten Phase der Herausbildung der Schriftsprache (etwa bis 1930). Es war ganz überwiegend eine bäuerliche bzw. ländliche Bevölkerung mit schwach ausgeprägtem bzw. fehlendem ethnischen Sonderbewusstsein gegenüber Russen, Polen und Ukrainern. Sozialer Aufstieg bzw. Verstärkung bedeutet bis heute oft Übernahme des Russischen.

Kontinuität zur alten Schriftsprache des 14.–17. Jh. besteht nicht. Die substantielle Basis bilden die mittelweißrussischen Dialekte, auf deren Territorium die Hauptstadt Minsk liegt.

Die weißrussische Schriftsprache ist gegenwärtig nicht polyvalent, denn sie kommt in wichtigen Kommunikationsbereichen wie Wirtschaft, Bildung, Wissenschaft, Technik, Massenmedien, Werbung, Popkultur usw. kaum vor. Trotz des Status als Staatssprache ist ihre Funktion in Staat, Rechtswesen und auch in der Kirche (Bieder 2000) sehr beschränkt. Es fehlt ihr damit ein relevantes Merkmal von Standardsprachen. Die Folge ist das Fehlen von terminologischem Wort-



schatz für zahlreiche Bereiche in der Wissenschaft, Technik, Wirtschaft, Militärwesen usw. Die weißrussische Standardsprache wird vor allem schriftlich in ihrer kodifizierten Form verwendet, insbesondere von Intellektuellen, d.h. von Schriftstellern, Geisteswissenschaftlern und oppositionellen Politikern (vgl. Mečkovskaja 2003 passim). Die Stabilität der Normen ist durch die allgemeine Zweisprachigkeit und den damit verbundenen Druck des Russischen nicht sehr hoch. Abträglich wirken sich auch Bestrebungen aus, die seit 1933 konsequent durchgesetzte Ausrichtung auf das Russische durch Rückkehr auf die Kodifizierungen und die Sprachpraxis der 20er Jahre zu eliminieren, sowohl in der Rechtschreibung als auch der Grammatik und Lexik. Sie haben effektiv dazu geführt, dass das Prestige des Weißrussischen als Zwei-Normen-Sprache gegenüber dem Russischen weiter abgenommen hat. Die eingeschränkte mündliche Verwendung der weißrussischen Standardsprache nicht nur in der offiziellen, sondern auch in der privaten Kommunikation ist die Ursache dafür, dass es eine Standardumgangssprache nur in Ansätzen gibt, die in bestimmten Kommunikationssituationen in Abhängigkeit von den Teilnehmern und dem Thema verwendet wird.

### 3.2.2. Die weißrussischen Dialekte

Das weißrussische Dialektkontinuum wird traditionell in die beiden Großdialekte Nordostweißrussisch und Südwestweißrussisch sowie in die sich dazwischen erstreckenden mittelweißrussischen Mundarten gegliedert. Hinzu kommen die Mundarten an der Grenze zur Ukraine im westlichen Polessje zwischen Brest und Pinsk, die Züge des Ukrainischen aufweisen. Wie im russischen Sprachraum waren vor der Revolution die Dialekte das ausschließliche Kommunikationsmittel der großenteils analphabetischen Landbevölkerung, mit der Zwangskollektivierung und der Urbanisierung setzte ihr allmählicher Rückgang ein. Die Besonderheit der allmählichen Auflösung der weißrussischen Dialekte durch Koexistenz einer standardsprachlichen Varietät besteht darin, dass die entscheidende Rolle dabei nicht das Weißrussische, sondern das Russische spielt. Die Dialektsprecher nähern ihre Sprechweise dem Russischen an bzw. gehen nicht zur weißrussischen Standardsprache, sondern zur russischen Standardsprache, oft aber zu einer weißrussischen Variante des

russischen Prostorečie oder zu einer Mischsprache, der Trasjanka (s. 3.2.4.), über. Die lexikalischen Neuerungen kommen in der Masse direkt aus dem Russischen in die Dialektsprache, viel seltener auf dem Umweg über die weißrussische Standardsprache. Noch seltener werden weißrussische Lehnübersetzungen übernommen. Nach Beobachtungen aus den 50er Jahren ging die Veränderung des phonetisch-phonologischen Systems und der Grammatik in den weißrussischen Dialekten langsamer vor sich als in den russischen Dialekten (Hajdukevič 1959). Diese Feststellung wird auch durch mehrere soziolinguistische Studien zur weißrussisch-russischen Zweisprachigkeit aus den 80er Jahren bestätigt (Kryvicki 1998, 67–90).

### 3.2.3. Die Trasjanka

Das weißrussische Wort trasjanka bezeichnet ein Gemenge aus Stroh und Heu, also ein minderwertiges Viehfutter. Im übertragenen Sinne meint es ein Sprachgemisch aus Russisch und Weißrussisch (vor allem Dialektsprache). Diese Varietät hat mit dem russischen Prostorečie gemeinsam, dass ihre Träger nicht in der Stadt geboren sind und nur eine elementare Schulbildung haben. Im Unterschied zum Prostorečie, das Elemente des Dialekts und des Standards einer Sprache enthält, ist die Trasjanka eine Mischung der Substanz zweier Sprachen. Dabei ist bisher nicht geklärt, ob die Grundlage das Russische oder das Weißrussische ist. Mečkovskaja ([1994] 2003) hält die Trasjanka für ein diffuses Gebilde mit einem weißrussischen dialektalen Substrat. Andere Linguisten reden von einer „Menge von spontan und auf unterschiedliche Weise russifizierter Varianten weißrussischer parole“. Cychun (1998; 1999) qualifiziert sie als „kreolisiertes russisch-weißrussisches Sprachgebilde“. Er erklärt dieses soziolinguistische (und psychosoziale) Phänomen als Produkt des *sprachlichen Konformismus*: seine Träger sind die urbanisierten vom Lande stammenden Unterschichten bzw. Personen mit Karriereanspruch auf dem Lande, die sich an den Sprachusus der Stadt anpassen. Nach Kryvicki (1998, 76) hätten sich die Sprecher der Trasjanka ursprünglich an der Phonetik und Morphologie ihres Dialekts, lexikalisch aber am Russischen orientiert, das inzwischen aber zunehmend auch die strukturelle Gestalt der Äußerungen bestimmt.

### 3.2.4. Sozioklekte (Gruppensprachen)

Im weißrussischen Sprachgebiet existierten in vorrevolutionärer Zeit wie im gesamten ostslawischen Raum mehrere Geheimsprachen (Argots), die z.B. von Handwerkern bestimmter Berufe sowie von Bettlern und Bettelgängern verwendet wurden. Diese Argots hatten einen sehr differenzierten Wortschatz, der z.B. Numeralia und Personalpronomina enthielt (Lukašanec 1994 mit Bezug auf A. Romanov). Über Gruppensprachen (Schüler- und Studentensprache) auf weißrussischer Grundlage gibt es keine Aussagen. Angesichts der Tatsache, dass die Unterrichtssprache der Hochschulen und mit einer kurzen Unterbrechung zwischen 1991–1996 auch an den Schulen fast ausschließlich Russisch ist, dürfte mit einer weißrussischen Variante der russischen Gruppensprache zu rechnen sein, ähnlich wie bei den Berufssprachen, dem *allgemeinen Jar-gon* (Slang) und dem *Prostorečie*.

## 4. Soziolinguistische Aspekte des Ukrainischen

### 4.1. Sprecherzahlen, Funktionen und Status des Ukrainischen

Das Ukrainische in Gestalt seiner Varietäten ist in der Republik Ukraine kompakt vor allem im Westen und im Zentrum, weniger im Osten, im Schwarzmeergebiet und auf der Krim verbreitet. Bei einer Einwohnerzahl von ca. 50 Mio. bezeichnen 35 Mio. das Ukrainische als Muttersprache, von denen jedoch längst nicht alle diese Sprache in offiziellen bzw. privaten Kommunikationssituationen ständig benutzen. In der Hauptstadt Kiev gelten z.B. drei Viertel der Einwohner als Ukrainer, davon bezeichnen aber nur 57,5% das Ukrainische als Muttersprache (zu Vagheit dieser und der weiteren Zahlen vgl. Schweiher 2002). Abgesehen von Ukrainern in den russischen Metropolen (bis zu einer Mio.) und in den Republiken Moldawien und Kazachstan (jeweils 10% der Bevölkerung) gibt es eine zahlenmäßig starke Diaspora auch in den USA und in Kanada (geschätzt jeweils eine halbe Mio.), die in der Zeit nach 1990 einen gewissen Einfluss auf die Rekodifizierung der ukrainischen Standardsprache ausübte. Das ukrainische Dialektkontinuum setzt sich über die Staatsgrenze im Westen hinweg in Polen (mit starken Einschränkungen nach dem 2. Weltkrieg) und in der Slowakei fort. Das

Ukrainische hat seit 1989/1990 den Status einer alleinigen Staatssprache. Bestrebungen des russischen bzw. russischsprachigen Bevölkerungsteils (ca. 22%) auch das Russische zur Staatssprache zu erheben, sind bislang ohne Erfolg geblieben, haben aber zu einigen Zugeständnissen für die Verwendung des Russischen im öffentlichen Raum geführt. Die durch das Sprachengesetz (in der Fassung von 1991) beabsichtigte durchgreifende Veränderung der sprachlichen Situation zugunsten des Ukrainischen ist nicht eingetreten, wenn auch die Positionen des Ukrainischen etwa im Bildungswesen gestärkt wurden. Entsprechend der regionalen ethnosprachlichen Struktur des Staates nimmt die Akzeptanz des Ukrainischen in den staatlichen Institutionen, in der Wirtschaft, den Medien und der Kultur von West nach Ost ab (Angaben nach Mokienko 2002 u. Schweiher 2002).

### 4.2.1. Die sprachliche Situation in der Ukraine

Die sprachliche Situation wird durch mehrere Typen von Zweisprachigkeit geprägt, von denen der ukrainisch-russische dominiert. An zweiter Stelle ist die russische Einsprachigkeit zu nennen. Die Sprecher der zahlreichen Minderheitensprachen benutzen als Zweitsprache meistens das Russische.

Für das Ukrainische werden hier diese Varietäten angenommen: 1) die Standardsprache in ihrer kodifizierten (schriftlichen) Form; 2) der *Suržyk*; 3) die Dialekte und 4) die Sozioklekte (Gruppensprachen).

### 4.2.2. Die kodifizierte ukrainische Standardsprache

Die ukrainische Standardsprache ist wie die jüngere weißrussische Standardsprache eine Ausbausprache im Verhältnis zum Russischen, auf deren Gestalt und Verwendung die Sprachenpolitik wesentlichen Einfluss hatte. Die Besonderheit besteht darin, dass sie zwei Zentren ihrer ursprünglichen Herausbildung und Kodifizierung hatte – im russischen Teil der Ukraine und in der zu Österreich gehörenden Westukraine (Galizien). Erste normative, sich an der Volkssprache orientierende Grammatiken erschienen 1818 (Ostukraine) und 1849 in der (Westukraine). Dort wurden zahlreiche Schulgrammatiken, auch für Gymnasien gedruckt, während in Russland, wo das Ukrainische und das Weißrussische als Dialekte des Großrussischen galten, erst nach 1905

ukrainische Grammatiken gedruckt werden durften. Nach einer kurzen Phase der *Ukrainisierung* in den 20er Jahren wurde in der Sowjetunion konsequent ein Kurs der Ausrichtung des Ukrainischen auf das Russische befolgt, der dann nach 1945 auch in der Westukraine galt. Der erreichte Standard ist in mehreren umfangreichen Grammatiken und einem 11-bändigen Wörterbuch kodifiziert. Seit 1990 gibt es Bestrebungen, bestimmte Züge der westukrainischen Variante in der Schreibung, Aussprache, Grammatik und Lexik wieder in den Standard zu integrieren, auch um das Ukrainische stärker vom Russischen abzuheben. Es gibt jedoch Bedenken, dass die de facto Existenz von zwei Orthographien und zwei ukrainischen Literatursprachen die Sprachbenutzer, die ja zweisprachig sind, dazu bewegt, sich eher dem stabilen Russischen zuzuwenden (Toločko 1998, 12). Eine analoge Gefahr besteht auch in Weißrussland, wo aber die Gruppe der Träger des Weißrussischen viel kleiner ist und dessen Funktionen eingeschränkter sind (zur sprachlichen Situation in der Ukraine und in Weißrussland s. auch Moser 2000).

Wegen der deutlichen Dominanz des Russischen auch in der privaten (inoffiziellen) Kommunikation in den Großstädten und Industriezentren wird dort die russische Standardumgangssprache verwendet, von der angenommen wird, dass sie abgesehen von wenigen gelegentlichen Ukrainismen den in Russland üblichen Normen entspricht (Beledod 1976, 118).

#### 4.2.3. Der Suržyk

Der Suržyk ist eine Varietät, die durch russisch-ukrainische Zweisprachigkeit entstanden ist. Eine vergleichbare Erscheinung ist die weißrussische *Trasjanka* (s. 3.2.3.). Darauf weist die analoge Bedeutung des ukrainischen Wortes hin: Gemenge aus Roggen und Weizen oder anderen Getreidearten. Der Suržyk ist bisher meist als Verstoß gegen die Sprachkultur betrachtet und bewertet worden, z. B. als künstliche Vermengung von Elementen verschiedener Sprachen (Lenec' 2000). Wie bei der *Trasjanka* handelt es sich um eine Art *Prostorečie*, die die kolloquiale Sprachform und zentrales Kommunikationsmittel des größten Teils der ukrainischsprachigen Bevölkerung ist und auch von Personen des öffentlichen Lebens gebraucht wird (Taranenko 1999, 58).

#### 4.2.4. Die ukrainischen Dialekte

Das ukrainische Dialektkontinuum ist in drei große Mundartgruppen gegliedert: das Nordukrainische (Polissje-Dialekte), das sich in west-östlicher Richtung längs der Grenze zu Weißrussland und zu Russland erstreckt. Südlich davon befindet sich das im Karpatenraum stark differenzierte Südwestukrainische und das daran im Osten angrenzende, mehr als die Hälfte des ukrainischen Sprachgebiets einnehmende Südostukrainische. Dessen Kern sind Dialekte des mittleren Dnepr, auf denen die moderne ukrainische Standardsprache fußt (Žylko 1966).

Wie überall in der ostslawischen Region waren die ukrainischen Dialekte im 19. Jh. für eine ganz überwiegend im ländlichen Bereich lebende und tätige Bevölkerung das wichtigste Kommunikationsmittel, auf das weder die sich formierende ukrainische Schriftsprache noch die offiziellen Standardsprachen der Staaten, zu denen das ukrainische Siedlungsgebiet gehörte, nämlich Russisch, Polnisch, Ungarisch und Deutsch einen systemverändernden Einfluss ausüben konnten. Zu Veränderungen, die in den letzten 50 Jahren in den Dialektsystemen und in der Verwendung des Dialekts eingetreten sind, gibt es kaum Auskunft. Es wird die zunehmende Entlehnung von Lexemen aus dem Russischen erwähnt, der stärkere Kontakt zu der russischen und der ukrainischen Standardsprache über die Massenmedien und die zu erwartende altersmäßige Differenzierung des Sprachgebrauchs. Die ukrainische Dialektologie hat sich bisher nicht mit den Sprachverhältnissen in kleineren städtischen Siedlungen beschäftigt (Jermolenko/Matvijas/Čemerkin 1999, 25 ff).

#### 4.2.5. Soziolekte (Gruppensprachen)

Im ukrainischen Sprachraum existierten zahlreiche Geheimsprachen (*Argots*), z. B. der blinden Kobzaren (Sänger) und Drehleierspieler, Wanderhändler, Bettler und der Ausübenden einiger Berufe. Sie verfügten über einen ziemlich reichen Wortschatz und spezielle Mittel zur Bildung neuer Wörter (Horbatsch 1963). Sie können heute wie analoge Geheimsprachen der Weißrussen und Russen als ausgestorben gelten. Weiterhin gibt es traditionelle Berufssprachen (Sonderwortschätze), z. B. der Fischer, Müller, Tischler usw. sowie neuere Sonderwortschätze der Kraftfahrer, Journalisten u. a. (Vynnyk 2000).

In der Zeit vor dem II. Weltkrieg existierte auch eine Schüler- und Studentensprache in der damals zu Polen gehörenden Westukraine (Horbatsch 1966). Über eine heutige besondere Sprachform dieser Gruppen fehlen Angaben.

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## 181. The Baltic States/Die baltischen Staaten

1. General situation
2. Territorial history and national development
3. The sociolinguistic history of the region
5. Linguistic interferences of contact languages
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### 1. General situation

The Baltic States – The Republic of Latvia, the Republic of Lithuania and the Republic of Estonia – lie on the western edge of the East European plain. According to common 20<sup>th</sup> century history these three countries may be regarded as cultural, political and economic region despite of different historical experiences and an important linguistic division. Latvia's territory is 64000 square kilometers, and it has a population of 2.5 million people. Estonia's territory is 45000 square kilometers, and it has a population of 1.4 million people. Lithuania's territory is 65200 square kilometers, and it has a population of 3.7 million people. Since 1991 the Baltic States are democratic multiparty parliamentary states. These states build up societies which are based on the values of democracy, human rights and market economy. The main problem areas in transition period are: socio-economic development; ethnic relations and integration of the society; regional development. All three states are members of the EU and NATO. There are no state religions in the Baltic States. Lithuanians predominantly (80%) are Roman Catholic. The dominant religion in Estonia and Latvia is Evangelical Lutheranism. Roman Catholic and Orthodox are the next largest faiths in Latvia; Orthodox – in Estonia. The present ethnic composition reflects the complicated political and ethno-demographic history of this territory. In 2000 the ethnic composition was as follows: Estonia – 65.2% Estonians, 28% Russians, 2.5% Ukrainians, 0.9% Finns; Latvia – 57.8% Latvians, 29.5% Russians, 4.1% Belarusians, 2.7% Ukrainians, 2.5% Poles, 1.4% Lithuanians, 0.4% Jews; Lithuania – 81% Lithuanians, 8.5% Russians, 7% Poles, 1.5% Belarusians, 1% Ukrainians.

### 2. Territorial history and national development

Due to their advantageous geographical position, the territories of Latvia and Estonia have been fought over by Russia and Germany since the time these nations were formed. Before 1200 the people lived largely as free peasants loosely organized into parishes. In the early 1200s, the Estonians and the Latvians came under assault from German crusaders seeking to impose Christianity on them and the ancient Latvian and Estonian states were destroyed. The territory of Estonia together with a part of a present-day Latvia became known as Livonia. Another part inhabited by Latvians came under Polish government, and yet another part, inhabited by Latvians and Estonians, under Danish and Swedish dominance. After the Great Northern War (1700–1721), Latvian and Estonian territories fell under Russian government, but German landlords and language, as well as the Lutheran religion, were preserved. Lithuania was the only Baltic country that had enjoyed independence before the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Traditions of Lithuanian statehood date from the early Middle Ages. As a nation, Lithuania emerged about 1230 under the leadership of Duke Mindaugas. At the end of the fourteenth century, Lithuania was already a large empire extending from the Baltic Sea to the shores of the Black Sea. Vytautas, who became Lithuania's grand duke, converted Lithuania to Christianity beginning in 1387. Lithuania was the last pagan country in Europe to become Christian. In 1569 Lithuania and Poland united into a single state, the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. During this period, Lithuania's political elite was dominated by the Polish nobility and church, resulting in neglect of the Lithuanian language and introduction of Polish social and political institutions. It also opened the doors to Western models in education and culture. In 1795 an alliance between the Germanic states – Prussia and Austria – and the Russian Empire ended state's independent existence. Lithuania became a Russian province. By the end of the nineteenth century, all three countries were provinces of the Russian empire, and their languages were subjected to discrimination (lack of official

status, prohibition of use in public administration, secondary schools and courts). The Latvian and Estonian culture and language developed on the background of the coexistence and rivalry of German and Russian elements, and the Lithuanian culture – on the background of the coexistence and rivalry of Polish and Russian elements. The end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century was one of the most critical periods for the existence of the Baltic nations and languages. Latvian, Lithuanian and Estonian had no official status, their sociolinguistic functions were reduced to a minimum. But the Baltic peoples up to this period were consolidated as a nation, the national literary language had been formed, the national literature and press publications had reached a high level and strong national awakening tendencies were felt.

World War I led to the collapse of the two empires – the Russian and the German – making it possible for Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia to assert their statehood. On February 16, 1918, Lithuania, on February 24, 1918 Estonia, on November 18, 1918, Latvia declared their full independence.

Despite the heavy imperialistic legacy of German, Russian and to some extent Polish, the Baltic States were significantly able to develop as effective nation-states expanding the use of their State languages until they fulfilled all vital administrative, business and educational functions. The percentage of the titular nations in the pre-war period was: 88.1% Estonians in Estonia (1934), 83.9% Lithuanians in Lithuania (1923), 77% Latvians in Latvia (1935). The Baltic states were expected to undertake obligations regarding minority protection according to the Versailles Treaty, although the position of the titular nations was far from ideal. Although the percentage of traditional minorities was rather small (e.g. 8.8% Russians and 3.3% Germans in Latvia, 8% Russians and 1.5% Germans in Estonia, 3% Poles, 7.2% Jews and 2.3% Russians in Lithuania), there were specific problems. These minorities belonged to bigger nations that not long before had dominated Latvians, Lithuanians and Estonians politically, economically and culturally. These powerful minorities resist the independence of the Baltic States, especially the language laws (Loeber 1993). However, the Baltic states' minority policy was recognized as a good one internationally, and by the end of the 1930s, linguistically normal-

ized societies were created, following the idea of the national self-determination of the Baltic peoples and the cultural autonomy of minorities. Developed minority education systems co-existed with strengthening of the State languages as the strongest means for integration of the societies. These processes were interrupted by the incorporation of the Baltic States into the Soviet Union in 1940. The independence of the Baltic States was reestablished after over 50 years, in 1991. The three Baltic States have survived massive ethno-demographic changes after the incorporation into the USSR. In Latvia repatriation of 60000 Germans in 1939, deportations of 200000 Latvians to Syberia in 1941 and 1949, emigration of 120000 Latvians in 1944, forced immigration from Russia, Belarus and Ukraine as a result of Soviet industrialization took place. On June 13–14, 1941, before the German invasion, Estonians also saw the mass deportation of some 10000 of their countrymen to Siberia. Of those seized during the one-night operation, over 80% were women, children, or elderly people. The purpose of this action seemed to be to create terror rather than to neutralize any actual threat to the regime. The 1941–44 German occupation witnessed more repression, especially of Estonia's Jewish population, which numbered about 2000. In September 1944, as the Red Army again neared Estonia, the memories of Soviet rule resurfaced vividly enough to prompt some 70000 Estonians to flee the country into exile. From Lithuania more than 30000 people were deported on the night of June 14–15, 1941, and more than 10000 in 1949. About 185000 Jews, or 85% of the community's population, were massacred by Nazi squads.

All in all, the Baltic states lost about two million people who were either killed or deported or left the country. The prewar number of Lithuanians was equaled only in the 1970s, but Latvia and Estonia are the only nations in Europe with a population of over 900000 that has decreased since WWII. During Soviet period the language policy in the Baltic States followed the well-known principles of Soviet inner policy (Rannut 1994). Its ambiguous character also reflected on the languages of the Baltic States. On the one hand, the official postulates about the absolute equality of languages and the necessity to create conditions for the evolution and development of all the lan-

guages were beneficial for Latvian, Lithuanian and Estonian as concerns corpus planning, *belles-lettres*, and press publications in these languages. Special scientific institutes were established for investigation and standardization of languages, many grammars and dictionaries were published. The Baltic languages, which were already highly standardized and stylistically diverse before WWII, became very rich and well-developed, with their own terminology in almost all branches of science.

On the other hand, the resolutely implemented theories about convergence of languages, the benefits of bilingualism (“*national*” – Russian, not vice versa), and the leading role of Russian, as well as the everyday practice of not being able to communicate with state officials, doctors, salespersons, etc., in the respective Baltic languages, did not allow the fulfillment of all this potential of languages. According to 1989 census, 67% of Latvians, 37% of Lithuanians, and 34% of Estonians had free command of Russian (Zvidrins 1993). These figures seem to be artificially low in the official statistics; it could be characterized as a form of resistance to Russification. Almost all the adult population had quite good Russian language skills. At the same time the retention rates for mother tongues were high: 99.6% for Lithuanians, 98.9% for Estonians, 97.4% for Latvians (Zvidrins 1993). The command of local languages among the representatives of other nationalities was as follows: Lithuania – 33.5% among the Russians, 17% among other minorities, Estonia – 14% among the Russians, 12% among other minorities, Latvia – 21% among the Russians, 18% among other minorities. Due to unbalanced sociolinguistic functions and prestige, all Baltic States developed two separate linguistic communities: a monolingual Russian community and bilingual Latvian, Lithuanian and Estonian communities. The situation began to normalize only since regaining of independence when peaceful though slow process of integration of the societies on the basis of the society on the basis of the state languages has begun.

### 3. The sociolinguistic history of the region

The Latvian and Lithuanian languages belong to the Baltic group of the Indo-European family of languages. Their closest eth-

nic relatives were the Old Prussians, the Galinds, the Jatvings. Only the Latvians and the Lithuanians have avoided extinction. All the other peoples were conquered or assimilated by their neighbours – the Galinds at the 16<sup>th</sup> century, the Jatvings – at the beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, the Old Prussians – at the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. The ancestors of the Latvian and Lithuanian tribes separated in seventh century; today Latvian and Lithuanian are not mutually understandable. The Estonian language represents the Balto-Finnic branch of the Finno-Ugric family of languages. Latvians, Lithuanians and Estonians have resided in their present geographical area for more than 2000 years. The first settlers in the territory of Latvia were Livonians, or Livs. These people were akin to the Estonians and the Finns and formed a part of the Finno-Ugric family of languages. The Livonians were once heavily concentrated in the northern part of Latvia’s present-day provinces of Kurzeme and Vidzeme, but today only about 30 individuals retain the language of the respective ethnicity. The Latvian and Lithuanian, as well as the Estonian nation were formed during the period between the tenth and twelfth century AD. For example, the percentage of minorities in the areas inhabited by Latvians till the 16<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup> centuries was rather small: Livs, Germans, small communities of Jews. The first data about the population of Latvia can be derived from the 18th century. According to calculations there were about 873000 inhabitants in Latvia: 89.8% Latvians, 6.5% Germans, 1.1% Jews, 0.8% Poles, 0.6% Russians, 0.3% Livs (Dunsdorfs 1973). Since the Northern War (1700–1721) the Russian population increased steadily in Latvia and Estonia. Several types can be distinguished among ethnic minorities in the Baltic states nowadays: Latvia: unique autochthonous minority – Livonians or Livs (206 people, about 30 have Livonian language skills), traditional allochthonous non-contact minorities – Gypsies, Jews, Germans, Poles, traditional allochthonous contact minorities – Lithuanians, Estonians, Belarusians, Russians, immigrant minorities – Russians, Belarusians, Ukrainians. There are no regional compact minorities except for some border regions. The minorities in Latvia are equally spread in the whole territory of the state.

Lithuania: traditional allochthonous non-contact minorities – Gypsies, Jews,



Germans, Poles, traditional allochthonous contact minorities – Latvians, Belarusians, Russians, immigrant minorities – Russians, Belarusians, Ukrainians. There are compact settings of Poles and Belarusians in Lithuania and these ethnoses can also be considered autochthonous minorities. Since 14<sup>th</sup> century a small population of Turkic people – Karaims are residing in Lithuania (ca. 260 people in the 90s).

Estonia: traces of autochthonous Swedish and Finnish minority, traditional allochthonous contact minorities – Latvians, Belarusians, Russians, immigrant minorities – Russians, Belarusians, Ukrainians. The largest minority group – Russians – live in the territories east of Narva and Narva.

It is true for defining minorities in the Baltic states that the quantity alone does not reflect the complex state of minority-majority relationship. The notions of national and linguistic minority do not coincide because of the high level of Russification of non-Russian minorities. The Russian-speaking minority in the Baltic countries cannot be equated with the minorities in Western understanding. The term Russian-speaking linguistic minority denotes those former Soviet citizens who irrespective of their ethnic origin predominantly use Russian in their everyday life. The situation in Latvia and Estonia is similar, but not identical. The percentage of titular ethnic group among the population is higher in Estonia, whereas in Latvia Rusophones claim better knowledge of the official language (up to the 60% in 2000) and are geographically not separated from the titular group so sharply as they are in Estonia. In Latvia, the level of ethnically mixed marriages has been traditionally higher than in Estonia. Given these differences, quite dissimilar political decisions on minority issues were taken in the three Baltic States, e. g. concerning Laws on Citizenship. The Baltic peoples' are influenced by one-sided demographic development during Soviet period, experiencing possible threats from Russia, Russian-speakers – crisis of identity, defensive reaction, beginning of the adaptation to the new reality. Since 1997 planned elaboration and implementation of the state integration policy has been carried out in Latvia and Estonia. The State programme *Integration in Estonian Society 2000–2007* was approved on 14 March 2000, the short version of the National Programme *The Integration of Society in Lat-*

*via* – on July 18, 2000. The integration means two processes – the social harmonization of society on the basis of the respective official language and the opportunity to maintain ethnic differences based on the recognition of the cultural rights of ethnic minorities. During the Soviet period the languages of education were only the respective local language and Russian, both in Latvia and in Estonia. In Lithuania, there were also about 90 Polish schools (but 66% of the Polish children attended Russian schools). After independence, national minority schools were renewed. In Latvia the first Jewish high school of the whole territory of the former USSR was established. In Estonia Swedish and Jewish schools were opened. Almost all smaller minorities arranged lessons in their native language in the form of Sunday schools. In 2000 there are 1095 general education schools in Latvia: 66.3% with Latvian, 33.3% with Russian as language of instruction. Only 0.4% of schools teach in any other language. There are 7 Polish, 2 Jewish schools as well as Ukrainian, Belarusian, Lithuanian, Estonian, Gypsy school. In Lithuania there were 236 schools of general education with non-Lithuanian language of instruction (85 with Russian, 58 with Polish, 1 with Belarusian language of instruction). 13.5% of schoolchildren attended these schools.

#### 4. Linguistic interferences of contact languages

The languages and cultures of the Baltic peoples, in general, are ideal models for studying the influences of other languages and cultures. Since the consolidation of the Latvian, Lithuanian and Estonian nations, they have always had direct contacts with some other languages. The Baltic languages and Russian have long traditions of territorial and functional contacts. The first direct borrowings date back to the 9<sup>th</sup>–12<sup>th</sup> centuries, the next period was at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century when Russification tendencies were experienced. From the beginning of Soviet era borrowings and loan translation became widespread. Nevertheless, in the Soviet period when the social functions of Latvian, Lithuanian and Estonian were considerably reduced, the linguistic impact of Russian was not as great as it might appear. All the three languages retained their traditional latin alphabet. The influence of German on

Latvian and Estonian is assumed to have started in the 12<sup>th</sup> century as well as Polish to Lithuanian. Since 19<sup>th</sup> century one cannot speak of any further German influence, however, numerous German elements remain in Latvian and Lithuanian. Since 1990s an expansion of English borrowings has started in all the three states with the breakdown of ideological barriers, diminishing Russian influence and openness to Western influences. In all the three countries intelligentsia was very active in preserving the purity of languages since the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The language standardization was spontaneously existing already in the pre-written language establishment period, i. e., until the 16<sup>th</sup> century. When in the 17<sup>th</sup> century the first Latvian, Lithuanian and Estonian norm sources appeared, one can talk about more or less conscious language standardization and purification. The problem of language purity was, is, and, perhaps, will be especially significant for the Baltic peoples because of widespread bilingualism or even multilingualism. As during the 50s up to 80s the Baltic languages were in close contact with the Russian language, but they had a minimum of contacts with other European languages, the prevailing issue was the prevention and elimination of the language interferences. Interference cropped out at various language levels, especially in colloquial language. More seldom these interferences appeared in written texts. To extend the language users' knowledge about the structure of their own language and demands for correct speech, linguists paid great attention to the popularizing of correct language use. Practical conferences were organized, TV and radio broadcast sent into air. Joint Latvian, Lithuanian and Estonian conferences on language cultivation issues took place. The language situation was similar in all some time independent Baltic states, and therefore cooperation in language policy was a very important factor to avoid and deter Russification (Blinkena 1998; Mikuleniene 1998; Rannut 1994).

### 5. Linguistic legislation

In the Baltic States the Language Laws were among the first laws of the transition period (1987–1989) to be passed together with the legalization of the national flag and anthem. In 1988 the Supreme Councils of the Baltic Republics (still part of the Soviet Union

at that time) adopted amendments to the Constitutions which proclaimed Latvian, Lithuanian and Estonian the official State languages in the respective republics. On January 18, 1989, the Language Law was adopted in Estonia, on January 25, 1989, in Lithuania and on May 5, 1989 in Latvia. The main goal of these pre-independence Laws was to promote the use of Latvian, Lithuanian and Estonian and to develop local language skills among the Russian-speaking population. These Laws did not correspond to the concept of the monolingual state, as Russian retained the functions of an official language in a number of spheres. Though the local languages had the status of the sole State language, the parallel use of Russian in the majority of the sociolinguistic functions was allowed. Access to services in Russian for those who did not speak the State language were guaranteed. The main principle was the availability of language choice for lower-ranking persons, as a consequence of which state officials and holders of certain jobs which included contacts with the general public had to be bilingual. Full implementation of the Language Laws was postponed in Latvia and Estonia. A special decree specifying the implementation of the Language Law was issued. There was a three-year transition period during which state employees lacking Latvian language skills could acquire them. In almost all work places Latvian classes were organized free of charge during working hours. In Estonia the transition period was four years. Special commissions were organised for implementing the Language Laws. The implementation of the 1989 Language Laws was hampered by the unstable political situation during the period 1989–1991. Intensified activity in resolving issues related to the status and role of Latvian, Lithuanian and Estonian took place only after the restoration of independence in August 1991. On August 1991, the Republic of Latvia, the Republic of Lithuania and the Republic of Estonia were proclaimed sovereign states. The Language Laws were simultaneously revised to strengthen the status of the state language. In 1992 additions and amendments were made to the 1989 Language Law. Several additional regulations and decrees were adopted. In Lithuania a special Lithuanian Language Council has been established within the Lithuanian Parliament. In November 1990, a National Language Board was established

in Estonia. In March 1992, the State Language Centre was founded in Latvia.

In 1995 the new Laws on State Language were adopted in Estonia and Lithuania, in 1999 – in Latvia. These laws concerns about the compliance of the Baltic linguistic legislation with the provisions of the Treaty of European Union. They define required proficiency of employees in public systems and establish an integrated system for language examinations.

## 6. Conclusions

The Baltic States have to solve a dilemma how to clear the way for international membership through EU membership and at the same time achieve ethnically based nation-building. Against the background of global lingvodiversity Latvian (1,8 million of speakers), Lithuanian (2,4 million) and Estonian (1 million) belong to the big languages which can be considered as completely safe. However, these languages have very strong contact languages within their territories – Russian and English, both international languages with millions of speakers and enormous market value. The language policy in the Baltic States therefore has to be implemented in complex and competitive general language situation. Realistic evaluation of present positions of the languages would allow to make prognosis on the future perspectives in connection with objective ethnodemographic, economic, political processes in the countries. Awareness of ongoing processes would help to determine the main fields of conscious language planning efforts to ensure the preservation of Latvian, Lithuanian and Estonian against the background of ensuring language rights of the inhabitants whose native language is other than Latvian, Lithuanian and Estonian. The Baltic states is the region where the most active sociolinguistic processes take place. The unique experience of the Baltic states should be considered for elaboration of a sociolinguistic theory of universal relevance.

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## 182. Gypsy Languages / Zigeunersprachen

1. The category 'gypsy languages'
2. Names
3. Paucity of linguistic material
4. The rajput hypothesis
5. Literature (selected)

### 1. The category 'gypsy languages'

The category *Gypsy languages* is not a linguistic one, nor an accurate one by any criterion that would group them in any meaningful way. There are numbers of quite distinct populations referred to as *Gypsies*, such as the Austronesian (Dayak)-speaking *Sea Gypsies*, the Irish Travellers and the groups dealt with in Grierson's *Gypsy Languages* – Volume XI of his *Linguistic Survey of India* – which includes languages as unrelated as those of the Dravidian (Telugu)-speaking Bhamtas and the Indo-Aryan (Jai-puri)-speaking Pendaris. The reason for the loose application of this label is traceable to 19<sup>th</sup> century Britain, when the Romani population in that country was receiving considerable attention as the supposed keepers of a much missed and much romanticized pre-industrial rural way of life. They were also the focus of attention as an 'exotic' Asian population in the heart of England, as well as one considered greatly in need of Christian salvation. Both their language and their ancestry fascinated small groups of academics, folklorists and dilettantes, and over time *gypsy* (with a lower-case initial) has come to stand more for an imagined way of life than for an ethnic people, since the 'True Romany' idealized by such individuals did not in fact exist. The culprit would seem to be Sir Denzil Ibbetson, who used the word *gypsy* in his 1881 *Census Report for the Punjab* to refer to certain indigenous Indian populations which, because of their itinerant way of life, reminded him of the *gypsies* he was familiar with in England.

Despite this established use of the word, there may nevertheless still be a legitimate need for such a category if it be properly defined, since no other label otherwise exists for a large number of languages, or remnants of languages, spoken by populations that originated in India and who left before or during the mediaeval period.

There are many such groups which, on the basis of more or fewer Indian elements in

their speech, and sometimes subjectively from their physical appearance, are included in this category. For most of these, however, the ability to be more specific about their identity is made difficult by two factors: the names applied to them, and the fact that whatever Indic linguistic material is evident consists only of a handful of lexical items otherwise used in the grammatical matrix of whatever the local language happens to be.

### 2. Names

The only overview of such languages to date is Kenrick (1976), where he lists many of the names for Middle Eastern *gypsy* groups found in the literature. These are Alimah, Aptal, Awgon, Awgon-Luli, Banu Sassan, Barake, Beluchi, Bosha, Catchar, Djugi, Dom, Dummi, Goudari, Ghagar, Gurbat or Kurbat, Kustani, Guaidiya, Haddad, Helebi, Hindustani Luli, Jat, Kabuli, Kaloro, Kara-chi, Tabriz, Kara Luli, Karashmar or Krismal, Kasibar or Mugat, Kenites, Kersi, Koli, Koudji or Kochi, Kouli, Lom, Luli, Lur, Luri, Mazang, Motribiyya, Multani, Nawar, Qarabana or Qarabtu, Qarachi, Quenites, Qorbati or Ghorbati, Quf, Rawazi, Sagvand, Sahsawan, Sayabigeh, Shurasti, Suzmani, Tavoktarosh, Zangi, Zargari and Zott. For most of these we have only a passing reference in this or that document. Sometimes, quite different names are applied to the same population (e. g. the *Lom* or *Bosha*); sometimes – like the very label *gypsy* itself – the same name is applied to quite distinct groups (e. g. *Djugi* being applied to both the Iranian *Koli* and the Tajikistani *Mugat*). Sometimes they are clearly geographical (e. g. *Helebi* < Aleppo or *Kabuli* < Kabul) and sometimes they are occupational (e. g. *motribiyya* < Arabic 'musician'). The overriding commonality seems to be only that such populations are migrant, *gypsy* referring to their behaviour rather than their ethnicity.

### 3. Paucity of linguistic material

In cases where no grammatical material has been retained, it is not possible to make an identification with any particular Indian language or even dialect group, nor even necessarily with other 'gypsy' languages.

That two of these vernaculars may share the Indic word *pani* for 'water' demonstrates nothing beyond an Indian connection; in India itself, a hundred languages have the same word. Nor is it the case that all of them were ever 'full' languages at some earlier time; non-indigenous lexicon can be acquired in many ways and inserted into existing languages. That English, for example, contains the Chinese word *tycoon* does not mean that it is a Sinitic language or even that the Anglo-Saxons ever interacted at first hand with speakers of Chinese.

Romani Studies, which began to emerge as an area of scientific (mainly linguistic and ethnographical) endeavour in the 1780s, have traditionally regarded *gypsy* languages as belonging to three branches: *Romani*, *Domari* and *Lomavren* (Hancock 1995). The Indian origin of *Romani*, the language of the *Rom* or European 'Gypsies', was first recognised by western scholars in the late 1700s; by the middle of the following century *Domari*, the language of the Dom 'Gypsies' in Syria and elsewhere had begun to be documented and by 1887 *Lomavren*, spoken by the Armenian *Lom*, became a part of the discussion (Patkanov 1887). It was initially assumed that all three were branches of the same original migration out of India, and attempts have been made to reconstruct protoforms based upon their combined analysis (Hancock 1988). This no longer appears to be the case, at least for *Domari*. There are structural and lexical features of this language that point to a much earlier separation from India than is evident for the other two. The first published account of *Domari* was Pott (1846), where he summarized notes on the language sent to him by the Reverend Eli Smith, an American missionary working in Syria. The only extensive grammatical and lexical account remains Macalister (1914), though it is flawed and seriously out of date; a modern linguistic description is in preparation by Matras (forthcoming), who has also written on the present state of the language in Jerusalem (1999). The existence of *Lomavren*, spoken in Armenia, Georgia, eastern Turkey and probably elsewhere in the region, was first brought to the attention of European scholars in 1828 when a list of 100 words was published by von Joakimov (mentioned in Finck, 1907, 2 which, together with Patkanov, *op. cit.*, and Papazian 1901, is the principal published source on the language). Speakers of *Doma-*

*ri* refer to themselves as *Dom*, but are most often called *Luri* or *Nuri* (plural *Nawar*) or *Luli* in the literature. Like the *Lomavren*-speaking *Lom* and the *Romani*-speaking *Rom*, they have not retained the details of their own history, and attempts to reconstruct it have been mostly speculative. It is possible that their ancestors left India in response to fifth and sixth century raids into India by the Huns, when the Indian kings sent out fighters to resist them. The word for a non-Dom is *gačča* which, like its equivalents in *Lomavren* (*gačav*) and *Romani* (*gad-žo*) derives from the Middle Indo-Aryan *gajjh-* meaning 'civilian; non-military person', and the word *luri* itself, though usually attributed to an Arabic origin, may be from MIA *luth-* 'plunderer' (compare *Romani lur*, ditto). Speakers of other varieties of *Domari*, among them *Karači* (a name possibly from Turkish *karaca* 'swarthy') and *Mitrip* (possibly from Arabic *motribiyya* 'musician') live elsewhere in the Middle East (Patkanov 1887; Benninghaus 1991; Hancock 1995, 31).

*Lomavren* exists almost solely as a vocabulary, and is a register of Armenian rather than an Indo-Aryan language. For this reason the only clues as to its history and affiliation are in its lexicon. Nevertheless it shares much more of this, as well as of its phonology, with *Romani* than it does with *Domari*, and an argument might be made for their having been one before developing independently in separate directions in eastern Anatolia. If the *koïné* hypothesis outlined below proves to be correct, it might also be the case that *Lomavren* was never a discrete language at any time, but has always existed only as a cryptic lexicon.

*Romani* is the most widely spoken of all the Gypsy languages, and the most extensively studied. It supports an extensive literature and is used on a number of internet websites, and is taught regularly at several universities (Charles, Moscow, Texas, the Sorbonne). Some of its dialects, such as those spoken in northeastern Europe, demonstrate after a thousand years a truly remarkable retention of Indic lexicon and morphosyntax, while others survive only as a limited lexical corpus in the structural and phonological framework of a European language, and are typologically no longer *Romani*, e. g. *Pogadijib* in England or *Caló* in Spain (Bakker/Cortiade 1991).

Determining its linguistic origins has preoccupied scholars since its Indo-Aryan iden-

tity was first realised over two centuries ago. The theory that gained the widest acceptance was proposed in 1830 by John Harriott, *viz.* that the origin of the Romani speakers was to be found in the Persian epic by Firdousi, the *Shah Nameh* that describes events that took place during the Sassanid Dynasty. Here, 10000 Indian musicians were sent as a gift to the shah Bahram Gur in AD 439 but after a year had been sent away from Persia, presumably moving on into other parts of the Middle and Near East where they remained until eventually coming into Europe centuries later. If this account were true, it would seem to have more relevance to Domari than to Romani history.

#### 4. The rajput hypothesis

A more recent hypothesis (Hancock 2000/2002a) maintains that the ancestors of the Rom were a conglomerate of different ethnic peoples assembled into a military force – the Rajputs – to confront the Islamic invaders led by Mahmud Ghaznavi in a series of raids between AD 1000–1027. It further holds that a koïnized military lingua franca, which it calls *Rajputic*, emerged under the same circumstances that gave rise to the Urdu language (*Urdu* is from the Turkish word for ‘army camp’). That the hypothesized Rajputic was still spoken in India during this period is indicated by the redistribution of the original Middle Indo-Aryan neuter nouns. Their individual reassignments to the masculine and feminine sets in Romani are mirrored in Hindi and other languages still spoken in India and this process, a salient characteristic of New Indo-Aryan, did not happen earlier than ca. AD 1000. Domari on the other hand is historically a three-gender language, evidently separating from Indic-speaking territory at an earlier time.

It is also significant that while Romani, Domari and Lomavren each contain Persian-derived lexical adoptions, there is not one such item shared by all three, and Romani and Domari have fewer than a fifth of them in common. If all three had passed through Persian-speaking territory as one migration before separating, a higher incidence of shared items would be expected. The Ghaznavids took prisoners of war (called both *ghulams*, i. e. ‘slaves’, and ‘Indians’) to use in their own forays; the Seljuqs in turn defeated the Ghaznavids (at Nisha-

pur in Khurasan, in AD 1038) before later moving into Anatolia and establishing the Sultanate of Rum. Köymen writes that it is well documented that after that defeat, “soldiers from throughout Khurasan [...] some of whom may have served the Ghaznavids” joined the battalions of the Seljuqs (1957, 356). *Indians* are recorded as having been used for the same purpose by the Seljuqs in their raids into eastern Anatolia – which had begun as early as AD 1015 – and were likely the same prisoners of war captured from the Ghaznavids. As it was for the Rajputs, Persian was also the Seljuqs’ language of administration, though they were themselves a Ghuzz Turkic people. There is no Turkic material in the pre-European Romani lexicon, though modern Romani shares over half of its accreted Persian-derived lexicon with Urdu; far more than it does with Domari. While this hypothesis requires elaboration, it is generally accepted that it was indeed the Seljuqs who were responsible for pushing the ancestors of the Rom into Anatolia following the Battle of Manzikert in AD 1071 (Soulis 1961, 163; Fraser 1992, 46) and perhaps even earlier. It would have been at this point that the ancestors of the Lom separated and moved east before the military lingua franca had acquired native speakers; there are no Greek items in Lomavren, but Byzantine Greek is the second largest contributor to the pre-European lexicon of Romani after its Indic items. It is also the case that Romani has as much a Balkan (Greek) character linguistically as it has an Indian one, and it might be surmised that it was in the Byzantine period that the language, as well as the ethnic identity, crystallized. It has also been suggested that the name *Rom* derives from *Rum* rather than from any Indic root; all citizens of the sultanate called themselves *Romaivi*, and the first Romanies to arrive in Greece called themselves *Romiti*.

Using the techniques of lexicostatistical dating, Fraser (1989) has shown that dialect splits within Romani began in the middle of the 11<sup>th</sup> century. According to one of a number of proposed schemata the modern language demonstrates three major divisions, which Cortiade calls *strata*, the first and geographically most widespread in Europe stretching from the Balkans to the north, east and west, the second concentrated in south-central Europe and the third emerging from the Romani-speaking populations who had been held in slavery in Mol-

davia and Wallachia until the 1860s. These last have since migrated to all parts of the world, and are particularly well represented in North and South America. The earliest reliable reference to a Romani presence in the Balkans dates from ca. AD 1100. It is entirely likely that these broad dialect divisions reflect more than one different period of migration into Europe from the Byzantine Empire; some dialects for example show minimal lexical influence from Greek, suggesting an early move out of Anatolia. There are some sixty different Romani dialects today, and attempts are underway to create a universal written standard (Hancock 2002b).

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## 183. Albania/Albanien

1. Introduction
2. Historical overview
3. Dialectal situation
4. Standardization
5. Minority languages
6. Current issues
7. Conclusion
8. Literature (selected)

### 1. Introduction

The Republic of Albania is bounded on the north, east, and south by Montenegro, Kosovo (whose status is currently regulated by UNSCR 1244), the Republic of Macedonia, and Greece – from which it is separated by a series of mountains, and Lakes Shkodër, Ohrid, and Prespa – and on the west by the Ionian and Adriatic seas. The total area is 10631 square miles (28748 square kilometers). According Emira Galanxhi, director of the Department of Demography of Albania's Institute of Statistics, the total population is 3087000, which represents a 3% loss of population from the 1989 census. The Vital Statistics Office, a separate government registry, estimates Albania's population at close to 4 million, but this figure fails to take into account emigration or domestic migration and so is likely to include considerable double counting (Naegele 2001). In the twentieth century, the predominant religion of Albania was Islam (ca. 70% of the population), with significant concentrations of Catholics in the north and Greek or Albanian Orthodox in the south (estimated at 20% and 10% of the total, respectively; Byron 1976b, 17). During the communist period (1944–90), however, the practice of religion became illegal (in 1967). Owing to the fact that questions concerning religion and ethnicity were excluded from the 2001 census, current figures are unavailable. In this article we will pay some attention to the situation of the Albanian language outside of Albania, since a discussion of Albanian sociolinguistics that limits itself to the current borders of the Albanian state will exclude developments that have an impact on the situation in Albania, particularly those involving Kosovar intellectuals.

### 2. Historical overview

2.1. Albanian is an Indo-European language that is the only living member of its group. It is descended from a language that was spoken in the Balkans before the arrival of Latin-speakers, although there is scholarly debate concerning which language. Traditionally, Albanian is identified as the descendent of Illyrian, but Hamp (1994a) argues that the evidence is too meager and contradictory for us to know whether the term *Illyrian* even referred to a single language. Thracian has also been adduced as a possible ancestor of Albanian (Fine 1983, 10–11). Hamp (1982; 1994b) argues that Albanian is descended from a language that was in intense contact with Latin, as was the language that produced Romanian (traditionally referred to as Dacian), but unlike the ancestor of Romanian, the ancestor of Albanian escaped Romanization. These historical linguistic debates have become highly politicized in modern times, since claims to linguistic antiquity or autochthony are reinterpreted as claims to modern territorial and political legitimacy. The earliest unambiguously Albanian document is a baptismal formula embedded in a Latin text from 1462. Our earliest extensive texts date from the following century, e. g., the missal (*Meshari*) of Gjon Buzuku (1555).

2.2. The history of modern Albanian identity, like that of other modern Balkan identities, begins during the end of the Ottoman Empire. At this time, the Ottoman system of classification was based on *millet*, which can be glossed 'religiously defined national community'. Greek Orthodox Albanians were therefore classified as *Greeks* and Muslim Albanians as *Turks*. The Orthodox were subject to Hellenization, while the Muslims were denied linguistic rights granted to Christians. Thus, for example, in 1878 there were 80 Turkish schools, 163 Greek schools, and no Albanian schools in the sandjaks of Berat, Gjirokastër, and Vlorë (Jelavich 1983, 85). The Catholics were relatively few in number and largely isolated in the mountains of the north, although there was a significant community with a proud literary tradition in the city of Shkodër (Skendi 1980, 187–204). Even so, in 1878 Albanian was taught in only two



schools in Shkodër, and as a second language after Italian. Religion played a divisive role among Albanians, and the *millet* system put them in the potential position of being completely partitioned by the emergent nation-states of their Christian neighbors as the Ottoman Empire disintegrated (Skendi 1967, 12–13; 366–390). While many Muslim Albanian-speakers identified as Turks, many Orthodox Albanian-speakers identified as Greek, and in fact Albanian-speaking Greek Orthodox Christians were among the leading figures in the Greek national movement (Grillo 1985). The Catholics of the north came under the influence of Italy and Austria-Hungary. The earliest Albanian-language literary activity took place in Italy, whither thousands of South Albanian Christians had fled in the fourteenth century to escape the Ottoman conquest (see 3.1.). Despite earlier activity, a political watershed was reached in 1878, when, in connection with the Congress of Berlin, a group of Albanians formed the League of Prizren to promote Albanian national interests and territorial claims. An important part of the League's program was the promotion of the Albanian language, which cut across religious boundaries. It was at this time that Pashko Vasa (Vaso Pasha Shkodrani) wrote a long poem beginning *O moj Shqypni, e mjera Shqypni* 'O Albania, poor Albania!', described by Elsie (1995, 262) as "the most influential and perhaps the most popular [poem] ever written in Albanian." Owing to its significance, we shall quote a few lines from the middle of the poem (Elsie 1995, 262–267, his translation, slightly modified):

*"Shqypnar, me vllazon jeni t'u vra,  
Ndër nji qind çeta jeni shpërnda;  
Sa thon kam fe, sa thon kam din,  
Njeni: jam turk, tjetri: latin  
Do thom: jam grek, shkje disa tjerë,  
Por jeni vllazën, t'gjith, more t'mjer!  
Priftnit e hoxhët ju kan hutue,  
Për me ju da e me ju vorinue. [...]  
Baheni robt e njerit t'huej,  
Qi nuk ka gjuhën as jakun tuej. [...]  
Çonju, shqypnar, prej gjumit çonju,  
Të gjith si vllazën n'nji bes shtrëngonju,  
E mos shikjoni kish e xhamija,  
Feja e shqypnarit asht shqypnarija!"*

[Albanians, you are killing your brothers,  
Into a hundred factions you are divided,  
Some say 'I believe in God!', others 'in Allah',  
Some say 'I am Turk', others 'I am Latin',  
Some 'I am Greek', others 'I am Slav',

But you are brothers, all of you, my hapless people!  
The priests and the hodjas have deceived you  
To divide you and keep you poor. [...]  
You become serfs to the foreigner  
Who has neither your language nor your blood!  
[...]  
Awaken, Albania, wake from your slumber,  
Let us all, as brothers, swear a common oath  
And not look to church or mosque,  
The faith of the Albanian is Albanianism!]

2.3. Albanian independence was declared at Vlorë (Valona) on 28 November 1912 in the wake of the First Balkan War. Boundaries were fixed by the Protocol of Florence on 17 November 1913, after the Second Balkan War. It was not until the end of World War One, however, that some measure of relative territorial and political stability was achieved. During World War Two, Italian-occupied Albania temporarily included parts of southern Montenegro and Kosovo and western Macedonia. These territories reverted to Yugoslavia at the end of the War.

2.4. Contestation over the boundaries of Albania continues to this day, since there are significant regions with Albanian-speaking majorities in modern day Montenegro (the southern border regions, including Ulcinj), Kosovo (most, but not all, districts are Albanian majority, as are three adjacent districts in southern Serbia), Macedonia (about 20% of the post-1996 administrative districts, especially Tetovo, Gostivar, Debar, and some districts in the vicinity of Skopje, Kumanovo, and Struga), and, formerly, Epirus/Çamëri in Greece. The Muslim, Albanian-speaking Çams were exempted from the exchange of populations between Greece and Turkey after World War One, but most were expelled after World War Two. A few Albanian-speaking villages survive in northern Greece, e. g., Lehovo near Florina and Mandres in Kilkis. Maps of 'ethnic Albania' produced by émigré groups are generally based on Ottoman administrative boundaries from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, viz. the vilayets of Scutari, Kosova, Monastir and Ioanina. Similar argumentation has been used by the Albanian Academy of Sciences in referring to Skopje, the capital of the Republic of Macedonia, as "the capital of historic Kosova" (ASHSH 1998) based on the fact that in 1877 the Ottoman Vilayet of Prizren was re-organized and renamed the vilayet of Kosova, and in 1888 the center was moved from

Prizren to Skopje. All of these regions were and are ethnically mixed with differing majorities in different districts.

### 3. Dialectal situation

3.1. Following the Slavic invasions of the Balkans (sixth and seventh centuries CE), Common Albanian split into two major dialect complexes that can be identified today by a bundle of isoglosses running through the middle of Albania, along and just to the south of the river Shkumbi south of Elbasan, then along the course of the Black Drin (Drin i Zi, Crni Drim) through the middle of Struga on north shore of Lake Ohrid in Macedonia. The two major dialect groups are known as Tosk (south of the bundle) and Geg (north of the bundle). In terms of population, Geg represents about two-thirds and Tosk one-third of the total of Albanian speakers, although within Albania itself there is less discrepancy. Aside from the Tosks of Italy (see 2.2.), who call their language Arbëresh, Tosk-speakers also emigrated to central and southern Greece before or during the Ottoman conquest. They call their language Arbërisht, known as Arvanitika in Greek. These terms are all cognate with 'Albanian' and show the Greek shift of *lrl* to *lll* before a consonant and the Tosk rhotacism of *lnl*. The Albanian name for Albanian in Albania and adjacent territories, *shqip*, apparently dates from after these migrations and is derived from a root meaning 'speak clearly' (Hamp 1994b). For the most part, the dialects of Montenegro belong to Northwestern Geg, those of Kosovo to Northeastern Geg, and those of Macedonia to Central Geg. Southern Geg and Transitional dialects are spoken in Macedonia between Debar and Struga (Gjinari 1989, 53–57). Tosk dialects are divided into North and South, and South subdivided into Lab and Çam.

3.2. Among the most salient phonological isoglosses separating Geg and Tosk are the following: 1) Tosk develops rhotacism from intervocalic *lnl* while Geg loses unstressed schwa in many positions (sometimes with compensatory lengthening), e.g., Tosk *Shqipëri* Geg *Shqipni* 'Albania'; 2) Geg preserves nasal vowels (although the dialects of Debar [Albanian Dibër] in Macedonia and Ulcinj ([Albanian Ulqinj] in Montenegro are unique among Geg dialects in their lack of nasality) while Tosk develops

stressed schwa corresponding to Geg nasal *â* or *ê*, e.g., Geg *âsht* Tosk *është* 'is', *zâ~zani/zê~zëri* 'voice~the voice'; also Geg *nji* 'one, a', *qi* 'that, which' Tosk *një, që*; 3) Initial prenasalized voiced stops and affricates are denasalized in Geg but not Tosk; 4) Common Albanian \**o* gives *vo* in Geg and *va* in Tosk (e.g., *vorr/varr* 'grave'); 5) Tosk *lual* corresponds to Geg *luel*, which is often monophthongized to long [u], e.g., *shkuar/shkuem* 'gone'; 6) Geg also monophthongizes *liel* and *lyel*. Distinctive length is absent from northern Tosk but present in both Geg and southern Tosk. The devoicing of distinctively voiced consonants in final position is characteristic of northern Tosk and the transitional dialects but not of southern Tosk or Geg. Northern Tosk preserves *lnjl* in a number of environments where Geg and southern Tosk denasalize, e.g., *lnjl* vs *ljl* in the first singular present and subjunctive of the highly productive *n*-stem class of verbs (Byron 1976b, 90; 100).

3.3. Morpho-syntactic differences between Geg and Tosk in analytic verbal constructions include the following features. Geg has an infinitive of the type *me shkuem* (= 'with' + long participle) vs. Tosk *për të shkuar* (= 'for' + subordinator + participle) 'to go'. Geg uses 'be' as the auxiliary of the perfect of intransitive active verbs as opposed to the Tosk generalization of 'have' for all active verbs (both dialects use 'be' for the perfect of medio-passive verbs), e.g., Geg *jam shkue* 'I am gone' but Tosk *kam shkuar* 'I have gone'. Geg has a future of the type *kam me shkue* ('have' + infinitive) 'I will go' in addition to the Tosk type *do të shkojë* (particle based on 'want' + subordinator + present subjunctive verb) 'I will go'. Tosk lacks a morphologically distinct reflexive possessive pronoun, whereas Geg has *i vetë* 'one's own' for the third person.

### 4. Standardization

4.1. Although efforts at creating a unified Albanian standard began in the early nineteenth century (Kastrati 1996), it was after the formation of the League of Prizren (see 2.2.) that the ideology that a unified Albanian people required a unified language and that a unified language required a unified alphabet gained increasing acceptance (Skendi 1967, 124–25). Each of the Albanian communities – Catholics, Muslims, and Orthodox – had developed its own literature

independent of the others; each wrote in local Geg or Tosk dialects using the alphabet appropriate to their religion: Arabic for the Muslims, Greek for the Orthodox, and Latin for the Catholics and Arbëresh, who were mostly Uniate and otherwise Catholic. During 14–22 November 1908, a group of Albanian intellectuals met in what was then Monastir (Bitola in the present-day Republic of Macedonia), for the purpose of deciding on a unified alphabet. It was agreed that Albanian would be written in the Latin alphabet, representing a victory of linguistic unity over religious division, but the final decision was a compromise, leaving two official alphabets – one based on the so-called Istanbul alphabet, with one character per sound, and the *Bashkimi* (Unity) alphabet, which used digraphs. This Congress is regarded as a definitive moment in the creation of Albanian national unity (Buda et al. 1972). The final fixing of the orthography, which represented a compromise between the two alphabets but was in general closer to the *Bashkimi*, came during the decade after Albanian independence was declared (Xhuvani 1980b).

4.2. During the first half of the twentieth century, there was no officially legislated unified Albanian literary language. Xhuvani (1905/1980a) published a set of principles for a unified literary language similar to those employed after World War Two: 1) Tosk should be taken as the base for both consonants and vowels, e. g., stressed schwa instead of nasals, rhotacism of *lnl*, and use of *lnj* in the first singular of *n*-stem verbs; 2) In some cases both Geg and Tosk forms should be adopted, each with a distinct meaning, e. g., *i tērë*, ‘cunctus, universus’; *i tanë*, ‘omnis, totus’, this principle was also articulated by Faik Konitza (Byron 1976a, 50; 3) Any word found in Geg but not in Tosk should be adopted.

4.3. In 1916 a Literary Committee of five distinguished Geg linguists and writers met in Shkodër and agreed to elaborate a standard based on Elbasan Geg with some concessions to Tosk: 1) spelling of unstressed schwa; 2) elimination of diacritics marking length and, in most cases, nasalization; 3) spelling of Tosk diphthongs corresponding to Geg monophthongs; 4) spelling of prenasalized initial voiced stops and affricates. In practice, however, both literary Geg and literary Tosk continued to be elaborated in Albania until after World War Two (Pipa 1989,

3–4), when the communist regime succeeded in imposing a unified standard on all of Albania.

4.4. In 1952 a Tosk-based standard became official in Albania by resolution of the Albanian League of Writers. Although Geg was still permitted in belletristic literature, it quickly went out of use altogether except in specifically dialectal contexts. In 1954 a normative dictionary appeared, and in 1956 an orthographic handbook. The codifiers of this “unified literary language” (*gjuha letrare e njësuar*) insisted that their standard was neither ‘northern’ nor ‘southern’ – the ethnic terms *Geg* and *Tosk* were likewise eliminated from official discourse for the sake of promoting national unity – but rather a supradialectal norm that was neither one nor the other, combining both. In fact, however, the dialectal base is the northern Tosk of Korçë, although elements from other dialects are included. Byron (1976b, 74–75) has shown that twenty of the twenty-seven top post-War communist officials were Tosks. As in Xhuvani (1905/1980a), rhotacism and stressed schwa (for Geg nasals) were adopted, but other more locally southern Tosk features such as *lnj* for first singular *n*-stem verbs were not. The artificial accommodation of differing dialect forms articulated in point two was not employed, but some distinctly Geg lexical items and productive morphemes were adopted, e. g., Geg *i besueshëm* ‘believable’ (rather than Tosk *i besuar*) but Tosk *[i] besuar* ‘believed’ [adj.]/participle (rather than Geg *[i] besue[m]*), and both Geg *besues* and Tosk *besonjës* for ‘believer’, Geg *i vetë* ‘one’s own’ (Byron 1976b, 86; 117). Final devoicing is not prescribed or spelled.

4.5. Albanian had no official status in Yugoslavia until after World War Two. After the Tito-Stalin break of 1948, which froze relations between Albania and Yugoslavia, and especially after the Albanian League of Writers declaration of 1952, Albanians in Yugoslavia continued to work independently on the codification of a standard based on Geg. In 1952, at an Albanological Congress in Prishtina, Albanian intellectuals in Yugoslavia enunciated their commitment to the development of a literary language based on Geg (Pipa 1989, 4; Byron 1985, 71). Ismajli (1997) makes the point that at the 1952 conference in Prishtina there were also those in favor of pursuing a unified standard, but cooperation between

Tirana and Prishtina was impossible at that time. Moreover, it should be noted that, then as now, there was considerable difference of opinion concerning what the unified standard should look like. Ismajli (1998, 218) has also argued that the 1964 Orthographic Handbook published in Prishtina was a step in the direction of congruence with that of 1956 published in Tirana, i.e., the ground for unification was being laid before the decision of 1968 (see 4.6.).

4.6. The Yugoslav government attempted to encourage a sense of separate ethnic identity among the Albanians living on its territories by insisting that there were two nationalities with two languages: *albanci* who spoke *albanski* in Albania and *šiptari* who spoke *šiptarski* in Yugoslavia (Ismajli 1998, 64–72). The form *šiptar* is based on the Albanian ethnonym *shqiptar*, but in South Slavic it has become pejorative. Albanians were also living under unsatisfactory social and economic conditions, cut off from developments in Albania and under pressure from Serbo-Croatian as the official language of the federal state and also of the Republic of Serbia, within which Kosovo was an autonomous region, (and in Macedonia under dual pressure from Macedonian as the republic language and Serbo-Croatian as the dominant federal language).

4.7. In 1968, this situation resulted in Kosovar Albanian demands that Kosovo be elevated to republic status, which was not granted, although other concessions were made, e.g., the establishment of various educational institutions. That same year a linguistic conference was held in Prishtina at which Kosovar intellectuals resolved to adopt the Tosk-based standard of Albania (Raka 1988, 46). This move was prompted by fears of Slavic assimilation and by a desire to place ethnic unity above regional interests. In November 1972, an orthography conference in Tirana attended by representatives from Italy and Macedonia as well as Kosovo and Albania fixed the conventions of what was known as *gjuha unifikuara*, ‘the unified language’ (Byron 1979). It should also be noted that Geg-speakers in the Albanian diaspora did not greet this decision with unanimous approval (e.g., Koligjini 1974), and many diaspora publications continued to use Literary Geg. Important standardizing works appeared in 1976 (Domi et al.; Kostallari et al.) and 1980 (Kostallari et al.). Again, this unified standard did not al-

ways find favor with the Albanian diaspora, as seen in Pipa (1989), which is an extended attack on it. It should also be noted that Kosovar Albanians still view certain Geg features (e.g., phonemic length) as defining a kind of pluricentrism (Zymeri 1991, 3f). In practice the situation in Geg-speaking regions is diglossic – the standard is used in writing and formal contexts, Geg is used informally and colloquially. The youngest educated generation, however, has much better control over the standard and switches back and forth between dialect and standard freely.

## 5. Minority languages

5.1. According to the 1961 census, minorities constituted 5% of the Peoples Republic of Albania: 40000 Greeks (2.4%), 15000 Macedonians and Montenegrins (0.9%), 10000 Aromanians (Vlahs, 0.6%), 10000 Roms (Gypsies, 0.6%), and small groups of Jews (presumably speakers of Judezmo and/or Judeo-Greek) and Armenians (Ortakovski 1997, 112). The 1989 census recorded only 2.03% of the population as belonging to minorities: 58758 Greeks, 4697 Macedonians, and 1262 Other (Schukalla 1993, 506). In 1991, the remaining Jews of Albania emigrated to Israel (Schukalla 1993, 516). The 2001 census did not record ethnicity, mother tongue, or religion, and both Macedonian and Greek organizations in Albania announced a boycott of that census as a result (Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty Newline Vol. 5, No. 72, Part II, 12 April 2001). Missing from all these accounts are the Turks, some of whom left Albania for Macedonia in 1991 (*Birlik* 16 March 1991, p. 6). As in all other Balkan countries, activists belonging to various minority groups claim numbers considerably higher than the official census figures: Greek claims are as high as 400000, Vlah claims are as high as 300000, Macedonian claims vary from 150000 to 300000, and Romani up to 100000 (Arbrahams 1995, 126f; Cvetanovski 2001; Schukalla 1993, 506). While activist claims must be viewed with caution, Albanian census figures on minorities are improbably low. In the case of Macedonian, only the Christian Macedonian-speakers of Lower Prespa are counted, whereas there are villages with Macedonian-speakers all along the region bordering Greek Macedonia, the Republic of Macedonia, up to the Gora re-

gion, which extends into Kosovo. In addition to rural minorities, there are speakers of minority languages in many Albanian towns.

5.2. Particularly problematic in activist claims is the difference between ethnic identity and mother tongue. Claims to minority ethnic identity can be made on the basis of ancestry rather than mother tongue. Moreover, religion can have an influence on attitudes toward identity. Thus, for example, Macedonian-speaking Christians in Vrbnik (Vërnik) refer to Orthodox Albanian-speakers as *nash* 'ours' but do not consider Macedonian-speaking Muslims as *nash*, nor do those Muslims tend to identify as ethnic Macedonians (Christina Kramer, personal communication). The Gorans, who are also Muslim, have a separate identity. The Goran dialects used to be classed with Serbian, but have more recently been assigned to Macedonian, and Gorans themselves recognize that their dialects are closer to Macedonian than to Serbian. The overwhelming majority of Vlachs are Orthodox. As such, they have access to Greek identity (based on religion) as well as Romanian (based on the closeness of Aromanian to Daco-Romanian). Attitudes toward Greek and Romanian identity are also shaped by the availability of resources (Schwandner-Sievers 1999).

5.3. Minority language education in Albania is available on a limited basis. Education in Greek is available through grade four and in bilingual Greek/Albanian classes through grade eight, but only in certain legally defined locations in the south. Macedonian education is available through grade four, but only in the southwest. According to Cunia (1999, 68), an Aromanian-language class in Albania (presumably Korça) began in 1998, and Schwandner-Sievers (1999, 9) reports the existence of Aromanian-language classes in Korça and Tirana. There have also been efforts at Romani-language education and media in Albania.

## 6. Current issues

6.1. With the so-called fall of communism the question of reintroducing standard Geg as a co-equal variant with the current Tosk-based standard – or at least modifying the unified standard by introducing more Geg elements – was raised at a special conference entitled 'The national literary language and the Albanian world today' Tirana, 20–21 November, 1992. These proposals were

opposed by Kosovar representatives, who argued that a unified literary standard is necessary for national unity, and even went so far as to suggest that moves toward restructuring or introducing pluricentrism were Slav-inspired attempts to divide the Albanian people (Vinca 1995, 36–39).

6.2. At the Scholarly Conference held in conjunction with the Seventeenth International Seminar for Albanian Language, Literature, and Culture (16–31 August, Tirana 1995), a number of papers proposed some level of reintroduction of standard Geg, e.g., Beci (1995, 206), who compared linguistic pluralism with political pluralism and argued that the use of standard Geg would lead to true, rather than imposed, national unity. Others continued to stress the need for linguistic unity as a reflection of national unity, although this emphasis did not in and of itself preclude some sort of reconstruction of the norm (Bajçinca 1995). Again it was the Kosovar representatives who stressed unity while those proposing restructuring or pluricentrism were from northern Albania, especially Shkodër. On the side of restructuring, Çeliku (1995, 215–16) made the following recommendations: 1) Simplification of the orthographic rules (e.g., omitting unstressed schwa); 2) A greater congruence between modern orthography and orthoepy in general, but also with northern orthoepy in particular; 3) Improvement in the orthography of words of foreign origin; 4) Rewriting some chapters connected with daily practice; 5) Definition of the principles on which Albanian orthography is based, including the definition of the principles of the Orthographic Handbook (e.g., if a morphological or historical principle is used to justify the writing of final unstressed schwa, then it should also be applied to the indication length); 6) Redefinition of the boundaries of the norm and of normative tendencies and its function (e.g., including more Geg elements).

6.3. During the 1970's and 1980's there was a significant puristic movement in Albania that sought to eliminate as many foreign elements as possible, and Turkisms were a particular focus of that campaign (Kostallari et al. 1973; Mehdiu 1983). In Albanian, as in other Balkan languages, Turkisms are characteristic of colloquial style and are also used for pejoration, historical flavor, and local color. As in other ex-communist Balkan countries, the rise of political

pluralism has seen the rehabilitation of Turkisms in journalistic and other styles. The logic of the rehabilitation was that if such words were relegated to the colloquial level during the communist period, their rehabilitation must be democratic. The language of the press, however, has also been the object of puristic and normative criticisms. Complaints generally focus on the excessive use of loanwords from Western languages, on differences between prescribed and colloquial pronunciation (e.g. prescribed clear /l/ vs. colloquial velar /l/), and on the violation of grammatical norms when using them. Particularly interesting is a tendency to treat proper names as indeclinable (Shvarc 2002).

6.4. In a recent move with distinct political implications, the Ministry of Education of Albania on 2 May 2001 approved a history textbook intended for use in elementary schools both within and beyond the borders of Albania, i.e., in former Yugoslavia. Responding to the obvious implication of one government's producing such a book intended for elementary schools in neighboring countries in an international political climate of instability and potential irredentism, Minister Ethem Ruka claimed the book would make it easier for Albanian-speakers outside of Albania to attend institutions of higher learning in Albania "where the two main Albanian dialects were standardized in 1972" (Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty Newslines Vol. 5, No. 86, Part II, 4 May 2001). While it is unclear whether this distortion of the adoption of standard Albanian outside of Albania (with the resulting production of textbooks in standard Albanian in former Yugoslavia and the relevant successors) is the fault of Minister Ruka or some journalist, the entire event represents a striking example of the instrumentalization of language in a context with clear extra-linguistic implications.

## 7. Conclusion

From a sociolinguistic point of view, Albania remains a country concerned with language as a vehicle of national unity. Although it gives greater recognition to minorities than its southern neighbor (Greece) it is not on the level of its eastern neighbor (Macedonia). Differences between Geg and Tosk remain salient, and issues relating to maintaining or restructuring the standard continue to evoke engaged responses.

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## 184. Greece and Cyprus / Griechenland und Zypern

1. Background
2. Minority languages in Greece
3. Cyprus
4. Literature (selected)

### 1. Background

Greek is the only surviving member of the Hellenic branch of the Indo-European family. The Ancient Greek dialects were subject to levelling, leading to the formation of an interdialectal koiné, and modern Greek varieties are almost all descended from this (Browning 1969). The only descendant of Ancient Greek is Modern Greek: Greek is thus an Abstand language, in the sense of Kloss (1967) and Trudgill (1992a), and can be considered a separate language for purely linguistic reasons with-

out cultural, political and historical factors having to be resorted to as for Ausbau languages (Trudgill 1992c). The status of Greek as an Abstand language has significance for Greek identity. For most native speakers of Greek, ethnicity is an unproblematic concept: Greeks are those whose mother tongue is Greek, whether they are citizens of Greece or not. It is difficult for many Greeks to conceive of situations where language and ethnicity might be problematical or indeterminate. The unique Greek alphabet is also a factor in strengthening Greeks' perception of themselves and their language as being unambiguously distinct from all other peoples and languages. The only exceptions to this perception are those native speakers of Greek who are Moslems; speakers of Pontic Greek who have remained in northeast-

ern Turkey; and the Cretan speakers in a number of communities in Lebanon and Syria.

### 1.1. Variation in modern Greek

Two varieties of Greek are sufficiently different that linguists might want to suggest that they are actually separate languages. Tsakonian (see Newton 1972b), spoken in the eastern Peloponnese, is descended from Ancient Greek but *not* by way of the koiné. It is reported to be dying out, but some schools in the area have acknowledged the degree of difference between it and other forms of Greek by providing teaching materials written in Tsakonian. Pontic, although this term originally applied only to the Black Sea varieties of Greek spoken in Georgia and northern Turkey, is now also used to refer to varieties of Greek originating in central areas of Turkey such as Cappadocia (see Dawkins 1916; Sikkenga 1992). These varieties are very different because of a long separation, and influence from other languages, notably Turkish. Regional dialect variation in Greece is not particularly great, though Cypriot Greek (see below) remains very distinctive. Considerable levelling-out of rural dialects in favour of more regional norms is also taking place so that while Cretan Greek strongly retains its characteristic palatalisation of velar consonants before /i/ and /e/, e.g. [tʃɛfali] /kefali/ 'head', there is a falling off in the tendency of northern Greek speakers to lose unstressed /i/ and /u/, and to raise unstressed /e/ and /o/ to /i/ and /u/, e.g. Thessaloniki /θɪsalunik/.

### 1.2. Katharevousa vs Dhimitiki

When Greece achieved independence, a number of solutions were advanced to solve the problem of what form the standard written language of the nation should take. The fact that contemporary vernacular Greek had been relegated to the status of a spoken language only (with the exception of some popular verse) came to be perceived as a problem. Two main solutions were advanced. The purifiers, led by Adamantios Korais (1743–1833), recommended that a modern Greek should be formed gradually by taking the current spoken vernacular and cleansing it of Turkish loans and regional dialect features. The result of this approach was a Greek known as the *Katharevousa* or 'purifying' language. This form of Greek has never been codified, but there were already

at that time people who were employing a haphazard mixture of Ancient, New Testament, Byzantine and modern vernacular Greek in their writings while trying to avoid the use of loanwords, particularly borrowings from Turkish. The second approach represented a populist tendency which advocated the use of the everyday vernacular. Especially important here was Yannis Psicharis (1854–1929), who wanted to establish a codified version of vernacular spoken, demotic Greek as the only national language. This came to be known as *Dhimitiki*. He carried out no codification, but his famous novel *To Taxidhi Mou* [My Journey] (1888), the first literary prose work to be published in Dhimitiki, was extremely influential. His language was a levelled vernacular form which had developed from dialect-mixing in the Peloponnese, the first area of Greece to be liberated, and especially in Nafplion, the capital, as Greeks flocked into this area to fight the Turks and enjoy independence. This koiné also became the dominant form of spoken Greek in Athens, replacing the original local dialect when it was later made the capital. Psicharis' approach received considerable support, particularly from the 1880's onwards, from intellectuals who were disenchanted with the artificiality of Katharevousa, its educational difficulties, and its lack of literary success. After Psicharis' novel, there was a rapid move to use Dhimitiki in nearly all novels, poems and plays. Most of the sociolinguistic problems in Greece this century have had to do with the tensions of diglossia, with Katharevousa as the High and Dhimitiki as the Low variety (Ferguson 1954), and the replacement of Katharevousa by Dhimitiki in non-literary spheres. The struggle between the two forms of Greek has often been bitter, with governments intervening to impose one or the other in schools, depending on their political complexion: Katharevousa was associated symbolically with classical Hellenism, the monarchy, Orthodox Christianity, and right-wing politics; Dhimitiki was associated with republicanism, democracy, and left-wing politics. Because of its close association with the discredited military junta that was overthrown in 1974, Katharevousa has now more or less completely disappeared from the Greek scene, though not without having exerted some influence on the actual linguistic form of Dhimitiki, now known as Standard Modern Greek. Greece is no longer diglossic.



## 2. Minority languages in Greece

Much of the history of Greece since independence in 1832 has revolved around the fact that a majority of native Greek-speakers at that time still remained unliberated in areas under Ottoman rule. One of the major themes of modern Greek history has been the 'Megali Idea' or 'Great Idea': that the borders of Greece should be expanded to include all ethnic Greeks. In 1881, Thessaly and southern Epirus, areas which were inhabited predominantly by Greek speakers, were acquired. In 1913, Greece obtained Crete and most of the other predominantly Greek-speaking islands of the Aegean. It also acquired most of the rest of Epirus and a large area of formerly Ottoman Macedonia. The population rose to 4 800 000. For the first time, large numbers non-Greeks were included within the frontiers. In 1913, Greeks constituted only 43% of the population of Greek Macedonia (Clogg 1979, 121), which had large populations of Slavs and Turks, as well as Greek-speaking Moslems whose ethnic loyalties were not at all clear. At the same time, many ethnic Greeks still remained outside Greece, in northern Epirus (Albania); in Thrace and Constantinople; and in Anatolia, where there were between 1 and 1.5 million of them. The 1923 Treaty of Lausanne allowed Greece to expand its frontiers into western Thrace, which was only 17% Greek, but it also provided for a compulsory exchange of populations. People of the Greek Orthodox religion living in Turkey had to leave for Greece, and Moslems living in Greece had to leave for Turkey. The only exceptions to these exchanges were the Turks of western Thrace and the Greeks of Constantinople, who were allowed to remain as protected minorities. About 380 000 Moslems left Greece, and there were also many Slavs who left Greek Macedonia and Thrace. About 1 100 000 Greeks arrived in Greece from Turkey, and Greek refugees also arrived from Bulgaria and Russia. This influx had the effect of raising the Greek population of Greek Macedonia to about 89% of the total, and that of western Thrace to about 62%. The total population of Greece in 1928 was 6 200 000. Today it is approximately 10 million. Modern Greece has always been a multilingual country. Accurate information on how multilingual it is is very difficult to obtain: no Greek census since

1951 has included questions about language. There has also been a certain distortion in some of the academic research on this topic brought about by anti-minority Greek nationalism. Karakasidou (1993) says, on the work of some Greek academics into the Slavophone minority: "The extremist and militant tone of most articles is alarming. It is striking that much of the rhetoric coming out of Greece [...] has progressed markedly little beyond the simplistic and reductionist notions that inflamed the Balkan Crisis at the turn of the century" (p. 17). In 1994, the International Helsinki Federation for Human Rights issued a report extremely critical of the Greek state's treatment of minorities (see *The Guardian* May 12). It cites harassment of Slavs in the northwest of the country; the refusal of Greek authorities to cooperate with international bodies concerned with minority rights; and the prosecution six times in the space of four years of a Greek Slav for claiming that Greece has a Slavic minority. In 1998, the Greek Foreign Minister, Theodoros Pangalos, publicly denied the existence of a Slavo-Macedonian minority in Greece (Friedman 1999). The Helsinki report also mentions multiple prosecutions of a former Turkish Greek MP from western Thrace for referring to himself as Turkish: within Greek society there is a common failure to distinguish between citizenship and ethnicity; and recent prosecutions seem to indicate that members of the Turkish-speaking minority are permitted to identify themselves as 'Moslems' but not as 'Turks'.

### 2.1. Romany

Romany is spoken by many of the Gypsies in Greece. Many of them are monolingual (see Tressou-Milona 1992), and small-scale projects are under way in some areas to bring literacy in both Greek and Romany to the children of some Romany groups. Other Greek Rom are native speakers of Bulgarian. The Commission of the EC reports a figure of 20 000 Gypsies in Greek Thrace alone. How many of them actually speak Romany, however, is not known (Lunden 1993, guesses 10 000).

### 2.2. Ladino

In 1912, speakers of Ladino (Judaeo-Spanish/Sephardic) were the largest single linguistic group in Thessaloniki, outnumbering Greeks and Slavs. In 1928, Ladino was

the third largest minority language in Greece after Turkish and Slavic – the census shows 65 000 speakers – and there were thriving communities of speakers in Thessaloniki and other towns. Most of its speakers were exterminated during the Second World War. The 1951 census had 1300 speakers of ‘Spanish’ in Greece, while Lunden (1993) suggests a current figure of about 5000.

### 2.3. Armenian

Census figures suggest that there were 30 000 Armenian speakers in Greece in 1928 and 9000 in 1951 – many Armenian speakers had by then emigrated to Armenia. The current situation is unknown, but a community of Armenian speakers survives in Thessaloniki and produces a small number of publications in that language (Mackridge 1985) – the only non-Greek-speaking language community in Greece to do so apart from the Turkish speakers.

### 2.4. Arumanian

Varieties of Balkan Romance spoken in the southern Balkans are generally referred to by linguists (see Mallinson 1988) as (a) *Arumanian* for those varieties found in the Pindus mountains and Thessaly, and (b) *Megleno-Rumanian* for those varieties spoken in Macedonia. Speakers of these varieties are known as *Vlachs* and are also to be found elsewhere in the Balkans (Nandris 1987; Scarlatiou 1992). The origins of the Vlachs remain mysterious (see Winnifrith 1987), but it seems most likely that they are Romanised descendants of some original Balkan population group, perhaps the ancestors of the Albanians, who escaped Slavification as a result of geographical isolation and a nomadic life-style, and who migrated south from the originally Latin speaking areas of the northern Balkans. In historical times the Greek Vlachs have traditionally been mountain-dwelling transhumant shepherds. The largest concentration is in the Pindus, focusing on Metsovo, the only major town which is now Vlach-speaking. The number of speakers of *Vlachika*, as it is called in Greek, is difficult to determine, for the reasons outlined above and because of their migratory life-style. Census returns and other sources suggest a population in Greece today of at least 50 000. A somewhat submerged ethnic identity has been accompanied by language shift in modern times,

and many younger Vlachs now have only passive competence in the language. However, a majority of the inhabitants of Metsovo still speak *Vlachika*, and in nearby Anelio the children are mostly fluent native speakers (Winnifrith 1993).

### 2.5. Arvanitika

The position of the Albanian-speaking minority in Greece is very similar to that of the Vlachs, in that their sense of separate identity is weak and their feelings of connection with Albania mostly non-existent. They are Christians – at least 20 000 Moslem Albanians, mostly from northern Greece, have left the country since the 1920's – and this aids their sense of identification with Greek culture; many Albanian-Greeks have played a prominent role in modern Greek life. Linguistically, their language is clearly a variety of Albanian; mutual intelligibility is usually possible – problems are caused mainly by the usage of Greek loanwords. Nevertheless, Greeks have adopted the practice of referring to the language of this minority not as *Alvanika* (“Albanian”) but as *Arvanitika*, and the people themselves not as Albanians but as *Arvanites* (singular *Arvanitis*). (Writers in English sometimes use the term *Arberol*.) This, as in the case of *Vlachika*, has the effect of implying that Arvanitika is an autonomous language – a language which though not Greek is a ‘language of Greece’ – rather than a dialect of Albanian, the national language of a neighbouring country (see Trudgill 1992b). The Arvanites have been in what is now Greece since mediaeval times (see Trudgill/Tzavaras 1977), and the biggest concentration is in the areas where they were formerly dominant – Attica, Biotia and much of the Peloponnese (see Williams 1992); many of the suburbs of Athens are or were until recently Arvanitika-speaking: politicians electioneering in Attica up until the 1880's used Arvanitika in their public speeches. The 1951 census gives a figure of 23 000, but this is certainly too small. There are complications due to the fact that nearly all Arvanites are now bilingual and many younger members of the community no longer speak the language (Tsitsipis 1983). But my own research in the 1970's in the villages of Attica and Biotia alone indicated a figure of at least 30 000 speakers (see Trudgill/Tzavaras 1975; 1977). Lunden (1993) suggests 50 000 for Greece as a whole.

## 2.6. Slavic

The Slavs are the minority who have been regarded with the greatest suspicion by centralising and hellenising Greek governments. They occupy an area that was incorporated into Greece only in 1912, and in spite of the fact that under the Ottoman Empire many of them thought of themselves as 'Greeks' (when that term could be taken to mean simply 'Orthodox Christians'), their occupation of areas bordering on other countries has been perceived as providing a threat to the territorial integrity of Greece. Large areas of northern Greece have been predominantly Slavic speaking for 1200 years or so, until the present century. The first Slavic literary language, Old Church Slavonic, was based on the Slavic spoken in the region of Thessaloniki. Under the Ottoman Empire, Slavic continued to predominate in northern Greece. As recently as 1892, schools in Kastoria (Slavic *Kostur*) prepared teaching materials in the local Slavic dialect for use with pupils. It is estimated that in 1913 there were somewhere between 300000 and 500000 Slavic speakers in Greece (see Breatnach 1991), including a sizeable Slavic-speaking minority in Thessaloniki. According to the Treaty of Neuilly, Greece undertook to defend the rights of national minorities within its borders and in the 1920 Treaty of Sèvres promised to open schools for minority language pupils. In 1925, the government submitted copies of a school primer, which was written in Slavic for use with Slavic minority pupils and published by the Ministry of Education, to the League of Nations as evidence that they were carrying out these obligations. This tolerant attitude did not last long. During the 1930's, under the dictatorship of Metaxas, education in Slavic was made illegal, as indeed was the use of Slavic for any purpose, including the speaking of Slavic in the home. Slavic speakers were fined and imprisoned for speaking their own language. Slavic family names were also compulsorily changed to Greek ones (Hill 1992). Between 1924 and 1935, the communist party of Greece advocated autonomy or independence for Greek Macedonia, which aroused considerable opposition and hostility towards Slavs from the political right. During the Greek Civil War, there was considerable support for the anti-government forces in the Slavic-speaking areas. The defeat of the Left was a dis-

aster for Slavic-speaking Greeks, and large numbers fled to Yugoslavia or overseas. At least 250000 Slavic speakers have left Greece during the course of this century. The official Greek census figures show a Slavic-speaking population of about 100000 in 1928 and 1940, and about 60000 in 1951. Estimates for the current Slavomacedonian-speaking minority in Greece range from 60000 to 90000. In Greek Macedonia today, Slavic speakers are almost all bilingual in Greek and Macedonian. Slavomacedonian-speakers are often not permitted to dance their dances or sing their folk-songs in public. And approaches by Macedonian-speakers to the European community have been met by personal reprisals on the part of the Greek civil service (Karaskidou 1993, 13). Current estimates (see Lunden 1993) suggest a Slavic-speaking population in Greek Macedonia of about 50000. Kaskaridou estimates that 80% of the population of the Florina area of northwestern Greece are either Macedonian-speaking or descended from Slavic-speaking families. There is also a community of Slavic speakers in Greek Thrace. This is a Bulgarian-speaking Moslem community known as the Pomaks, 20000 strong in 1951, perhaps 10000 today (some estimates suggest as many as 40000), who live in the area around Xanthi. As Moslems, they receive their education in Turkish and tend to send their children to Turkey for their higher education (Lunden 1993). There are also Gypsies who are native Bulgarian speakers.

## 2.7. Turkish

Hundreds of thousands of Turkish speakers left Greece in the period 1821–1923. In the Peloponnese, they had constituted more than 10% of the population in 1820 (Clogg 1979, 35). Today most Turkish speakers in Greece are in western (Greek) Thrace (Sella-Mazi 1992). Here, alone of all Greek minorities, they have protected status, with rights to practise their religion and to use their language, including in the education system, as a result of the Treaty of Lausanne. They also elect members to the national parliament in Athens. It is sometimes difficult to distinguish between Turks and the Slavic-speaking Pomaks, who tend to be able to speak Turkish as well. Census returns give figures for native Turkish speakers of 190000 in 1928, 230000 in 1940, and 180000 in 1951. They look to Istanbul rather than Athens

for many purposes, and young people go there to study rather than to universities in Greece. There are also sizeable and long-standing but officially unrecognised communities of Moslem Turkish-speakers on the islands of Rhodes and Kos.

### 3. Cyprus

The island of Cyprus is situated about 800 kilometres to the east of mainland Greece, in the eastern Mediterranean. Its location is of strategic importance – 75 km south of Turkey, 100 km west of Syria, and 380 km north of Egypt. Even though Cyprus has maintained cultural and social links with Greece for more than 1500 years, its historical development is distinct, and this has had important social, cultural, political and linguistic implications. Cyprus was successively colonised by Assyrians, Persians, Greeks, Romans, Arabs, Venetians, Turkish and finally the British. Cyprus was a part of the Roman empire from 58 BC till 395 AD and under Byzantine rule from 395 till 1191. The Arabs invaded the island in 647 and Cyprus was subsequently divided between the Byzantine emperor and Arab Caliphs for more than five hundred years. Cyprus then came under Lusignan and Venetian rule before being conquered by the Turks in 1571. During the three centuries of Ottoman rule, the Turkish Cypriots emerged as an ethnic group in their own right, differing from the Greek Cypriot community not only in language and religion but also in their cultural and historical links to Turkey. The Ottoman occupation lasted until 1878 when the British took over the administration and declared Cyprus a British crown colony. Cyprus finally achieved political independence in 1960 (Hill 1972). Before the Turkish occupation of the northern part of Cyprus (about 37% of the total area) in 1974, the Greek and Turkish communities had coexisted for more than four centuries, but despite “considerable intermingling the two communities remained separate and distinct ethnic groups” (Joseph 1990, 26). The 1974 invasion led to massive sociological, demographic and socio-economic changes in the island community. The two ethnic groups were separated by military force, the 100 000 Turkish Cypriots being concentrated in the Turkish-occupied area and the Greek Cypriots in the southern part (today’s *Republic of Cyprus*); the borderline between the Turkish and

Greek zones is currently controlled by a UN peace corps. The present island population of 725 000 consists of 81,6% Greek Cypriots and 18,4% Turkish Cypriots; it is estimated that approximately 200 000 Cypriots of Greek descent were forced to leave the Turkish occupied zone. Language, religion and political orientation are the central factors in the definition of Cypriot identity.

#### 3.1. Cypriot Greek

Cypriot Greek, which has a certain amount of regional variation, is markedly different from Standard Greek not only for historical reasons but also because of geographical isolation, different settlement patterns, and extensive contact with typologically distinct languages. The syntax of Cypriot Greek is almost identical with that of Standard Greek, but there are differences in morphology and considerable differences in lexicon and phonology (Papapavlou 1994). The main phonological differences include the presence in Cypriot of palato-alveolar affricates, and of geminate consonants, including in word-initial position (Newton 1972). Although the differences in syntax, morphology and phonology are not enormous, the Cypriot dialect and Standard Greek are not particularly readily intelligible (Papapavlou 1994), probably mostly because the lexicon of Cypriot has significantly more lexical items of non-Greek origin (Chatzoyannou 1936). The long-lasting intercultural relationships between the local population and the various colonising powers resulted in extensive borrowing. Lexical borrowings from Turkish are numerous (Pavlu 1993), reflecting the fact that the two communities coexisted rather peacefully for four centuries and that, prior to the Turkish occupation of the northern area, mixing and interaction between Greek and Turkish Cypriots was by no means exceptional. Indeed, very many Turkish Cypriots were (and still are) fluent speakers of Cypriot Greek, which played an important role as a vernacular lingua franca. Extensive and durable contacts between Cypriot Greek and Arabic communities likewise resulted in the adoption of Arabic words. Browning (1969) believes that it was the island’s shared administration by Arab caliphs and Byzantine emperors that marked the beginning of the distinct linguistic development of Cypriot Greek. Chatzoyannou (1936) argues that the Arabic-speaking Maronite community (see below)

introduced large numbers of loan words from their native language into the lexicon of Cypriot Greek. As for English loanwords, Papapavlou (1994) estimates that at least 420 have found their way into the lexicon of Cypriot Greek. These loanwords mostly come from the domains of technology, commerce, sports, entertainment and fashion. In the south today, bidialectalism in Greek Cypriot and Standard Modern Greek is very widespread. All Greek Cypriots are native-speakers of the Greek Cypriot dialect, which has an important role in symbolising Cypriot identity and has been rather strongly maintained in the overseas diaspora, as in the Greek Cypriot community in London (Karyolemou 1997), and the dialect is used by most Greek Cypriots in their everyday lives for most purposes. The coexistence and functional specialisation of the two varieties resemble classic diglossia (Ferguson 1959): Standard Greek functions as the H variety and Greek Cypriot as the L variety (Moschonas 1996). Standard Greek, albeit in a recognisably Cypriot form, is the medium of instruction in both primary and secondary education, as well as the language used in radio, television and newspapers (Papapavlou 1994). It is of special symbolic significance for those who wish to stress their historical and cultural links with Greece. It is used in formal (especially public) situations, and in interaction with Greeks and foreigners who know Greek. The usage of Standard Greek is socially stratified (Sciriha 1996), and Cypriot pre-school children of middle and upper classes are reported to have more favourable attitudes towards Standard Greek than working class children (Pavlou 1997). Cypriots with little formal education have comparatively little competence in Standard Greek.

### 3.2. Cypriot Turkish

In the northern Turkish Cypriot community, the markedly distinct Turkish Cypriot dialect is spoken natively by all indigenous Turks, while Standard Turkish is learnt in school, resulting in the north too in a diglossic relationship between the local variety and Standard Turkish. Since 1974, Cypriot Turkish has increasingly come to symbolise Cypriot identity in opposition to the Turkish spoken by the (estimated 80 000) Anatolian Turks who have been encouraged by the Turkish government to move into the Turkish-occupied zone. We can conclude

that Cyprus, in both the Greek and the Turkish zones, is one of the most dialect-speaking places in Europe.

### 3.3. Minority languages in Cyprus

Three minority languages are spoken: Arabic, Romany and Armenian. Until 1974, the approximately 5000 Arabic-speaking Maronites lived in the geographically isolated north-eastern Kormataki peninsula, but all but about 500 of them moved south to the Greek zone when the Turkish authorities closed down their secondary schools. The Maronites have a history of being bilingual in Arabic and Cypriot Greek (Newton 1964), but Arabic is now less strongly maintained in the southern diaspora. The presence of this Maronite community on the island dates back to the period between the 9<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> centuries (Roth 1986). Most of the linguistic traits of Cypriot Arabic are shared with the sedentary dialects of Greater Syria, but it has also received considerable influence from the phonology of Cypriot Greek. It has, too, a somewhat reduced morphology, and is characterised by the presence of numerous Greek loans in the lexis (Versteegh 1997, 212–213; Borg 1985). The Cypriot Gypsies are Muslims and live mostly in the north, speaking Romany in their homes and maintaining, except for well-known singers and musicians, a rather concealed ethnic identity. Their vernacular does not seem to be under threat from either Cypriot Turkish or Standard Turkish (Ian Hancock, pers. com.). The Armenians arrived in Cyprus in the aftermath of the pogroms in Turkey in the 1920's, and it is estimated that there are about 2000 Armenians living in the south of Cyprus at the moment (Goutsos, pers. com.). The Armenian community is bilingual, Armenian being spoken at home and Cypriot Greek elsewhere. English has an important tradition as a second language in the Republic of Cyprus. The island was a British crown colony for 82 years (Great Britain still operates two RAF bases on the island, the only places in the south where Turkish road signs are still to be seen) and today the (largely British-based) tourist industry is a main source of income. Before 1974, English served as a *lingua franca* in communication, including public political discourse, between the Greek and Turkish elites. When Cyprus declared its political independence in 1960, both Greek and Turkish gained the status of *de jure* official lan-

guages in Cyprus. English, however, continued to serve as the language used in administration, higher education and civil service (Ioannou 1991). Following the Turkish invasion and the subsequent demographic changes, English has generally ousted Turkish and is now *de facto* an official language in the Republic of Cyprus. Even though only a small minority speak English as their a native tongue (1,3% according to the 1992 census), English is very visible, in road signs and public notices for example, and proficiency is certainly much higher than in many other European countries. In elite Greek Cypriot households code-switching between Cypriot Greek and English is not uncommon.

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## 185. Central Asia and Mongolia / Zentralasien und Mongolei

1. The geographical area
2. Linguistic groups
3. Languages involved; genetic relationships
4. Sociolinguistic history
5. Language contacts and multi-lingualism
6. Standard languages and dialect variation
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12. Literature (selected)

### 1. The geographical area

The area stretches from the borders of Turkey in the west, over the western parts of Central Asia, up to the borders of China in the east. The states included are, from west to east, Azerbaijan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and Mongo-

lia. The first five are former Soviet republics; Mongolia is a former Soviet client state.

The Republic of Azerbaijan constitutes the easternmost part of Transcaucasia. It borders on the Russian Federation in the north, Iran in the south, Armenia in the west and Georgia in the northwest.

The Republic of Turkmenistan is located in the Transcaspian region. It borders on Iran and Afghanistan in the south, Uzbekistan in the east and Kazakhstan in the north.

The Republic of Uzbekistan occupies the major part of Transoxiana. It has common borders with Turkmenistan, Kazakhstan, Afghanistan, Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan. Karakalpakistan, which comprises the northwestern part (about one third) of Uzbekistan's territory, is an autonomous republic with a special status.

The large Republic of Kazakhstan is situated at the core of the West Eurasian steppe girdle. It borders on Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan and China in the south, and the Russian Federation in the north and west.

The Republic of Kyrgyzstan borders on Uzbekistan and Tajikistan in the south and west, Kazakhstan in the north and west, and China in the southeast.

The Republic of Mongolia borders on the Russian Federation in the north and on China in the west, south and east.

## 2. Linguistic groups

Azerbaijan has about 7.7 million inhabitants, comprising at least 85% Azerbaijanians, 4% Russians and 2% Armenians.

About 75% of Turkmenistan's 4.5 million population are Turkmen; the rest are Russians, Uzbeks, Kazakhs, etc.

Uzbekistan has about 23 million inhabitants. Two thirds are Uzbeks, of whom 98% regard Uzbek as their mother tongue. The remainder consists of Russians (6%), Tajiks (4.5%), Kazakhs (4%), Tatars, Kirghiz, Koreans etc. Karakalpak only make up 2% of the population.

Around 45% of Kazakhstan's 17 million inhabitants are Kazakhs; the rest are Russians, Ukrainians, Germans, Uzbeks etc.

Kyrgyzstan has over 4.5 million inhabitants. Kirghiz make up over 2.5 million; the rest are Russians, Uzbeks, Ukrainians, Tatars, Germans, Kazakhs, Dungans, Tajiks, Uyghurs and Koreans.

Mongolia has about 2.5 million inhabitants. Khalkha speakers are the dominant group (76.2%). Other Mongolic groups include Buryats (2.8%) and Oyrats. The Turkic groups (6.5%) mainly consist of Kazakhs and so-called Uriyankhai groups, which speak Tuvan varieties.

## 3. Languages, involved genetic relationships

Azerbaijani (*azərbaycanca*) is spoken by nearly 20 million in the Republic of Azerbaijan and in Southern Azerbaijan (northwestern Iran). Similar dialects are spoken in eastern Turkey, northern Iraq, Georgia, and Armenia. Turkmen (*türkmençe*) is spoken by over 3.8 million people in Turkmenistan, as well as in Iran, Afghanistan, Kazakhstan

and Uzbekistan. Both languages belong to the southwestern (Oghuz) branch of the Turkic family, which also includes Turkish of Turkey.

Uzbek (*uzbekcha*) is spoken by over 18 million in Uzbekistan, but also in parts of Tajikistan, Afghanistan, Kyrgyzstan, Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan, and Xinjiang. It belongs, like Uyghur, to the southeastern (Chaghatay) branch of Turkic. Tajik (*tojikī*), a variety of New Persian, is spoken primarily in Tajikistan but also in some regions of Uzbekistan.

Kazakh (*qazaqşa*) is spoken by ca. 10 million in Kazakhstan and in parts of Xinjiang, Uzbekistan, Mongolia, Turkmenistan, Kyrgyzstan, the Russian Federation, Tajikistan and Afghanistan. Karakalpak (*qaraqalpaqşa*), closely related to Kazakh, is spoken by ca. 450,000 persons, mainly in Karakalpakistan. Kirghiz (*qırğızja*) is spoken by about 3 million in Kyrgyzstan and also in parts of Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, Xinjiang, the Russian Federation, Kazakhstan, etc. Kazakh, Karakalpak and Kirghiz belong to the northwestern (Kipchak) branch of Turkic. Related languages include, e. g., Noghay, Tatar, Bashkir and Altay Turkic.

Khalkha (*xalx*), the national language of Mongolia (*mongol xel*), is spoken by ca. 1.9 million people. Varieties of Buryat (*buryād*) are spoken along the Russian border. Oyrat varieties, e. g. Dörböt (*dörwöd*), are spoken in the northwest. Khalkha, Buryat and some dialects spoken in the southeast, e. g. Dariganga, belong to the eastern branch of the Mongolic family, whereas Oyrat belongs to the western branch. Turkic dialects (of Kazakh and Tuvan) are spoken in the north and northwest, particularly in Qobdo.

The most important extraneous language of the whole area is Russian.

## 4. Sociolinguistic history

### 4.1. The pre-Russian period

Since the first millennium A.D., Turkic and Mongolic have largely superseded other languages in the area. Historically, the territory of today's Mongolia is the core region of the Ancient Turks. Turkic-speaking groups moved from the Eurasian steppes into other parts of Central Asia. In the 11th century, the Saljuk Oghuz migrated westwards, establishing a huge empire in the Near East. Their modern descendants include Azer-



baijanians and Turks of Turkey. Due to political and religious differences, these two groups later lived in relative separation from each other for centuries. Turkmen go back to non-Saljuk Oghuz who did not advance farther westwards and absorbed local Turkic and Iranian elements.

The composition of the Uzbek nation is the result of complex ethnic processes. The first element is a settled Turkic-speaking population that has been living for a millennium in symbiosis with originally Iranian elements and assimilated them linguistically. Later elements go back to tribes that remained nomadic or semi-nomadic up to modern times: descendants of (i) an older Turkic population of the area and (ii) the Kipchak tribes that moved into Transoxiana in the 16th century and have been politically dominant ever since.

The titular nation of Kazakhstan goes back to separatist Uzbek tribes that founded a steppe empire from the middle of the 15th century on. The empire later disintegrated into several "hordes".

Today's Kirghiz are at least partly successors of the Old Kirghiz, who settled on the Upper Yenisey and established a steppe empire in the 9th century. The Mongol expansion in the 13th century drove many of them into Western Turkistan and the Tien-shan region. Later the Kirghiz were gradually pushed back by the Mongolic Oyrats and Dzungars.

The diffusion of Turkic became particularly strong after the 13th century Mongol conquests. The Iranian languages of the area were weakened. However, Persian long remained the prestigious language of administration and higher culture, especially in Transoxiana. An intensive Iranic-Turkic bilingualism developed in many areas, e. g. in Transoxiana and Fergana. The importance of Persian later decreased in favour of Chaghatay, a Turkic literary language which was heavily influenced by Persian and which had a considerable cross-regional validity up to the 20th century.

Mongolic-speaking groups began to migrate westward from Manchuria in the 10th century, gradually occupying what is today eastern Mongolia. Later, Oyrat Mongols moved into the regions west of Lake Baykal. The ancestors of the Buryats occupied areas on both sides of the lake. In the 13th century the great Mongol empire was founded by Chinggis Khan. Following a period of inde-

pendent East Mongolian rule in the 14th–16th centuries, the territory of modern Mongolia was part of the Manchu (Qing) empire from the 17th century until 1911. Smaller Turkic-speaking groups moved to Mongolia from neighboring areas from the Manchu period on.

#### 4.2. The pre-Soviet Russian period

The Russian expansion had far-reaching consequences for the whole area. In 1828 Azerbaijan was divided into a northern and a southern part under Russian and Persian rule, respectively. The Azerbaijanian language was treated very differently in the two areas. In the south, its use was discouraged in favour of Persian, whereas the Russian influence was dominant in the north. The beginning of the 20th century saw a certain Turkish impact on the written language and puristic tendencies under Turkish influence.

After century-long advances into the territory, Russia incorporated Kazakhstan in the mid-19th century. In 1880 the Kirghiz territory was annexed; numerous Kirghiz emigrated to China. At the end of the 19th century Russia annexed the Turkmen territory, which caused sizeable Turkmen groups to emigrate to Afghanistan and Iran. Eventually, the Russian impact on the territory of today's Uzbekistan also increased.

#### 4.3. The Soviet period

The 20th century led to a political disintegration of the Turkic world. The administrative division into national territories made contacts between the languages difficult. In the 1920's, Soviet Turkistan was split into a number of socialist republics. In order to suppress Turkic nationalism and Panturkism, Soviet administrative policy also separated closely related linguistic groups from each other.

In the first three decades of the Soviet era, the language policy promoted minority languages. A number of Turkic literary languages were created, and old supraregional languages were restricted to "national" territories. Thus new languages in the sense of modern Azerbaijanian, Turkmen, Uzbek, Kazakh, Karakalpak and Kirghiz emerged. The national languages were developed and given standard forms. Strict official control led to a certain stylistic conformism in the media. The new languages corresponded more closely to spoken varieties on the basis of local dialects. This increased the differ-

ences between them. In default of a common language planning, the languages continued to grow apart.

The following decades were characterised by the idea of a unified Soviet culture; thus minority languages were less respected. The national movements that emerged at the end of the 1980's once again led to an increased prestige of national languages.

The political situation prevented communication with related linguistic groups outside the Soviet republics. The contacts between Turkish and Azerbaijanian had ceased altogether. Azerbaijanian of Iran was not promoted or standardised; on the contrary, there was a ban on its public use. Similarly, speakers of Khorasan Turkic in northern Iran did not have any possibility to develop their language in the 20th century.

Outer Mongolia entered the sphere of Soviet influence in the 1920s and stayed there for seventy years. The area known as Inner Mongolia remained subject to China. The linguistic development in post-revolutionary Mongolia was similar to the development in the Soviet republics, i. e. dictated by the intention to break with the "feudal" past.

#### 4.3.1. Writing systems

Turkic literary languages existing prior to the Soviet era, e. g. Chaghatay, Azerbaijanian and Turkmen, were written in Arabic script, which secured them a more or less broad crossregional validity. In the 1920's the Arabic script was retained or introduced, e. g. for Kirghiz in 1924. In the late 1920's and the early 1930's new Roman-based writing systems were created. The first one was introduced for Azerbaijanian in 1929.

The shift to Cyrillic-based scripts from the late 1930's on was a first measure in order to subordinate the languages to the primacy of Russian. The systems chosen differed a great deal from each other and were often revised. Linguistic contacts were thus restricted by graphic barriers. Written communication between Turkic-speaking groups became problematic, even in cases where oral communication was easy. The repeated script changes also caused serious breaks in the linguistic continuity of each republic.

Mongolian has traditionally been written with the old Mongol script, borrowed from the Uyghurs and still used in Inner Mongolia. The People's Republic of Mongolia first

tried to introduce a Latin-based script, but adopted a Cyrillic-based one in the 1940's. The transition was accompanied by a spelling reform. Later, the teaching of the old script was revived with limited success.

#### 4.3.2. The role of Russian

The impact of Russian has been strong in the whole area. This development started in the new towns founded during the Russian expansion into Central Asia. Russian became the dominant urban idiom, whereas the indigenous languages were dominant in the countryside. The dominance of Russian was an important means of consolidating the empire.

In the Soviet period, Russian achieved a superior status and became increasingly prestigious. In 1938 Russian was made a compulsory subject in Soviet schools. Due to the loss of the transregional Turkic languages, its position was reinforced, and it became the lingua franca for cross-nationality communication. The social status of the indigenous standard languages decreased. Although they fulfilled literary and certain official functions at the local level, Russian was the influential prestige language used in almost all educational, scientific and other public institutions. It served as the cross-national language also in contacts between the Soviet Turkic groups. Problems of understanding emerged between the Soviet Turkic languages and Turkish due to the Russian lexical influence on the former and the numerous neologisms of the latter.

With the changes in the language policy in the 1950's, which aimed at creating a common Soviet identity, Russian was given a still more privileged status and proclaimed the second mother tongue of all minority language speakers. Russian had a dominant status in public life, especially in Kazakhstan.

Russian also had a direct impact on the native standard languages of the area. The need for lexical innovation was mostly covered by loans and calques from Russian. The media published translations of Russian texts in which much of the original terminology was copied. The registers used for official purposes were strongly Russified. A diglossic gap arose between them and the registers of spoken everyday communication.

Similarly, the modernisation of the Khalkha vocabulary took place by means of loans

or calques from Russian and internal word-formation resources, i. e. suffixation, use of archaic and dialectal words, etc. Russian assumed the role of the second language in Mongolia.

### 5. Language contacts and multi-lingualism

The languages of the area have been influenced through various contacts. Multi-ethnic and multilingual environments have been common in Central Asia. Several regions still have numerous plurilingual and plurilectal speakers.

All languages of the Islamic cultural sphere possess numerous words of Arabic-Persian origin, mostly borrowed via Persian. Many elements are inherited from the old literary language Chaghatay.

Azerbaijani has for centuries been in direct contact with Persian, leading to a considerable impact. Turkmen contacts with Persian have also been intensive. In Uzbek, long-standing contacts with Tajik have yielded numerous copied Iranian features in phonology, morphology, lexicon and syntax. There are many striking structural similarities between Uzbek and Tajik. Uzbek-Tajik bilingualism is still alive in some areas, e. g. in and around Samarkand and Bukhara. An increasing Uzbek influence on Tajik may be observed.

The languages of the nomadic groups, e. g. Kazakh and Kirghiz, have copied a fair amount of Mongolic elements as a result of close contacts. In Mongolia, on the other hand, Oyrat and Dörböt varieties display many elements copied from the Turkic languages of the area.

Russian has strongly influenced the modern vocabularies of languages of the former Soviet Turkistan. Kazakh-Russian and Uzbek-Russian bilingualism is rather widespread. Elsewhere, Turkic-Russian bilingualism is a predominantly urban phenomenon. Less than one-third of the Kirghiz speak Russian, and only one-fourth of the Turkmen claim a good knowledge of Russian. In Azerbaijan, 4 million Azerbaijanians are monolingual.

Due to common origins and contacts, mutual intelligibility between the Turkic languages is often found, particularly in border areas. Regions such as the Amu Darya region and the Ferghana valley are old ethnic and linguistic melting-pots.

Turkmen has been in close contact with Khorasan Turkic, Uzbek and Karakalpak. Many Karakalpaks use Uzbek as a second language. Kirghiz has been strongly influenced by Kazakh. Kirghiz-Uzbek bilingualism is found in Kirghiz towns bordering on the Uzbek Ferghana valley. Within Uzbekistan, Kirghiz is spoken mainly in the Ferghana valley.

Contacts between Mongolic languages have led to the development of Khalkha features in non-Khalkha varieties.

### 6. Standard languages and dialect variation

There are various kinds of relations between standard languages and dialects.

Standard Azerbaijani is based on the dialect of the capital Baku. The social situation of the varieties spoken in Iran, which differ a great deal from this standard, is gradually improving and their status enhanced. The Turkmen standard is based on the Teke dialect as spoken around the capital Ashgabat. Khorasan Turkic, spoken by Turkmen in northern Iran, is rather different from standard Turkmen. No Turkic varieties of Iran and Afghanistan have developed into written means of communication.

Various Uzbek dialects mirror the complex ethnic composition of the Uzbek nation. The dominant ones go back to varieties, strongly influenced by Tajik, of the settled population in regions such as Samarkand, Bukhara, Tashkent and the Ferghana valley. Dialects of the original Kipchak type, closely related to Kazakh, have a weak status today. So-called "Oghuz Uzbek" dialects are spoken in Khwarezm and adjacent parts of Karakalpakistan and Turkmenistan.

In spite of its huge extension, the Kazakh linguistic area exhibits little dialectal variation. The standard is based on the northwestern dialects. The varieties of China and Mongolia display some special features. Karakalpak, historically a Kazakh dialect, has developed a standard language of its own.

The Kirghiz standard language is based on the northern dialects. The southern dialects, mainly spoken in the Ferghana basin, show Uzbek influence. The variety of Kirghiz spoken in Xinjiang possesses a fair amount of Chinese loanwords.

Khalkha, the standard language of Mongolia, differs considerably from Written Mongolian, which primarily served as a means of written communication. Khalkha is also understood beyond the borders of the republic and thus functions as the international language of the Mongolic world. In Mongolia, all other Mongolic varieties only function as spoken languages. Some Khalkha dialects spoken in peripheral parts of Mongolia have largely assimilated to standard Khalkha.

The Buryat dialects include Barga in the eastern part of the country. In the east and south, close to the Chinese border, small groups speak Dariganga, Chakhar, Khorchin and Ujumchin. The Oyrat dialects include Dörböt, Bayit, Torgut, Zakhachin, Mingat and Ölot.

Recent years have seen an increasing migration from the countryside to Ulan Baator, the only real city of the country. Many migrants give up their own local varieties there.

## 7. Official languages and their consolidation

With the disintegration of the Soviet Union, Azerbaijan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan gained full independence. The languages of the titular nations were proclaimed official ("national") languages. Since then they have been strongly promoted through language legislation, consolidating their positions and increasing their social functions, e.g. their importance for public communication. Russian has been replaced in a number of official functions. The use of the indigenous languages in bureaucracy, public services, institutions, media and school systems has been strengthened. Their use in higher education has also increased, though Russian has maintained much of its dominance in this sector.

In general, the status of Russian has declined. Thus, in the first post-Soviet years, Russian was still defined as the medium of "cross-national communication" in Uzbekistan. Later it lost this role and its status as a compulsory subject in Uzbek education. On the other hand, the original goal of enforcing obligatory use of the indigenous languages in public functions within a few years time has proved unrealistic.

In Mongolia, Khalkha is used in all spheres of communication.

## 8. Linguistic reform work

All languages under discussion here are currently subject to some kind of reform activity, i. e. more or less systematic planning and cultivation, e.g. various measures of standardisation and renewal. New language laws and measures to implement them have been instituted. There are more or less ambitious plans for work on terminology, orthography, language teaching, etc. In practice, the reform work and its implementation are difficult. The tempo is mostly slow, partly due to vague goals, conservative language attitudes, high economic costs, lack of teaching material, etc.

### 8.1. Script reforms

In all Turkic republics there have been efforts to shift from Cyrillic to Roman-based scripts. Pleas for Arabic-based scripts have remained fruitless.

A new Roman-based script was adopted by Azerbaijan in 1991. South Azerbaijanian is still written with the Arabic script. In 1993, a Roman-based Turkmen alphabet was adopted to replace the Cyrillic one. However, there was no sudden changeover. Both Azerbaijan and Turkmenistan still apply dual script systems with Cyrillic and Roman appearing side by side.

In Uzbekistan the transition to a Roman-based alphabet was enacted by law in 1993. The new script system, revised in 1995, uses ASCII code letters and basically represents a transliteration of the Cyrillic spelling. A similar alphabet was prepared for Karakalpak. The deadline for the shift to the new alphabets is September 2005.

Kazakhstan also is planning to adopt a Roman-based script again. In Xinjiang, Kazakh is now written with the Arabic script, after an unsuccessful experiment with a pinyin alphabet in the 1970's. For Kirghiz a new Roman-based alphabet has been created, which has not yet replaced the Cyrillic-based one.

In Mongolia, there have been several efforts to shift back to the traditional Mongol script. In the 1990's, it was decided to reintroduce it in order to restore the national cultural heritage, and it was reintegrated in school programs. However, since it was unknown to the older generations, its readoption encountered practical difficulties. The reform has now been postponed. The Cyrillic script still plays a dominant role in every-

day life. The old script mainly serves symbolic purposes. It is still taught a couple of hours a week in elementary schools.

### 8.2. Vocabulary reforms

The efforts to modernise the vocabularies aim at creating neologisms in order to reduce the amount of loanwords from Russian. In all Turkic republics, at least parts of the Russian administrative terminology have been replaced. The new language laws have also promoted Turkification of personal names, place-names, names of institutions, streets etc. One important field consists of the scientific terminologies, which were mostly Russian-based in the Soviet era. Lists of proposed new terms are being issued for various disciplines.

De-Russification is difficult, since it is often unclear which elements ought to replace the Russian ones. Pre-Soviet vocabularies may be available in certain domains. Since it is largely of Arabic-Persian origin, its reintroduction would not serve the goals of purification in the sense of the well-known Turkish language reform. Turkic word-formation devices are often activated to create substitutes.

The reforms establish new sociolinguistic barriers, e. g. between generations. Children learn a vocabulary that is unknown to their parents. They also erect barriers to the past, if the literary legacy becomes unintelligible.

The reforms may also, if uncoordinated, establish new barriers between the languages involved. Ideas of removing differences between Turkic languages to create a unified language that might get official status on international platforms are hardly realistic. Even the opportunities to harmonize the writing systems and terminologies have already slipped through the fingers of the reformers.

### 9. The present status of the languages

The indigenous languages differ considerably in numbers of speakers, social status, scope and viability. The demographic situation is generally characterised by rapid changes in the population structure in favour of the Turkic elements. The command of the languages varies: thus, the Kirghiz generally have a good basic knowledge of their language, whereas the Kazakhs' mastery of their language is regressing. In

Kazakhstan, Russian is still the main language of instruction, science, business, etc.

The cultural dominance of Russian is still considerable in all the Turkic-speaking republics. In Kyrgyzstan, for instance, Russian-language newspapers had a total circulation of 110 632 in 1999, whereas the corresponding figure for Kirghiz papers was 21 786. There were seven Russian TV channels and only one Kirghiz channel. The National Library had 5 167 000 volumes in Russian and 360 500 in Kirghiz.

As a result of the communist era, Russian is still the second language of Mongolia, but the new generations are getting acquainted with English, which may take over the role of Russian.

### 10. Political and ethnic issues

The language policies of the new sovereign states are guided by the wish to create state languages to help establish new national identities for the whole populations. These attempts have been controversial and led to political tensions in some republics. The new language legislation is often thought to discriminate against non-titular groups. Prior to independence, mastery of the titular languages was rather rare among Europeans resident in the Turkic republics, and there is still weak motivation among non-indigenous citizens to learn the state languages.

The linguistic component of national identity is most problematic in Kazakhstan, where Russians make up 37% of the population. The proclamation of Kazakh as the state language in 1989 was met by protests from the non-Kazakh population. In 1995, Russian was proclaimed the language of interethnic communication.

A similar solution was found in Kyrgyzstan. After the de-Russification had begun to cause considerable emigration, efforts were made to retain the educated non-indigenous citizens. Since 1996 Russian is an official language alongside Kirghiz in areas and working places with predominantly Russian-speaking citizens. Additional measures are being considered in order to stop emigration. There are now ca. 650 000 Russians (13.5%) in Kyrgyzstan. Over 300 000 have left the country since independence. The emigration was highest in 1993, but has decreased in recent years.

Language policy also has had a significant impact on migration patterns in other

Central Asian republics, thus leading to certain demographic changes.

The attitude towards non-Russian minority languages is mostly tolerant. Since the "ethnic revival" in many parts of the Soviet Union at the end of the 1980s, there is considerable interest in Central Asia to preserve smaller ethnic groups and languages. For example, Uzbekistan provides schooling in Kazakh, Tajik, Turkmen and Kirghiz. Karakalpak has a still more privileged status. In Mongolia, the Kazakh minority still has its own schools and media.

### 11. Problems and research gaps

There are many controversial questions and unsolved problems connected with the sociolinguistic developments of the new Turkic republics and Mongolia: much uncertainty as to the future linguistic development, the demographic situation, the sociolinguistic functions of the languages, attitudes towards linguistic varieties, principles and attitudes in language policies. Needless to say, there are considerable research gaps to be filled. The main bulk of earlier sociolinguistic research is definitely outdated.

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## 186a. Georgia/Georgien

1. Sociolinguistics of the country
2. Literature (selected)

### 1. Sociolinguistics of the country

Georgia received international recognition in 1992 within the frontiers of the former Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic. Occupying 69 500 sq. km east of the Black Sea between longitudes 40° 05' and 46° 44' east and latitudes 41° 07' and 43° 35' north, it borders the North Caucasian territories of the Russian Federation, and the republics of Azerbaijan, Armenia and Turkey.

South-west Transcaucasia is home to the South Caucasian (Kartvelian) language-family, which cannot be demonstrated to be cognate with any other language(-family), extant or extinct. The most archaic member, Svan, is located in the N.W. mountains along the upper reaches of the Ingur and Tskhenis-ts'q'ali rivers; the western lowlands between these same rivers provide the traditional home of Mingrelian, which since the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century has been yielding to Georgian in the east whilst gaining at the expense of (North West Caucasian) Abkhaz in the west; the ancestors of the Mingrelians and the Laz, jointly designated speakers of Zan, in classical times peopled the Black Sea littoral between northern Mingrelia and Rize, though they were split by westward-moving Georgian speakers fleeing the 7th century Arab incursions into central Georgia – only between Laz and Mingrelian is there any degree of mutual intelligibility; today Laz is spoken along the Turkish coast from the border-village of Sarpi with only small numbers of speakers living further north (e.g. in Abkhazia); most ethnic Georgians live in Georgia itself, though an indeterminate number reside in Turkey, which has inherited such historical Georgian provinces as T'ao, K'lardzheti, Shavsheti.

Abkhaz apart, other languages spoken in Georgia are: Indo-European Armenian, Greek, (Slavonic) Russian, (Iranian) Ossetic, Kurdish, Turkic Azeri, Semitic Assyrian, North Central Caucasian (Nakh) Chechen and Bats (in Georgian 'Ts'ova Tush'), and their North East Caucasian (Daghestanian) congeners (Avaric) Avar and (Lezgi) Udi.

Georgian has the following home-dialects: Ach'aran (Adzharian), Gurian, Imeretian in the west, Lechkhumian, Rach'an in the north-west, Mtiulur-Gudamaq'ulian, Mokhebian in the north, Khevsurian, Pshavian and Tush in the north-east, K'akh(et)ian in the east, Meskhian, Dzhavakhanian in the south(-west), and Kartlian in the centre; additionally, Ingiloan is spoken in the Zakatala region of Azerbaijan, Kizlar-Mozdokian obsolescently in North Ossetia, Fereidanian in Iran, and Imerkhebian marginally in Turkey, where most ethnic Georgians are reported to have lost the language.

The literary dialect is based on the speech of the province of Kartli, in which the capital Tbilisi is situated. Mingrelian has Senak'ian in the east and Samurzaq'an-Zugdidian in the west. Svan has at least Upper and Lower Bal in Upper Svanetia, Lashkh and Lent'ekh in Lower Svanetia. Laz divides into Khopian, Vits'e-Arkabian and Atinian.

Abkhaz is represented by only two surviving dialects in its homeland: northern Bzyp and southern Abzhywa, the literary base since the mid-1920s, being both the phonetically simpler variant and native to most of the leading writers of the day. The most divergent variety, Abaza, is spoken in Karachay-Cherkessia (N. Caucasus), where the Soviets created a separate literary language on the T'ap'anta sub-dialect, phonetically the most complex of all Abkhaz-Abaza forms. Abkhaz's remaining dialects are now

Tab 186a.1: Population of Georgia

Main Population of	Georgia (1979 & 1989)			
	1979	1989	1979	1989
Whole Population	4993 182	5400841	100%	100%
'Georgians'	3433011	3787393	68.8%	70.1%
Armenians	448000	437211	9.0%	8.1%
Russians	371608	341172	7.4%	6.3%
Azerbaijanis	255678	307556	5.1%	5.7%
Ossetians	160497	164055	3.2%	3.0%
Greeks	95105	100324	1.9%	1.8%
Abkhazians	85285	95853	1.7%	1.8%

only attested among the diaspora-communities across former Ottoman territories, whither most Abkhazians, fellow N.W. Caucasian Circassians and all speakers of the third sister-language Ubykh (extinct since 1992) migrated following Russia's conquest of the North Caucasus in 1864.

Georgia has undergone massive upheaval since the collapse of the USSR. The last two Soviet censuses gave the following picture for the main populations:

Wars in South Ossetia (1990–92) and Abkhazia (1992–93), continuing unrest in Mingrelia following the January 1992 coup against the Late president Zviad Gamsakhurdia, ethnic tensions with the Armenian and Azerbaijani communities in the south (-west), lawlessness and economic decline have spawned large outflows of Ossetians, Russians, Greeks and 'Georgians' themselves. Thus, accurate demographic data are unavailable. Even (post-1926) Soviet census-results conceal important facts, for circa 1930 it was decided that henceforth all Kartvelians (and the Bats!) should be officially classified as 'Georgians', an obfuscation of ethno-linguistic categories unattested among Turkish Kartvelians. Consequently, precise figures for Mingrelians (1 million?), Svans (50000?) and Laz within the 'Georgian' (recte Kartvelian) total are unknown; also masked is the nature of their mother-tongue vs 2nd/3rd language knowledge.

Universal literacy in Georgian, a literary language since the late 4<sup>th</sup> century, even amongst Georgians was only achieved with the introduction of universal schooling during the Soviet period (1921–91). Abkhaz too then achieved full literary status with an already devised Cyrillic-based script, for sporadic publication in Abkhaz began in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century. The Mingrelians were perhaps

the largest speech-community not to have their language recognised by the early Soviets as one of the so-called 'Young Literary Languages' – some materials, including a primer, were provided in Roman script for even the few Soviet Laz between 1927 and 1938 (see Feurstein 1992). Various Mingrelian publications (books, journals, papers) in the Georgian script did nevertheless appear from the late 1920s until 1938, but this practice was strongly resisted by some leading Mingrelian intellectuals on the spurious grounds that Mingrelia would remain a backwater, divorced from Georgian culture – an attempt to introduce a Mingrelian liturgy and a language-primer (in Cyrillic) had failed in the 1880–90s (see Hewitt 1995). Only literary languages could serve as pedagogical vehicles and be taught in Soviet schools (or be used to a greater or less extent in publishing, radio and television); those from ethnic minorities (i.e. the non-titular peoples within the 15 union republics) were used only for the first few grades, when tuition switched to a 'major' language (e.g. Georgian or Russian). Examples of weekly hours devoted to language/literature classes in Georgia's Georgian, Russian, Armenian, Azeri, Abkhazian and Ossetic language-schools is given in Hewitt (1989). In Svanetia only Georgian schools were created, whilst urban Georgians and Mingrelians had a choice of opting for Georgian or Russian schools – Greek and Assyrian have at times also been taught in Georgia.

Rumours that Georgian would not be specified as the official union-language in the Brezhnevite constitution of 1978 caused massive demonstrations resulting in Article 75 starting with the words: "The state-language of the Georgian SSR is the Georgian language"; free use of Russian and un-



specified ‘other’ languages was also guaranteed. Article 8 of the current Constitution reads: “Georgian shall be the official language in Georgia, in Abkhazia Abkhazian as well”. Article 6 of the 1994 Constitution for the de facto independent Abkhazia, however, states: “The official language of the Republic of Abkhazia shall be the Abkhazian language”, Russian being also recognised as a language of State and free use of other minority tongues being guaranteed.

Georgian is not widely known (or desired) amongst the compact Armenian and Azerbaijani communities outside Tbilisi itself, and in Abkhazia (even before 1992) it was rarely heard, for Russian or, south of the capital Sukhum and especially after the forced settlement there of large numbers of Mingrelians by (Georgian) Stalin and (Mingrelian) Beria in the 1930s, Mingrelian served as *linguae francae*; historically, Turkish was widely used. After the Abkhaz orthography was switched to Roman in 1928 as part of the USSR’s ‘Latinisation’-drive, the base was altered again in 1938 to Georgian (Ossetic in South Ossetia also followed this pattern) rather than to Cyrillic, as happened in 1936–38 with the other Young Literary Languages. In 1945 Abkhaz schools were suddenly replaced by Georgian schools, and publishing in Abkhaz effectively ceased; schools reopened and publishing restarted with the death of Stalin (1953), when the current Cyrillic script was introduced. The Abkhazians just managed to avoid deportation to Central Asia in the late 1940s, but the Laz, Greeks, Meskh(et)ians and the Hemshinli (Muslim Armenians) were not so fortunate.

The imposition of a test in Georgian language/literature as qualification for Georgian citizenship introduced during the efflorescence of nationalism in the late 1980s was a significant factor in stoking the various ethnic tensions that erupted shortly thereafter. It is a condition of Georgia’s membership of the Council of Europe that all Meskh(et)ians who wish to return must be resettled within 12 years of Georgia’s membership (April 1999) – general ignorance of Georgian, their Islamic faith and uncertain ethnicity (Georgians vs Turks) are factors in the reluctance Tbilisi has re-

peatedly manifested to right the wrong inflicted on them in 1944.

Language-sensitivities, thus, remain one of the real or potential problems for Georgia’s post-Soviet development – the Shevardnadze Constitution says nothing of provision for the needs of the minority languages. The misconception that Mingrelian, Laz and Svan are mere dialects of Georgian is widespread, and even local linguists who know better regularly style these sister-languages ‘sociological dialects’ belonging to ‘sub-Georgian ethnic groups’, observing that the functional restrictions characterising Georgia’s regular dialects apply equally to them. Any suggestion of assigning them belated literary status is met with hostility, the argument being that this is but the first stage to Georgia’s political dismemberment, just as the Soviets are universally castigated for instigating ‘separatism’ among the Abkhazians and South Ossetians by establishing literary languages in the respective provinces in the 1920s.

In the summer of 1999 books of the Georgian poet Murman Lebanidze were burned in the Mingrelian capital, Zugdidi, after disparaging remarks about the Mingrelian language. It is, however, common to hear self-deprecating remarks from Mingrelians about the uselessness of their language, and the 5000 or so Bats, who live in the village Zemo Alvani (K’akheti(a)), are said no longer to be teaching their children this already heavily Georgian-influenced sister to Chechen and Ingush.

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## 186b. Armenia / Armenien

1. Sociolinguistics of the country
2. Literature (selected)

### 1. Sociolinguistics of the country

The Armenian language is the official language of the Republic of Armenia where it is spoken by the majority (ca. 95%) of its 3.5 million inhabitants. In addition, Armenian is currently (2001) the official language of the region of Mountainous Karabakh and is in daily use by 140000 people there. The status of the Armenian language is regulated by a special "Language Law" (April 17, 1993) which simply declares that the language of the Armenian Republic is Standard Armenian and that all official communication is to be conducted exclusively in this language (Donabédian 1998). This "Standard Armenian" language is Modern Eastern Armenian, a variant which has developed since the 16<sup>th</sup> century and which has been codified in the 19<sup>th</sup> century by writers and teachers working in Tiflis and Moscow; this variant is based on the linguistic features of the Ararat plain. Its counterpart is Modern Western Armenian, developed and codified over the same period in Constantinople on the basis of linguistic elements used in Anatolia; it is spoken and used in the former Ottoman Empire and, after the 1915 Armenian genocide, in the Armenian diaspora all over the Western world; the status of Western Literary Armenian is threatened (Donabédian 2000).

The territory of the Republic of Armenia has been under Russian suzerainty since 1828. It became a Soviet republic in 1921. During the Soviet period, active language reform was attempted, in particular in the fields of word formation and terminology building (Weitenberg 1991). A series of orthographic reforms resulted in a break with tradition and widened the distance between the Eastern and Western variants. Ideological considerations led the Eastern variant of Armenian to being considered as "Armenian" par excellence and the very existence of a Western Armenian literary language was denied. After independence (September 21, 1991) a number of linguistic issues were addressed: What will the position of the Russian language be in the new republic? How will English linguistic influence be handled? What will the attitude be to West-

ern Armenian and traditional orthography? At an official level these questions are handled by a "State Language Office" whose aim is to pursue a centralized Armenian language policy (Zakaryan 1996; Dermerguerian 1997, 26).

The influence of the Russian language on Eastern Armenian has been enormous. All of the educated population of Armenia is bilingual. In particular the existence of a Russian school system (alongside the local system) in Armenia was considered to be harmful to the future of Armenian; ambitious parents preferred to send their children to the Russian schools (Lewis 1972, 181ff); recent data for attendance are given by Donabédian (1998, 178). As a first and rather drastic step the State Language Office required all examinations to be taken in Armenian; this effectively ended Russian language penetration through the educational system. Nevertheless, for most Armenians (and this is certainly the case in Mountainous Karabakh), the Russian language is still the door to global culture. Also, there are many Armenian refugees from Azerbaijan who only speak Russian; for them, the official language policy of the Republic is disadvantageous. The "State Language Office" takes great care in developing modern methods for teaching Armenian in schools; this is one of its important contributions to developing positive language attitudes. At the same time, its outlook is rather puristic. English became extremely popular with the population after independence. Newly introduced business techniques and technology led to extensive use of English loans. This development is considered harmful by the "Office". In fact, however, English now competes with Russian in the fields of global economics and science (finance, banking, the defence industry, physics); Russian still is the first foreign language in schools. In all other realms of life, (Eastern) Armenian is the language of preference for the inhabitants of the Republic.

Various efforts have been made to abolish the spelling reforms. On the one hand, the reforms were simply identified with Communism and rejected on political grounds; on the other hand it is recognized that the new orthography (which is not at all radical,

but rather moderate and prudent) creates a barrier between Eastern and Western Armenian. In the larger socio-linguistic context, the relationship between the two linguistic variants is intensely debated. After independence, for the first time since the October Revolution, textbooks and dictionaries of Western Armenian were printed in Armenia. Although many inhabitants of the Republic have a Western Armenian linguistic background (being descendants of refugees or post 1945 immigrants), the Eastern Armenian establishment and the educational system still does not accord independent status to the Western linguistic variant. The "State Language Office" envisages a gradual unification of the two variants, as it is of the opinion that "the existence of two branches of Literary Armenian and the diversity of Armenian dialects are circumstances that compromise national unity" (Zakaryan 1996, 359). This unification will be reached by the creation of a "multi-lingual linguistic and socio-linguistic data bank of the Armenian language" and by "worldwide standardization of Armenian as a means of communication". After ten years of debate, the question of orthography seems to have been settled in favour of the reforms. The relationship between the two literary variants of Armenian will probably be decided in the last resort not in Erevan but in the cities of the diaspora, e. g. Los Angeles, Paris and Beirut; with the current exodus from the Republic of Armenia, this is where the linguistic variants meet; in the diaspora it will be decided how the two linguistic variants can be financially and educationally supported.

Literary Armenian is built upon a dialectal base. Dialect, in the sense of nonstandard forms of Armenian, is regularly spoken by the rural population outside the greater centres of Erevan and Gyumri (former Leninakan, Alexandropol). The dialects in the southern part of the Republic (Goris, Ghapan, Meghri) and in Karabakh are very divergent from the literary language, and their speakers are clearly recognizable and marked by their speech as being unmistakably rural. The dialect of the inhabitants of the Gyumri area is of the Western type. All dialects now are influenced by the Eastern literary language through the schooling system and mass communication; in this respect Armenian dialects are in the same situation as in any other industrialized country.

The Karabakh war has uprooted many Armenian dialect speakers and it is as yet unclear what their current status is. This holds e. g. for the dialects spoken on Azeri territory (Shamakhi) and for the Karabakh branch of the Maragha dialect; speakers of this dialect came from northern Persia after 1828 and settled in the north-east of the district of Mardakert, in the area which is now under Azeri rule. The Karabakh War also has uprooted those speakers of the Udi language (descendants of the Caucasian Albanians who belonged to the Armenian apostolic church) who lived in Azerbaijan (the villages of Niž and Vartašen; Mouraviev 1998–2000, 1). The same seems to have happened with the rather large Kurdish population which lived in the corridor between the Armenian Republic and Mountainous Karabakh (see the map in Hassanpour 1992, 11), an area which now is occupied by Armenia.

Outside of the Armenian Republic and Karabakh the Armenian language is spoken by the entire population in the southern parts of Georgia which border on northern Armenia, in the areas around Akhalts'ikhe and Akhalk'alaki, which the Armenians call *Ĵawaxk'*. These are Armenians who immigrated there from the Ottoman Empire in 1828 after the Russian conquest of Armenia. Their dialect is of the Western type. In the 19<sup>th</sup> century many Armenians lived in Georgia; Tiflis had a larger Armenian population than Erevan did. There are tendencies to obliterate this part of Georgian history (Karapetyan 1998). Currently the Armenian speaking population of Georgia is estimated at 7%. The presence of Armenians in the southern part of Georgia nowadays is a cause of political instability.

A scattered Armenian population exists in the northern Caucasus area, in Abkhazia and the Krasnodar region. They originated from the northern Pontic area as refugees from the 1915 genocide (Kuznetsov 1995). They speak a Western type of (Hamshen) Armenian dialect. In recent years the colony has been reinforced by emigration from the Armenian Republic. Their use of Armenian is confined to situations outside the public life; there are no public provisions for them to receive education and training in Armenian.

Until the Karabakh War (1991–1994) Armenians were scattered over Azerbaijan in regions outside of Mountainous Karabakh. In Armenia itself, about 3% of the population

was Azeri speaking. Also, Azeris lived in the Mountainous Karabakh region in specific villages and in cities like Shushi. The war has resulted in ethnically and linguistically homogeneous areas. Hardly any Armenians now live in Azerbaijan, and vice versa. Communication between the groups occurs in Russian (Altstadt 1992, 187). The Armenians claim not to be able to communicate in Azeri; this is certainly true for the educated layers of the population – even before the war, the cultural and intellectual focus of the Karabakh and Azerbaijan Armenians was Erevan, not Baku. But local Armenian Karabakh dialects show the phonetic and morphological influence of Azeri, which is indicative of intense linguistic contact over a long period in previous time. The position of Russian with respect to the Azeri and Armenian language in the Azerbaijan educational system and possible instances of “Azerifying” the Armenians are discussed in Bilinsky (1968, 421).

Other languages spoken in the Armenian Republic are Neo-Aramaic and Lomavren. Neo-Aramaic was introduced into the area at the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century from the Urmia region, with an additional influx during the First World War. In Armenia, it is spoken in a few villages in the Ararat plain, e. g. Dvin, Arzni. The language is found in Georgia and (before the Karabakh War) in the Khanlar region of Azerbaijan<sup>1</sup>.

Lomavren is the language of the Armenian gypsies, who are known as Bosha (Benninghaus 1991). In Transcaucasia, the Boshas have become sedentary. A group of them lived in Akhalts'ikhe, Georgia, in the 1960s (according to personal communications Dr. M. Shirinian). Boshas still live in and around Erevan. They are bilingual in (Eastern) Armenian and Lomavren. They state that they use Lomavren when they do not wish to be understood by outsiders. It would therefore seem that their language is used in a specific, restricted set of circumstances.

The principal languages of Transcaucasia, Armenian Georgian and Azeri, have become prime instruments in the development of nationalism in this area. It would be good to remember that this has not always been the case. One of the greatest poets of the area, Sayat' Nova (1712–1795) used these

three languages for his works and was understood perfectly in a flourishing regional culture. The Transcaucasus area also shares a common linguistic heritage.

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<sup>1</sup> (Data about the history of the Assyrians in the Soviet Union have been collected by S. A. Agassiev, Vlaardingen, Netherlands. I am indebted to Dr. H. L. Murre van den Berg, Leiden University, for informing me about these materials)

## 187. Turkey/Türkei

1. Introduction
2. Languages and Population
3. Research in Linguistic Turkology
4. Literature (selected)

### 1. Introduction

The Republic of Turkey, by history and tradition a Muslim society, is today a Westernized country on the verge of becoming a full member of the European community. Its official language Turkish, moulded by extensive reform work, is a living document of the shaping of this country as a nation-state and its adjustment to the international context.

### 2. Languages and population

Owing to its Ottoman past, Turkey is a multiethnic and multilingual society (Shaw 1976–1977; Karpat 1985; Andrews 1989). More than 50 languages are spoken there, nearly one third being Turkic. Besides standard Turkish and its dialects, there are spoken varieties of e.g. Azerbaijanian, Turkmen, Uyghur, Uzbek, Kirghiz, Kazakh, Crimean and Kazan Tatar, Bashkir, Noghay, Karachay-Balkar and Kumuk. Other language families represented in Turkey are Indo-European (Kurdish dialects – mainly Kurmanji but also Zaza – Ossetic, Armenian, Greek, Albanian, Polish, Russian, German, Romani, Judeo-Spanish (Ladino), etc.), Finno-Ugric (Estonian), Semitic (Arabic and Neo-Aramaic dialects, Hebrew) and Caucasian languages (Georgian, Laz, Abkhaz, Circassian, Chechen-Ingush, etc.).

Out of a total of around 67 million people in Turkey, 10–15% do not have Turkish as their first language. This percentage includes many of the Kurds, who are the second largest ethnic group in the country constituting about 15% of the population. Concentrated Kurdish communities can be found in the south-eastern part of Turkey with extension up into the provinces of Kars, Erzurum, Erzincan, and Sivas, where their ethnic dialects are much used spoken idioms. As Muslims and because of their distribution over most parts of the country, the Kurds have to a great extent been assimilated into Turkish cultural life, including language. On the other hand, a growing and

reinforced awareness of ethno-cultural Kurdish identity independent of religion – at least official Turkish Islam – throughout the Republican era of the 20th century has turned the Kurdish question in Turkey into a complex and politically very sensitive issue (Hassanpour 1992; Kirişci/Winrow 1997). On several occasions measures have been taken by Turkish authorities to restrict the use of Kurdish in both speech and writing and even to put in question the very status of this language. In two of the Turkish censuses carried out between 1927 and 1965, Kurdish and its dialects were split up as if they were different languages. Data on mother tongue (*anadil*) obtained at subsequent censuses were not made public, and after 1985 this parameter was dropped altogether (Dündar 2000). Works have also been published where it is being argued that Anatolian Kurmanji and Zaza are Turkified or even originally Turkic languages (e.g. Gülsensoy 1985).

Apart from the majority Turkish population and the Kurds, other groups are small and linguistically heterogeneous, often with archaic speech varieties of their own ethnic languages used side by side with the majority language or languages of their region (typically Turkish, Kurdish or both). The Arabs, the third largest ethnic population in the country numbering some 400,000 or more, are found in different provinces and regions in the south-east, each having its dialectal peculiarities, conditioned by both geographic provenience and religious affiliation: Çukurova, i.e. the Cilician Plain (Adana, Tarsus and Mersin; Procházka 2002), the Hatay (Antakya) region (Arnold 1998) and regions still further to the east comprising, besides Bedouin speech varieties, the Anatolian branch of the so-called *qiltu* dialects (Şanhurfa, Mardin, Diyarbakır, Siirt with surroundings; Jastrow 1978). Among these predominantly Muslim (Sunni as well as Alawi) population groups there are small numbers of Christians as well as Jews. The social prestige of ethnic speech varieties of Arabic in Turkey is generally low and the functional dimension of their native dialect is shrinking with effects on all age groups, not only the young ones. The shift to and acceptance of Turkish is also accelerated through greater mobility and – not

least – television. The only domain where Turkish, or Kurdish, does not dominate is religion, however, where liturgical texts are not in the particular native dialect but rather in standard literary Arabic.

Books in Turkish on the cultures and languages of non-Turkish ethnicities living in Turkey, mostly Caucasian population groups along the Black Sea, are being published and circulated by Turkish publishing houses. Periodicals and other types of publications including audiovisual products are edited in a small number of languages, Kurdish being one of them. The circulation of publications in Kurdish was legitimized through a bill passed by the Turkish Parliament in January 1991 lifting an earlier ban on the Kurdish language as a medium of public information. However, like most other ethnic groups in the country, the large Kurdish population has no minority rights and cannot use Kurdish in official contexts, such as education and state bureaucracy. Although future concessions as to the public use of local languages have been envisaged through a constitutional amendment (October 2001; Kirişçi 2002), the only ethnic groups officially recognized as minorities are still – on the basis of the 1923 Treaty of Lausanne – Armenians, Greeks and Jews. As non-Muslim minorities – though in a state of steady diminution numbering together less than 100 000 at the present moment – they are allowed their own schools, where they may use their ethnic languages as media of instruction.

Turkey has a young population, one third of which was under 15 at the end of the 1990s. The average literacy rate for the whole country is estimated at 85–90%. In 1997, compulsory primary education was prolonged from 5 to 8 years for ages 6–14. English has become the all-dominating first foreign language and is an obligatory, though due to scarcity of resources not necessarily taught, subject in Turkish state schools from the second grade on.

### 2.1. The Position of Turkish in the Turkic Language Family

Today's Turks are for the main part descendants of Oghuz tribes that migrated from Central Asia towards the south-west during the first half of the second millennium. After the Seljuks and other Oghuz ruling elites in Anatolia, the Ottoman dynasty finally secured control over all Asia Minor from

the middle of the 15th century onwards and laid the ground for a longlived Islamic superpower which expanded into adjacent regions and continents. The literary idiom of the Ottomans developed into a mixed language heavily burdened with Persian and Arabic elements. Opinions have differed as to its origin as a separate Turkic language (Hazai 1978, 39–48; Viktor G. Guzev, “Untersuchungen zur Turksprache Kleinasien vom 13. bis zum 16. Jahrhundert”, in Hazai 1990, 35–62), as have those concerning the division of the structurally homogeneous Turkic language family into separate languages (Deny et al. 1959; Menges 1968; Johanson/Csató 1998; Tekin/Ölmez 1999; cf. Gerhard Doerfer, “Die Stellung des Osmanischen im Kreise des Oghusischen und seine Vorgeschichte”, in Hazai 1990, 13–34) as well as its genetic affiliation to other languages, primarily Mongolian and Manchu-Tungus languages (for “Altaist” and other hypotheses, cf. Róna-Tas 1991).

The term *Turkey Turkish* identifying language through country, but also normally the simple term *Turkish*, apply to the latest, reformed state of what formerly constituted the Ottoman Turkish language. Besides Gagauz, Azerbaijani, Turkmen, Khorasan Turkic and minor language varieties such as Qashqay and Afshar, Turkish is a present-day representative of Oghuz, or south-western Turkic. As a geographically peripheral group, the Oghuz languages exhibit certain features of isolated language development rarely or never found elsewhere among Turkic languages, especially non-peripheral ones (Schönig 1997–1998). Other Turkic groups are the archaic Khalaj language in Iran; the north-western, Kypchak, languages (Kazakh, Kirghiz, Tatar, Bashkir, Noghay, Karachay, etc.); the Central Asiatic group in the south-east (most of the Uzbek dialects, Uyghur, etc.); the north-eastern, Siberian, languages (Khakas, Tuvan, Yakut, Dolgan, etc.); finally, Chuvash constitutes a separate branch diachronically distinct from the rest of this language family.

From a sociolinguistic point of view, Turkey Turkish has a strong position in the Turkic world, where it is by far the largest language comprising more than one third of the total amount of Turkic-speakers. It is also the most advanced language as far as status and corpus planning is concerned.

## 2.1.1. Turkic/Turkish phrase structure

Turkic language structures consist typically of phrases where the head word is preceded by its modifiers, regardless of whether these are single words or sentential expressions (cf. the nominalizations (NOM.) of the following example). The head of a full sentence is its main predicate, which may be placed last, like *biliyor* ‘knows’ in

[[[Erol-un de-diğ-i-n-e]<sub>s</sub> [göre]<sub>POSTP</sub>]<sub>POp</sub>(ADV)  
E.-GEN. say-NOM.-3.SG.POSS.-n-DAT. according to

[[küçük]<sub>ADJ</sub> [kız]<sub>N</sub>(SUBJ) [[anne-si-n-i  
little girl mother-3.sg.poss.-n-ACC.

tanı-diğ-im-i]<sub>s</sub>(OBJ) [bil-iyor]<sub>v</sub>]<sub>s</sub>  
be acquainted with-NOM.1.SG.POSS.-ACC. know-PRES.

*According to what Erol says, the little girl knows that I'm acquainted with his/her mother.*

with its arguments (SUBJ, OBJ) and other sentential constituents (ADV) preceding it.

The minimal Turkish word consists of a lexical stem (*kız* ‘(a/the) girl’, *gel* ‘come!’). Word stems are expanded by concatenations of suffixes, the phonetic realization of which is to a high degree determined by rules of sound harmony affecting most vowels and certain consonants at morpheme boundaries including stem final ones. Sound harmony varies across the Turkic languages. In Turkish the only semantically relevant phonological feature of sound harmonic suffix vowels is the distinction between high and low vowels (*i, ü, ı, u* and *e, a*, respectively). The other distinctive features of the complete system of Turkish vowel phonemes (*i, ü, ı, u, e, ö, a, o*), rounding and the front/back distinction, become irrelevant or are changed to non-semantic phonetic features carried over from the immediately preceding syllable.

The order of nominal suffixes is derivation-plural-possessive-case and the order of verbal suffixes derivation-valency (reciprocal/reflexive-causative-passive)-negation (with or without (im)possibility in different combinations)-gerund or mode/tense/aspect-subject reference (the latter of which may be either preceded or followed by the question marker depending on the type of personal ending used). Exx.: ... *gel-mi-yerek* ... /come-neg.-ger./ ‘(by) not coming’; *Grup-la-ş-tır-ıl-ama-sa-ydı-k* ... /N-verbal deriv.-recipr.-caus.-pass.-imposs.-cond.-pret.-1.pl./ ‘If it had not been possible to have us organized as a group, ...’; *Gel-iyor mu-sun?* /come-pres. quest.-2.sg./ ‘Are you coming?’.

## 2.2. Language contact and varieties of Turkish

The diffusion of Turkic-speaking people in and around Anatolia (2.1.) was not, naturally enough, confined to the territory of the modern Turkish Republic. Consequently, Turkic varieties which are close to Turkey Turkish and most of which are recognized as Turkish dialects can be found beyond the Turkish borders, above all on Cyprus and in the Balkans. In Bulgaria, the Turkish language community is as large as 9–10% (c. 800,000) of the population despite massive emigration throughout the past century. Language contact between Turkic-speaking newcomers and local people already inhabiting these regions has been extensive and reciprocal. Instances of language change can also be reported. For example, the Gagauz in southern Moldavia, an Orthodox Christian people of unknown provenience, are believed to have been Turkicized some time during the Ottoman reign over the Balkans.

## 2.2.1. Turkish dialects in the Republic of Turkey

Due to migration into cities, primarily in the western part of the country, and the transformation of rural areas into industrialized, densely populated urban environments, there is no increase in the Turkish rural population at present. In the Republican era, the share of urban dwellers rose from 15% of the population in the early 1920s to 65–70% at the beginning of the 21st century. These conditions, in addition to the exceptionally high degree of migration and mobility in former times, explain the fact that the Turkish language area shows neither sharp boundaries between dialects nor homogeneity within dialect areas (Kowalski 1934; Karahan 1996).

Most of the phonetic and morphological peculiarities of Turkish dialects are reflections of general tendencies among Turkic languages rather than idiosyncracies generated through contact with surrounding non-Turkic languages. At the same time as inter-syllabic vocalic assimilation in word stems is frequent, violation of vowel harmony rules for suffixes is common. A possible explanation is that, because of their reduced capacity as semantically distinctive phonological features, the two distinctions involved in Turkic vowel harmony (front/back

and round/non-round; 2.1.1.) have become subject to great variation, a further effect of which could easily be a blurring of phoneme boundaries and – partly in combination with traces of earlier Turkic or Ottoman morphophonology – a neutralization of one or both of these vowel harmonically relevant features. Regional variation in the realization of consonant phonemes is often a difference in tolerance towards the phonetic load of consonants or clusters of consonants. The weakening of velar stops is common ( $/q/ > [g\sim\chi]/-[χ](-), -/ŋ(-) > [n]/[j]/\emptyset$  etc.), as are various types of assimilation and reduction of consonants (e.g.  $-/ts/- > [ss] > [s]$  in *etsin > essin > esin* ‘let (him) do’,  $[j] > \emptyset$  before high vowels,  $-/r(-) > [ɾ] > \emptyset$ , etc.).

As regards morphology, the verbal system in particular is rich in dialectal idiosyncracies, such as variation in the choice of personal predicate endings and reduction in tense and aspect affixes (e.g. the present-tense ending *-yor*, which was originally a full verb, has many local variants; Adamović 1985).

Very few syntactic characteristics of Turkish dialects have been registered. The only features mentioned in Karahan 1996 – so far the most exhaustive survey of Anatolian dialect studies – are omission of the question particle in south-eastern dialects and deviation from the standard word order (2.1.1.), especially in north-eastern dialects.

Dialect features originating from direct contact with other languages are mainly to be found in the Black Sea region (mostly Kypchak-Turkic (2.1.) phonetic and morphological influences; non-Turkic influence can be traced from languages like Greek, Armenian and Georgian) and in the south-east (Arabic and Iranian phonetic influences).

### 2.2.2. Lexical borrowing and slang

Modern lexical interchange between Turkish and non-Turkic contact languages has been extensive from the very beginning of Ottoman power up to the present day. Besides Arabic and Persian in the fields of religion, government, education and the fine arts, non-Muslim idioms early came into contact with the Ottoman language. Within the boundaries of the Empire, certain duties, such as business and translation, were as a rule, due to religious or political reasons, left in the hands of non-Muslims, which promoted the use of loanwords from languages

spoken by these people. In the larger Mediterranean area, Italian and Greek remained the most important contact languages for centuries (Kahane et al. 1958; articles by Andreas Tietze in Hazai 1990, 104–145; *ibid.* 1999; Eren 1999). They are still the most frequent foreign idioms appearing in Turkish slang (Turk. *argo* for slang in general, and more specifically *jargon* for professional and ethnic slang, or *gizli dil* ‘secret language’, a category overlapping with both of the former two; Devellioğlu 1980; Kaptan 1993), although their share can be expected to diminish in the future due to new international trends and modern means of communication (2.3.).

The overall proportion of elements from non-Muslim languages (i.e. Arabic and Persian not included), both foreign ones and ethnic dialects in Turkey (2.), is high in Turkish slang. They appear either as independent words or as part of expanded Turkish word forms and expressions, with or without a transferred meaning (cf. *mort(i)* ‘dead’ < French/Italian and *mortlamak / mortiyi çekmek* ‘die’; *moruk* ‘old man/father’ < Armenian and *moruklamak* ‘grow old’; *balkon* < Fr. ‘balcony’ (in stand. Turk.) and, with the same semantic transfer as in French slang, ‘female bosom’). There is also a small number of foreign suffixes used in derivations from original or borrowed Turkish word stems (Gr. *-aki*, It. *-mento*, etc.). In Aktunç (1998), nearly one third of c. 5,200 lexical entries contain non-Muslim language elements.

### 2.3. Language Reform

The environment in which Kemal Atatürk fought and strove to found a new Turkish nation in the aftermath of World War I was a linguistically segregated society with greatly varying literacy between social classes. The formal literary Ottoman language was a mixed language dominated by Arabic and Persian in both script and vocabulary as well as structures of compounding and it was accessible to only a small learned elite of the Ottoman population (Heyd 1954; Levend 1972; Prokosch 1980; Lewis 1999, 5–26). Other Turkish-speakers were limited to mainly spoken varieties (cf. Jacob 1898) with a greater proportion of Turkic linguistic elements. This language situation was ill suited to meet the challenges of the new political trends concerning democracy, nationhood, mass communication and related



ideas which started to make themselves felt among Ottoman intellectuals during the 19th century, especially after the “Tanzimat” Reforms of 1839. Language began to be seen as a symbol of state and nation. Demands for Turkish language courses in minority-language schools among the non-Muslim nationalities grew stronger, as did requests for better language-instruction books and grammars of Turkish. Turkish was for the first time proclaimed the official language of the state in the Constitution of 1876, and in the last decades of Ottoman reign a number of campaigns were launched for the simplification and Turkicization of the Ottoman language, among them the ‘New Language’ (*Yeni Lisan*) movement organized in 1910–1911 by leading pennames from the journal *Genç Kalemler* ‘Young Pens’ in Salonika. Their aims and arguments resembled those of the Kemalist *Dil Devrimi* ‘Language Revolution’ which started some years after the inauguration of the Republic in 1923. Likewise, their model language, the “beautiful” Turkish vernacular of cultivated Istanbul Turks, remained the norm according to which standard Turkey Turkish was to be developed (Öksüz 1995).

What made the Kemalist language reform differ most from previous campaigns was its scope and the authority and efficiency with which it was carried through. Earlier considerations of a script reform had been vague and undecided. In the new republic, this issue very soon entered the agenda of the Kemalist reformers. A Latin alphabet of 29 letters well adjusted to the sound pattern of Turkish was worked out by a special commission during the summer of 1928 with Atatürk himself taking active part in the preparations. The alphabet was adopted by a parliamentary law on 1 November. By then governmental officials had already been trained and examined in the new characters and the law could take effect without much delay (Lewis 1999, 27–39). An immediate change-over to the Latin script was also expected in public printing, and school books previously published in Arabic script were phased out without further ado.

The Turkish language reform was part of Atatürk’s general political plan to make Turkish society less dependent on its Islamic past and to lay the ground for a modern civic state characterized by economic progress and social welfare. The change of alphabet was an important symbolic step towards this

goal. This measure raised the first shield against Arabic and Persian expressions, which at least could no longer enter the language without first being rewritten. The next step would be to eliminate much of the foreign vocabulary and to create a partly new lexical stock on Turkic language material. This was a much more complicated process, the effects of which have since then been under constant debate and evaluation (cf. Doğançay-Aktuna 1995; Lewis 1999 and references therein). Comprehensive lexicographic work has been done within the framework of Turkish vocabulary reform (e.g. *Türkiye’de Halk Ağzından ...* 1963–1982; *Türkçe Sözlük* 1983), which, however, has also suffered from great confusion as to both scope and methods (Steuerwald 1963–1966; Scharlipp 1978), the more so as this aspect of the language reform has developed into a sensitive political issue. Opinions differ as to how radical Atatürk’s own intentions were and what he really meant by his much quoted expression *öz Türk dilimiz* ‘our own Turkish language’, which reshaped as *Öztürkçe* has become more or less the trademark of reformed Turkey Turkish. Now, *öz* means not only ‘own’ but also ‘genuine, pure’, which paves the way for interpretations in the direction of language purification.

At different intervals of political plurality from the 1940s onwards, the concept of *Öztürkçe* turned into an ideological issue. During the 1960–1970s in particular it was associated with leftist radicalism as against conservatism and advocacy for more moderate changes to Turkish vocabulary. Such polarization can no longer be felt to the same extent, either from an ideological point of view or with regard to language usage. There is now greater linguistic conformity among speakers and writers of Turkish, and the average proportion of originally Turkic words in Turkish-language non-fiction publications in Turkey today is more than twice as high (75–90%) as it was at the beginning of the language reform (30–35%).

A special language society – *Türk Dil Kurumu* (TDK; [www.tdk.gov.tr](http://www.tdk.gov.tr)) – for the administration of Turkish spelling norms and vocabulary issues has been operating since 1932. TDK has published an impressive number of treatises on language and it issues its own monthly journal, *Türk Dili*, on language and literature. The Society was re-organized in 1982 and incorporated the year

after into *Atatürk Kültür, Dil ve Tarih Yüksek Kurumu* ‘The Atatürk High Council for Culture, Language and History’, with members appointed by the government. In its new shape the Society has been criticized for inactivity. A rival association, *Türk Dil Derneği*, has been established, with former members of the pre-1982 TDK and alternative Turkish language journals are being published, such as *Çağdaş Türk Dili* ‘Contemporary Turkish’ from the above-mentioned *Türk Dil Derneği* and *Türk Dili Dergisi*, a private enterprise.

The regulation of Arabic and Persian elements in Turkish seems generally to be regarded as a completed task, at least at the new TDK, where attention is now directed mainly towards recent Western influences. A ‘Commission for Finding Equivalents for Foreign Words’ (*Yabancı Kelimelere Karşılık Bulma Komisyonu*) was established at TDK in 1993. In the Commission’s first two publications (*Yabancı Kelimelere ... 1995/1998*) substitutes were suggested for nearly 1,000 foreign terms in Turkish. The substitutes are words judged to belong to Turkish vocabulary regardless of their origin and – for the most part – derivations or compounds of such words: *bakkal* < Ar. ‘grocer(y)’ for *minimarket*, *baskı sayısı* (“print number”) for *tiraj* < Fr., *belgegeçer* (“document passes”; abbr. *belgeç*) for *faksifax*, *elmek* (= *elektronik* < Fr. *mektup* < Ar. ‘letter’) for *e-postal e-mail*, *tedavi* < Ar. ‘treatment’ for *terapi* < Fr., etc. The current influx of Western, mostly English terms has been compared to the earlier “suffocating invasion” of Arabic and Persian elements in Ottoman Turkish, and warnings have been pronounced against the tendency to use foreign expressions in their original spelling even when this is counter to Turkish spelling rules (e.g. *economy* instead of the previously established *ekonomi*, and *fax* instead of *faks*, with an *x* that does not belong to the Turkish Latin alphabet).

### 3. Research in Linguistic Turkology

The first Western grammars of Turkish were published in the 17th century. Comparative Turkic studies commenced with philological field work in Central and Inner Asia during the 19th century, the peak of which was the deciphering and translation of the Old Turkic inscriptions of Orkhon and Yenisey in the 1890s (Menges 1968, 1–10). In the field

of language history, an active branch of research involving aspects of language contact has developed around so-called transcriptional texts in non-Arabic scripts dating from the 15th century onward (Hazai 1990, 63–73). Being basically spoken Turkish free from the Arabic-Persian dominance of official Ottoman Turkish, such documents have been researched for new insights into the development of the sound pattern and morphology of Turkish (cf. Hazai 1973).

Analyses of transcriptional texts have typically been part of foreign Turkological research. Language study in Turkey, on the other hand, was formerly devoted more exclusively to literary texts in the official script, for which any linguistic analysis above the phonological level could not be carried out without paying attention to Arabic and Persian grammar (see e.g. Timurtaş 1964; Peters 1947). This dependency as well as adherence to Islamic principles of scholarship in general, was weakened by the language reform, which in addition to a new standard Turkish paved the way for new types of language research and grammatical description.

Interaction between Turkish and foreign researchers on Turkish has grown during the Republican era, due to the exchange of students and visiting scholars as well as to joint research projects. In modern general linguistics, Turkish has frequently been chosen for studies in generative-transformational grammar (recent works are among others Erguvanlı-Taylan 2002; Kılıçaslan 2004) and its follow-ups including computational analyses (Schaaik 1996) as well as semantic and pragmatic studies (Erguvanlı 1984; Schlyter 1985; Haig 1998; Schroeder 1999 et al.). Starting in 1982, international conferences on Turkish linguistics are held every other year either in Turkey or at universities abroad (see e.g. Özsay et al. 2003). Comprehensive surveys and bibliographies of Turkish linguistics are given in Boeschoten/Verhoeven (1991) and *Dilbilim Araştırmaları* (1990), respectively, and annotated lists of handbooks, periodicals and conferences devoted to linguistic Turkology in Tekin/Ölmez (1999).

#### 3.1. Sociolinguistic Turkology

The most productive branch of Turkish sociolinguistics so far is dialectology (for references, see Gülensoy 1981; Zeynep Korkmaz “Anatolian Dialects”, in Hazai 1990,

388–413; Karahan 1996). A long-desired goal still actively worked on has been the establishment of a Turkish dialect atlas, though considered to be a very difficult task due not only to the heterogeneity of dialect areas (2.1.1.) but also to the lack of consistency between dialect studies and, furthermore, hitherto unresearched regions both within and beyond Turkey. Under the auspices of the Turkish Language Society (2.3.), dialectologists are engaged in discussing coordination and, where necessary, completion of the pieces of information provided by the various dialect reports so far published. Recent contributions in this context are Karahan 1996 and a ‘Symposium on Dialectological Research’ (*Ağız Araştırmaları Bilgi Şöleni*) in May 1997, tape-recordings of which were published in 1999 (TDK ed. no. 697).

As to contact-induced linguistic variation in Turkey and in the Turkic language area as a whole (Johanson 1992), much remains to be done. Despite an apparently growing scholarly interest in Turkish vernacular (e.g. Gürsoy-Naskali/Sağol 2003), no in-depth sociolinguistic study has as yet dealt with the influence of minor ethnic languages in Turkey or foreign idioms on Turkish everyday-language usage.

Other challenges to Turkish sociolinguistic research are related to language contact across the Turkish borders. By the end of the 20th century there were about 2,5 million Turkish citizens living in Western Europe, most of them in Germany, where they are the largest minority (more than 1,5 million) constituting one third of all foreigners in the country. Large numbers of exile Turks frequently commute between their native country and destinations abroad bringing with them not only specific language experience of their own but often also children who have learnt and practiced their Turkish in a foreign linguistic environment (cf. Birkenfeld 1982). Case studies on language acquisition and codeswitching among Turkish children and youngsters in the Netherlands have been carried out by Boeschoten (1990) and Backus (1992). One further research task in this connection would be to investigate the impact of exile Turkish language experience on standard and substandard Turkish varieties in Turkey itself.

In another part of the world, Turkey has played an active role in the sociolinguistic and academic reform work initiated in Cen-

tral Asian Turkic-speaking societies after the collapse of the Soviet communist bloc (Schlyter 2003). Programs have been developed for Turkish language-teaching both in Central Asia and among Central Asian students studying in Turkey. At the same time the country is expanding its institutional basis at university departments and institutes for Turkological research (*Türkiyat Araştırmaları Enstitüleri/Merkezleri*) with the aim of integrating traditional research on the Turkish language and literature into a broader framework of Turkic cultural studies. The obvious effect of this is a greater spread of Turkey Turkish in Central Asia and more intimate contacts between Turkish and Central Asian languages, first and foremost other Turkic languages.

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## 188. Iran, Afghanistan and Tajikistan Iran, Afghanistan und Tadschikistan

1. The area
2. Sociolinguistic history
3. Genetic relationships
4. Sociolinguistic function
5. Standardization
6. Literature (selected)

### 1. The area

The three presently independent Persian-speaking countries of Iran, Tajikistan, and Afghanistan used to lie within the borders of a single ancient empire. Geographically, the three countries cover an area of around 2 700 000 sq. km on the Iran Plateau in western Asia (Mosahab 1966). In times past, the empire was bounded by the Sind River and Pamir and Soleiman mountains to the east, Mesopotamia and Asia Minor to the west, the Aral Sea and the Caucasian mountains to the north, and the Persian Gulf and Oman Sea to the south (Ghirshman 1976; Mosahab 1966–1999; Takmil-Homayoun 2000).

Modern Iran, with a territory of 1 648 000 sq. km, is located in the western part of the area, and is bordered on the west by Turkey and Iraq, on the south by the Persian Gulf and Oman Sea, on the east by Pakistan and Afghanistan, on the north by Azerbaijan Republic, Turkmenistan, and Armenia. Afghanistan in the eastern part of the territory covers an area of 655 000 sq. km, is bordered on the west by Iran, on the east and south by Pakistan, on the north by Turkmenistan, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan. It has also a very tiny border with China to the northeast (Shroder 1985). Tajikistan is located in the northern part of the territory and covers an

area of 142 000 sq. km, having borders with Uzbekistan to the west, Afghanistan to the south, Kirghizistan to the north and the People’s Republic of China to the east.

On the basis of UN estimates, in 1998 the total population of the three countries together was around 93 000 000, which includes 65 758 000 for Iran, 21 354 000 for Afghanistan, and 6 015 000 for Tajikistan (Ethnologue 2001).

Ethnic diversity is an important feature of the area as a whole. The population of the area can be ethnically divided into Iranians (including Persians, Baluches, Kurds, Tajiks, Pashtuns), Turks (including Azerbaijanis, Uzbeks, Turkmens), Semitics (including Arabs, Assyrians), Indo-Aryans (including Nuristanis, Grangalis), other Indo-Europeans (including Armenians, Slavs), Dravidians (Barahuis), and certain other small ethnic groups (Bulookbashi 2000; Azizi-Bani-Torof 2001; Ethnologue 2001).

According to the statistics available for Iran (Ethnologue 2001; Grimes 1996), of the total population of Iran around 37% are Fars, 35% are Azarbayjani, 5% are Gilak, 5% are Kurd, 6.5% are Lur, 5% are Mazandarani, 3% are Turkmen, 1.2% are Baluch, 2.3% are Arab, plus other smaller ethnic groups, including Armenians.

As for Afghanistan, the total population was 21 354 000 in 1998 (Ethnologue 2001). According to Asher (1994) and (Ethnologue 2001), more than 37% of the population are Pashtun while more than 25% are Persian speakers. Other smaller ethnic groups in this country are the Uzbek (4%–7% of the population), Hezareh or Hazaragi (4%), Turkmen (2.3%), Baluch (1%), Aimaq (2.3%) and

Barahui (1%). There are also numerous other smaller ethnic minorities such as the Azari (or Afshari), Kirghiz, Kazakh, and Pashayi who altogether form around 20% of the population.

According to Asher (1994), of the total population of Tajikistan (3 800 000), over 60% are Tajik, over 22% are Uzbek, some 10% are Russian, 1.7% are Tatar, and around 5% are Kirghiz, Turkemen, and others. However, according to the UN estimate of 1998, the total population of Tajikistan is 6 015 000 (Ethnologue 2001) of which over 50% are Tajik.

Iranian languages are also spoken today in parts of Pakistan, China, Uzbekistan, Caucasia, Turkey, Iraq, and Syria.

## 2. Sociolinguistic history

Although archaeological studies have shown that ancient civilizations and cultures were found in different parts of this territory during the 6<sup>th</sup> to 4<sup>th</sup> millennia B. C., our ethnic and linguistic information for the early inhabitants of this territory before the arrival of the Indo-Europeans is limited. According to Oranskij (1979, 46), Iran was the home of non-Indo-European tribes such as Elamites, and Kassites, in the southwest, Lullubis in the west and Caspis and Manas in the southwestern Caspian shore. The most important written documents are in the Elamite language (Cameron 1936).

Indo-Iranian tribes started their immigrations from their original homeland in southern Russia and central Asia at the end of the second millennium B. C. (Oranskij 1963, 32). The language of the new settlers was a 'common Iranian' of which we have no written records. The history of the Iranian languages is usually divided into three separate periods. From the old Iranian period (from the 6<sup>th</sup> century B. C. to the 3<sup>rd</sup> or 4<sup>th</sup> century B. C.), four major languages, i. e. Old Persian, Avestan, Saka (Khotanese) and Median are well known. Of these languages, Avestan, according to some scholars, was the language of the eastern part of the old Iranian territory in which Zoroastrian religious texts belonging to the 6<sup>th</sup> century A. D., were written. As Oranskij (1979, 68) indicates, the oldest forms of Avestan belong to the 2<sup>nd</sup> millennium B. C. The Saka language was used in the northeastern parts of the Old Iranian empire, such as Khotan and some parts of the Central Asia. No written

record is available from Saka; however, some Saka words can be observed in Greek texts. The same is true for Median which was used in the western parts of Iran, and the territory ruled by the Medes (Sadeghi 1978). Median words are found in old Persian and Greek texts; according to Oranskij (1979, 18–19), Median words are found in Herodotus' writings. Old Persian was in use in the southern parts of Iran (i. e. parts of Fars province) and is found in some Achaemenid inscriptions. According to some scholars such as Sadeghi (1978, 5), the governmental language of the Achaemenid Empire was Aramaic (a Semitic language), and old Persian was apparently an oral and unwritten language before it became the official written language used in the Achaemenid inscriptions. No written document from this language is available after the collapse of the Achaemenid Empire around the fourth century B. C.

The middle period of the Iranian language evolution starts around the third century B. C., after the collapse of the Achaemenids and the emergence of Arsacids, and ends in the 7<sup>th</sup> century A. D. after the collapse of the Sassanid empire (Dresden 1970, 26). Considerable numbers of written documents are available from different languages of the middle Iranian period such as Pahlavi, Parthian, Sogdian, and Khwarezmian.

The Pahlavi language (also known as Middle Persian) was the official language of Iran during the Sassanid dynasty (from 3<sup>rd</sup> to 7<sup>th</sup> century A. D.). Pahlavi is the direct continuation of old Persian, and was used as the written official language of the country. However, after the Moslem conquest and the collapse of the Sassanids, Arabic became the dominant language of the country and Pahlavi lost its importance, and was gradually replaced by Dari, a variety of Middle Persian, with considerable loan elements from Arabic and Parthian (Moshref 2001). Parthian was spoken during the domination of the Arsacid dynasty in northeastern Iran, presently known as Khorasan province. According to Sadeghi (1978, 8), at the beginning of the Arsacid period around the 3<sup>rd</sup> Century B. C., the official language of the empire was Greek as used during the dominance of a Greek dynasty known as Seleucids that ruled the country for some decades after Alexander the Great's victory in Iran. However, Parthian, the unwritten language

of the new dynasty, gradually replaced Greek. Natel-Khanlari (1969, 250) indicates that Parthian had been the governmental and administrative language of Iran for around five centuries (from the 3<sup>rd</sup> century B. C. to the 3<sup>rd</sup> century A. D.). There are some inscriptions available from the kings of the early Sassanid period written in Parthian, Greek and Pahlavi that indicate the importance of the Parthian language in parts of the Sassanid territory. By the end of the Sassanid period, Parthian was a dead language and replaced by Dari (Sadeghi 1978, 9). Sogdian was in use during the fifth to the ninth centuries A. D. in the northeastern parts of the Iranian territories, mainly in Samarkand and Bokhara (presently located in Uzbekistan), and is now available in some written documents such as texts, coins, letters, woods, etc. (Natel-Khanlari 1969, 276). Sogdian was used along the Silk Road and in the Central Asian area as a whole as a *lingua franca* (Zarshenas 2001a, 1; Zarshenas 2001b, 72). Khwarezmian has no independent documentation, but Khwarezmian words and sentences have been found in some Arabic texts in the Perso-Arabic alphabet.

The Modern period started in the 8<sup>th</sup> or 9<sup>th</sup> century A. D. and extends to the present time. With the collapse of the Sassanid empire and spread of Islam, Pahlavi gradually lost its prestigious position, and became a dead language, used predominantly by a limited number of religious Zoroastrian priests and scholars. According to Sadeghi, (1978, 25), Pahlavi changed in two different ways during the Sassanid period: one form can be observed in Zoroastrian books and literary texts of the late Sassanid and early Islamic era, and the other form, Dari or Persian, was the spoken common language used by the people of the Sassanid capital City (Ctesiphon). Scholars such as Henning and Bailey believe that Persian is a mixture of Pahlavi and Parthian elements to different degrees; however, by rejecting the extremist positions of Henning and Bailey, as well as the idea of a non-Pahlavi, Sadeghi (1978, 30–32) indicates that Persian is derived from Pahlavi mixed with some non-Pahlavi elements. In other words, Persian is structurally identical to Pahlavi mixed with loan elements from Parthian and other Iranian languages and dialects. Thus, Dari/Persian was the continuation of Pahlavi, the official language of Iran in the Sassanid era, which lost its importance after the collapse of the

Sassanid empire. The term Dari apparently lost its usage in Iran after the 11<sup>th</sup> century and since then the language has been called Farsi (Persian), an Arabicized form of Parsi.

In the long period after the Arab conquest and the collapse of the Sassanid empire around the 7<sup>th</sup> century, Arabic became the scientific and written language of a greater part of the Iranian territory. Arabic, as the language of Quran, was used in government, books, and prayers for centuries, while Persian and other indigenous languages and dialects of the country continued to be mostly used as the spoken languages of the people. Ultimately, however, Iranians accepted the new religion, Islam, but rejected Arabic as their national and official language, and therefore Persian gradually improved its social position and became the official language.

In the 10<sup>th</sup> century, the Samanid government, which had played an important role in the spread of Persian, collapsed after the invasion of the Turkic tribes. With the establishment of the Turkic governments in Central Asia, Persian retreated and Turkic became dominant in Central Asia and parts of Iran, especially Azerbaijan. According to Redard (1970, 112), the progressive establishment of Turkic tribes in Iranian Azerbaijan (from the 11<sup>th</sup> to 16<sup>th</sup> centuries) profoundly altered the linguistic picture of the region.

Another important event that made the ethnic and linguistic picture of the area more complicated was the forced migration of Armenians in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, during the Safavid domination. However, some scholars believe that before this great migration through which 300000 to 400000 Armenians were forced to leave their homeland and move to Iran, some Armenians were already living and/or trading in parts of Iran. The existence of churches like Saint Thaddeus (Tatavoos) in western Azerbaijan since the early centuries A. D. supports this claim (Hoviyan 2001, 11–13; Melkomian 2001, 55–57).

### 3. Genetic relationships

Languages and dialects of the area listed in Asher (1994), Ethnologue (2001) and other sources can be roughly classified into nine different genetic groups, five of which i. e. Iranian, Indo-Aryan, Armenian, Germanic, and Balto-Slavic belong to the Indo-Euro-

pean language family. The other four groups are Altaic, Semitic, Caucasian, and Dravidian.

In terms of the numbers of speakers in the three countries, the largest branch of the Indo-European family is the Iranian group. According to Ethnologue (2001), more than 40% of the population of these countries are speakers of the two major languages of the Iranian group, i. e. Persian and Pashto.

The major western Iranian languages in Iran are Kurdish, Luri, Mazandarani, Baluchi, Gilaki; the largest western Iranian languages in Afghanistan are Hezareh, Aimaq, and Baluchi; the Iranian languages of Tajikistan other than Tajiki, include Yagnobi, Wakhi, and Shughini, which belong to the eastern branch of the Iranian group (Ethnologue 2001).

The only important language of the Indo-Aryan branch of the Indo-Iranian family in the area is Domari, also known as Kowli, the language of the Romani or Gypsies. This language is spoken in Iran by some 80000 people (Asher 1994; Ethnologue 2001). However, several smaller languages of the Indo-Aryan group such as Grangali, Gujari, Domari, Kati, Pashayi, Kamviri, Parya, Shumashti, etc., are presently spoken by minority groups in Afghanistan.

Another important Indo-European language of non-Indo-Iranian origin is Armenian. According to some sources, Armenian is currently spoken by some 170000 to 360000 Iranian Armenians in Tehran, Azerbaijan, and Isfahan (Asher 1994; Ethnologue 2001). The Slavic languages Russian, Belorussian, and Ukrainian are spoken by minority groups in Tajikistan; and German and Yiddish have 27000 and 3000 native speakers respectively in Tajikistan (Comrie 1994: 224).

The largest non-Indo-European family in the three countries is Altaic represented by Azerbaijani, Uzbek, Kirghiz, Turkmen, Uyghur and Kazakh, which belong to the southern and western groups of the Turkic branch of the Altaic. Together with speakers of the Mogholi language from the Mongolian branch of Altaic, this family has around 30000000 speakers in Iran and Afghanistan (around 29% of the population of the three countries). The speakers of Azerbaijani mostly live in Iran while the speakers of Uzbek (1400000) live in Afghanistan and Tajikistan (Asher 1994; Ethnologue 2001). The number of speakers of Turkmen in Tajikistan is 13500 (Comrie 1994, 224), in

Iran 700000 to 2000000, and in Afghanistan 380000 to 500000 according to different sources (Ethnologue 2001; Asher 1994).

Another major language family with considerable number of speakers in the three countries, particularly in Iran, is Semitic, represented by Arabic, Assyrian (Neo Aramaic), Mandaic, and Senaya. Of these, Arabic is the most important with, according to different sources (Asher 1994; Ethnologue 2001), 620000 to 1400000 people in the Khuzestan province of southwestern Iran and some islands and coastal areas along the Persian Gulf. There are some 5000 Arabic speakers in some villages in Balkh and Takhar province in Afghanistan in 1967 (Ethnologue 2001).

Assyrian is spoken by some 20000 to 40000 people mostly in Tehran and Urumiyeh (Asher 1994; Ethnologue 2001). Mandaic is spoken by 1000 people in Khuzestan, and fewer than 100 people in Iran are the speakers of Senaya.

Barahui is a Dravidian language with 200000 speakers in Afghanistan and 20000 speakers in Iran (Asher 1994; Ethnologue 2001). Georgian, a Caucasian language, is spoken by some 10000 people in Iran and 1000 in Tajikistan.

#### 4. Sociolinguistic function

The official languages of our three countries are different variants of Persian. These are known as Farsi in Iran, Dari in Afghanistan, and Tajiki in Tajikistan.

In modern Iran, Persian has long been the official language. In the pre-revolutionary period, Persian was the only official language of the whole country. According to article 15 of the new Iranian constitutional law passed after the 1979 revolution, Persian is still the only official language of the country in official education, mass media, and the courts, but other languages can be used in non-official communications, local broadcasting and printing. Persian is used as a lingua franca by at least 75% of literate Iranians from different ethnic backgrounds. Non-official languages such as Azerbaijani, Gilaki, Kurdish, and Armenian play an important role in the maintenance of the cultural identity of minority ethnic groups.

Afghanistan with its smaller geographical territory has nevertheless a more complicated ethnolinguistic configuration. According to Oranskij (1977, 118), the only of-



ficial language of Afghanistan was Persian until 1933, but during the 1930s, a movement for promoting the Status of Pashto to the official level began to take hold. Since then, the two languages, Dari (or Afghani Persian) and Pashto, which are together spoken by around two third of the country's population, have been accepted as official languages, and are used in the mass media, education and other official contexts. Kabul Persian has a high prestige among the speakers of other Persian dialects in Afghanistan. Among the Pashto dialects of Afghanistan, the Kandahar dialect also has high prestige and is used in literary works (Oranskij 1977, 118)

The official language of Tajikistan, the smallest country under study, is Tajiki Persian, which is spoken natively by more than 50% of the population. Since the literacy rate of the republic is around 99%, almost all the population use it either as L1 or L2 (Ethnologue 2001, 1), often replacing Russian which was formerly widely used as a lingua franca. Tajiki is also spoken in parts of Uzbekistan, and Kirghizistan. Unlike Iranian Persian and Afghani Persian, which are written in perso-Arabic script, Tajiki Persian has a history of being written in the Cyrillic script (see further below).

## 5. Standardization

The multi-ethnic and multilingual nature of the countries under study confronts language planners with various problems such as language variation, language standardization, language officialization, loss of minority languages, and language maintenance.

Attempts have been made by the Iranian Academy to standardize rules of orthography, grammar and pronunciation. The main focus of the Academy has been, however, on word coinage for new foreign cultural phenomena. Very many of these new words are now in use in the Iranian Standard Persian used in educational texts and the mass media as well as in the language of the educated people (Modarresi, 1990, 2).

Each of the three standard varieties of Persian has its own written and spoken version with their specific features, and is spoken in the major cultural and social centres of each country. Iranian Standard Persian is based on literary Persian and is very close to the Persian dialect spoken by educated Tehrani speakers. Educated speak-

ers in other important cultural and social centres in Iran usually use the same Iranian Standard variety, with some few regional features. The same seems to be more or less true for Kabul Persian in Afghanistan and Doshanbeh Persian in Tajikistan.

Among Pashto dialects in Afghanistan, the standard variety is based on the Kandahar dialect, and is used in literary works, schooling, the mass media and other socio-cultural domains (Oranskij 1963, 118).

The situation of Persian in Tajikistan is rather different. During the Soviet period, Tajik Standard Persian was used in the Tajik SSR, together with Russian. Since independence, Persian has played a more important role in Tajikistan and Tajik Standard Persian has gained higher prestige and more use in the mass media and schooling. *The Foundation for Tajik Persian* was established in 1989 and according to a new law passed in the same year, Tajik Persian became the official language of the country. The Cyrillic script was also supposed to be replaced by the Perso-Arabic script by 1996. Currently, there are a number of publications printed in the new alphabet (Karimiyan Sardashti 2001, 240), but according to Kalbassi (1995, 12), several newspapers and magazines are still published both in the Persian and Cyrillic scripts.

In all three countries we are currently witnessing a process of language shift away from the smaller minority languages toward Persian.

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## 189. The Arabic-speaking Middle East

### Der arabischsprachige Mittlere Osten

1. Introduction
2. The Levant
3. Syria
4. Lebanon
5. Jordan
6. The Palastinian territories (West Bank and Gaza Strip)
7. Egypt
8. Literature (selected)

#### 1. Introduction

The region covered in this chapter consists of Egypt, and the countries of the Levant, which include Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, the Palestinian West Bank and Gaza Strip. The 'Levant' is a collective geographical term, which was originally coined to refer to the French mandated parts of the East Mediterranean, namely the current republics of Syria and Lebanon. Following the tradition in Arabic dialectology, I will be using this term collectively for Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, and the Palestinian territories, and the sedentary dialects spoken in this region will be called 'Levantine Arabic'. The countries of the Levant became separate political entities only after the First World War, and although there are important differences in their current sociolinguistic situations, the essentials of their sociolinguistic histories are basically the same.

In Egypt and the Levant, Arabic is designated as the official language, the language of the State, the medium of instruction in education, and the language of the mass media. A few points are in order in this connection. Firstly, in popular and official usage, *The Arabic language* refers to standard Arabic only, the modernised version of Classical Arabic. Classical Arabic was standardised twelve centuries ago, and has ceased to be a spoken language for longer than that. As in the rest of the Arab world, standard Arabic is not ordinarily used for everyday spoken purposes by any sector of the population. It stands in a diglossic relation to the spoken Arabic dialects (e.g. Egyptian Arabic), and to other languages spoken in the region (e.g. Armenian in Lebanon), very much along the lines explained by Ferguson (1959). The spoken Arabic varieties along with the minority languages are

not given official recognition. Secondly, although standard Arabic is officially designated as the medium of instruction in education, in actual practice, the lessons are often conducted in a mixture of standard and non-standard Arabic. For instance, it is quite usual for a lesson to be read out in the standard variety and to be explained in the colloquial dialects. In many private schools in the region, the medium of instruction can be a different language altogether, e.g. English or French. In higher education, the use of English as a medium of instruction is the norm in the sciences and in medicine, except in Syrian universities, where Arabic is used throughout. Thirdly, on television and radio the use of purely standard Arabic is limited, in practice rather than by regulation, to programmes in which the broadcaster is reading from a written script. The colloquial dialects are used in the vast majority of entertainment programmes, e.g. soap operas, game shows, cookery programmes, and children's programmes. In chat shows and interviews, the topic of the conversation often determines the choice between standard and non-standard constructions and lexical items, and most often these programmes utilise a mixture of both. Notably, the standard variety is used more consistently in religious broadcasts, though even here the use of the colloquial is not ruled out altogether, especially where there is interaction with an audience in the studio or on the telephone. In the written media, e.g. newspapers and magazines, only Standard Arabic is used, since the spoken dialects are not ordinarily written.

In the written domains, Standard Arabic is fairly uniform in the region, apart from minor lexical differences, mainly in the Arabised versions of political, administrative, or technological terms. In spoken standard Arabic (e.g. in news broadcasts), there is less uniformity at the phonological level. A number of dialectal features are often maintained by speakers inadvertently. For instance, Egyptian newsreaders consistently read standard [ḡ] as [g], as in Cairo Arabic, while Lebanese readers pronounce this sound as [ʒ], as in Lebanese Arabic. The dialects vary considerably from country to country, with varying degrees of mutual in-

telligibility. The urban dialects are mutually intelligible, because of the genealogical relationships of the dialect groups involved, geographical proximity, frequent contact between the speakers of these dialects, and exposure to one another's dialects through the mass media. For example, speakers from Damascus, Beirut, Amman, Jerusalem, and Cairo can communicate fully and freely through their local dialects, without the need to resort to the use of standard Arabic, as may be necessary in meetings between educated speakers from the region and similar speakers from, say, Morocco. On the other hand, the extent to which the isolated non-urban dialects are mutually intelligible is a matter which awaits research.

## 2. The Levant

The Levantine countries occupy an area of some 290 000 sq. km, stretching from the southern parts of ancient Anatolia in the north to the approaches of the Arab Peninsula in the south, and from the shores of the Mediterranean in the west to the Syro-Arabian desert in the east.

The region gradually became Arabic-speaking after the Arab Islamic conquest in the 7<sup>th</sup> century, and has since then remained predominantly so, despite coming under non-Arabic speaking political domination at various periods. These included the Turkish Seljuks, the Crusader Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, the Mongols, the Turkish Mamluks, and from 16<sup>th</sup>–20<sup>th</sup> century the Turkish Ottoman empire. Well before the Arab conquest, the inhabitants of the region were speakers of one or another of the ancient North Western Semitic Languages, firstly Canaanite and Phoenician, and, from the sixth century BC., Aramaic. Aramaic had become the lingua franca from Egypt to Asia Minor to Pakistan, and remained so well into the Christian era. Arabic, a Semitic language of the South-west branch, made an inroad with the arrival of Arabic-speaking tribes from Arabia proper. Nevertheless, inscriptional evidence suggests that many of the Arabic-speaking tribes who settled in the region, such as the Nabateans of Petra, used Aramaic for written purposes.

In some parts of Syria, Aramaic continued to be spoken widely until the 14<sup>th</sup> century. It remains in use as a home language (Now known as 'Syriac', which is the Christian literary form of Aramaic, and its speakers in

the region are called Syriacs (in Arabic 'Siryaaan'). In a few villages in Syria and Lebanon (Arnold/Behnstedt 1993). It is also used as a liturgical language in the Syriac churches in Jordan and Palestine. Some Arabic dialectologists believe that a number of phonological, morphological and lexical features in the modern Levantine dialects show Aramaic substratal influence, although this matter is controversial (see Versteegh 1997, 105–106).

Arabic has become a minority language in two neighbouring regions, namely in Central Anatolia, and in Israel. The Turkish Central Anatolia region was formerly largely Arabic speaking, but has progressively become Turkish or Kurdish since the 11<sup>th</sup> century. In the 1965 Turkish census, 350 000 people, concentrated mainly in and around the south eastern cities of Siirt and Mardin, declared Arabic as their mother tongue, but more recent research on Anatolian Arabic estimated that only 140 000 people used Arabic, mainly as a home language (Jastrow 1973; Sasse 1971, cited in Versteegh 1997).

In Israel, the situation and status of Arabic is a good deal more complex. While an estimated one million native speakers of Palestinian Arabic (mainly of the South Levantine type) have either been displaced, or have emigrated since the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948, half a million (Jewish) Arabic-speaking immigrants have arrived since then. These immigrants are speakers of Judeo-Iraqi Arabic, or of Moroccan, Tripolitanian, Tunisian, or Yemeni Arabic dialects. These and the remaining 1.1 million Moslem and Christian Palestinians constitute the Arabic-speaking communities in Israel (about 20% of the total population). Standard Arabic is considered one of the official languages, and is used, as a medium of instruction in Arab schools.

Until 1918, the countries of the Levant were not separate political entities, but had been part of the Ottoman Turkish empire since the 16<sup>th</sup> century. However, Turkish rule, and the use of Turkish in state administration in the Arab provinces did not change the linguistic identity of the region. The masses maintained Arabic for everyday purposes, and Arabic-Turkish bilingualism was largely restricted to those individuals who served in the Turkish administration. State-funded education for all was not part of the Turkish rulers' policies. Schooling in the region was exclusively provided by Arabic

Christian and Islamic schools, which determinedly used Arabic.

Standard Arabic retained some importance, especially for the religious purposes of the Moslem Ottomans, but its role in state administration, and as a language of culture, became considerably restricted. In the course of the long period of Ottoman rule, its use for written purposes became scarce, and thus its ability to serve as a medium of intellectual and scientific expression inevitably deteriorated (see Chejne 1969).

The linguistic influence of Turkish on the Arabic spoken in the region is relatively marginal, given the length of Turkish rule. It is mostly confined to the borrowing of lexical items, mostly official, military and administrative words, a reflection of the nature of the contact between the two languages. Many of these items were themselves Turkish coinages from Arabic (or Persian), which were then re-borrowed by Arabic, occasionally in Turkish phonetic shape, e.g. /zaabi/ 'army officer', and /qaajimmaqaam/ 'a government representative' (a rank in the civil service). Many such terms remained in use for some time after independence from Turkish rule, but have since then lost currency to a considerable extent, and have been replaced by modern Arabic terms. Another category of borrowings from Turkish include food recipes, some of which remain in use, e.g. /baglaawa/ 'baklava', /burik/ 'bureck' (cheese or meat stuffed pastry), /bu:za/ (Turkish 'buz') or /ḍanderma/ (Turkish 'dondurmak') 'ice cream', clothing and such items (no longer used), e.g. /baalṭo/ (Turkish 'palto') 'coat', /kuzlok/ (Turkish 'gözlük') 'spectacles', and /do:ʃak/ (Turkish 'döşek') '(a small hard) mattress'. One structural influence of Turkish on the Arabic dialects in the region may be the introduction of a new sibilant sound, emphatic [z] as a variant of emphatic /ḍ/ and of emphatic [d] (see Garbell 1958).

Turkish rule in the Levant ended in the aftermath of the First World War, and was replaced by British and French colonial rule. The region was divided up into mandates, with Lebanon and Syria under French control, while Palestine and Jordan fell within the British mandate. The political reorganisation of the region in this fashion meant that English in Jordan and Palestine, and French in Lebanon and Syria assumed vital positions, and in the French mandates, French and Arabic were proclaimed the offi-

cial languages. It is possible that the creation of separate political entities, which in part led to the development of different political, educational and cultural systems, has influenced the course of linguistic developments in the local dialects, in so far as it has favoured the emergence of different national norms, as opposed to a pan-Levantine norm based on the dialect of Damascus.

### 3. Syria

Syria is the largest and linguistically the most diverse of the Levantine countries. It occupies an area of 1850 sq. km (including the Golan Heights, occupied by Israel since 1967). The population is estimated at 15.5 million. The French mandate over Syria ended with the proclamation of an independent republic in 1946, and Arabic was then declared the sole official language. Syria stands out among the Levant countries in having allied itself politically with the Eastern Bloc since independence, with inward-oriented educational and economic policies. This is partly reflected in the total hegemony awarded to Arabic by law and practice, and, until recently, the lack of support for foreign language teaching in the school system. Syria is the only Arab country in which the medium of instruction in higher education is Arabic in all subject areas. Until the 1960's, French was the only foreign language taught in schools. More recently, Syria has gradually become more open to the Western world, a move which has consolidated the position of English as a foreign language. In the state education system, English now shares the status of obligatory foreign language with French. To a large extent, French has lost ground to English, although French never really assumed a significant practical role in Syria (in contrast to Lebanon, see below).

In addition to Arabic, there are six languages which are spoken in the country. Of these, Kurdish has the most speakers, with an estimated 900000 speakers in the northern region, followed by Armenian (320000), Azerbaijani (30000), Circassian, or Adyghe (The Circassian presence in the Levant dates to the 19<sup>th</sup> century emigration from North Caucasia into Ottoman held provinces in the region.), a Northwest Caucasian language (25000), and Domari, (Middle Eastern Romani) (10000) (*Ethnologue report for Syria*). In the Qalamoun mountains are the last

remaining strongholds of (Neo-) Aramaic speakers, with an estimated 45 000 speakers, concentrated in Ma'loule and surrounding villages. None of these languages have official status.

In terms of dialectal variation, three major Arabic dialect groups are represented within Syria. In the north eastern region (bordering Iraq) dialects of the Mesopotamian group are spoken, and the rest of the Syrian desert in the east is of Najdi Peninsular Arabic type. In the rest of the country varieties of North and South Levantine Arabic are spoken, which can be distinguished from one another by a number of features. In the south western corner (bordering Jordan), a type of southern Levantine (commonly known as Haurani) is spoken, which is distinguished by its use of [g] as a variant of standard /q/, and by preserving the interdental sounds, whereas the central dialects (e.g. Damascus), and the northern dialects (e.g. Aleppo) have [ʔ] for /q/, and no interdentals. The northern and central dialects are usually distinguished by various historical processes of /a/ raising, among other features (see Behnstedt 1997; Versteegh 1997, 153–154). Syrian Arabic is also subject to variation according to sectarian/religious group, most prominent of which are the Druze, who are concentrated in Jabal li-Druze in the south and whose dialect is completely different from the surrounding Haurani type, the Alawis, mainly in and around the coastal city of Latakia, whose dialect is similar to Lebanese, and the Ismaelis, in the central north, whose dialect is also considerably different from the surrounding dialects (Behnstedt, personal communication; see also Behnstedt 1997). In the large urban communities, e.g. Damascus and Aleppo, there is a high degree of koineisation and levelling out of marked sectarian and regional linguistic features (see Palva 1982). Syria is also home to a few thousands of Palestinian refugees, originally speakers of rural and urban Palestinian dialects.

#### 4. Lebanon

Lebanon occupies an area of 10 452 sq. km, and has an estimated population of 3.5 million. The French mandate over Lebanon ended with the proclamation of an independent Lebanese republic in 1943. However, unlike Syria, Lebanon has maintained strong links with France politically and culturally,

mainly because of its relatively large, and politically dominant Christian population. French and the French culture have had a strong hold over the educated classes, many of whom spoke French as well as, or better than Arabic (Hourani 1985). It is estimated that 20% of the population use French in their daily lives, and 60% can read and write it. French is used as a medium of instruction in a number of schools and institutions of higher education. Government publications usually appear in both Arabic and French. Lebanese Arabic, especially the dialect of Beirut, has incorporated many French lexical items. English has been an important foreign language, from as early as the 19<sup>th</sup> century, mainly through missionaries from the United States and Britain, who established schools and institutions of higher education, such as the Syrian Protestant College, which later became the influential American University of Beirut (see Salibi 1988). Both French and English are very widely spoken in Lebanon.

The most important ethnic and linguistic minority group in Lebanon is the Armenian community, who account for 6% of the population. The Armenians are generally bilingual in Armenian and Arabic. A small community of Aramaic speakers also exists in Lebanon, although the language is mainly used for religious purposes, and a small group of Kurds (*Ethnologue report for Lebanon*).

The Lebanese dialects of Arabic are all assigned to the North Levantine type, with further sub-divisions between southern and northern dialects. One of the salient features which distinguishes between these sub-groups is the elision in the northern type of unstressed /a/ in open syllables (see Versteegh 1997, 152–154). Given Lebanon's sectarian and confessional divisions (no less than 13 different Moslem and Christian sects), and its mountainous terrain, the sociolinguistic details of its dialects raise complex and interesting questions for research. Lebanon became home to 400 000 Palestinian refugees, and thus the Lebanese linguistic map includes a variety of mainly Urban and Rural Palestinian dialects.

#### 5. Jordan

Jordan occupies an area of some 92 000 sq. km. It was recognised as an independent Emirate under British tutelage in 1923, and

as an independent kingdom in 1946. Its population at the time was no more than half a million, but now stands at an estimated five million. In addition to a very high birth rate, the boom in Jordan's population came as a result of the displacement of Palestinians from Israel, the West Bank, the Gaza Strip, and Kuwait (during the Gulf War). The country is also host to hundreds of thousands of workers from Egypt, Sri Lanka, the Philippines, Pakistan, and (since 1990) Iraq.

English is the major foreign language, taught in all state and private schools as a compulsory subject, and used as the medium of instruction in a number of private schools and in the faculties of science and medicine in higher education. It is also widely used in the business and banking sectors, and as a lingua franca in communications with non-Arab residents. French is considered the second foreign language, and is taught as such in many private schools, but is not ordinarily used outside the classroom. Jordanian Arabic borrows extensively from English, and contains a number of borrowings from French (possibly through Lebanese).

The most important ethnic and linguistic minority group is the Circassians, who estimate the size of their community to be in the region of 60000. Circassian has been undergoing shift in favour of Jordanian Arabic, with only 16% of the younger Circassian generation reporting some competence in the ethnic language, although there is a secondary school where Circassian is taught as a subject. The second minority language is Chechen-Ingush (also a North Caucasian language, of the eastern type), spoken by some 10000 people. In contrast to Circassian, Chechen appears to be in a stable bilingual situation with Jordanian Arabic. The Circassians and the Chechens in Jordan (as in Syria) are descendents of the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century emigrants from North Caucasia. Their languages are mutually unintelligible (for details on both communities, see Al-Wer 1999). Armenian is another minority language, spoken by an estimated 4000 people. Recent reports suggest that Armenian is undergoing shift in Jordan (Al-Khatib 2001). The size of the Jordanian Domari population is difficult to estimate, possibly in the region of 35000. There is also a small group of Turkumans, speakers of a variety of Turkish (a detailed study of the

Jordanian Domaris and Turkumans is Moawwad 1999, see also *Ethnologue report for Jordan*). Jordan has a national sign language (Arabic acronym LIU), taught mainly in institutions of NGOs in Jordan and in the Palestinian Territories.

Jordanian Arabic is classified into two major dialect groups. Broadly speaking, the eastern and southern dialects are classified as Najdi (belonging to Arabia), and have fewer speakers than the northern and north-western dialects, which are classified as (southern) Levantine (see Cleveland 1963). Within the Levantine group, the most important distinction is between the varieties which belong to the Haurani and Balgaawi sub-groups, for example the traditional dialects of cities such as Irbid, Ajloun and Sult, and the Madani (Urban) varieties. The Madani dialects were originally, and mainly, introduced through the relatively large number of Palestinians who became Jordanian citizens; they are distinguished by [ʔ] for /q/, and have no interdental sounds, similar to the dialects of Jerusalem, Damascus and Beirut. The emerging dialect of Amman has a predominance of phonological features which are akin to the Urban Levantine group (see Al-Wer 2000).

## 6. The Palestinian territories (West Bank and Gaza Strip)

On 15 May 1948, the British mandate over ancient Palestine ended, and on the same day the State of Israel was declared, incorporating 78% of the land. The remaining 5880 sq. km, known as the West Bank (of the River Jordan) and Gaza Strip were initially incorporated within the Kingdom of Jordan but have been under Israeli military occupation since 1967. The future political status of the territories is yet to be determined by the Israeli-Palestinian Declaration of Principles of 1993. The population is estimated at 2.4 million, the majority of whom are native speakers of Palestinian Arabic. Hebrew is spoken by the 250000 or so Jewish settlers, and by some Palestinians. The Palestinian Diaspora is estimated at 5 million people.

English is the most widely used foreign language. The situation is very similar to that in Jordan. English is taught in schools as a compulsory subject, and used in higher education. A number of church related missionary schools additionally use French

and Italian. The major linguistic minority groups are Domari, Armenian and Syriac. Domari is spoken by an estimated 2000 people, near Gaza and Bir Zeit. Armenian is spoken by a small community of Armenians, mainly in and around Jerusalem, and Syriac by a small community in Jerusalem and Bethlehem (*Ethnologue report for Palestinian West Bank and Gaza*).

Palestinian Arabic belongs to the (South) Levantine family of dialects. The dialects of the main cities of Jerusalem, Nablus, and Hebron share the bulk of their linguistic features with other sedentary dialects in the Levant. The traditional dialect of Gaza diverges from those by incorporating some Bedouin features, characteristic of the eastern Egyptian Bedouin varieties. At the micro sociolinguistic level, the Palestinian dialects can be classified in terms of urban-rural-Bedouin. The rural varieties (spoken in the villages around the major cities) have [k] for /q/, and the Bedouin varieties (spoken mainly in the southern region, and along the Jordan valley, including Jericho) have [g] for /q/ (see Bergträsser 1915). Urban Palestinian features play an important role in shaping the new urban dialects in Jordan, principally owing to the large number of Jordanians of Palestinian origin.

## 7. Egypt

Egypt lies off the southern shores of the Mediterranean, in the north eastern corner of Africa, bordered by Libya in the west, the Sudan in the south, and the Gaza Strip, Israel and the Red Sea in the east. It is the geographical link between the eastern and western Arabic speaking world. It occupies one million sq. km, with an estimated total population of 66 million. Its linguistic history can be traced from the Ancient Egyptian of the Pharaohs, through the Hellenistic period (332–31 B.C.), the Roman and Byzantine periods, to the Arabic Islamic period beginning in 642 A.D. Egypt was ruled by the Ottomans (or their allies) from the 16<sup>th</sup>–19<sup>th</sup> century, interrupted by a short period of French occupation under Napoleon. From 1882, it was occupied by the British, whose colonial influence continued, in one form or another, until 1952.

The (lexical) Turkish influence on Egyptian Arabic is clearer and more consistent than in Levantine Arabic, principally because Egypt, during the Ottoman period,

was ruled directly by Turkish speaking elites. Many Turkish lexical items (or Persian borrowed through Turkish) have been firmly integrated in Egyptian Arabic. Terms such as ‘bey’ and ‘afandim’ (sir), ‘baasha’ (Pasha), ‘haanim’ (madam), ‘abla’ (oldest sister, or school teacher), and ‘abey’ (oldest brother) are now considered Egyptian terms.

English is the most widely used foreign language. It is taught in state and private schools, and in higher education. The American University of Cairo is an important institution in the region, which uses English as the medium of instruction. French is used and taught in private schools. The Egyptian official media transmits in both languages, in addition to Arabic. German is also taught in some private schools.

The Coptic language, considered Neo-Egyptian (of the Afro-Asiatic language family), continued to be spoken until the 14<sup>th</sup> Century, especially in Upper Egypt, and was superseded by Arabic. It is now considered extinct, although used as the liturgical language in the churches of the native Egyptian Copts (6% of the population). It is believed that the relatively short duration of Coptic-Arabic bilingualism resulted in limited lexical and structural influence of Coptic on Egyptian Arabic (Versteegh 1997:95). However, one structural influence which has been claimed to be due to Coptic substratal influence on Egyptian Arabic concerns the interrogative particles, which in Egyptian Arabic (unlike other dialects), are not fronted in the formation of interrogatives, but retain a post verbal position (as in affirmative sentences) (on this topic, see Versteegh 1997, pp 106–107, 162).

The minority languages listed for Egypt include Domari and its varieties (one million speakers), Nubian (Nilo-Saharan, 300000 speakers, mainly in the Upper Nile Valley), Armenian, in Cairo and Alexandria (100000), Greek, mainly in Alexandria (60000), and Siwi Berber, in villages in the western oasis (5,000 speakers), in addition to Circassian or Adyghe, Tosk-Albanian and Italian (no statistics are available) (*Ethnologue report for Egypt*). The presence of Tosk-Albanian dates back to the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries and the establishment of Tosk-Albanian colonies in Cairo and Alexandria during the reign of Mohammad Ali, who himself was Albanian in origin.

The Egyptian Delta dialects (Lower Egypt) form a bridge between the Maghrebi



(North African) dialects to the west, and the Levantine and Northern Arabian dialects to the east. The western dialects, for example, exhibit a number of stereotypically Maghrebi features, e. g. n-prefix in the first person imperfect form of the verb, whereas the Eastern Delta dialects share many features with eastern Arabic. The southern dialects (Upper Egyptian), popularly known as ‘Sa’idi’, are distinguished from the Cairo dialect by a number of features. For example, Cairo has [ʔ] for /q/, and [g] for /ǧ/, which are in Sa’idi [g] and [ǧ], [g], or [d], respectively, in addition to important differences in the assignment of stress (see Versteegh 1997, 159–161).

The modern dialect of Cairo is thought to have been formed in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, through processes of levelling and koineisation as the city received an enormous influx of migrants from other parts of Egypt (Behnstedt/Woidich, cited in Versteegh 1997). The Cairene dialect enjoys considerable prestige inside and outside Egypt. Its linguistic influence in Egypt is reflected through the dissemination of typically Cairene features outwards to northern and southern regions, and in convergence patterns towards Cairene in the speech of the recent migrants in the city (Miller 1996, cited in Versteegh 1997, 138–139).

Egyptian Arabic, particularly the Cairo dialect, is the most widely understood variety in the Arab World. This may be due to Egyptian Arabic being linguistically intermediate in relation to Eastern (Peninsula and Levantine) and Western (Maghrebi) Arabic dialects, and to Egypt’s leading roles in the media, in literature, and in education. The film industry is almost totally dominated by Egyptian productions, and so are television soap operas and theatre productions. For many decades, schools and institutions of higher education in North Africa, the Gulf States, Saudi Arabia, and Yemen were dependent upon Egyptian teachers.

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## 190. Israel and the Jewish Languages Israel und die jüdischen Sprachen

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### 1. Introduction

This article combines two closely related but distinct sociolinguistic topics: the historical development and current situation of what are now known as Jewish languages (Paper 1978), and the sociolinguistic development and current repertoire of the modern State of Israel (Spolsky/Shohamy, 1999).

### 2. Jewish languages

In the last three millennia, there have been a number of distinct stages in the languages spoken by Jews. The presumed monolingualism of the early kingdoms of Israel and Judah gave way, in the centuries after the Babylonian exile in the sixth century B.C., to a Hebrew-Aramaic bilingualism (Chomsky 1957) that was supplemented, by the end of the Temple period 2000 years ago, by a widespread knowledge of Greek also (Wexler 1985). During the long period of Jewish exile from Palestine, a common pattern developed with three significant varieties in use: Hebrew or rather the Hebrew-and-Aramaic of the Talmud as the language of prayer, sacred text, study and commonly all literacy, a Jewish language for intra-community spoken use, and various levels of knowledge and use of one or more co-territorial vernaculars (Rabin 1981; Weinreich 1980).

Starting essentially with the Emancipation in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the co-territorial languages (standard as well as spoken) started to compete seriously with the Jewish languages and with Hebrew itself.

At the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, two nationalist movements attempted to reverse this assimilatory trend. A non-territorialist cultural nationalist movement attempted to raise vernacular Yiddish to higher functions and acceptance (Fishman 1980; Pilowsky 1985). The attempt failed for a number of reasons – the failure to compete with gentile languages, the ideological strength of the Hebrew revival movement, the emigration of many speakers of Yiddish, and the destruction of the remnant by the Nazis. The second movement, aiming to resettle Israel as well as revive the Hebrew language in it, was successful in both revernacularizing and revitalizing the language (Fellman 1973a; Harshav 1993; Spolsky 1991). The ideological power and the pragmatic value of Hebrew in Israel have worked against the maintenance of the languages, Jewish or gentile, brought by immigrants (Spolsky/Shohamy 1999).

### 3. Jewish languages – a general consideration

Intensive study of the phenomenon of Jewish languages over the last three decades followed publication of two major studies of Yiddish (Birnbaum 1979; Weinreich 1980) and was led by collections of articles edited by Paper (1978) and Fishman (1985). While there remain differences in detail, it is widely accepted by sociolinguists that these varieties, though often considered dialects and jargons by their speakers, deserve recognition as languages in their own right. As a general rule, they were the languages spoken by a Jewish Diaspora community as its home

and intra-community language. A Jewish language existed in what is sometimes called a triglossic relationship with two other varieties. The highest prestige was accorded to the Hebrew-and-Aramaic that had been standardized as the language of prayer, study, and general formal literacy of the Jewish people since the Talmudic period. The second was the co-territorial vernacular spoken by non-Jews and used by Jews in relations with them.

Functionally, then, Jewish languages commonly constituted spoken vernaculars, used for a wide range of intra-community functions, and occasionally extended for written purposes. Structurally, they are generally based on a spoken variety of a non-Jewish language, with a large proportion of borrowings from Hebrew-and-Aramaic (especially of terms associated with Jewish life), from earlier Jewish languages, and from other contact languages. Because of their status as languages spoken rather than written, there is usually extensive regional variation and only rare attempts at standardization.

Judeo-Aramaic was one of the earliest of such languages, a Jewish adaptation of the language of communication of the Middle East in the millennium before the Common Era. Judeo-Aramaic grew into an important spoken and written Jewish language in Palestine and in the Jewish Diaspora in Babylon, where it was the main language used in the Babylonian Talmud (Greenfield 1978; Katz 1985). Among Jews as well as other inhabitants of the region, it was generally replaced by Arabic as a result of the spread of Islam, but continued as a Jewish language in more isolated and mountainous regions such as Azerbaijan (Garbell 1965). The third partner in Palestinian trilingualism was Judeo-Greek, widely adapted in Hellenic colonies in Palestine and used by Jews in Diaspora communities throughout the eastern Mediterranean and later in Italy.

With the Roman destruction of Jewish political independence in Palestine in the second century of the Common Era, Hebrew soon lost its vitality but remained firmly entrenched as language of religion and literacy, supported by a religious educational system. Over the next centuries, Jews in exile picked up local languages and developed their own localized Jewish varieties, depending in large measure on the nature of relations with non-Jewish neighbors.

Yiddish may be taken as an example of the process (Weinreich 1980). According to the most widely accepted view, it grew out of a situation in which Jews previously living in French-speaking areas (where they spoke the variety of Judeo-French that is preserved in glosses in 10<sup>th</sup> century Jewish commentaries on the Bible) moved into the Rhineland. During the more tolerant period that preceded the Crusades, these communities shifted from Judeo-French to a variety based on the High German spoken in the area. The period of persecution that followed the beginning of the Crusades and the subsequent expulsion of Jews from Germany into Slavic speaking areas produced a new situation. Existing in an enclave, a closed community, Yiddish maintained its German base while adding a small supply of elements from the languages of the Christian neighbors with whom Jews had only limited contact. Over the centuries, Western Yiddish disappeared as a spoken language, drawn towards German, except in a region like Alsace where French was spoken. In Eastern Europe, it developed into a complex variety of dialects, reflecting the existence of continued contacts between the small Jewish Diaspora communities.

Many other Jewish languages showed similar marked regional and dialectal variation. For example, the Judeo-Spanish of North Africa was distinct from the varieties spoken in the Balkans and Turkey. Judeo-Moroccan, it has been suggested, is made up of many local dialects with varying degrees of mutual intelligibility. It is this absence of a standard variety that led many scholars to question the status of these languages.

Especially in the last two centuries, some of these Jewish languages have however moved towards standardization. One part of the process has been demographic, as previously isolated communities have been brought into contact (through forced or voluntary migration or through improved communication) with others, leading to various degrees of dialect blending. A second has been the development, especially in the cases of Yiddish and Judeo-Spanish (Ladino), of a written literature in the language and of a formal educational system teaching it.

In the case of Yiddish, there has been the added standardizing strength of a modern ideologically based movement, the cultural non-territorial Jewish nationalist movement of the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, combined

with the formation of associated cultural, educational, political, and linguistic organizations.

#### 4. Jewish languages – specific languages

In this section are arranged alphabetically brief descriptions of the main Jewish languages.

*Bukharic* (also known as Judeo-Tadjik) is one of the varieties spoken by oriental Jews in Central Asian areas of the former Soviet Union. (The 1983 Israeli census reported 3400 speakers over the age of 14, including 2400 second language speakers).

*Dzudezhmo* (Ladino, Judeo-Spanish) (Harris, 1982; Malinowski, 1982) is a variety of language taken by exiles from Spain after 1492 to North Europe, the Balkans, and Turkey. It developed into an important community language with significant religious literature and a strong oral folk literature. There was rapid language loss in the nineteenth century, as a result of emigration, Westernization and assimilation. The Ladino-speaking community in Greece and other Balkan countries was wiped out in the Holocaust. Ladino speakers in Turkey shifted first to French (as a language of education) and then to Turkish. Ladino-speaking communities in Palestine and Israel generally switched to Hebrew quite quickly (Chumaceiro 1982). The language maintains its status as the principal Jewish language of the Sephardim. Since 1966, there has been a National Authority for Ladino, which stresses folklore. (The 1983 Israeli census reported 26000 first language speakers and 66000 second language speakers of Ladino and Spanish; a good guess would be that there are now between 80000 and 150000 speakers in Israel.)

*Haketiya* (Judeo-Spanish) developed in Northern Morocco as the Jewish variety used by Jews expelled from Spain after 1492. Its speakers shifted to Spanish with the development of the Spanish Protectorate at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

*Judeo-Arabic* (Yahudic). Many important Jewish religious writings were in what is called Middle Arabic (Blau, 1965). Spoken varieties are reported in Egypt, Syria, and Iraq. There was both religious and secular literary production in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Few speakers remain today. Jews in Iraq spoke a number of distinct Jewish varieties, ident-

ified varieties including Baghdad, Mossul, Abril, and Aqra. Jews from the last two areas also spoke Kurdish. Most of these Jews moved to Israel, and the variety is now dying out. Grimes (1996) claims 100000 speakers of Judeo-Iraqi, mainly over the age of 40; and 50,000 speakers of Judeo-Yemenite.

*Judeo-Aragonese* was absorbed into Ladino after the expulsion from Spain.

*Judeo-Aramaic* (Kurdit, Hulaulá, Targum, Kurdishic). Grimes estimates that some 15000–20000 speakers came to Israel.

*Judeo-Berber*. At the beginning of the current century, there were many monolingual speakers of Judeo-Berber. Many emigrants to Israel in the 1950s still spoke Judeo-Berber. Today, there are only a few bilingual speakers left.

*Judeo-Corfiote*. A few speakers are claimed to survive in Corfu.

*Judeo-Georgian* (Gurjuc, Gruzinic) is a Jewish variety developed in the Central Asian area. The 1989 census reported 16000 Georgian Jews. Grimes estimates 45000 Jewish Georgians in Israel, as a result of the post-Soviet immigration.

*Judeo-Greek* (Hellenic). Developed in Greek colonies in the Middle East and spread later to Italy, Judeo-Greek was replaced in all areas (except Greece) starting in the 4<sup>th</sup> century.

*Judeo-Italian*. A number of different Jewish local dialects are attested, including Judeo-Venetian. There are manuscripts from the 12<sup>th</sup> century. Most varieties stopped being spoken in the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

*Judeo-Moroccan* is first attested in written form in the 10<sup>th</sup> century. A popular literature evolved; there were many local dialects. After French colonization of North Africa, Jews (and Christians) were the first to shift to French, at first as a second language and later as a main language. Moroccan Jews who immigrated to France tended to speak French; those who came to Israel soon adopted Hebrew, leaving few speakers. Grimes estimated 250000 speakers, most over 40 years of age.

*Judeo-Persian* (Dzidi, Jidi, Parsic) was a cluster of Jewish local dialects used by Persian Jews. Scholars recognize only the unified medieval written variety as Judeo-Persian. Neither before nor since emigration to Israel was there an opportunity for intercommunal oral (or written) communication between speakers of the varieties. The 1983

Census estimates 12000 first language speakers of Judeo-Persian and another 30000 second language speakers.

*Judeo-Yemenite* (Temanic). Varieties of Yemenite Arabic spoken by Jews from Yemen, most of whom immigrated to Israel. Grimes estimates 50000 speakers.

*Juhuri* (Judeo-Tat, Tatic, Judeo-Iranian). Attested in the late 9<sup>th</sup> century, this language of the “Mountain Jews”, many of whom have recently immigrated to Israel, continues to be spoken. Grimes estimated 40000 speakers.

*Knaanic* (Judeo-Czech). Attested in 12<sup>th</sup> century manuscript glosses, it is not clear how long the variety remained distinct.

*Neo-Aramaic* (Lishanit Targum). This Jewish dialect of Central Persian, Kurdistan, and Azerbaijan was earliest attested in the 12<sup>th</sup> century and was brought to Israel by immigrants. Grimes estimated 2500 speakers.

*Shuadit* (Judeo-Provençal) was a Jewish variety from the south of France that appears not to have survived into modern times.

*Yiddish*. The classic Jewish language, it remained the vernacular of Eastern European Jewish communities until they were assimilated, destroyed, or emigrated. A strong literary tradition developed in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, providing the basis for efforts to standardize the language as symbol of a non-territorialist national culture. Apart from small groups of enthusiasts, most Jews tended to move to co-territorial vernaculars (including Hebrew) after assimilation or emigration. Reversing language shift efforts continue in educational programs especially in Montreal, Antwerp, and Mexico City. In Israel, Yiddish too has finally been recognized and a National Authority for Yiddish has just been established, although its organization has been fraught with problems. Yiddish use remains strong among ultra-orthodox Hasidic sects, especially in America, Israel, and England, with their schools using Yiddish as language of instruction for boys and teaching Yiddish as a language to girls (Bogoch 1999). It remains an identity marker among these communities, and there are signs of revitalization of the language among some sects (Isaacs 1998; Isaacs 1999). The 1983 Israeli census reported 60000 first language speakers and another 130000 second language speakers; current estimates range from 200000 to 400000.

## 5. Jewish languages – fate and current situation

With the exception of Yiddish among Hasidic communities, the chances of full survival for most Jewish languages appear now to be slight. Their fates have varied. Many, as noted above, started to disappear with emancipation of the Jewish community. In these cases, the co-territorial national language replaced them as the language for intra- as well as inter-communal functions. Only when internal or external pressures maintained Jewish communal enclaves was this not the case. Those that survived this process were engulfed in major political and demographic changes: the mass emigration of Eastern European Jews to the New World, the Nazi extermination of the large proportion of those who remained, the virtually total emigration of survivors to Israel, the massive transfer of Jews from Arabic-speaking countries to Israel. In the United States, rapid assimilation assured that Jewish languages had little greater resistance to loss than did other European immigrant languages. In Israel, the ideology of integration through Hebrew worked similarly on Jewish and non-Jewish languages of immigrants.

## 6. The languages of Israel – general introduction

In 19<sup>th</sup> century Palestine, under Turkish rule, Arabic was the vernacular of the majority of the population and Classical Arabic shared official use with Turkish. Sephardic Jews knew Arabic well, but their home language was Judeo-Spanish and their literary language was Hebrew. Growing numbers of Jewish emigrants from Eastern Europe knew and used Hebrew-and-Aramaic for religious and literary purposes, but usually spoke Yiddish and some co-territorial languages. Missions and foreign consuls gave status to Russian, English, French, German, Italian, and other European languages, some of which were used in schools.

## 7. Revitalization of Hebrew

A new and revolutionary feature entered the sociolinguistic situation with the arrival of a different kind of Jewish immigrant, ideological Jewish nationalists committed to the revival of language and identity in their

former homeland. The story of the revitalization of Hebrew has been told repeatedly, although usually in an over-simplified and mythologized form. Fellman (1973a; 1973b) showed the error of attributing too major a role to the personal efforts of Eliezer Ben Yehuda. Ben Yehuda's writings epitomized the arguments for revival (Mandel 1993), and his work played an important part alongside the more fundamentally influential activities of others. It was, however, the settlers in the new agricultural colonies (Nahir 1988) and in the kibbutzim (collective settlements) and the new town of Tel Aviv (Harshav 1993) who effected the linguistic and ideological revolution.

The process began with the early and tentative teaching of Hebrew in the schools of the colonies in the 1890s. Hebrew came to be used as their daily language by the zealous Zionist socialists who founded the communal settlements. It was proclaimed as the only sanctioned public language in the new Hebrew city of Tel Aviv. In this way, Hebrew spread through the Jewish Yishuv (community) of Palestine. By 1913, its supporters were able to take up and succeed in a bitter argument over the language to be used in a planned technological tertiary institute (Cohen 1918). They were able also to make sure that a planned university be unambiguously labeled "The *Hebrew* University of Jerusalem." By the 1920s, Hebrew was a native language for many and the public language of the Yishuv, the Jewish community of Palestine (Bachi 1956; Blanc 1968; Rabin, 1973).

#### 8. The British mandate

The end of Ottoman rule of Palestine in 1919 led to major changes in language as well as in other spheres. Once Palestine came again under the rule of a mainly Christian country, Hebrew benefited from its status as the language of the Bible. The British Mandatory government bolstered the standing of Hebrew in several ways. First, shortly after General Allenby conquered Palestine in 1918, the use of German in schools was banned and the teachers interned. Even before the Mandate was formally proclaimed, the British Government had been persuaded that Hebrew was the language of the Jewish population, and British regulations and the Mandate itself established Hebrew as an official language

alongside Arabic and English. This decision was one of the reasons why the local Arab population became doubtful of British intentions. Secondly, to minimize its financial commitment to the mandated territory, the British left each community to conduct its own educational system. They restricted their involvement at first to providing subsidies for the building of schools in Arab villages. Even when they became more involved with Arab education, the weakness of their financial support guaranteed the failure of English teaching. The two communities were allowed to develop their own institutions. Hebrew was thus able to grow, because it was the language of instruction in Jewish schools and in the university, into a language well equipped to deal with modern life and technology.

During the three decades of the British Mandate, both Jewish and Arab populations grew by 600000, but this was an elevenfold increase among the Jews, from 56000 in 1919 to 650000 in 1948 (Bachi 1974). While most of the new Jewish immigrants came without much knowledge of Hebrew, the use of the language continued to expand, bolstered, during the late 1920s and early 1930s, by the active campaigns of pro-Hebrew organizations. In the 1948 Census, taken six months after the establishment of the State of Israel, over half of the Jewish population claimed to use Hebrew as their only language, another fifth used it as their first language, and 5% used it as an additional language.

#### 9. The establishment of the State of Israel

The Jewish population was more than doubled in the first three and half years of the state. Another 300000 arrived by the end of 1960. These immigrants, with rare exceptions, learned Hebrew after arrival and started to make it their main language. During this period, Bachi (1956) reports, there was a continuing increase in public use of Hebrew, but almost certainly a parallel increase in the use of other languages in private situations.

By 1972, when there was a language question in the census (small sample), 77% of the Jewish population over the age of 14 claimed to speak Hebrew as their only or principal daily language (Bachi 1974). As Cooper (1985) sums it up:

The Jewish population of Israel displays both remarkable linguistic diversity, when one views the languages which immigrants have brought with them, and remarkable linguistic homogeneity, when one views that population's adoption of Hebrew for public interaction. Most Israeli Jews use Hebrew every day, and for the majority, Hebrew is the principal language of everyday life (78–9).

## 10. Challenges to the Hegemony of Hebrew

A number of factors are now starting to challenge the hegemony of Hebrew. Some loyalty to immigrant languages and to heritage languages like Ladino and Yiddish remains. The greater tolerance for pluralism has led to government support for authorities for these two heritage languages. Secondly, there are signs of revitalization of Yiddish among Hassidic sects. Thirdly, there is the continuing maintenance of Arabic among the Israeli Palestinian population and a growing sentiment that with prospects of peace increasing, Jews too would benefit from knowing the main language of the region. Fourthly, because of its size and location, Israel is particularly open to international influence and globalization, one result of which is a growing penetration of English. Finally, the effect of recent immigration (800000 Russian speakers from the former Soviet Union, 75000 Ethiopian Jews, and several hundred thousand foreign workers) has led to growing acceptance of multilingualism.

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## 191. The Arabian Peninsula and Iraq Die arabische Halbinsel und der Irak

1. Geographical delimitation
2. The early sociolinguistic history of the area
3. The modern sociolinguistic history of Arabian and Iraq
4. The contemporary sociolinguistic situation
5. Literature (selected)

### 1. Geographical delimitation

The area covered by this article is the whole of the Arabian peninsula, i. e. the land occupied by the modern states of Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Bahrain, Qatar, the United Arab Emirates, the Sultanate of Oman and Yemen (including the island of Socotra), and Iraq. The sparsely-populated desert hinterlands of Jordan and Syria, which are geologically a part of the peninsula, and, from a linguistic point of view, diachronically and synchronically also related to it, are excluded.

### 2. The early sociolinguistic history of the area

#### 2.1. The pre-Islamic period

##### 2.1.1. Arabia

Arabian linguistic history before the 7<sup>th</sup> century AD, and the coming of Islam, is known only very sketchily. What little we know has been gleaned through the work of Semiticist palaeographers and occasional comments by the historians of ancient Greece. From at least the 8<sup>th</sup> century BC up to about the 4<sup>th</sup> century AD, a group of closely related languages, or perhaps dialects of one language, generically referred to as Ancient North Arabian (ANA) (Macdonald 2004) were being used in inscriptions in a number of widely dispersed oases in north-western, central, and northern Arabia, extending into what is now the Syrian and Jordanian desert. Morphologically, as far as we can judge, ANA seems to have been akin to the earliest attested written form of Arabic (Old Arabic or OA, a group of related tribal dialects



which were the ancestors of the language we now know as Classical Arabic (CLA), with which ANA seems to have overlapped at least partially in time and space, though there were important differences between the two. The fact that ANA inscriptions vastly outnumber (and stretch back much further in time) than those in OA suggests that ANA was the language of an old literate culture, whereas OA, whatever its age, was originally a spoken language which only came to be written at the time when ANA inscriptions become sparse, during the three centuries immediately before Islam.

In roughly the same time period, in south-west of Arabia, including what is now Yemen, another group of languages or related dialects, with their own scripts, were being used. These are the so-called Ancient South Arabian (ASA) languages (Beeston 1962, 1983, Nebes and Stein, 2004). The cultures which used these languages were based on trade, and inscriptions in them, possibly written by colonists, have been found quite far afield: on the island of Delos, in Upper Egypt, and in central Arabia. The ASA scripts were also extensively used to write non-ASA languages: examples have been found in north Arabia and Ethiopia.

The pre-Islamic linguistic situation in eastern and south-eastern Arabia is much less well known. Unlike the west, north, and south west, no more than a dozen fragments have so far been discovered in a language ('Hasaitic') which seems to be a variety of ANA, as well as a few fragments in Greek and Aramaic. This difference in 'literacy' between the west/north/south of the peninsula and the east is a conundrum. The east coast was for millennia before Islam an important trading route and had thriving centres of sedentary culture, yet almost no traces of literacy in this period have been found. Even from the later part of the pre-Islamic period (from 224 AD and possibly earlier), when there were flourishing Nestorian Christian communities settled all down the Gulf coast, nothing written has survived in the locality. We know from the Nestorian bishops' voluminous correspondence in Syriac (a variety of Aramaic, used as the language of the Eastern Christian Church) with their Catholicos in southern Persia, that Christianity had penetrated down to the lowest social levels, but we have no hard information on what language(s) – certainly OA, probably some form of Aramaic (Ara-

maic toponyms are still widespread in north-eastern Arabia), and probably also Persian – were being used, or for what purposes in what must have been a multi-lingual society. The spoken OA of the area, according to the Arab philologists writing two centuries after the conquests, featured a number of distinct tribal dialects, and there seems to have been Persian linguistic influence on the speech of the coastal population (Potts, 218–228, 244–5).

In so far as it possible to judge from the rigidly formalised stylistic conventions of the limited range of texts we have, all of the languages grouped under the labels ANA, ASA and OA were species of the same ('Semitic') phylum, in some cases sufficiently close to each other structurally to make it difficult to decide whether they were in reality different languages at all, or whether, for instance, OA was really a historical development of one or other of the ANA languages/dialects. All of them were similar enough in consonantal inventory, morphology, vocabulary and syntax to render a general shift to OA a straightforward matter – a significant factor in the sociolinguistic situation at the time of the Arab conquest of the areas where these languages were still in use, and a point of sharp difference with other conquered areas outside Arabia and the eastern Mediterranean, where the languages of those conquered were less closely related, or completely unrelated, to Arabic.

The most substantial direct data we have on any of the languages of pre-Islamic Arabia is a body of Arabic poetry dating from the early 6<sup>th</sup> century AD, one of our two main sources (the other being the Qur'an) of information on later forms of OA. This tribal oral poetry was passed on by word of mouth and only committed to writing some two centuries or more after its composition. Formulaic in its language and topoi, end-rhymed and metrically regular, it appears to be the fully elaborated product of a long poetic tradition, but none of the surviving poems can be dated to before about 500 AD. It is thought likely that the language of this poetry, though stylised, was not that far distant in morphology and vocabulary from the everyday dialects of the Bedouin tribesmen who composed and listened to it (Fück 1955, 3; Versteegh 1984, 4–5 argue for the identity of the poetic language and that of everyday speech; Zwettler 1978, 132–4 against).

One further point relevant to the sociolinguistic situation which emerged after the conquests needs to be made. It is certain that the Arabs were by no means restricted to inner Arabia. There is evidence of Arab settlements before the conquests in the Bekaa Valley, Lebanon, in southern Syria, on the Egyptian side of the Red Sea, and on the western fringes of Iraq (Donner 1981: 92–5, 167–173; and see 2.1. below). The extent to which bilingualism in Arabic and Aramaic in Syria and Iraq, and Arabic and Coptic in Egypt already existed before the conquests can only be guessed at, but it may well have been a facilitating factor in the post-conquest process of Arabicisation outlined in 2.2.1. below.

### 2.1.2. Iraq

The earliest language attested for Iraq is Sumerian, an agglutinating, non-Semitic language used in the south of the region, whose earliest texts date from about 3000 BC. From 2500 BC, Akkadian, a Semitic language, supplanted Sumerian and spread over the whole of the land area of contemporary Iraq. Sumerian became part of the cultural heritage of the Akkadian-speakers. Akkadian continued to be spoken and written until the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD, when it was replaced as a spoken language by Aramaic, although it survived for some time beyond that period as a traditional scholarly language. Thousands of cuneiform texts of all types written in Akkadian covering the two and a half millennia BC have been discovered, and from about 2000 BC they display dialectal differences between Babylonian Akkadian in the south and Assyrian Akkadian in the north. A standardised literary form of the language, referred to as ‘Standard Babylonian’ appears from about 1500 BC. From the beginning of the Christian era, various dialects of Aramaic, a related Semitic language which originated in the north-west (roughly the area occupied by Syria and Palestine today) replaced Akkadian, and continued to be used until the Arab conquest of the mid 7<sup>th</sup> century. At that time, lower and central Iraq, that is, the lowland alluvial plain between the two rivers the Tigris and Euphrates, was the westernmost region of the Sasanian (Persian) empire, forming a buffer zone between the Persian-speakers of Persia proper, which began at the Zagros mountains, and the speakers of OA who inhabited the deserts to the west

and north. The generality of the population in this rich agricultural area was rural and sedentary, confessionally Nestorian Christian or Jewish, and spoke one of a number of Eastern Aramaic dialects, though there had always been Persian-speaking landowners and city-dwellers throughout lowland Iraq, and regular and close contact, probably for centuries, with the Arabic-speakers who visited (and to some extent settled) on the western fringes of the alluvium. The rural agriculturalists of the coast of eastern Arabia mentioned in 2.1.1. formed a cultural and possibly linguistic unity with this southern Iraqi population.

## 2.2. The Arab conquests and the coming of Islam

### 2.2.1. General remarks

The seminal event in the spiritual, cultural, and linguistic history of the Arabs was the revelation of the Qur’an (literally ‘recitation’) in Arabic, to Muhammad, the Prophet of the last monotheistic religion, Islam (lit ‘submission (to God)'). The revelation occurred in the western Arabian towns of Mecca and Medina over a period of twenty-two years in the form of sūras (‘chapters’) which the Prophet recited to the embryonic community of Muslims (lit ‘those who submit (to God)'). Tradition has it that these ‘chapters’ were only gathered together and written down in 651 AD, some twenty years after the Prophet’s death, although it may have taken much longer to establish a generally accepted *textus receptus*. Already by the mid-7<sup>th</sup> century, the Arabs and Islam had expanded far beyond Arabia. By 710 AD, they controlled, at least nominally, a huge tract of territory from Spain in the west to Transoxonia in the east. As we shall see, the fact that the Qur’an is specifically an *Arabic* Qur’an, described several times as such in the Qur’anic text itself, has been of the utmost significance in the evolution of Arabic as a language and in the linguistic practice of Arab speech communities over the fourteen centuries since the revelation.

The immediate linguistic impact of the conquest was probably not great: the Arabic-speaking conquerors were initially small minorities in the territories they conquered, and largely concentrated in military cantonments. Probably the most significant linguistic event in the first century of their empire was the switch to Arabic as the language

of the fiscal and civil administration, which occurred towards the end of the 7<sup>th</sup> century AD. At the same time, a method of grammatical description began to develop in southern Iraq, based in the newly established cities of Basra and Kufa. One of the spurs to this was the need to teach the correct construal of the language of the Qur'an, whose text is the fundament of the religious law of Islam. Philology – that is, the study of rules of the language as embodied in the text of the Qur'an and a few other early sources (Arabian tribal poetry) in order to ensure accurate understanding and normative writing – was fostered as a basic element in legal or jurisprudential training from a very early period. Another, allied reason for the efflorescence of the linguistic sciences in the late 8<sup>th</sup> century AD, was the fear that the learning of Arabic by the non-Arab populations which formed the majority of the empire's subjects was already corrupting the language, and would in time render the 'pure Arabic' in which the Qur'an was revealed unintelligible to ordinary people. This danger was initially confined to the urban areas where the minority of Arabs came into contact with educated non-Arabs who spoke Greek (throughout the Levant), Coptic (Egypt), or varieties of Aramaic (Syria, Iraq). Arabisation, that is, the adoption of Arabic as a language of everyday communication, was probably relatively rapid and uncontrolled in the towns and cities. However, it is certain that the spread of Arabic into the rural population in Egypt, Syria, and Iraq, not to mention north Africa which never became fully Arabised (and Persia where Arabisation eventually went into reverse) was very slow: indeed, Aramaic is a living language (just) to this day in some isolated rural (and mainly Christian) communities in Syria and Iraq, while in Morocco and Algeria there are still very large communities of Berber speakers, millions strong, concentrated in the mountainous areas of those countries. The factors which accelerated Arabisation (and Arabisation) from roughly the 3<sup>rd</sup> Islamic century (10<sup>th</sup> century AD) on were new migrations from the Arabian peninsula (especially into Egypt and rural areas of north Africa), and the gradual conversion of the population (by choice) to Islam, coupled with increasing intermarriage between Arabs and non-Arabs.

The long-term effect of the philological tradition was to artificially freeze in time the

language of 7<sup>th</sup> century Arabia, thereby creating a literary and learned language, whose rules could not be changed or challenged. Nor, in the succeeding centuries, was the system of linguistic description devised by the early philologists ever substantially altered. Their approach was prescriptive in attitude and sought to specify in the minutest detail what was and what was not 'correct'. Meanwhile, of course, the language of ordinary speech continued to evolve in an unconstrained way, becoming ever more distanced from this preserve of the literate elite.

### 2.2.2. The Arabisation of the Arabian peninsula

The above is the bare bones of a historical sketch of how Arabic gradually took over in the conquered territories outside Arabia as the language of government, law, and learning on the one hand, and the language of everyday intercourse between ordinary citizens on the other. In the specific case of the Arabian peninsula, the historical details of this process are extremely sparse. We know that the peninsula was one of the earliest areas to come under Arab suzerainty, and of course the western, central and eastern areas of it were already, before the conquest, Arabic cultural and linguistic heartlands. South-western Arabia had been partially Arabised even before Islam, but the process accelerated rapidly after it. By the 10<sup>th</sup> century AD, the historian al-Hamadani (d. 946) describes the linguistic situation in the mountainous core of Yemen as one in which, in most regions, Arabic is spoken but with a noticeable admixture of what he calls 'Himyaritic', whilst in a few isolated areas 'pure Himyaritic' is still spoken (Rabin 1951, 42–53, especially the map on p.42). 'Himyaritic' is the generic name given by the Arabs to the non-Arabic Semitic language or languages spoken in south-west Arabia before the conquest, of which almost nothing except a few verses, reported by historians such as al-Hamadani, has survived, but which may have been historically related to the ASA languages (see 2.1.1. above) of antiquity. By the time of Behnstedt's recent dialect survey of Yemen (Behnstedt 1983) it is fascinating to note that precisely the geographical areas picked out in the 10<sup>th</sup> century as areas of 'pure Himyaritic' – by now of course fully Arabised – nonetheless still retain, in the late 20<sup>th</sup> century, some linguistic oddities (no-

tably the so-called *k*-perfect (Behnstedt 1983, 116)) which had been noted by the Arabs ten centuries before as typically ‘Himyaritic’. These elements have now been reduced to substrate vestiges in the Arabic dialects of the mountainous centre of Yemen of the pre-conquest language(s) once spoken there.

Further to the south east, along the littoral of southern Oman, we find more linguistic survivals in the form of the so-called Modern South Arabian languages. Soqotri, spoken by a few hundred people on the island of Soqatra, a dependency of Yemen, is the most westerly of these, and then in southern Oman, there are communities of speakers of Mahri, spoken by the largest group, the Mahra, whose speakers are in the tens of thousands, of Hobyot and Bathari (dialects of Mahri), of Jibbali (also known as Shheri, and spoken widely by pastoralists in the mountains of southern Oman, in parts of its littoral, and on the Kuria Muria Islands) and of Harsusi, spoken now by no more than a hundred speakers on the desert fringes to the north of the southern Oman mountains. Virtually all of the present-day speakers of these languages also speak Arabic. A sketch of their structure can be found in Cohen 1988, 127–131, and Johnstone has published several dictionaries (Johnstone 1977; 1981; 1987). The historical relationship of these languages to the ASA languages, on the one hand, and Arabic on the other, is not well understood, but they do share features (the *k*-perfect, noted above as a feature of ancient Himyaritic) which suggest that they all belong to a separate branch of the south Semitic language family, and that they may have originated in the Horn of Africa. Exactly when their speakers arrived in southern Arabia is unknown, although it must have been in the pre-conquest period, as the historical record shows that the Mahra participated in the 7<sup>th</sup> century Islamic conquest of Iraq and Egypt. Unlike the ASA languages, the Modern South Arabian languages never seem to have been written, and the cultures which produced them remained until recent times based on agriculture and animal husbandry. As a consequence of long-term bilingualism, their vocabulary is heavily Arabised, and it is likely that the process of Arabisation, begun after the Islamic conquests will, in the relatively near future, result in their demise.

The Omani enclave which forms the mountainous Musandam peninsula in the extreme north of the country, opposite the straits of Hormuz, contains tribal groups collectively known as Shihuh, which speak a number of languages (known as Shihhi) which are mutually unintelligible. None of these languages has been properly described, but one of them, Kumzari, spoken in a few inaccessible fishing villages, appears to have a Persian syntactic and lexical base, but with heavy borrowing from Arabic. It has been speculated that the Persian base may be pre-Islamic (Thomas 1930).

The east of the Arabian peninsula – the coastal areas now occupied by the Gulf States Kuwait, Bahrain, eastern Saudi Arabia, Qatar and the United Arab Emirates and northern Oman – was one of the earliest areas to be conquered by the Muslims, and was, of course, already an Arabic-speaking area, although as has been noted, Aramaic/Syriac, and Persian were probably also used by the sedentary Christian and Jewish communities which had existed there for several centuries beforehand. Unlike in the south of the peninsula, where the Modern South Arabian languages have clung on, in the east none of the non-Arabic pre-conquest languages have survived, except in the fossilised form of occasional Aramaic and Persian toponyms. Modern (as opposed to pre-Islamic) Persian is however one of a number of minority languages which, as a result of recent population movements and trading links, are widely spoken today in the Arab Gulf States (see 3.2.1. below).

### 3. The modern sociolinguistic history of Arabia and Iraq

#### 3.1. General remarks

It was noted in 2.2.1. that the fact of the Qur’an being revealed in Arabic has been of paramount importance in the evolution of Arabic speech communities. We know from the reports of the earliest grammarians (late 8<sup>th</sup> century) that there was a good deal of tribal dialect variation in Arabia at the time of the revelation of the Qur’an. But from the earliest period of its codification, Qur’anic Arabic rapidly became the only acceptable medium for speaking and writing not only on religious matters, but on any serious subject. It can be confidently stated, however, that, from the earliest times, the number of

people capable of, and needing to use this form of the language for anything other than the everyday ritual of prayer and the reading of the scriptures was relatively small. When conducting their everyday business, ordinary people all over the conquered territories, as well as continuing to speak the pre-conquest languages for some considerable period after the conquest, came to speak the varieties of Arabic which gradually developed out of the mish-mash of tribal dialects exported from Arabia by the conquering armies, and which absorbed elements from the languages which had originally been spoken in the conquered territories: Aramaic in the Levant, Coptic in Egypt, Aramaic and Persian in Iraq. It has been a matter of long-running dispute whether these exported varieties of Arabic were similar to or already very different from Qur'anic Arabic at the time of their 'export'. The most recent contribution to this debate is a polemic (Versteegh 1984) which assumes a high degree of similarity between them, and attempts to show that the modern Arabic dialects are the end-product of a process of an original pidginisation of Qur'anic Arabic or dialects very similar to it, followed by a process of creolisation and de-creolisation (for contrary views see Holes 1986a; Hopkins 1988). However that may be, analysis of early non-literary Arabic papyri which have not, because of the banality of their content, undergone subsequent editing and 'correcting' to bring them into line with a canonical norm (Hopkins 1984) suggests that, as early as the early 9<sup>th</sup> century, about a century and a half after the conquests, the grammar of everyday written Arabic had already diverged sharply from that of Qur'anic Arabic, showing striking similarities to the spoken dialects of today. It thus seems that the formal 'diglossia' (Ferguson 1959) of which Arabic is often cited as one of the paradigm cases has very deep roots. It is, however, virtually impossible to chart the historical development of diglossia with any certainty in any area of the Arabic-speaking world. We can only infer from the activities of the philologists who wrote many treatises on the 'solecisms of the common people' beginning from the 9<sup>th</sup>, and continuing until the 16<sup>th</sup> century, that those who regarded themselves as the custodians of the linguistic purity and the religious and high literary culture of the Arabs remained constantly on their guard

against the possible corruption of the literary language in the mouths of those educated urbanites who, although higher in the social pecking order than the rural peasantry which in many cases may not have spoken Arabic at all, were becoming more and more lax in their adherence to its grammatical norms.

### 3.2. Foreign and other external influences on the Arabic dialects of Arabia and Iraq

#### 3.2.1. Arabia

The geopolitical position of the Arabian peninsula, sandwiched between the important trade vectors of the Red Sea and the Arabian Gulf, has always exposed it, and in particular its coastal regions, to external cultural and linguistic influences. Since the 16<sup>th</sup> century, parts of the Gulf coast have, at various times, fallen under the political control of the Portuguese, the Persians, and most recently the British. Strong trade links with Persia and the Indian sub-continent have existed for centuries, and in all the Gulf States there are long-established, fully assimilated communities of Persians, Baluchis and Indians, speaking their own languages as well as Arabic. The recent economic boom in the Gulf has brought about a new influx of migrant workers from the Indian subcontinent, but these tend to be short-term *Gastarbeiter*. An interesting linguistic product of this most recent influx has been a pidginised form of Arabic, commonly heard in the workplace (Smart 1990).

The Gulf Arabs themselves have also long been seafarers and traders, and it is not at all uncommon in Kuwait, Bahrain and the lower Gulf for local people to have learnt to speak one or more languages of the Indian sub-continent, especially if they work in certain trades (e. g. jewellery making) for which India provides the raw material. Hence it is quite normal to hear Persian, Urdu, Gujarati, and Panjabi being spoken in public places such as markets in any large Gulf city, along with the ubiquitous Arabic (and English). Oman is a special case: not only does one encounter the multilingual mix of assimilated groups of Indians and Persians, but also of Swahili-speaking east Africans from Zanzibar, which was an Omani possession until 1856. Large numbers of Zanzibaris of Omani extraction returned to Oman in 1970, following the east African political upheaval of the late 1960s which brought the Afro-Shira-

zi party to power in newly independent Tanzania. They settled mainly in the capital, Muscat and the surrounding 'Capital Area'. Although they were granted Omani citizenship on arrival, most of these immigrants spoke no Arabic, and in the early 1970s a UNESCO-funded set of course books entitled *Arabic for the Returners* was produced as part of a public education effort to integrate these Swahili-speakers into the Arabic-speaking majority.

The linguistic consequences of this long-term ethnic mixing have been considerable, and have affected both the lexical stock and the morpho-syntax of the Gulf dialects. This is in sharp contrast to the dialects of central Arabia, which were much less exposed to external influences. All of the Gulf dialects have absorbed vocabulary from Persian, Hindi/Urdu and European languages such as Portuguese and (more than any other) English. Much of this is in the sphere of material culture, and the pattern of borrowing has tended to reflect the nature of the contact with each language group. The Portuguese, who briefly controlled some Gulf ports in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, left behind them terms associated with ships: *čāwiya* '(16 inch) ship nail' (< *cavilha* 'dowel, peg'), *burd* 'side of a ship' (< *bordo*), *durmēt* 'sleeping shelf' (< *dormente*); Persian is plentifully represented in words associated with food, e. g. *čāy* 'tea', *ačār* 'pickled onions', *turši* 'pickles', *šakkar* 'sugar', *šira* 'syrup', *mēwa* 'fruit', *gōga* 'plum', *knār* 'lotus fruit', *xāšūga* 'spoon', *čingāl* 'fork'; Hindi/Urdu by vocabulary associated with low-level administration and basic household equipment, e. g. *čitti* 'note, memo', *krāni* 'clerk', *tindēl* 'foreman', *dūbi* 'washer-man', *gāri* 'cart', *čūla* 'primus stove', *banka* 'fan', *biğli* 'lamp'; English, as the language of modern technology in general and the oil industry in particular, has since the 1930s donated hundreds of technical terms (Smeaton 1973), e. g. *bis-tin* 'piston', *bulṭ* 'bolt', *difransš* 'differential', *kawlin* '(engine) cowling', *fēnari* '(oil) refinery', *fyūz* 'fuse', *hōz* 'hose', *šēwil* 'shovel', *wilf* 'valve', and more recently been the source of words for consumer durables and other modern popular phenomena: *rimūt* '(TV) remote control', *dīš* 'satellite dish', *fidyū* 'video', *jaksan* 'Afro hair-cut' (from Michael Jackson, the pop star who pioneered the style in the 1970s).

From the point of view of structural typology, the dialects of the coast, compared

to those of inner Arabia (from which the former developed as a result of tribal movements from the mid 18<sup>th</sup> century) all show many 'reductional' and 'analytic' tendencies, e. g. loss of gender distinctions in plural forms of the verb, simplification of verb paradigms, development of a periphrastic genitive, and a general tendency to extend affixational morphology to express syntactic distinctions such as passive-active, and verbal aspect. In these tendencies, the coastal dialects are evolving in the same way as the urban dialects of cities such as Cairo, Damascus and Jerusalem did many centuries ago. Examination of the detail of these developments suggests that they are not the product of the inter-dialectal contact occasioned by the new patterns of inter-Arab labour and population movement which is a feature of the contemporary Arab world, but rather internal developments triggered by local dialect mixing and levelling, and the learning of Arabic by non-Arabic speakers who have been migrating into the area for at least the last two hundred years. By contrast, the Arabs of central Arabia have until recently been relatively untouched by external cultural and linguistic influences, and in terms of structural typology, their dialects have remained remarkably conservative (Ingham 1994). Here there is a grain of objective truth in the oft-repeated claim made by Arabs from all over the Arab world that their dialect is 'closest to Classical Arabic' (Ferguson 1968, 379). The Arabs of central Arabia, too, however, are now becoming subject to the same western cultural and linguistic assault which has produced the type of foreign lexical invasions illustrated at the end of the previous paragraph.

### 3.2.2. Iraq

Unlike Arabia, Iraq has always been in the mainstream of Arab political and cultural life, and Baghdad was the capital of the Arab Empire for a long period in early mediaeval times. Later, and again unlike most of Arabia, it became an integral part of the eastern Ottoman Empire. A third point of difference is that the social composition of Iraq has always been highly diverse, with a variety of cross-cutting ethnicities, religions, sects and languages. This third point is reflected directly in the sociolinguistic structure of the Iraq of today (see section 4. below), but perhaps the most significant events in Iraqi history of the last eight

hundred years from the linguistic point of view occurred between the mid-13<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 15<sup>th</sup> centuries. In 1258, the Mongol hordes sacked the southern half of Iraq, including Baghdad, slaughtering virtually the whole of the Muslim population and laying waste to the country. The northern half of the country, however, was untouched. There followed a second sack of Baghdad in 1400. However, in both cases, the Christians and Jews (exclusively town-dwellers) were spared. The sedentary Muslim population of southern Iraq wiped out by the Mongols was gradually replaced over the next six centuries by Bedouin immigration from the countryside. It is this that explains the odd dialect geography of Iraq today. In the south, including Baghdad, almost all of the population, town and country, speaks Arabic dialects known as 'Bedouin' (or *gelet*-dialects, after the 'Bedouin' pronunciation of 'I said'), and which are similar, *grosso modo*, to the dialects of the Gulf described in 3.2.1. The exceptions to this are the Christians and Jews (the latter since 1948 almost all departed) of Baghdad and other towns, who continue to speak varieties of the pre-1258 'sedentary' dialects (or *qeltu*-dialects). In the north on the other hand, which was untouched by the Mongols, the original 'sedentary' dialect-type is still spoken by all, Muslims and Christians alike (Jastrow 1978–81).

#### 4. The contemporary sociolinguistic situation

There are certain structural features of the contemporary sociolinguistic situation which are common to both Arabia and Iraq (and indeed other Arabic-speaking countries):

##### 4.1. Diglossia

Diglossia is a term used to describe the co-existence in a speech community of two varieties of a language, one a standardised, codified literary variety normally learned at school ('H' (= 'high') after Ferguson 1959), which often has the status of a national or official language, and the other a non-standardised, natively spoken local vernacular used by all speakers for everyday purposes ('L' (= 'low')). Arab speech communities are often picked out as paradigm cases of this kind of situation (Ferguson 1959), and diglossia seems to have existed in some form

from a very early period (see 2.2.1. above and Hopkins 1984, xlvi). Synchronically, the H and L Arabic varieties are frequently described in the literature as being formally and functionally distinct, and are labelled as such by native speakers. However, if it is doubtful that H and L were ever as distinct in speech as is claimed (as opposed to in writing, where they were, and are, largely kept apart), an undeniable consequence of the increase in public education and literacy, and the proliferation of the media over the last fifty years, has been the 'democratisation' of H and the breaking down of the barriers between H and L in many commonly occurring speech situations, with code-switching, code-mixing and hybrid forms now common (see, *inter alia*, Holes 1993 (political speeches in Egypt), Mazraani 1997 (political speeches in Iraq, Egypt, and Libya), Holes 2004, 81–89, 341–389 (political speeches, radio interviews), Mejdell 1999, 2005 (university seminars, media interviews in Egypt), al-Batal 2002 (television reports in Lebanon)).

In Arabia and Iraq, as elsewhere, 'pure' H (i. e. complete with case and mood endings) in its spoken form is increasingly the preserve of religious discourse – for example, televised commentaries by clerics on religious texts – and other highly formal scripted speech on non-religious topics, such as news bulletins. Formal but extemporised discussion, on the other hand, tends to be conducted in an intermediate variety of the language which has an essentially L morpho-syntactic base with, depending on the subject-matter, variable amounts of lexical borrowing from H (with H pronunciation). For example, university lectures, in which the lecturer departs from a written text to add commentary or explanation, often involve code-switching between formal H and intermediate varieties difficult to classify as H or L. Written Arabic for public consumption is normally written in H, but personal letters, notes, memoranda and other ephemera are often written in a form of the language which shows L influences. Vernacular literature (poetry, for example) is published in an orthography which approximates to the local dialect.

##### 4.2. Community-specific dialects and languages

In certain central and southern Iraqi cities – notably Baghdad – there was, until the founding of Israel in 1948, a sharp social and dia-

lectal cleavage between the Muslim, Christian and Jewish communities (see 3.2.2. above for the historical origins of this split), whereby each lived in different quarters of the city and spoke distinct Arabic dialects (see Blanc 1964 for a succinct contrastive study of the three). The Jewish population emigrated *en masse* after 1948, but the Christian population stayed (see Abu-Haidar 1991 for a recent description of the Christian dialect; Mansour 1991 for a description of the Jewish dialect, based on the speech of migrants to Israel). The rise to political and economic power of the Muslims of central Iraq since the Second World War has resulted in the gradual disappearance of the Christian dialect from public inter-communal speech contexts in Baghdad (Abu-Haidar 1990). Most Baghdadi Christians are perfectly bi-dialectal in their own and the Muslim dialect, and many now restrict the use of their own dialect to domestic, all-Christian contexts.

In predominantly Muslim southern Iraq, there is a clear distinction to be drawn between what are known as 'Bedouin' and 'urban' Arabic dialects (Ingham 1973; 1976). This ancient typological distinction, which also manifests itself in slightly different forms in large parts of the Levant, Egypt, North Africa and eastern and south-eastern Arabia (Holes 1981; 1996), had its origins in ancient settlement patterns, and the different types of dialects which developed historically among those who led a sedentary (rural or urban) life from an early period after the Arab expansion out of Arabia, and those who continued to lead, for many subsequent centuries, a nomadic existence, the differences no doubt reinforced by the mutual exclusivity of the speech networks of each life-style group. Nowadays, of course, nomadism as a way of life has all but ceased to exist, but, throughout the Arabic-speaking world, dialect distinctions continue to demarcate the anciently urbanised populations from those who settled relatively recently. However, migration from rural to urban areas has had the effect of bringing speakers of rural- or Bedouin-type dialects into contact with more prestigious urban ones (Holes 1995), a phenomenon which has resulted, in the case of Baghdad, in the levelling of many features of these imported dialects in favour of the corresponding Muslim Baghdadi features (Abu-Haidar 1988). In other cases (see the Bahrain example below),

what started as a geographical, life-style based dialect distinction has been maintained and reinterpreted as a sect-based one.

As in Iraq, in Arabia there are also examples of the long-term persistence of community-specific Arabic dialects. In the tiny Arabian Gulf state of Bahrain, a country of 262 sq miles, the indigenous Shi'a and Sunni communities speak distinct Arabic dialects. This dialectal difference has a geographical/life-style origin – the Shi'a being farming sedentaries, the Sunnis originally nomadic Bedouin – but it has been maintained over more than two hundred years because of religious differences and consequent social separation: endogamous marriage, different patterns of employment, and self-imposed residential exclusivity (Holes 1983; 1987; 2001, xxii-xxix). As a result of government action aimed at bridging this divide ('mixed' new towns), the spread of free education, and, among the educated classes, inter-sect marriage, this once sharp social distinction has begun to diminish in importance, and there is a noticeable levelling out of sect-based dialect differences among the current younger generations (Holes 1995, 272–276).

Iraq and Arabia contain several linguistic minorities. In central and northern Iraq, there are Christian communities which, alongside Arabic, use various forms of neo-Aramaic among themselves as a language of everyday conversation and Syriac as a liturgical language. On the other hand, the Christians of southern Iraq, concentrated in Basra, tend, like the Christian Baghdadis, to use their own Arabic dialect. Baghdad and Basra contain small Armenian-speaking communities which fled the pogroms of Turkey and the Caucasus of early this century. In the mountainous north of Iraq, Kurdish is widely spoken, with, again, Arabic functioning as the language of public inter-communal communication and Kurdish reserved for in-group use. In Arabia, there are small communities of speakers of the Modern South Arabian languages in the Dhofar province of southern Oman and in Yemen, and Shihhi speakers in the Omani enclave of Musandam peninsula (see 2.2.2. above).

It is also worth mentioning the existence of trade-based secret jargons which existed until recently. For example, the former boat-building communities of Bahrain, Kuwait and the lower Gulf shared a secret jargon which they used among themselves in order to exclude outsiders. Its phonology and



morphology bore a close resemblance to those of the Gulf Arabic dialects, but its lexicon did not, e. g. *načas* 'he went', *ana b-ančis* 'I'll go' (compare normal Gulf Arabic *rāh* 'he went', *ana b-arūh* 'I'll go'). Some of its expressions used normal Gulf Arabic words but in cryptic combinations, e. g. *il-ğazāl il-aswad* and *il-ğazāl il-abyad* literally mean, respectively, 'the black gazelle' and 'the white gazelle' but were used in the jargon to mean respectively 'night-time' and 'day-time'. The origin of the lexical base of this jargon is unknown.

#### 4.3. Regional dialectal standards and koines

Although the 'H' and 'L' varieties of Arabic, to use Ferguson's terms, form the opposite ends of a continuum along which actual examples of communication in Arabic are pitched, it would be wrong to suppose that H is the only source of linguistic prestige for Arabic speakers, or that, when a speaker moves out of his normal L, that it is normally in the direction of H. Several recent studies of variation within the national borders of individual countries (Abdel-Jawad 1986 (for Jordan); Holes 1986b (for Bahrain); Abu-Haidar 1988; 1990 (for Iraq)) have shown that, in dialect contact situations, the target behaviour for speakers switching away from their own dialect is what they perceive to be the local 'prestige dialect', rather than H. This 'prestige L' may be associated with the local ruling group: the Sunni dialect in Bahrain for Shi'a, the Muslim dialect of Baghdad for Christian Baghdadis, or Iraqis from rural areas; or it may have desirable overtones in self-presentation terms: the 'urban' dialects of the Levant, certain aspects of whose pronunciation is associated with femininity, richness, and respect in the minds of Jordanian rural and Bedouin women; or it may represent a regional standard dialect for all: the dialect of Cairo for non-Cairenes from different areas of Egypt. In all such cases, what detailed studies have been done show that it is the women who tend to be leading in this kind of dialect-directed and dialect-motivated change (Abdel-Jawad 1986, 58–59; Haeri 1996, 231–233; Al-Wer 2002).

In Iraq and the Arabian peninsula, the 'prestigious' dialects are those spoken in capital cities and regional urban centres, which, over the last fifty years, have grown at a spectacular rate. Baghdad, as already noted, has gradually assumed this role in

Iraq since the country's independence in 1932, and it is the dialect of the Sunni Muslims of that city which provides the regional 'standard dialect' (or did do until the effective splitting off of northern Iraq following the Gulf War of 1990–1). In Saudi Arabia, the major cities of Riyadh in the east (the political capital) and the port of Jeddah on the Red Sea in the west (the commercial capital) perform this function for that country. The situation in the Arab Gulf states is a variation on this theme. The populations are relatively small, and concentrated in a few large cities, and the dialects of the ruling elites in these countries were historically related, and already relatively similar, having originated in central Arabia in the mid 18<sup>th</sup> century before being 'exported' to what subsequently, under British tutelage, eventually became the Gulf states of today. Since the 1970s, several factors have conspired to bring these states into a closer relationship than they have ever had before: the explosion in terrestrial and satellite television, and communications more generally; the advent of cheap air-travel and much improved road connections; increased trading, educational, and political links under the loose quasi-federal umbrella of the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC). All these factors have contributed indirectly to the formation of a Gulf-wide koine (Holes 1990 for a description) which one now hears being used in everyday inter-communal conversation in hotels, university refectories, on radio discussion programmes, in Gulf television soap operas, and which, in written form, one reads in the bubbles of Gulf newspaper cartoons. This koine is based on the set of phonological, morphological, and syntactic features which are shared by most Gulf dialects (e. g. *g* for MSA *q*, the interdental fricatives *t*, *d*, and *ḏ*, Gulf deictic, interrogative, negative, and periphrastic genitive constructions), with an admixture of H vocabulary.

#### 4.4. Lingua francas and foreign languages

Over the course of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, English has assumed an increasingly important role in the cultural and economic life of Iraq and Arabia. In Iraq, this was initially because it was the language of the mandated 'Great Power', Great Britain, after the fall and dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire following the First World War; in Arabia, from just before the same period, Britain had begun entering into treaty relationships to

protect the sheikhdoms of the Arabian Gulf. This political relationship soon became an economic one with the discovery of oil in the 1930s and its exploitation by British and American oil-companies. In the decades after the Second World War, major infrastructural and developmental schemes throughout the area further strengthened ties with the English-speaking West, and the latest phase in the relationship, after the political independence of all the states in the area (achieved by the early 1970s), has involved the large-scale development of the area's human resources: a massive expansion of the school system and the establishment of dozens of universities and colleges. This has coincided with growing economic globalisation and the *de facto* establishment of English as the language of international commerce, science and technology.

The most obvious manifestation of English as a language of wider communication in contemporary Iraq and Arabia is in the education system, and it is the use of English as an educational tool which has propelled it to the position of a second language. English is far and away the foreign language most widely taught at all levels of education, and in the universities and technical colleges of the region it is the virtually the sole medium of instruction for all science- and technology-based disciplines. Overwhelmingly, the universities of the USA and the UK are the destinations of choice for postgraduate students on the extensive overseas training programmes which are a feature of the current educational scene (although in the case of Iraq there has always been a strong link with the universities of the former Soviet Union and the former communist states of eastern Europe). English is also the language of the internationalised world of trade, commerce, banking (and, increasingly, international tourism) in which the modern Arabian peninsula states are becoming major players. Furthermore, the huge multinational influx into the region, particularly since the 1970s, of expatriate experts and workers of all kinds who speak English as a second language has created a powerful 'snowball' effect which has further promoted the use of English as a *lingua franca* in virtually every area of modern Arabian public life. English is, however, by no means the only foreign language in common use. The long-standing trade links of the Gulf states with India, and a large expatriate Indian business commu-

nity, mean that many Gulf businessmen of the older generations (particularly in the gold trade) have a proficiency in one or more languages of the sub-continent (see 3.2.1. above). Persian is also widely spoken in Bahrain and the lower Gulf as a 'domestic' language by recent immigrants of Iranian origin, but this is likely to recede as the immigrants become assimilated.

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## 192. North Africa / Nordafrika

1. Introduction
2. Spanish North Africa and Malta
3. Mauritania, Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, and Libya
4. Conclusion
5. Literature (selected)

### 1. Introduction

This article considers the sociolinguistics of North Africa, specifically Mauritania, Morocco (including the former Spanish Sahara), Spanish North Africa, Algeria, Tunisia, Libya, and Malta. At first blush, these pol-

ities share little except geographic contiguity and, to some extent, similar histories. They represent the modern nation-states and territories that most nearly correspond to the coastal periphery of the westward spread of Islam – and with it Arabic – beyond Egypt beginning in the 7<sup>th</sup> century CE. (Islam continued to spread southward and eastward across the desert into what are today a number of Saharan and sub-Saharan countries, and in many cases, Arabic spread with it, at least for certain purposes.) As Massingon (1924) documented, the coming of Arabic represented a case of language shift as it began replacing other languages, most significantly, Berber, which had already been in contact with Phoenician, Latin, and the languages of the Visigoths. With the exception of overwhelmingly Catholic Malta and Spanish North Africa, which has a sizeable Muslim minority, these countries are considered part of the Arab and Islamic worlds. Morocco, Algeria, and Tunisia are often considered as a group because of their location with regard to the rest of the Arab world and their history of intensive colonization by the French, among other reasons. The French were in Algeria from 1830–1962, Tunisia from 1881–1956, and Morocco from 1912–1956. Indeed, the term “North Africa,” used narrowly, generally refers to these countries alone. In French, “le maghreb” is used; younger anglophone scholars increasingly prefer “Maghrib”, which is closer to the Arabic term for the region. Because of their unique situations, I first consider Spanish North Africa and Malta. The remainder of the entry deals with Mauritania, Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, and Libya, considering Berber, Arabic, and other languages as well as arabization and code-switching. Much of this section, especially 3.4. and 3.5., is devoted to the Maghrib because of the dominant role it has played in the larger region and because most of the sociolinguistic research on North Africa has focused on this area. (Ennaji 1999 and Versteegh 1997 offer complementary perspectives on the region and additional useful references.)

## 2. Spanish North Africa and Malta

The cities of Ceuta and Melilla and three groups of islands along the northern Moroccan coast are Spanish territories, and Spanish is their official language. However, Mo-

roccan Arabic and Berber are also spoken there. The islands of Malta, three of which are inhabited, represent a very different situation. The republic's 1974 constitution states that the official languages are Maltese and English although only the former has the status of national language for many institutional and governmental functions (Camilleri 1996). Maltese is a local variety of Arabic much influenced by Italian and increasingly English at the lexical level; it has been standardized and is written using Latin characters. (Hence, Malta is not characterized by diglossia in the way that the remaining Arabic-speaking countries are). Both languages are studied in primary and secondary school although English's utility as a language of wider communication continues to grow; it is the language of most higher education. Italian remains the most studied foreign language thanks to a continuing Italian presence. Unlike the other areas discussed here, Malta was never inhabited by Berber speakers. (See Versteegh 1997, 209ff. on language history in Malta and the linguistic features of Maltese as well as other varieties of Arabic discussed here.)

## 3. Mauritania, Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, and Libya

### 3.1. Berber

The oldest language in North Africa, dating to at least 3000 BC, Berber – in fact, a group of language varieties mutually intelligible to varying degrees – continues to be spoken there. No reliable figures exist for the number of speakers of Berber or the individuals who identify as ethnically Berber, regardless of language ability, in any of the countries treated here. National censuses do not query this issue, such ethnicity-based distinctions being seen as antithetical to fostering nationalism. Estimates of the number of Berber speakers in Mauritania, Tunisia, and Libya, are less than 0.5%, 1%, and 5%, respectively; in contrast, estimates of the number of Berbers in Algeria run as high as 25% while in Morocco, they range from 20% to 60%. In Morocco and Algeria, some varieties of the language are undergoing standardization although there is little consensus about whether they should be written in the Arabic, Roman, or indigenous “Libyan” script, originally used for inscriptions; one finds cases of all three.

Increasingly, Berber identity and language are political issues of great import in these two countries, and many activists find the term “Berber” problematic, preferring “Amazigh” (sg.) and “Imazighen” (pl.) for the people or culture and “Tamazight” as a cover term for the language varieties though it is the name of a specific variety as well. While the birth of what might be termed an identity-based cultural and political movement and Berber studies began among expatriates in France in the late 1960s, the historical origin of antagonism between Berbers and Arabs dates at least to the colonial period, when the French sought to turn these two groups against one another in order to facilitate control in ways sometimes perceived as favoring the Berbers. Despite these efforts, one can clearly document a strong Berber role in independence movements in both countries. In Morocco, contemporary issues date from the formation of the 1984 *Mouvement Populaire*, which later became a political force. Since King Hassan II’s 1994 official acknowledgement of the role of Berber culture in Moroccan national identity, the language and identity are ratified subjects for public discourse. In 2001, Moroccan television broadcast 10 minutes of news daily in each of the three varieties spoken there, Tamazight, Tarifit, and Tashlhit; these language varieties were also used for radio broadcasts and in limited print media. They were likewise beginning to be used in primary education and taught in universities. At the same time, groups of Berber speakers continued to protest the role accorded Arabic in Moroccan society and increasingly expressed solidarity with Berbers in other countries. In Algeria, the Kabyles represent the largest group of Berbers (and Berber speakers) though several other groups speak varieties of Berber. Since independence, Algerian government policies can be seen as promoting a view of the “real” Algerian as an Arabic-speaking (Arab) Muslim, leaving little room for speakers of French or any who might identify as Berber or use the language. Violent riots occurred in 1980 during the “Tamazight Spring” in Tizi Ouzou, the capital of Kabylie, when authorities prevented a well-known Berber writer from lecturing at the university on ancient Kabyle poetry. Several months later, a government panel offered recommendations about promoting Berber language and culture though little changed.

Since the monumental 1990 elections, when the winning Islamicist party was not permitted to take power, Algerian political and daily life have often been tumultuous; Berbers see themselves as under attack by the government in power and Islamicists, and intermittent unrest has ensued. In 2000, a variety of Berber became the language of instruction beginning in first grade in berberophone areas as part of educational reform detailed in 3.4. The summer of 2001 saw renewed rioting and deaths in Tizi Ouzou; the demonstrations against abuses of power by the current government demonstrate once again the ways in which language, ethnicity, and, in this case, political stance become imbricated. (See Ennaji 1999 for references on Berber sociolinguistics.)

### 3.2. Arabic

Arabic is the official and national language of Mauritania, Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, and Libya. (French is also accorded the status of official language in Mauritania, which was colonized by the French from 1900–1960.) Like all speech communities where Arabic is the primary language, North African communities are characterized by diglossia in the narrow sense described by Ferguson (1959) although there is agreement among scholars that Ferguson’s description was overly simple, especially with regard to what many term the “third language”, usually defined as the emerging intermediate varieties combining features of both the (spoken) national dialect, or low variety, and the (generally written) prestige, or high, variety, termed “Modern Standard Arabic” in English. A common approach to the problem is to posit a diglossic continuum and some number of levels of Arabic (e.g., Badawī 1973 on Egypt). Limitations of such an approach are its inability to account in a principled way for co-occurrence restrictions on forms from the high and low and the problematic nature of criteria for distinguishing levels. A very different approach is to contend that the so-called “third language” does not represent a conventionalized variety (or set of them); rather, it is best seen as involving the practice of diglossic switching between the high and low (e.g. Walters 1996; 2003); hence, strategies for switching, rather than linguistic varieties, have become conventionalized. Walters contended that a model like Myers-Scotton’s (1993a) model of codeswitching

could profitably be applied to Arabic diglossia; Omar (1999) used this model to analyze the diglossic switching in the speeches of Habib Bourguiba, Tunisia's first president, with great success. One can easily speak of the varieties of spoken Arabic found in North African countries as belonging to a single dialect area. As Versteegh (1997) detailed, these Western dialects differ from other varieties in terms of verbal morphology and phonology, including stress and phonotactics. They are traditionally further divided into sedentary and bedouin dialects; the former date from the initial spread of Islam and are associated with urban areas that were settled earliest while the latter date from the 10<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> century invasions of the Egyptian Banū Hilāl tribes and are associated with the countryside, where Berber continued to be spoken and bedouins lived. For several reasons, these national varieties have become increasingly focused (in the sense of Le Page and Tabouret-Keller 1985) during the postcolonial period. At the same time, technological advances like satellite television permit Arabs to become familiar with the features distinguishing national varieties of Arabic across the Arab world. A centuries-old distinction can be made between Muslim and Jewish varieties of spoken Arabic in Morocco, Algeria, and Tunisia. None of the North African dialects has undergone a conscious process of standardization and thus lacks the purist ideology associated with such processes; hence, they have been and remain open to lexical borrowing, often a source of negative evaluations of these varieties by Arabs from the East. The Ḥassāniyya dialect, spoken in Mauritania, has been much influenced by Berber in particular. Baccouche (1994) documented many of the borrowings into Tunisian Arabic and their sources, which include not only Berber but nearly all of the European languages, especially Italian and French; Heath (1989) provided a more theory-driven description of the situation in Moroccan Arabic. The lack of a prescriptivist ideology also helps account for the widespread practice of codeswitching between Arabic and other languages (see 3.5.).

### 3.3. Other languages

In addition to Arabic and Berber, several other languages are used in this area. Wolof, Pular, and Bambara are found in Mauritania; both Mauritania and Libya have large

communities of workers from other developing South and East Asian countries who speak their native languages. Spanish continues to be spoken and written in Northern Morocco, especially along the coast, and in the southernmost part of the country in the area that was formerly the Spanish Sahara. Though widely used in Tunisia and Libya during the colonial era – the number of Italians in what is today Tunisia outnumbered the number of French until 1931 and Libya was colonized by Italy from 1911–1951 – the remaining native speakers of Italian in Tunisia are dying rapidly. Today, however, many speakers in the northern part of Tunisia claim some competence in the language, which they have been able to pick up thanks to television broadcasts from Italy and their knowledge of French. French itself continues to be the most commonly used European language in the three countries of the Maghrib. Its uses include broadcast and print media, and it plays a significant role in education both as subject and language of instruction, depending on the historical period and country. Hence, educated Maghribis are biliterate in the Arabic and Roman scripts. A large number of the citizens of these countries claim some knowledge of French – indeed the majority of Tunisians and Algerians would; and many North Africans do not consider French a foreign language but a second (or third) language. Indeed, some older Algerians have limited knowledge of Arabic. The French found in the Maghrib ranges from something approaching standard metropolitan French to highly fluent, correct French with a marked North African accent to clear second language varieties. Despite the arabization of the school system, French remains a marker of education, class privilege, and social distinction. To a greater extent than ever before, English is becoming a language of prestige and power, in some circumstances, in addition to Standard Arabic and French and, in others, in place of it. Walters (1999) examined the role of English in Tunisia.

### 3.4. Arabization

At the end of French colonial rule, among the greatest challenges each of the Maghrib countries faced was that of language choice for government and education. The choice pitted what Fishman (1972) termed nationalism, creating a new, unified, independent national identity, against nationism, run-

ning the new nation state. Arabic indexed nationalism while French was the more judicious choice for maintaining and expanding existing bureaucracies and institutions. In varying ways, each of the three countries made different choices, though all opted for some program of arabization, as documented by Grandguillaume (1983). Algeria chose immediate and near total arabization, a decision that had serious consequences for the francophone elite and berberophones and ultimately the body politic. However, in 2000, French was granted a new position of importance as it was taught earlier and once again became the language of instruction in the science and mathematics. (As noted in 3.1., Berber was granted new rights; further, "Islamic Education" became "Civic, Moral, and Religious Education", and private schools were once again recognized.) As might be imagined, arabization and discussions of language policy in all these countries became fertile ground for ideological warfare, and much written about the subject has been less concerned with language than with arguments about the nature of national and pan-national identity (e.g., membership in the larger Arab and/or Islamic world(s) generally seen as conflicting with readiness to be part of a larger world community, whether through possible membership in the European Union or merely responding to the challenges of globalization). Moatassime (1992), Taleb Ibrahim (1997), and Daoud (2001) offered information about Morocco, Algeria, and Tunisia, respectively, representing very different ideological stances with respect to the subject. Despite arguments about arabization, literacy in Arabic is higher today than at any time in the past, Arabic has a status in these countries it did not have a few decades ago, and those who, for whatever reason, do not know Arabic or are not literate in it are increasingly at a disadvantage.

### 3.5. Codeswitching

Among the most salient features of language practice in the Maghrib commented on by outsiders is the frequency with which intra-sentential codeswitching occurs, especially among the educated. Such comments are uniformly negative, even when made by linguists who might be expected to treat the phenomenon descriptively rather than judgmentally. While members of these communities express similar negative evaluations

of the practice (as it seems codeswitchers worldwide generally do), the practice persists. As noted in 3.2., one can analyze alternation between the high and low varieties of Arabic as codeswitching. Alternation between Arabic or French and a variety of Berber is common among Berber speakers, and switching between Arabic and French is common in all three countries, especially in urban areas. In the spirit of Myers-Scotton (1993b), this situation can be easily explained. The type of codeswitching found among educated peers is most often what she terms "codeswitching as unmarked choice", i.e., one creates and demonstrates solidarity by switching, taking into account the interlocutors' linguistic repertoires and context. According to Myers-Scotton, such switching occurs only in speech communities where the rights and obligations sets indexed by the codes involved are positively valued by participants. Thus, switching (or its absence) as well as the degree and kind of switching serves as a ready resource for creating complex identities at the local, national, and pan-national level. Speakers who switch between Arabic and French demonstrate loyalty to the values represented at the local level by each language (a "both/and" identity) while simultaneously marking themselves off from speakers who can use only one of these languages (a "neither/nor" identity). Of course, the values and their meanings can shift from interaction to interaction. Just as frequent codeswitching is associated with the educated and the urban, it is also associated in a negative way with women. No research exists which permits trustworthy comparison of the switching behaviors of women and men, and collecting and analyzing comparable data sets on a sample of an appropriate size presents great challenges. More profitable will likely be historicized analyses that seek to understand how men and women are differently situated in the present with regard to linguistic practices and to access to language varieties and their value on various linguistic markets.

## 4. Conclusion

The politics discussed have been characterized over the past half century by social change to a degree difficult for most Westerners to appreciate. Many university professors have at least one parent, their mother,

who is illiterate though often both are. Each generation has had different experiences with the language varieties found in the speech community; hence, people of different ages and social backgrounds have very different linguistic repertoires and attitudes toward specific language varieties. In the Arabic-speaking areas, Arabic continues to occupy new roles, a continuation of shift begun centuries ago. At the same time, English and, depending on the country, Berber and French, occupy roles of considerable importance.

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## 193. Francophone West Africa / Das frankophone Westafrika

1. Sociolinguistic situations
2. Language policies
3. The law and reality
4. Literature (selected)

The linguistic situations of the French speaking countries south of the Sahara are analysed below from two points of view: firstly, through a typological overview of the sociolinguistic situations, then by looking at the official texts. These two approaches will then enable us to reflect on the effects which the texts may have had on the situations, that is on the efficiency of linguistic policies, whatever their nature.

### 1. Sociolinguistic situations

The countries treated here are 'francophone' by virtue of their colonial heritage. Former French colonies (Benin, Burkina Faso, Central African Republic, Congo, Ivory Coast, Gabon, Guinea, Mali, Niger, Senegal) having previously been German colonies in some cases (Togo, Cameroon), they all maintained French as the language of state administration after independence. However, the extent to which they are French-speaking must be seen in terms of the rate of participation in education (and the efficiency of that education). In the absence of offi-



cial statistics or surveys, it is generally estimated that about 10% of the population actually speak French (leaving aside the question of what it means to 'speak a language'). A distinction should be made between learning French at school, which ensures the individual promotion of French-speaking elites, and learning French 'in the wild', acquiring an approximate grasp of the language. In both cases, it should also be noted that there is a permanent conflict between two norms: an exogenous norm, from France, which dominates in education, and endogenous norms which may already be giving rise to local varieties of French which would constitute a new generation of languages.

Above all, these countries are characterised by their multilingualism, involving dozens, or even (e.g. in Cameroon) hundreds, of languages. These divide into a large number of groups which Greenberg classifies in terms of two main families, the Congo-Kordafian and the Nilo-Saharan (Greenberg 1963). A partial list of these groups is given below, to which should be added a Portuguese-based creole spoken in the South of Senegal, in Casamance.

- Western Atlantic languages (Wolof, Serer, Basari, Dyola, Mandyak, Balante, Peul, etc.) spoken in Senegal, Guinea, Mali, Burkina Faso, Central African Republic, Cameroon, Benin, Togo, Chad and Niger.
- Mande languages (Bambara, Bobo, Boso, Dioula, Malinke, Soninke, Susu, etc.) spoken in Senegal, Mali, Ivory Coast, Guinea and Burkina Faso.
- Songai-Zarma languages (Songai, Zarma, Dendi, etc.) spoken in Niger and Mali.
- Voltaic languages (More, Kabre, Gourmantche, Gurunsi, etc.) spoken in Mali, Burkina Faso, Ivory Coast, Togo and Benin.
- Kwa languages (Ewe, Baule, Agni, Yoruna, Igbo, etc.) spoken in Ivory Coast, Togo and Benin.
- Chadic languages (Hausa, Kotoko, etc.) spoken in Niger, Chad and Cameroon.
- Bantu languages (Lingala, Duala, Basa, Myene, Ichira, etc.) spoken in Cameroon, Gabon and Congo.

Etc.

This multilingual situation has given rise to the emergence of lingua francas: Bambara in Mali, Hausa and Zarma in Niger, Lin-

gala and Munukutuba in Congo, Sango in the Central African Republic, Jula in Ivory Coast, whose status is reinforced by the significant degree of urbanisation in these countries. Having developed as languages of the communication routes (tracks, rivers, etc.) and of the markets, they are increasingly becoming languages of social integration in the capitals where they take on distinctive 'simplified' forms. Thus, in Senegal there is an 'urban' Wolof whose morphology, particularly its system of noun classes, is considerably simplified in relation to 'rural' Wolof. The urban markets are a good indicator of these situations, since all of the studies conducted in this particular environment show that in commercial transactions the use of French does not exceed 10% (Calvet 1992) and that there are one or two languages which serve as lingua franca. Thus, Bambara is the lingua franca of the markets of Bamako, Songai in the market of Gao (Mali), Hausa and Zarma in the markets of Niamey (Niger), Sango in the markets of Bangui (Central African Republic), Lingala and Munukutuba in the markets of Brazzaville (Congo), Dioula in the markets of Abidjan (Ivory Coast), etc., and in all cases French is little used. On the other hand, these languages are little used in writing, where French dominates. A good indicator here is the graphic environment: the walls in the towns, posters and signs present us with texts mostly in Latin characters and in French, the Arabic alphabet, in the Muslim areas of these countries, being the exception and African languages being largely absent. The same holds for bookshops and newspaper kiosks: the African languages are part of the oral tradition whereas French is the main (if not the only) medium of written communication. The general situation can therefore be construed as a system of three levels:

- That of the official language, in most cases French, the language of state administration, politics, education, etc.
- That of the lingua franca(s), languages of the marketplace, tracks, intercommunal relations and, in the cities, languages of social integration.
- That of the gregarious languages, used within the family, between friends, etc.

An exception to this general picture, whose analysis is particularly instructive, is the case of Gabon, where the absence of an en-

dogenuous lingua franca has given French a very special status. Libreville is, for example, the only African capital in which French is the language of the market place and also the only one in which it is the first language (or 'mother tongue') of a significant part of the population: 26.3% according to a recent survey (Calvet et al. 1999). This situation reveals a close relationship between the presence or absence of an endogenous lingua franca and the popular expansion of French.

Leaving aside this exception, the francophone African countries can thus be characterised in terms of:

- Their multilingualism
- The existence of one or two African lingua francas whose currency is enhanced by urbanisation.
- A conflict of norms concerning French.
- The fact that, as we shall see below, the language of the former coloniser is the official language.

This hierarchy of functions can be represented in terms of the 'gravitational model' (Calvet 1999). Given that languages are linked to each other by bilingual speakers and that bilingual systems are determined by power relations (for example, in Morocco the first language of an Arab-Berber bilingual is always Berber, in Senegal the first language of a Wolof-French bilingual is always Wolof, etc.), we can represent relationship between languages in terms of gravitation. Thus, in francophone Africa, around a pivot language, French, there are other languages (whose speakers often also speak French) which gravitate around it. These languages in turn are centres of gravity for yet other languages, whose speakers also speak a language at the next higher level. These three levels (there are others, and the pivot of the world system is of course English) correspond to the functions which we have just identified: official language, lingua francas, first languages ...

## 2. Language policies

Let us begin by summarising the legal status of languages in the countries concerned as it is presented in constitutional texts (ACCT 1995). I have retained the most recent version of the texts, citing an earlier text only in cases where a significant political change has intervened (Central African Republic, Congo, Chad).

*Benin* (population: 5,900,000)

'The official language is French' (1990, art 1)

'The state must promote the development of national languages of intercommunication' (art. 11)

*Burkina Faso* (population: 10,900,000)

'The official language is French.

The law determines the conditions for promotion and official recognition of national languages' (1991, art. 35)

*Cameroon* (population: 5,900,000)

'The official languages of the United Republic of Cameroon are French and English' (1972, art. 1)

*Central African Republic* (population: 3,300,000)

'The national language is Sango. The official language is French' (1986, art. 1)

'Its official languages are Sango and French' (1994, art. 17)

*Congo* (population: 2,600,000)

'The official language is French' (1961, art. 1)

'The official language is French. The national linguae francae are Lingala and Munukutuba' (1992, art. 3)

*Ivory Coast* (population: 15,000,000)

'The official language is French' (1960, art. 1)

*Gabon* (population: 1,200,000)

'The Gabonese Republic adopts French as the official language of the workplace. In addition, it strives for the protection and promotion of national languages' (1991, art. 2)

*Guinea* (population: 7,500,000)

'The official language is French. The State ensures the promotion of the cultures and languages of the people of Guinea' (1990, art. 1)

*Mali* (population: 9,900,000)

'French is the official language of communication. The law determines the conditions for promotion and official recognition of the national languages' (1992, art. 25)

*Niger* (population: 9,800,000)

'The official language is French' (1992, art. 3)

*Senegal* (population: 8,800,000)

'The official language of the Republic of Senegal is French. The national languages are Diola, Malinké, Poular, Sérère, Soninké and Wolof' (1984, art. 1)

*Chad* (population: 7,000,000)

'The official language is French' (1967, art. 1)

'The official languages are French and Arabic' (1993, art. 2)

*Togo* (population: 4,700,000)

'The official language of the Republic of Togo is French, (1992, art. 3)

It can be seen that, for the most part, the francophone African countries operate on an opposition between official languages (the language or languages of state administration) and national languages. This distinction, which is maintained almost across the board here, is not widely adopted elsewhere. Although the notion of an official language is reasonably well understood, that of a national language is much vaguer and varies from one country to another. In some cases, the national languages are a subset of the languages spoken in the country (six out of twenty in Senegal), in others, all of the languages (Cameroon). In the first case, the designation of a language as national represents a deliberate linguistic policy (and a possible basis for language-planning) whereas in the second it constitutes a sort of decorative baptism with no real practical consequences (how could one develop a linguistic policy for the two hundred languages of Cameroon?)

Another matter to consider is the number of official languages. French is the only language to fulfil this function in ten cases, and it coexists with another language in three cases (Cameroon, Central African Republic, Chad). This second official language may be another language of colonial origin (English in Cameroon and, to a lesser extent, Arabic in Chad) or a dominant lingua franca (Sango in the Central African Republic). In two cases (Central African Republic, Chad), this coexistence is the result of a deliberate linguistic policy, Arabic and Sango having been added as official languages after a period during which only French played this role.

As we have noted, the above summary covers only constitutional texts. In some countries these are supplemented by laws and decrees which:

- bear on the introduction of national languages in education (Ivory Coast)

- establish an Institute (or National Centre) of Applied Linguistics (Benin, Ivory Coast Guinea)

- create services to promote literacy (Benin, Burkina Faso, Guinea)

- determine the official orthography of these languages (Central African Republic, Guinea, Mali, Niger, Senegal).

It is the relationship between this arsenal of texts and the facts on the ground that we will now investigate.

### 3. The law and reality

In section 2 we have given a brief typology of the status of the various languages in the legislative texts. This approach forms part of what I shall call *linguistic politology*; that is, the theoretical and scientific analysis of the legislative texts and the actions undertaken, for example, in the field of education or adult literacy, or action which affects the language itself (standardisation, neology, orthography) or relationships between the languages. A distinction must be made between this *linguistic politology* and *linguistic politics*; that is concrete intervention in situations either by the State or by militants, pressure groups, etc. Linguistic politology is thus a science whereas linguistic politics is a choice of action, an action which is put into practice through language planning. Leaving aside linguistic politology, we shall now consider to what extent the law translates into facts, to what extent there is, behind the legislative texts which we have just evoked, a real linguistic policy.

Although the designation of an African language as a 'national' language does not generally mean anything concrete, it should nevertheless be pointed out that in some countries these languages are the vehicle for functional literacy programmes. This is the case in Mali, for example, where the literacy agencies (the DNAFLA, 'Division Nationale d'Alphabétisation Fonctionnelle et de Linguistique Appliquée') are meant to cater for all of the country's languages and to develop teaching programmes in them, normally for the benefit of the adult population in rural areas but also, on an experimental basis, in some primary schools. But there is no comparison between the use of Bambara in these operations, which is frequent, and the sporadic use of some other languages. The vast

majority of literacy campaigns are in Bambara, and it is also in this language that a programme of experimental classes is being conducted in the Ségou region: the status of Bambara as a lingua franca is thus reinforced *de facto* even though no decision has been taken *de jure* in this direction. This is what we might call a linguistic policy *by default* (Calvet 1983) which in the long term could well result in a *fait-accompli*: the dominant position of Bambara over the other endogenous languages.

When certain 'national' languages are used only to promote literacy amongst the rural population, whereas the 'official' language is used in schools and in the state administration, this difference emphasises the perceived gulf between the image of a language of the modern world, of social advancement, the language of 'the whites', and languages which may well convey notions of identity but are also perceived as languages of the past. Thus, as a general rule, parents of pupils are not keen on the introduction of 'national' languages in schools. In their minds, only French can guarantee the social advancement of their children, and many countries are faced with a contradiction which is difficult to resolve: the official language may well be the means of individual advancement for the elite, but only a local language (or more than one) can guarantee the collective advancement of a whole age-group.

Another question concerns the effects of these language policies on actual situations. Arabic, for example, does appear to be taught in schools in Chad, but this is scarcely true for Sango in the Central African Republic. On this point, more precise surveys are required and, in any case, the rates of education are so low (reportedly 10% in Chad) that these choices of linguistic policy have little effect on actual practice. This issue does not concern the lingua francas: the status of lingua franca is not conferred by decree even if the law sometimes recognises it (in Congo and the Central African Republic). The vernacular languages, whose transmission is sometimes imperfect, regardless of whether they are designated as 'national' languages, are barely taken into account in the texts, except in terms of 'protection' or 'promotion' (Gabon, Guinea). Indeed, in most cases we seem to be faced with language policies which apply 'by default' (Calvet 1983): failure to promote

'national' languages reinforces the status of the 'official' language, or indeed the absence of a positive choice is tantamount to an empty, negative choice.

Leaving aside the case of Guinea at the time of Sékou Touré (Calvet 1987, 176–180), that of the Central African Republic which is attempting to establish Sango-French bilingualism and those of Mali and Senegal which is pursuing the experimental use of some national languages in schools, the countries under discussion do not really have a clearly declared language policy but rather a 'laissez faire' policy leading to the maintenance of the status quo. They nevertheless play a significant role in the linguistic policy of France, constituting an ancillary force in the global arena which can be called upon to give substance to the idea of 'la Francophonie'. Whether one considers it from a sociolinguistic perspective (the group of countries in which French is spoken by all or part of the population) or from a geopolitical perspective (those countries which belong to the institutions of the 'Francophonie'), the 'Francophonie' actually needs its members in order to exist, and for the most part these are African countries. From time to time, critical voices can be heard declaring that Africa should not be involved in the French-speaking world's struggle against English, that it is not concerned by this combat. Although they represent a minority, these voices need to be listened to and to be weighed against other questions concerning the role which languages (French and African languages) can play in the battle against underdevelopment. Indeed, since the summit of francophone Heads of State in Dakar (1989), the tone of the francophone discourse has changed considerably, emphasising the importance of exchange between languages and cultures and of promoting local languages, and the Beirut summit (2001) is to focus on *diversity*. Of course, these choices have a double aim, targeting Africa but also the domination of English (which would threaten diversity), and only time can tell what their effect will be.

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## 194. Sudan and the Horn of Africa Der Sudan und das Horn von Afrika

1. Introduction
2. Djibouti
3. Eritrea
4. Ethiopia
5. Somalia
6. Sudan
7. Literature (selected)

### 1. Introduction

The area under consideration includes the countries Sudan, Eritrea, Djibouti, Ethiopia and the former Republic of Somalia. The north-eastern and eastern parts of this area are delimited by the shores of the Red Sea. In the north and north-west the border is not clearly marked.

Historically as well as linguistically, the area is not uniform. The same languages are often spoken in two (e.g. Tigrinya in Eritrea and Ethiopia) or even three (e.g. Somali in Somalia, Ethiopia and Djibouti) countries in the region. This is due to the fact that borders were drawn by colonial forces. There were three colonial powers in the Horn and Sudan: England, France and Italy. While in Sudan, Eritrea, Djibouti and Somalia the colonial era had a deep impact on the administration and education, the short Italian occupation of Ethiopia (1935–41) showed no deep influence. Except in Djibouti, where French is still used as the official language, all other countries in the Horn use indigenous languages. Since former times there has been an intermingling of different peoples, cultures, and languages in this area due to trade routes, migrations and the expansion of several kingdoms (e.g. Axum, Funj). This results in a striking feature: a long-lasting multilingualism in some parts of the region.

Due to the development of towns with industries, administration, etc., however, there evolved a different language use and ability between people living in urban centers and people living in rural areas or small towns.

The languages of the Horn belong to three different language phyla: Afroasiatic, Nilo-Saharan and Niger-Kordofan. Afroasiatic languages exist in all countries of the region. Nilo-Saharan languages are spoken in Sudan, especially Southern Sudan, and in the border area between Sudan and Ethiopia as well as in Eritrea. Niger-Kordofanian languages are spoken in Southern Sudan and in some southern parts of Somalia.

### 2. Djibouti

The former French colony (1896–1977) is inhabited by two main groups: Afar and Issa. The population of the small country does not exceed half a million people (Matthies 1992, 122). Both groups speak the Cushitic languages Afar and Somali. The Afar are a nomadic people living in Eritrea, Ethiopia and Djibouti; the Issa, a Somali speaking people, live also in Ethiopia and northern Somalia. The official language remains French (cf. Grimes 1996–99). Soldiers of the French Foreign Legion are still stationed in Djibouti. Except for those who work in the port and in government administration, Djibouti's people are primarily nomadic herders. Approximately 10000 French nationals also reside in Djibouti. In addition migrants from Ethiopia and Eritrea live and work there. With the majority of the population following the Islamic faith, Arabic is widespread as a second language.

### 3. Eritrea

Having been a former Italian colony (1890–1941), then an English protectorate (1941–1952), then a federate state within Ethiopia (1952–62), and an Ethiopian province (1962–1993) it finally became an independent state of approximately 3 million inhabitants in 1993 (Matthies 1992, 85ff; Ghirmai 1999, 5ff). Nine languages are spoken in Eritrea: Tigrinya (Semitic) by about one half of the population, Tigre (Semitic) spoken by one third of the population, Arabic (Semitic) spoken by the Rashaida living on the northern coast, and the Cushitic languages Afar, Saho, Bilin and Beja and the Nilotic languages Kunama and Nara (Ghirmai 1999, 48ff; Locher 1991, 16ff). Another language may exist, Dahliiq, belonging to the Semitic branch. It is spoken on the Dahlaq islands (Simeone-Senelle 2000, 267ff). In addition, Ge'ez is used for liturgical purposes in the church. This language was used in the kingdom of Axum (ca. 300–900 AD), but ceased to be a spoken language more than a thousand years ago.

Multilingualism of the people is widespread. Bilin speakers, for instance, use Tigre and Tigrinya in addition to their native language. The Saho and Afar can understand each other because their languages are very close, but in addition, they have knowledge of Tigrinya and Arabic (Ghirmai 1999, 51).

The most common foreign languages were Italian, English and Amharic. Italian was the language of the colonizers and old people often have a very good command of it. In addition, English, Tigrinya, Tigre and Arabic were the medium of school instruction during the English protectorate; the Eritrean language being used only in primary schools (cf. Scherer 1991, 121). At the time when Eritrea was part of Ethiopia, Amharic became the official language and the only medium of instruction in primary schools (Ghirmai 1999, 9f; Scherer 1991, 122). However, since the 1970's the Eritrean People's Liberation Front has organized its own education in Tigrinya and Tigre (Scherer 1991, 127ff).

After Eritrea gained independence, Amharic was no longer used very often. It is not taught anymore at school. The new educational policy tries to implement vernacular education in elementary schools. Tigrinya and Arabic must be learnt in the first

few years of school. Secondary schools, as well as the university, use English as medium of instruction. A declaration made in 1996 gave all Eritrean languages official status. De facto, however, only Tigrinya and Arabic are used as official languages. The writing system of the non-Semitic languages is an adapted Latin alphabet. The Semitic languages, Tigre and Tigrinya are based on a writing system which goes back to a syllabic script used for writing Ge'ez and Amharic (Ghirmai 1999, 50ff).

### 4. Ethiopia

In Ethiopia, approximately 80 languages are spoken by circa 57 million people (Daniel 1997, 431). These languages belong to the Afroasiatic and Nilo-Saharan language phyla. There are languages which are spoken by a great number of people and serve as regional *lingua francas*. Oromo, Amharic, Tigrinya, Somali, Wolayta, and Sidama belong to these languages (cf. Richter 1981, 46). There are many languages spoken by only a small number of people, yet have a high status, such as Hamar in southern Ethiopia or Chaha/Ezha in the Gurage region.

The official language of Ethiopia is Amharic (Semitic). Its oldest records go back to the 13th century. It replaced Ge'ez, the language of the Axumite Empire and still the language of the liturgy in the Ethiopian Orthodox Church, as the spoken language in the court. However, only in the middle of the 19th century did it start to be used as written language. The chronicle of Emperor Tewodros II (1855–1868) was the first one to be recorded in Amharic (cf. Richter 1985; Ullendorf 1955, 16ff). His successor Menelik II (1889–1913), who expanded the Ethiopian Empire towards the south, introduced his power in southern areas and subdued several kingdoms. He founded new garrison towns, which became administrative centers, where Amharic was used as the *lingua franca*. After the establishment of the printing press in 1911, Amharic literature started to develop very rapidly (Bartnicki/Mantel-Niećko 1978, 365ff). Amharic enjoyed a *de jure* status when Emperor Haile Sellassie I (1930–1974) declared Amharic as the official language in the 1955 constitution. He, like his predecessors, had the idea of a united Ethiopia, which needed a single language to overcome the “multi-ethnic problems” (cf. Richter 1985; Tesfaye 1971, 77).

This policy was, de facto, not changed in Derg times (1974–1991). Although the new socialist government issued a proclamation that all Ethiopian languages should be equal in status and made great efforts to decrease illiteracy through literacy campaigns, in practice only Amharic was used as the official language and as the medium of instruction in primary schools (Griefenow-Mewis 1992, 136). The literacy campaigns, conducted in 15 different languages (Amharic, Oromo, Tigrinya, Wolayta, Somali, Hadiya, Gedeo, Tigre, Kambata, Kunama, Sidama, Silt'e, Afar, Kafa-Mocha and Saho), were intended to reach 94% of the population. The first campaign in 1979 was prepared to teach one million people, but 5.5 million registered (Wedekind 1994, 822f). Due to various reasons the enthusiasm of the people ceased in the following campaigns. One of the main goals of these campaigns was for the people to become aquainted with the Amharic script. This script was the only one used to write Ethiopian languages and would therefore simplify entering formal education in Amharic (Hoben 1994, 185). Besides Amharic, there are printed journals in Oromo and in Tigrinya; there are also radio and television programs in languages other than Amharic. The language of prestige and of wider communication in towns remained Amharic. In 1942 an Ethiopian Academy for the Development of the Language (Amharic) was founded, which in the 1950's became the Amharic Academy, and after the revolution the Ethiopian Language Academy (Wedekind 1994, 817; Tesfaye 1971, 24). This institution was working on the development of new scientific terms for Amharic and participated in the preparation of textbooks for schools.

After 1991 a change in educational and language policy took place; every ethnic group now has the constitutional right to use and to develop its own language. In a short period of time textbooks in several vernaculars were prepared and primary education is now given in different languages (e. g. Oromo, Tigrinya, Somali, Afar, Kambata, and Sidama). In addition, the new language specialists broke with the old practice of using only the syllable script of Ge'ez/Amharic in writing any Ethiopian language. For non-Semitic languages, an adapted Latin script was introduced, which is more suitable for them (cf. Wedekind 1994, 823; Griefenow-Mewis 1992, 137).

The language of secondary schools and of the universities was, and is, English.

The national lingua franca and working language of the government is still Amharic. It is used in all big towns as a common means of communication (cf. Meyer/Richter 2003, 79ff). Tigrinya serves similar functions in the north and Oromo in southern, eastern and western parts.

Besides English, there exists a certain knowledge of French, especially in Dire Dawa due to tourism, and of Italian. Arabic is used in Muslim societies and also serves as the lingua franca in Muslim areas, especially in the east (cf. Daniel 1997, 438).

## 5. Somalia

Somalia is taken here as a region, which existed as a single state before the war at the end of the 1980's. Linguistically, it is a homogeneous area. 97% of the approximately eight million inhabitants speak Somali (Cushitic) as their native language (cf. Matthies 1992, 100; Labahn 1982, 69). There are different dialects of Somali, the northern dialects, also known as Common Somali, being the most widespread. These dialects are spoken by 60% of the population. Because Common Somali is known in all parts of Somali, it has become the variant used as the national language (Labahn 1982, 69ff).

In addition to the northern Somali dialect cluster, there are Benaadir dialects, spoken along the coast of Southern Somalia, the Ashraaf dialects, used only in Merka and in one quarter in Mogadishu, the May dialects of Upper Juba and Lower Shabelle, the Digil dialects, which are scattered among the May dialects and Af Jiddu (Lamberti 1984, 162ff). Most speakers of minority languages, especially the younger generation, are bilingual in Somali due to schooling. Minorities include the Oromo (Cushitic), living at the frontier of Ethiopia and at the lower Juba river, the Mushungulu, speakers of an eastern Bantu language, living at the Lower Juba in the banks of Jamaame, and Swahili speakers. Speakers of Af Mwiini (Northern Swahili) live at the Lower Shabelle near Baraawe. In Kismaayo and the coast another northern Swahili language, Af Bajun or Ki Bajuni, is spoken. The above-mentioned Mushungulu do not mingle with the Somali. Because of this, their women often do not know any Somali (Lamberti 1984, 155ff).

This situation could have changed during the war because many minority speakers migrated to Ethiopia or Kenya.

There is another language, Af Boon, which could not be classified, because almost all speakers shifted to Somali. However, there are some old people who speak it as their mother tongue, but use it only with fellows of the same age. Lamberti (1984, 160f) suspects Af Boon to be a secret language of a low class like Helledi, which is a secret language of hunters speaking the May dialect of Somali.

During the years 1880–1900 the Somali speaking territory became colonies of England in the north and Italy in the south. In addition, France took some parts of northern Somalia (Djibouti) and Kenya (British colony), parts of the south; Ethiopia took the Ogaden, the western part of the Somali speaking areas.

Italy and England tried to build up an educational system for recruiting clerks from inside the Somali society, but met with limited success. Those who spoke the language of the colonizers evolved into an elite group in both parts of the country. Arabic had been and still is a very prestigious language. During the Egyptian occupation (1870–84) and also before, Arabic was the medium of instruction in schools, the language of the administration, and is still the language of the majority religion in this area – Islam.

After the unification in 1960, there was a peculiar situation in that almost all inhabitants spoke Somali, but the languages used in the administration were Arabic (especially for juridical matters), English (official language in the North) and Italian (official language in the South). This created many problems since every official report or law had to be translated into all three languages (cf. Labahn 1982; Laitin 1977). Because of this a 'National Language Committee', which was part of the Ministry of Education, was founded in 1960 (Reh/Heine 1982, 22ff; Labahn 1982, 133ff). The first task of this committee was to solve the problem of a script for Somali. Until then different scripts had been in existence. The famous indigenous scripts are the Cismaaniya (also known as Osmania), invented by Osman Yusuf Keenadiid in the 1920's, and the Gadabuursi, developed by Sheikh Abdu-rahman Nuur in 1933 (Labahn 1982, 95ff).

Besides these there existed several adaptations of the Latin and Arabic script. The Language Committee voted for an adapted Latin script, but this was not accepted by the Minister of Education (Reh/Heine 1982, 23). In 1965 an UNESCO delegation with Andrzejewski as head came to Somalia in order to help to solve the script problem. The delegation suggested the use of a Latin script. This yielded to religious pro-Arabic demonstrations and the dismissal of the Minister of Education (Labahn 1982; 145f). Only after the socialist coup d'état in 1969 by Siyad Barre did a change take place. The new government threatened the Muslim leaders that it would close all Quran schools if they were not loyal to the new government (Labahn 1982; 169). In 1971 a Somali Language Commission was formed whose task was to develop an indigenous educational system based on the Somali language, i.e. they had to produce textbooks for primary schools. In order to write the books, every member of the commission could use the script he liked. In the beginning all three scripts were used, but most members then shifted to the Latin script due to the limit in preparation time (Labahn 1982, 156ff).

On December, the twelfth in 1972, Somali became the only official language of Somalia with an adapted Latin script. All government officials had to learn the new script within three months and were required to pass an examination (Reh/Heine 1982, 29). In order to lower the rate of illiteracy, two literacy campaigns were conducted. The first was conducted in 1973 in towns and the second in 1974 in rural areas. The teachers of the second campaign, together with many students, went to nomadic families in order to teach them reading and writing Somali (Reh/Heine 1982, 30ff; Griefenow-Mewis 1992, 131f).

As of 1973 only Somali was the medium of instruction in primary and as of 1976 in secondary schools; English and Italian were offered as subjects. Only at university in the Department of Somali Language and Literature is Somali used as the medium of instruction; all other subjects are taught in English, Italian or Arabic (Andrzejewski 1980, 4).

Somalia is therefore one of very few countries in Africa which uses a vernacular education from grade one up to university.



## 6. Sudan

Roughly 17 million inhabitants live in Sudan (Reh/Heine 1982, 33). There are approximately 100 different languages spoken in this country.

The national language and medium of instruction in schools is Arabic. It is spoken as the native language by more than one half of the whole Sudanese population.

However, there is a big difference between northern and southern Sudan. In the northern areas, where Islam is the dominant religion, often more than two third of the inhabitants speak Arabic as their mother tongue. It can be said that almost all people of the North know Arabic either as a first or as a second language. Another important language group in the North is Nuba. In Southern Sudan, where Christianity is more widespread due to former missions, there are areas with very few speakers of Arabic, even as a second language. Contrary to the North, in Southern Sudan there is a big diversity of languages. Dinka, a Nilotic language serves as a regional lingua franca in the region of Bahr al Ghazal and Upper Nile. In general, however, there are no distinct languages, which are spoken as mother tongues by a majority of the population (cf. Heine/Reh 1984, 36ff).

In the beginning of the 19th century, areas of northern Sudan were conquered by Turco-Egyptian expeditions, which yielded to a spread of Islam and Arabic. Approximately 100 years later Anglo-Egyptian forces reconquered the territory of the Sudan and adopted two different policies for the Muslim, Arabic speaking North and the South (Nyaba 1997, 13f). During the English colonial rule, Arabic was the lingua franca and the language of administration in the North. In the South Arabic was not used at all as a medium of instruction because the administration, as well as the missionaries, feared the spread of Islam. The Rejaf Language Conference in 1927 decided in favor of the use of vernaculars (Dinka, Bari, Lotuho, Shilluk, Nuer and Zande) as mediums of instruction in primary schools in Southern Sudan (Beshir 1968, 44; Reh/Heine 1982, 44ff; Nyombe 1994, 11). In 1946 the English colonial policy changed; in an effort to unite both parts of the Sudan. The rulers tried to improve the knowledge of Arabic in southern areas in order to provide a common

means of communication for the whole of Sudan. After 1958 Arabic was chosen as the official language to express the unification of both parts of the Sudan (Reh/Heine 1982, 56ff). In addition, all mission schools in the south were closed; only in the north did some private schools exist. As a result almost all clerks and officials, as well as teachers from southern parts, lost their jobs, because they had no command of Arabic. Thus, they were replaced by officials and teachers from the North (Nyombe 1994, 13ff). This policy in favor of the North contributed to the outbreak of the civil war between northern and southern Sudan, which is still going on today. A change in governmental affairs in the 70's reintroduced English as the language of education. In southern areas, different types of schools were opened. These used vernaculars as the medium of instruction for the first two years. Afterwards, the medium of instruction was Arabic; English was offered as a subject (Reh/Heine 1982, 62ff). Today only Arabic may be used as the medium of instruction, even at the university level. It functions as the national and official language, as well as for intra-group communication (Jernudd 1979, 93). Thus, Arabic has replaced vernaculars. The children of mother tongue Arabic speakers do not learn other vernaculars (Jernudd 1979, 93, 94). The languages Birgit and Berti in northern Dafur have been replaced by Arabic since the end of the 70's (Jernudd 1979, 66).

The situation regarding the status of Arabic is different in the South. First of all there is much less knowledge of Arabic as the native language even in towns (Jernudd 1979, 64). Here we find many people who are multilingual in their own vernacular and in regional languages, including Arabic. Due to the poor command of Arabic and its official position in the South, a kind of creole has emerged, which is called Juba-Arabic (Reh/Heine 1982, 39).

There are also groups of Hausa and Fulbe speakers, who came from West Africa to southern Sudan. In Sudan they are called Fellato. The Fulbe are mainly nomads who came with their herds looking for new pastures. The Hausa speakers are very often pilgrims to or from Mecca, who have remained in Sudan. Hausa speakers also inhabit an entire quarter in the capital, Khartoum.

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## 195. Anglophone West Africa / Das anglophone Westafrika

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### 1. Introduction

Anglophone West Africa is a geographically discontinuous and linguistically highly heterogeneous area. It consists of six countries on a shoreline of almost 4000 km, stretching from 13N 17W to 4N 9E, formerly known to Europeans as the Guinea Coast of Africa. These countries are, from west to east, The Gambia, Sierra Leone, Liberia, Ghana, Nigeria, and the anglophone part of Cameroon. Of these, the only shared borders are between Sierra Leone and Liberia, and Nigeria and Cameroon. The other borders are formed with francophone and lusophone countries. As a result of British colonial rule, the political borders of anglophone West Africa do not in general demarcate ethnolinguistic regions and many speaker communities and languages can indeed be found in more than one country. From the point of view of their size, demography, and languages, the six countries discussed here are very different: They range from the small and linguistically relatively homogeneous Republic of The Gambia, with an estimated 1.5 million inhabitants (2002) speaking 10 different languages, to the giant and linguistically diverse Nigeria, whose population of about 130 million (2002) speaks 505 languages. (Figures here and in the following are taken from three main sources, CIA 2002, SIL 2003, UNESCO 2000. Note that figures vary in different sources, so the indications in this article are only approximative.)

### 2. Sociolinguistic history

#### 2.1. Pre-European history

Archeological evidence shows that West Africa has been inhabited for thousands of years. West African cultures are traditionally oral societies and their historical accounts reach back as far as the 14th century, but the earliest written records come from outsiders – Muslim traders, who visited the sub-Saharan inland kingdoms from as early

as the 8<sup>th</sup> century, and Europeans, who came by sea in the 15th century. From this early evidence it appears that a good number of West African peoples had migrated to their present locations in the historic era and that in some parts these migrations continued into the 18th and 19th centuries. Political structures ranged from centralized states like the ancient empire of Ghana (northwest of the modern state with the same name) to loose alliances of more or less independent units like the decentralized societies of the Igbo in Nigeria. Trade routes linking the different kingdoms were well established long before the arrival of Europeans and trade was carried on with North Africa via caravan routes. Little can be said about the sociolinguistics of this early period other than that the different forms of migration (from slow and peaceful expansion to conquest) may have resulted in different linguistic patterns of language contact and language shift, and that trade may have given rise to *lingua francas*.

#### 2.2. Pre-colonial history

The first Europeans to make direct contact with West African peoples were the Portuguese, who explored the coast in the second half of the 15th century: Ca' da Mosto reached the Gambia River in 1455 and Fernão do Pó sighted modern Nigeria in 1472. In their advance along the Guinea coast, the primary objective of the Portuguese was to find a trade route to India and possibly also to christianize Africans to make them allies against the Muslim-dominated Near East. However, the ready availability of gold, ivory and slaves made trade with West Africa very profitable and became a major aim of Portuguese activity on the Guinea Coast. West Africa's riches soon attracted other competitors. Starting in the second half of the 16th century, the English, Dutch, French, Danish, Swedish, and others began to frequent the region. Initially, trade was carried out from ships, but wherever possible, European merchants followed the example set by the Portuguese and built trading stations on land. These "factories" ranged from simple huts to fortified castles, situated mainly in the area of modern Gambia, Sierra Leone, and Ghana. The first English trading stations were set up in the

1620s (Sierra Leone) and 1630s (Ghana), and more followed in the second half of the century. The early phase of Afro-European contact was characterized by trade between equal partners: The Europeans commonly paid ground rents and taxes to the local chiefs; since trade was the main purpose, the white merchants generally kept to their factories and did not make territorial claims on the surrounding country. There are two exceptions to this pattern: Portuguese traders settled up the Gambia River and on the estuaries and banks of Sierra Leonean rivers, where they were joined by English and other merchants. However, these settlers and their mixed children were usually integrated with the surrounding African societies, though these families often continued to work as middlemen between African and European traders and for some generations continued to speak a (creolized?) variety of Portuguese (cf. Mahoney 1965; Rodney 1966, 439).

During the 150 years or so of Portuguese monopoly in Guinea a Portuguese-lexicon trade language, called “Lingua Franca”, established itself along the coast (the relationship of this variety to the medieval Mediterranean pidgin of the same name is still unclear). Evidence of the use of indigenous languages by European traders is rare. Many of those Africans who regularly dealt with Europeans (traders, interpreters, and African or Mulatto middlemen) apparently had some command of Lingua Franca, but it is unlikely that it was used as an L1 by a sizeable community of speakers, except maybe by the aforementioned trader communities in The Gambia and Sierra Leone. Although gradually displaced by other European-lexicon Pidgins, notably Pidgin English from the end of the 17th century onwards, the West African Lingua Franca continued to be in use into the second half of the 18th century, long after European competitors forced the Portuguese to abandon most of their posts on the mainland. The hinterland trade remained firmly in African hands and there is evidence that the reorientation of West African trade flows towards the European trading stations furthered the spread of African trade languages such as Akan in Ghana.

The boom of the trans-Atlantic slave trade in the 17th and 18th centuries caused massive structural changes in the West African societies. While the coastal states and

some interior kingdoms that controlled the trade routes and procured slaves profited from the new economic order, other parts of the hinterland were left depopulated and devastated by wars.

### 2.3. Colonial history

Europe’s mercantile interest in West Africa in the precolonial phase was best served by minimal involvement in local affairs and by reliance on indigenous economic structures. Thus, the establishment of settlement colonies was never a major issue and territorial engagements were kept to an absolute minimum, in most cases to the grounds needed for the trading stations, which were rented from the local rulers. The extremely high mortality among Europeans on the Guinea Coast likewise ensured that large-scale settlement was not considered in the “White Man’s Grave”. Consequently, the two major settlement projects in anglophone West Africa aimed at the “repatriation” of freed slaves from the New World: From 1787 to 1800 the London-based abolitionist Sierra Leone Company settled about 2000 ex-slaves on the Sierra Leone peninsula at what today is Freetown. Britain outlawed the slave trade in 1808 and took over the peninsula as a colony. Until 1863, the British navy captured illegal slave ships off the West African coast and settled the freed Africans on the Sierra Leone peninsula, where almost 40000 so-called Liberated Africans were counted in 1860 (Huber 1999, 59–74). A smaller number was freed at the British bases in The Gambia and Fernando Póo, which had been established in 1816 and 1827, respectively. Meanwhile, the American Colonization Society had acquired land in Liberia for the resettlement of manumitted slaves from the United States. From 1820 to 1891 about 16000 emigrants established themselves in several communities along the Liberian coast. The Americans also settled about 5700 Africans freed from slave ships near the settlers (Singler 1984, 40–47; 2001, 59). Liberia proclaimed independence from the American Colonization Society in 1847 and is thus the only country in anglophone West Africa that was never colonized in the strict sense of the word. In both Sierra Leone and Liberia the settlers and liberated Africans eventually merged into a single ethnic group and their descendants today constitute the two main communities in West Africa speaking a native variety of English –

the Creole language Krio in Sierra Leone and Liberian Settler English, respectively.

The Sierra Leone Colony remained a small enclave until the hinterland was proclaimed a protectorate in 1898. A similar pattern of relatively recent European expansion can be observed elsewhere in anglophone West Africa, where formal colonization with claims over larger areas dates only from the second half of the 19th century: 1861–62 saw the founding of the Oil Rivers Protectorate and Lagos Colony in Nigeria, but substantial enlargements took place only in 1890. Until 1874, the Gold Coast Colony consisted of a narrow stretch of coast of modern Ghana, and it was not before 1901 that Ashantiland and the Northern Territories were made protectorates. The southwestern part of Cameroon was taken from the Germans as late as 1916.

Except for a relatively small number of administrators, traders, missionaries, and teachers, Europeans did not settle in these territories, but colonial rule established English as the official language and also as a subject and the medium of instruction in schools. Educational policy varied, with missionary schools preferring instruction in African languages and governmental schools favouring a straight-for-English approach from the first year.

British colonial rule saw the rise of large-scale migration streams within but also between the different territories. For example, labor migration between the Gold Coast (Ghana) and Nigeria was well established around 1900, and labourers from the inland parts of the colonies started moving to the major colonial cities on the coast in search of employment.

#### 2.4. Independence and after

The British colonies in West Africa gained their independence within a period of eight years: Ghana 1957, Nigeria 1960, Sierra Leone and the anglophone part of Cameroon in 1961 (the francophone part had become independent in the previous year), and The Gambia in 1965. In all of these countries, English is still the official language (in Cameroon together with French), though in some cases (like The Gambia and Ghana) this has never formally been acknowledged in the constitution. The adoption of the former colonial master's language rather than an indigenous one in The Gambia, Ghana, Nigeria, and Cameroon was moti-

vated mainly by the fact that in the African context English presented a non-tribal, neutral language that was thought to provide unity in ethnically and linguistically diverse political entities. The situation in Sierra Leone and Liberia was somewhat different since, as shown above, there were substantial native speaker communities of English, which also constituted the political, economic, and educational elites. There has always been some measure of antagonism between the settler communities and the indigenous peoples in these countries and the privileged position that the former enjoyed was enhanced by the decision for English. The edgy relationship between these groups has also been blamed for contributing to the devastating and cruel civil wars that have shaken Liberia and Sierra Leone in the past years. In the 1990s and early 2000s, these conflicts killed and displaced hundreds of thousands of civilians. Even if most refugees will eventually return, one of the many consequences of the wars will be large-scale linguistic mixing, which may contribute to the weakening or death of smaller languages and the strengthening of the existing lingua francas Krio and Liberian (Pidgin) English.

The migration streams that arose under colonial rule (see 2.3.) still characterize modern West Africa and have resulted in the establishment of numerous immigrant quarters in urban agglomerations, notably the coastal cities. Apart from introducing interior languages to the coast, the multilingual settings of these quarters necessitate the use of lingua francas in the interaction of migrants of different ethnic origins. These are often lingua francas used in the migrants' areas of origin, as for example Hausa or pidginized Hausa in Ghana and Nigeria. Outside the immigrant quarters, the local language or lingua franca is used when communicating with the local population.

### 3. Languages

#### 3.1. Indigenous languages

West Africa is a linguistically very complex area and the distinction between language and dialect is notoriously difficult and disputed in this region. According to the *Ethnologue* (SIL 2003), some 750 languages are spoken in the area surveyed here. This figure includes dialects and is therefore somewhat high (500 languages would probably be more

accurate), but it nevertheless gives a rough impression of the multilingualism prevailing in this area. Going by the *Ethnologue's* figures, most of the languages (ca. 580) genetically belong to the Niger-Congo branch of the Niger-Kordofanian phylum: Atlantic (found mainly in The Gambia, Sierra Leone, Liberia), Mande (The Gambia, Sierra Leone, Liberia), Kru (Liberia), Gur (Ghana), Kwa (Ghana), Benue-Congo (Nigeria), and Bantu (Cameroon). In addition, about 170 Chadic languages from the Afro-Semitic phylum are spoken in the northern regions of Cameroon and Nigeria, the largest among them being Hausa, with close to 19 million speakers in Nigeria. Hausa also spread to northern Ghana some generations ago.

On average, the indigenous languages in anglophone West Africa have about 219 000 speakers each, but in reality the linguistic scene is often dominated by a small number of much larger languages – especially in the more populous countries of Ghana, Nigeria, and Cameroon (see 4.). The remaining languages frequently only have a few thousand, sometimes only a couple of hundred speakers. For speakers of these latter in particular, but for others as well, multilingualism is thus the norm rather than the exception in West Africa, especially in the urban agglomerations usually characterized by high immigration from all parts of the respective country.

### 3.2. Native varieties of English

The communities speaking a native variety of non-standard English mentioned in 2.3. and 2.4. descend from 19th century ex-slave immigrants, mainly slaves freed in the United States and from slavers off the Guinea Coast. The varieties spoken by them are the creole language Krio in Sierra Leone (473 000 speakers) with its small offshoot Aku in The Gambia (8000) and Liberian Settler English in Liberia (69 000). Because of their closer association with Britain and the US during the 19th century and after, members of these communities have traditionally held most of the influential positions in the government, administration, and the more westernized parts of society in general. Consequently, the varieties of English spoken by them acquired prestige and became a model for large parts of the rest of the population. Krio has thus become the primary lingua franca of Sierra Leone, spoken as a more or less pidginized L2 by

about 95% of the population. Liberian Settler English is only one of several varieties of English in Liberia (including pidginized forms), but some of its features have entered L2-varieties like Liberian Vernacular English.

The various national forms of West African Standard English are also gaining native speakers, although on a very small scale: Some urban middle class children acquire English along with African languages or, less frequently, as their sole L1 in the home and English-medium nursery schools and kindergartens.

### 3.3. Official and national languages

The official language in The Gambia, Sierra Leone, Liberia, Ghana, and Nigeria is English, a legacy of colonial times. Cameroon presents a special case since it has two official languages, French and English. The former is the dominant one – both in terms of territory and population. English is the official language only in the North-West and South-West Provinces, bordering on Nigeria and representing about one eleventh of Cameroon's territory and one fifth of its population. In spite of their official language, to call the six countries “anglophone” is a misnomer since only a fraction of the population actually has a knowledge of English, a smaller part uses the language on a regular basis, and an even smaller one speaks it as a native language. With some minor exceptions (see 3.2.), English is first and foremost acquired in school. It is hard to say what proportion of the population has a command of the language, since no reliable figures exist and there is a continuum ranging from broken varieties to (near-)native competence. Literacy figures can be taken as a first approximate guideline here because schooling exposes West Africans at least to some years of English. Adult literacy in anglophone West Africa (15+ years) ranges from a mere third in The Gambia and Sierra Leone to about two-thirds in Cameroon and Ghana (see 4.). However, it has to be borne in mind that literacy cannot easily be equated with proficiency in English: Although the official educational policy may be different, English is often effectively introduced only in the higher grades and many children leave school after only six years or even earlier. Thus, only about 10–20% of “anglophone” West Africans actually speak a form of Stan-

dard West African English (Wolf 2001, 195; Bokamba 1991, 497).

Apart from the official language, there are also so-called national languages, i. e. officially sponsored African languages that are to be developed as instruments of national integration and intended for purposes of public information and education. Usually, these are the languages with the highest number of native speakers and/or lingua francas with a wide distribution. These are, in The Gambia: Mandinka, Wolof, Pulaar; in Sierra Leone: Mende, Themne, Krio; in Ghana: Akan, Ewe, Dangme, Ga, Nzema, Dagaare, Gonja, Kasem, Dagbani; and in Nigeria: Hausa, Yoruba, Igbo. Although the development of these national languages is officially sanctioned, the actual implementation of the policy often lags behind, mostly because of limited resources for printing and the lack of qualified teachers. Liberia does not (yet) have a national language policy, though in August 2003 President Charles Taylor called for the selection of one national language as a means to unify the country. None of the indigenous languages in anglophone Cameroon dominates the linguistic scene enough to lend itself as a suitable candidate for a national language.

### 3.4. Lingua francas

Although language maps often suggest a neat and clearly delimitable distribution of languages, this is rarely the case in highly multilingual West Africa. The definition of what qualifies as a lingua franca depends on the criteria one requires concerning the functional range and the area covered by the language. One can broadly distinguish between local, regional, national, and supranational lingua francas, with successively wider distribution. Because of the multitude of languages in the countries surveyed in this article, only the higher level lingua francas will be mentioned here.

In Nigeria and the anglophone part of Cameroon, Pidgin English serves as a major lingua franca. Faraclas (1996, 1–2) estimates the number of L2 speakers of Nigerian Pidgin English to more than 40 million, which makes it the most widely spoken language in Nigeria. In urbanized areas, Pidgin English has been creolizing since a couple of decades – the number of native speakers of Nigerian Pidgin English is given as more than one million (Faraclas 1996, 1). In these countries, Pidgin covers a wide range of

functions: It is used in advertizing, in informal conversations even between highly educated speakers (such as university lecturers), and in even more formal situations like the news on the radio or political rallies. It is also unofficially used at the lower levels in school, especially in multilingual areas. Pidgin English is also gaining ground in Ghana, though the number of speakers, both absolute and as a percentage of the population, is still much smaller due to the fact that the variety is more stigmatized. Because of this, the use of Ghanaian Pidgin is still very much restricted to informal communication events (cf. Huber 1999, 139–163). In spite of its importance, Pidgin English has no official recognition in any of the three countries, due to its traditional association with illiteracy.

Ghanaian, Nigerian, and Cameroonian Pidgin English are (structurally complex) L2 dialects of Sierra Leonean Krio, introduced in the late 19th/early 20th centuries by Krio missionaries, teachers, and administrators. So-called upcountry Krio (i. e. the conglomerate of hinterland L2 and repidginized varieties of Krio) is the most widely spoken language in Sierra Leone. Because of the exalted position that the Krio native speaker community enjoyed as the most westernized section of colonial and in some measure also post-colonial Sierra Leone society, Krio enjoys more prestige in Sierra Leone than West African Pidgin English elsewhere. It is an officially recognized, national language (see 3.3.) used on the radio and TV and has been introduced as a subject and medium of instruction in selected schools (see 4.). Apart from the pidginized and creolized varieties of English, Standard English serves as a national and supranational (and global) lingua franca for the educated section of anglophone West African society.

Because African speech communities often straddle political borders (see 1.), a number of languages have a supranational lingua franca status. These languages are either shared between anglophone countries, like Hausa in the northern parts of Nigeria, Cameroon, and Ghana, or between an anglophone and a non-anglophone country, like Wolof in The Gambia and neighbouring francophone Senegal. Arabic, spoken natively in Cameroon's extreme north, plays some role as a vehicular religious language among the Muslim population across West Africa. The following lists the most import-

ant national lingua francas in the six countries discussed here. In most cases these are also the languages with the highest number of native speakers. The Gambia: The main lingua franca is Mandinka; Fulfuldé and Wolof are used to a lesser extent. Sierra Leone: Krio, particularly in the Western Area but also throughout the country; Mende and Themne to a lesser extent. Liberia: Liberian English (including pidginized varieties). Ghana: The Twi dialect of Akan is main lingua franca in the south of the country, competing with Ga in the Accra region; Ewe in the south-east, and Hausa in the north. Nigeria: Hausa in the north, Igbo in the east, Yoruba in the west. Cameroon: Pidgin English in the anglophone zone.

### 3.5. Language choice

A very rough macrolinguistic generalization is that the status of English as a *de jure* (proclaimed in the constitution) or *de facto* official language has made it the sociolinguistic High Language on the state level while the indigenous languages perform a Low function. English is used in formal settings: It is the language of the constitutions, it is used in parliaments, in the higher levels of the administrations and the courts, in secondary and tertiary education, it is well represented in the news media, etc. African languages, on the other hand, are spoken in more informal settings: On lower administrative and juridical levels, often in primary education, etc. On this macrolinguistic level it is a fair generalization to say that English and African languages are in a diglossic relationship, the former covering more urban, westernized and the latter rural, traditional settings. This picture has to be differentiated on the meso- and microlinguistic level, where actual language choice depends on a multitude of interrelated sociolinguistic factors characterizing the setting (e. g. rural-urban, traditional-modern, informal-formal), the speaker's background (e. g. education, age, command of languages and their situationally appropriate styles/registers, religion with its associated language), and interactional parameters (e. g. degree of acquaintance, social distance and degree of deference, languages shared). These factors interact in a complicated network and may enhance or cancel each other out. Thus, a very formal setting does not necessarily entail English: For example, the highly formal act of instituting a traditional chief will rarely be done in any-

thing else but African languages. On the other hand, an informal setting does not automatically trigger the use of African languages: A casual chat in a bar may well be carried on in English if it takes place in the capital city or if the conversants simply do not share any other language. It was said above that multilingualism is very widespread in West Africa and more often than not, West Africans have the choice between a number of languages in any given speech event. The hierarchy of language choice is usually as follows: native/local language > local lingua franca > regional lingua franca > national language/English.

### 4. Country-by-country overview

By way of summary, the following overview provides sociolinguistically relevant data and key figures concerning the six anglophone West African countries. These are: The 2002 population estimate taken from CIA, information on the *de jure* or *de facto* status of English as the official language, the number of languages in each country and the major native languages as listed in the *Ethnologue* (SIL 2003), the 1997 illiteracy rates for adults aged 15+ (culled from UNESCO 2000, Appendix III tables 2, 4, 6), the duration of primary and secondary education, and some information on languages in the educational system.

The Gambia. Population: 1.46 million. English is the *de facto* official language (Peter/Wolf/Simo Bobda 2003, 47). Number of languages: 10. Major languages: Mandinka (33%), Pulaar (19%), Wolof (11%). Duration of education: Primary 6 years, secondary 6 years. Adult illiteracy: Total 66.5%, male 59.3%, female 73.4%. At present, African languages are not used as the medium of instruction in Gambian schools, although the 1988–2003 Education Policy calls for the introduction of national languages as a means of communication in the first three years. Nevertheless, teaching is still done in English from the first year. This poses some difficulties in rural areas, where children often enter school without a prior knowledge of the language. In the Banjul-Serrekunda agglomeration, on the other hand, this is less of a problem, since children learn English in the compulsory English-medium kindergardens (Monia Faye, p.c.).

Sierra Leone. Population: 5.61 million. English is the *de jure* official language.



Number of languages: 23. Major languages: Mende (32%), Themne (26%), Krio (10%).

Duration of education: Primary 7 years, secondary 7 years. Adult illiteracy: Total 66.7%, male 52.5%, female 80.0%. A new school system was adopted in 1993, which introduced Mende, Themne, Limba, and the English-lexified Creole Krio as subjects in junior secondary schools. To a limited extent, these languages are now also used for teaching other subjects, but English is still and will probably remain the primary medium of instruction, at least in the larger towns and cities. At the primary level in rural schools, on the other hand, indigenous languages are unofficially but widely used (Shrimpton 1995, 219–220).

Liberia. Population: 3.29 million. English is the *de jure* official language, but indigenous languages may be used in legislature “when adequate preparations shall have been made”. Number of languages: 29. Major languages: Kpelle (18%), Bassa (13%), Grebo (8%), Klao (7%), Mano (7%). Duration of education: Primary 6 years, secondary 6 years. Adult illiteracy: Total 53.1%, male 35.8%, female 70.7%. Schooling is compulsory but actual attendance is rather low, as reflected by the illiteracy rate. There were attempts to introduce the teaching of Liberian languages in the 1970s, but these were aborted and the official medium of instruction has always been English at all levels. Since many children start school without any command of English, kindergardens (formerly five years, now reduced to two) are to provide them with the necessary language background. Although also the kindergardens are officially monolingual English, instructors as a rule teach bilingually, presenting material in English and then translating it into the local language. This practice is also widely followed by teachers in primary school (John Singler, p.c.).

Ghana. Population: 20.24 million. English is the *de facto* official language. Number of languages: 79. Major languages: Akan (44%), Ewe (13%), Ga-Dangme (5.6%). Duration of education: Primary 6 years, secondary 7 years. Adult illiteracy: Total 32.2%, male 22.5%, female 41.6%. Since 1970 the policy has been to use the local languages in the first three years of schooling and to teach in English thereafter. Actual practice varies widely, though, with schools in multilingual urban areas switching to English much earlier than schools in linguistically

less complex rural areas. Since almost all Ghanaians acquire their English in school, literacy can serve as a rough indicator of the spread and quality of English. It has increased steadily from a mere fifth of Ghanaians aged 15+ in 1962 to two thirds at the turn of the millennium, but its quality varies widely, from native-like fluency to broken varieties (Huber 2004, 844–845)

Nigeria. Population: 129.93 million. English is the *de jure* official language, but Hausa, Igbo, and Yoruba may be used in the National Assembly “when adequate arrangements have been made therefore”. Number of languages: 505. Major languages: Yoruba (14.5%), Hausa (14.3%), Igbo (13.6%). Duration of education: Primary 6 years, secondary 6 years. Adult illiteracy: Total 40.4%, male 31.2%, female 49.3%. English has long been the medium of instruction and a subject in primary and secondary education, but the National Policy of Education (1977, revised 1981) introduced the child’s mother tongue or an indigenous language of wider communication of the area as subjects in primary school, as well as one of the national languages (Hausa, Igbo, Yoruba). In 1976, the former National Language Centre recommended that nine additional languages should be included in the country’s school system: Edo, Fulfulde, Ibibio, Idoma, Igala, Ijo, Kanuri, Nupe, and Tiv.

Cameroon, anglophone part. Population: 3.24 million. English is the *de jure* official language (Wolf 2000, 169). Number of languages: 100. Major languages: None.

Duration of education: Primary 6 years, secondary 7 years. Adult illiteracy: Total 27.6%, male 20.6%, female 34.4%. In the anglophone part, English is the medium of instruction from the very first day of school, but Wolf finds that “many children leave primary school barely literate and with only a rudimentary knowledge of Cam[eroonian]E[nglish]”. African languages are not on the curriculum, although they are unofficially used in teaching in a number of rural and private schools (Wolf 2001, 170, 202, 204).

## 5. Acknowledgements

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## 196. East Africa / Ostafrika

1. Introduction
2. Linguistic patterns and language planning
3. Conclusion
4. Literature (selected)

## 1. Introduction

The East African region encompasses the three countries that once formed British East Africa (i. e. Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda) plus two of the countries (i. e. Malawi and Zambia) that once belonged to British Central Africa. This region, which has close to 300 languages, is among the most linguistically heterogeneous regions on the African continent. The precise number of languages spoken in each country is difficult to determine due to the general problem of distinguishing between language and dialect, and also because of the tendency among respondents to confuse the concept of language with that of tribe. East Africa is culturally and linguistically a region of convergence: first, it is a region in which indigenous African, Islamic and Western traditions meet (Mazrui/Mazrui 1993, 275); second, it is a

region in which all the four language families of Africa – viz: Afro-Asiatic, Nilo-Saharan, Niger-Kordofanian, and Khoisan – are represented (see Myers-Scotton 1982b, 11; Batibo 2000, 5). Overarching the linguistic complexity in this region is the presence of English, the language introduced by the colonial power and adopted by the new nations as the main official language for government administration and education. The five countries in this region fall into two blocks with respect to their shared linguistic composition and history. First, the indigenous languages of Malawi and Zambia belong exclusively to the Bantu family (Niger-Kordofanian), whereas those of Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda belong to other language families in addition to Bantu. Second, Swahili evolved as a shared lingua franca for Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda whereas Chichewa/Chinyanja has evolved as a shared lingua franca for Malawi and Zambia. The fact remains, however, that the whole region is linguistically heterogeneous: this linguistic diversity not only poses enormous challenges for the new nations as they

grapple with the task of achieving national integration for which the selection and use of a national language plays a critical role (Bamgbose 1991, 10); it also creates intricate power relationships between the different linguistic groups which suddenly find themselves in competition for national recognition and domination under the shadow of a more dominant ex-colonial language (Edwards 1994, 89). In the face of such competition it is inevitable that smaller languages get suffocated by the bigger and more powerful ones; and only careful planning by authorities can save the weaker languages from extinction. Hornberger (1998, 439) points out that implementation of a well articulated language policy can promote the vitality and stability of endangered languages. Such a policy is probably easy to devise and implement in situations where there is one dominant language and a handful of endangered languages, as is the case in New Zealand where Maori was under severe threat from English. The reality facing East Africa, however, is such that there are far too many languages on the 'endangered language' list, such that devising policies to save these languages from extinction is an almost impossible task. Moreover, the new nations in the region were initially preoccupied with the task of promoting national unity, which forced them to adopt language policies that suppressed rather than promoted linguistic diversity. Such policies promoted the use of a few languages as possible and, in the process, not only undermined the vitality, versatility and stability of the majority of languages in the region, but may also have accelerated their demise. The linguistic patterns that have evolved over the years in East Africa are best described in terms of the language policies pursued by each nation and the resultant power relationships that now obtain between the languages. Mazrui/Mazrui (1993, 276) distinguish three types of languages which characterize the power relationships between the languages of ex-colonies: first, there is an imperial language – a language which was introduced by the colonial power but which has not yet developed a significantly large number of speakers among the indigenous population; second, there is a hegemonic language – an indigenous language whose speakers are numerically dominant and politically powerful in the society at large; third, there is a preponderant language – an indigenous tongue

whose native speakers are not numerous enough nor politically powerful in the society, but the language itself is widespread as a second language. These language types have, in many ways, defined language planning in each country and ultimately determined the destiny of the majority of indigenous languages in the region. Let us now sketch out the linguistic patterns which have unfolded in each of the countries and briefly evaluate the extent to which these patterns have resulted from language planning (or lack of it).

## 2. Linguistic patterns and language planning

### 2.1. Kenya

The number of indigenous languages spoken in Kenya is over 30 (Whiteley 1974, 27), though other estimates put this number above 40 (see Webb/Kembo-Sure 2000, 47). These languages represent three language families: Bantu (e.g. Kikuyu, Luhya, Kamba, Gusii, Meru, Mijikenda, Swahili); Cushitic (e.g. Somali, Rehdile, Galla); and Nilotic (e.g. Luo, Kipsigis, Teso, Samburu, Maasai, Kalenjin). The dominant languages, in terms of first language speakers, are Kikuyu (20%), Luo (14%), Luhya (13%), Kamba (11%), and Kalenjin (11%). Overall, Bantu languages account for 66% of the population; Nilotic languages account for 31%, and Cushitic languages account for 3% (Gorman 1974, 398; Whiteley 1974, 27; Webb/Kembo-Sure 2000, 47). About 65% of Kenyans speak Swahili, mostly as a second language (Webb/Kembo-Sure 2000, 47). Historically, the Kenyan nation has exhibited deep divisions based on linguistic differences such that today language use by most Kenyans who find themselves in multi-ethnic settings shows a general preference for a neutral language rather than a necessarily dominant one – a strategy which allows speakers to temper conflicting role-expectations (see Parkin 1974b, 193; Myers-Scotton 1976, 933; Myers-Scotton 1993a, 17ff). With this linguistic complexity Kenya was, upon independence, faced with the dilemma of choosing a national language – a task which was made more difficult by the presence of at least five powerful ethnic groups, any one of which would fiercely oppose a choice that seemed to favour another group. Since the quest for

national unity and integration was a major priority the government sought to adopt a language policy predicated on the desire 'to foster the development of a Kenyan national culture without tribal, colonial or religious links' (Eastman 1983, 7) and ironically settled for English as the official language of the country on the grounds that it was a neutral choice even though it linked Kenya to its colonial past. The choice of English underscores the enormous problems African countries face in trying to break with the colonial past: when it comes to decisions about language choice they settle for a language policy which merely perpetuates the colonial policy (Bamgbose 1991, 31). Swahili, a preponderant language, in the sense of Mazrui/Mazrui (1993, 276) was subsequently declared the national language. Swahili, however, was not enthusiastically accepted as a national language particularly by the up-country groups who view it as a coastal language linked to the Arabic world and Islamic faith (Myers-Scotton 1993a, 29). Consequently, the government has not rigorously implemented any policy to 'Swahilize' the nation and achieve national integration through language. Thus English remains the prime official language in Kenya: it is the language for official business in government and the courts, as well as the medium of instruction at virtually all levels of formal education. Swahili, a language that is widely used in multi-ethnic informal settings, is taught as a compulsory subject in all schools (see Myers-Scotton 1982a, 132ff; Parkin 1974a, 149; 1994, 229), and it can be used for debate in parliament. English and Swahili are the most widely used languages in the media: both languages are broadcast on the radio and printed in the newspapers – with Swahili listened to more than English and English newspapers outselling the Swahili ones. Television programming, however, is predominantly in English (Parkin 1994, 229). The two languages, however, do not enjoy equal status: English is associated with high status, more formal settings, and written communication whereas Swahili is associated with informality, low status and oral communication. In this connection, it is interesting to note that although members of parliament may conduct debate in Swahili 'legislation continues to come before parliament written in the English language' (Mazrui/Mazrui 1993, 280). The two languages are similar in one respect: both are

acquired second languages for most Kenyans. The real 'mother tongues' – i.e. the other ethnic languages – are not taught in school and are not used in formal settings. Although over the years there have been numerous pronouncements about the importance of the vernacular languages to the effect that they could be used as media of instruction in the formative years of education, such a policy has not been possible to implement (see Whiteley 1974, 5; Myers-Scotton 1993a, 32). The vernacular languages thus remain predominantly ethnic and their uses restricted to the home or rural areas, but as Parkin (1994, 229) points out, their 'significance for expressions of regional and local identity remain strong'. To the extent that these vernaculars are used less by speakers; particularly in urban areas where speakers tend to use Swahili and English more than their first language (Myers-Scotton 1982a, 134); the prospects for the future of these indigenous languages are grim. Swahili has already gained ground on these languages, as is evident from the high percentage of speakers who now know the language; it is only a matter of time before the number of first language Swahili speakers shows the same trend. The creation of native speakers of English, as Mazrui and Mazrui (1993, 285ff) point out, is also a likely possibility because a significant number of educated Africans speak English in their homes, thus transmitting the language to their children. If and when this happens, it will not be at the expense of Swahili, but at the expense of the other indigenous languages. The most vulnerable, as usual, are the smallest languages. In a survey on language death, Sommer (1992, 301–417) has shown that in Kenya alone at least 15 minor language varieties, mostly Nilotic and Cushitic, are either in the process of extinction or have become extinct primarily due to language shift.

## 2.2. Tanzania

Tanzania is often thought of as Swahili country; yet the country is the most linguistically diverse in the East African region. Some estimates put the number of languages spoken in the country at about 120 (see Polome 1980, 3ff); other estimates put this number between 135 and 150 (see Webb/Kembo-Sure 2000, 51). The languages of Tanzania belong to four distinct language families, viz: Bantu (Niger-Kordofanian),

Cushitic (Afro-Asiatic), Nilotic (Nilo-Saharan), and Khoisan – effectively covering all the four major language families of Africa (Batibo 2000, 6). The majority of languages in Tanzania (about 95%) belong to the Bantu group; however no single ethnic group has historically been big enough or powerful enough to have its language considered the automatic choice for national language (see Myers-Scotton 1982b, 15; Myers-Scotton 1993a, 29; Batibo 2000, 7). The vast majority of Tanzanians speak Swahili – 10% speak it as first language and as many as 90% of the population speak it as a second language (see Rubagumya 1990, 9; Webb/Kembo-Sure 2000, 51). Swahili, which originated from the coastal regions and spread inland prior to and during colonial rule first by Germany and later by Britain, was already a widespread indigenized lingua franca at independence. Thus soon after independence Swahili was declared the national language, with English serving as a joint official language. Swahili is now the language of official business, parliamentary debate, the lower courts, and is the medium of instruction in primary school; whilst English is the language of the high courts, foreign trade, diplomacy, and higher education (see Rubagumya 1990, 11; Yahya-Othman 1990, 46; Batibo 1992, 86; Mazrui/Mazrui 1993, 279). The domains in which Swahili is used have expanded ever since it was declared a national language in 1968: many domains in which English was used have been or are being taken over by Swahili. And since Swahili is the language of white collar work its prestige has risen above that of English (see Mazrui and Mazrui 1993, 282ff). English, however, continues to be the medium of instruction at secondary and tertiary levels of education even though its effectiveness as a medium of instruction has been questioned in recent times (see Trappes-Lomax 1990, 99ff; Yahya-Othman 1990, 48). Some indigenous languages, such as Sukuma, Maasai, Nyamwezi, Gogo, Haya, Chagga, and Makonde enjoy regional prestige; but no language outside Swahili enjoys national prestige. The vast majority of languages are rarely used outside the domestic setting (Batibo 1992, 87ff): their use in public settings is frowned upon as it is associated with tribalism (Legere 1992, 107). The smallest languages have virtually been squeezed out of formal domains, in part by the regional languages, but more signifi-

cantly by Swahili (Batibo 1992, 93). Tanzania's policy of choosing an indigenous language as a national language instead of a colonial language is often hailed as a model of language planning in Africa: yet the rise of Swahili has been more to the detriment of a multitude of the other indigenous languages than it has been to the detriment of English. In recent years, English has, in fact, experienced a revival as Tanzania has turned to the West for economic aid and taken steps to promote English as a vehicle of modernization to ensure that Tanzania does not lag behind: the government has slowed down the Swahilization process; and many parents are showing a desire to have their children acquire English because it is seen as a gateway to modern life (see Rubagumya 1990, 2; Blommaert 1994, 220; Batibo 1997, 199). Now that the need for national unity (which prompted the use of a single national language) has waned, there is a growing regional consciousness among people from different parts of the country to reassert their identity which, in turn, might lead to a revival of some of the regional languages (Batibo 1992, 94). In the meantime some of the smaller languages (e.g. Ma'a) have undergone significant changes in the face of pressure from more dominant languages (see Myers-Scotton 1993b, 220–224); others are on the verge of extinction or have become extinct altogether (Sommer 1992, 301–417 identifies at least 14 Tanzanian languages in this category). Swahili has become so entrenched in Tanzania that it will keep on suffocating the smaller languages.

### 2.3 Uganda

There are at least 30 languages spoken in Uganda: 12 of these belong to the Bantu family, 11 are Nilotic and 7 are Sudanic (see Ladefoged/ Glick/Criper 1972, 83–84). The Bantu group includes Luganda, Lunyole, Runyarwanda, and Rutara; Sudanic languages include Lugbara, Madi, and Kebu; and Nilotic languages include Acholi, Dhopadhola, Ateso, Nkarimojong, and Suk. Uganda generally comprises of small ethnic groups, but Luganda, spoken by 39% of the population, is by far the most dominant language with Swahili, spoken mostly as a second language by about 35% of the population, in second place (see Webb/Kembo-Sure 2000, 51). Uganda has been described as a linguistically fragmented country in the

sense that people learn and speak each other's languages more readily than is the case in neighbouring countries (Mazrui/Mazrui 1993, 285), a characteristic which reduces the need for a lingua franca. English is the only official language used for government administration and as a medium of instruction in school; the local languages are used as media only in the formative years of primary education. Swahili is the dominant language in the police and in the army and is a major lingua franca in the urban areas (Myers-Scotton 1976, 927), but the language does not have official status due to the power politics between Swahili, Luganda and English (Mazrui/Mazrui 1993, 281). During the reign of Idi Amin in the 1970s, Swahili was declared a national language, which elevated its status and increased its use in the public domain. The return to civilian rule brought with it a change in language policy: Swahili could no longer be accepted as a national language as it was viewed as an imposition by the dictatorial regime with strong regional ties from the Nilotic North. Further, because of its historical ties with Islam, Swahili was not a popular choice for the largely Christian Bantu groups, particularly the Baganda, who fiercely resist its choice as a national or official language (Myers-Scotton 1982b, 16; Eastman 1983, 232; Mazrui/Mazrui 1993, 282). Thus although Swahili is ethnically neutral, has a growing number of speakers, and is still espoused by the Nilotic speaking people to be the national language of Uganda, opposition by the powerful Bantu groups against its choice as a national language remains strong. English, then, is the only acceptable choice for a national language. The media is predominantly in English, though local languages such as Luganda and Swahili are broadcast on the radio and printed in some newspapers. English is thus the most dominant language and, as Mazrui/Mazrui (1993, 282–3) put it, is likely to be the de facto national language. Swahili, remains a weak lingua franca associated with low prestige, and Luganda remains widespread due, partly, to its demographic dominance. The other languages are excluded from the public domain and thus face a rather bleak future: Sommer (1992, 301–417) documents at least 5 Ugandan languages which have already become or are on the verge of becoming extinct.

#### 2.4. Malawi

There are about a dozen indigenous languages in Malawi, all of them belonging to the Bantu family, the most dominant of which is Chichewa (also known as Chinyanja) whose first language speakers accounted for just over 50% of the population according to the 1966 census (see Mvula 1992, 44; Kayambazinthu 1998, 375). Chichewa is spoken as a first language in virtually all parts of the central region and many parts of the southern region. Other major languages include Chilomwe (14.5%), Chiyao (13.8%), and Chitumbuka (9.1%). The minor languages, whose numbers fall well below 5% include Chisena, Chikhokola, Chingoni, Chinsenga, Chingonde, Chitonga, Chinyakyusa, Chinyiha, and Chisukwa. The different language groups came to inhabit what is now Malawi at different times between the thirteenth and nineteenth centuries: the Chewa and Tumbuka were among the first to arrive with the Yao, Lomwe and Ngoni arriving much later (see Phiri/Kalinga/Bhila 1992, 615). But it was the arrival of British missionaries and the subsequent introduction of colonial rule by Britain towards the end of the nineteenth century which set the stage for the current linguistic situation in Malawi. English was introduced and made the official language of the country, and immediately the indigenous languages started playing second fiddle to English. English was the language of government administration, formal education (beyond the first three years), business and the courts; it became the language whose mastery gave one the right to power, prestige and socio-economic privileges. During the colonial period Chichewa was promoted as the lingua franca for the central and southern regions while Chitumbuka served as a lingua franca for the northern region. These two languages were taught as subjects in schools (with Chitumbuka restricted to the northern region schools), broadcast on the national radio and printed in the press. Upon independence in 1964, Malawi was, like other African states, preoccupied with the problem of national integration and issues of national language came to the fore; and in 1968 Chichewa was declared a national language, ostensibly to promote national unity and integration. Following this declaration, the use of other local languages such as Chitumbuka on the radio and other forms of mass

communication was discontinued; Chichewa became a compulsory subject in national school curriculum; and the other indigenous languages were relegated to private life. English and Chichewa became the only languages that could be used in public domains. A Chichewa Board, whose task was to standardize and codify Chichewa, was created; and this further enhanced Chichewa's status among the indigenous languages. Chichewa has, since then, entrenched itself as the language of wider communication outside the work place and the classroom: up to 80% of the population now have mastery of the language (Webb/Kembo-Sure 2000, 48). English, however, remains the primary official language in Malawi: it is the language of parliament, government administration, business, the courts, and formal education (at virtually all levels beyond the initial four years). The print media is predominantly in English, and virtually all television programming is in English. The number of people acquiring and speaking some form of English has grown over the years and the desire by parents to have their children learn English has grown more intense: the more affluent parents are now sending their children to expensive private schools so that they acquire better English and, by extension, better education in general and thus have access to a better life. The growing number of bilingual speakers regularly speak English or codeswitch and, as a result, Malawian languages have borrowed a significant number of English lexical items (see Simango 2000, 492). The two official language policy has been detrimental to the other indigenous languages – particularly the smallest ones which, to date, have no written record and no orthography in place. And because these languages are neither seen nor heard in public, they are being used less and less in the homes; which means they are not effectively being passed on to the next generations. The net result is that the languages are in danger of getting decimated if the status quo is maintained. In more recent times the national radio has started broadcasting news in Chilomwe, Chisena, Chitonga, Chitumbuka, and Chiyao in an attempt to promote the minor languages. It remains to be seen whether such measures will revive the fortunes of the smaller languages. For the foreseeable future, at least, the spread of Chichewa will continue unabated.

## 2.5. Zambia

The estimated number of indigenous languages spoken in Zambia ranges between 73 (see Kashoki 1978, 19–21) and 80 (see Webb/Kembo-Sure 2000, 52). All these languages belong to the Bantu family. According to the 1969 census (see Kashoki 1990, 116), the dominant languages, in terms of first language speakers are: Bemba (18.6%), Chewa/Nyanja (11.1%), Tonga (10.7%), and Lozi (5.6%). Overall, the linguistic map in Zambia is quite complex due to migration patterns in earlier times which brought people of distinct ethnic groups into close proximity such that today people from different language groups sometimes live side by side “either in the same village or in different villages in the same area” (Kashoki 1978, 10). At independence Zambia had no indigenous lingua franca which could serve as “a neutral rallying point for the selection of a national language” (Kashoki 1990, 23); which meant that the task of achieving national integration through the choice of an indigenous national language was going to be difficult from the outset. English, which is seen as a neutral choice, was thus declared the official language of the country and it now serves as the official medium of instruction from the first year of primary school; it is the language of parliament, commerce, and government administration. Seven regional languages – Bemba, Kaonde, Lunda, Nyanja/Chewa, Tonga, Lozi, and Luvale – were accorded official status, though their public functions remain limited. These languages are taught as subjects in prescribed regions, broadcast on the national radio, and used for adult literacy programs by the government. The use of language in the media reflects the perceived importance attached to each of the major languages: English is allocated more airtime on the radio despite the fact that audience surveys show that it is less listened to than the local languages; television is almost exclusively in English; and newspapers are predominantly in English – publications in the local languages have very low circulation figures (Mytton 1978, 210–226). English is accepted as the dominant language and no complaints are made to the effect that the media is dominated by English; yet there are constant demands from the smaller language groups to have their languages on the radio – demands which, Mytton (1978, 211)

points out, are over identity rather than comprehension since listeners resent any suggestion that they could be represented by a language identified with another tribe. Zambia has witnessed significant migrations of people from rural to the urban areas in the last forty years which has led to much use of lingua francas, as well as the creation of urban varieties of the official languages. Tonga, Lozi and “more especially Bemba and Nyanja/Chewa are becoming instruments of wider communication outside their traditional environs” (Kashoki 1990, 13). The urban forms of these languages are not standardized, but the rural ones are; and it is the standardized rural forms which provide the norm for the teaching of mother tongues.

As a result, most urban Zambians feel ethnically disconnected from the languages taught in the classroom (Banda 1996, 115). Thus the only language with which Zambians have no complaints is English which, even though it remains “foreign to the vast majority of the population” (Serpell 1978, 144), has succeeded in ousting the local languages from official matters of life in the country. The vast majority of the indigenous languages are confined to the rural areas where they have been left to fall into disuse either by default or by benign neglect (Kashoki 1990, 23): and, with the notable exception of Nkoya (see Binsbergen 1994, 142–88), none of these languages will survive for long if the present conditions persist.

### 3. Conclusion

The linguistic developments in the East African region point toward massive language decline leading to language death in the new century. As noted in 2., above, each country has for practical reasons adopted a language policy that is silent on the future of the vast majority of the languages within its borders. So long as opportunities for socio-economic advancement are available only to those who master the few official languages there will be a steady stream away from the non-official languages. This, as Mazrui/Mazrui (1993, 290) observe, is compounded by the fact that there is not much linguistic nationalism in the region: in this modern world, it seems that the socio-economic advantages of language shift far outweigh the disadvantages of language loss. And, in the words of Edwards (1994, 22), to the ex-

tent that each language represents and transmits a unique perspective of the world, East Africa will be massively diminished by such loss.

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## 197. Democratic Republic of Congo, Rwanda and Burundi Die Demokratische Republik Kongo, Ruanda und Burundi

1. Sociolinguistic situations
2. Language policies
3. Literature (selected)

Burundi, the Democratic Republic of Congo and Rwanda have in common the fact that they were Belgian colonies and were therefore subject to a linguistic regime different from that which France applied in its own colonies: in the French case, African languages were excluded from the educational and administrative system whereas in the Belgian case some of them were taken into account. When they became independent, therefore, these three countries had a heritage which was different from that of the former French colonies: some of their languages were written and were used in schools and sometimes in the press. In addition, all the languages spoken in these countries belong to the Bantu family, whose unity is borne out by a number of criteria: e.g. their classification system and a large proportion of vocabulary which can be traced back to reconstructed common roots by fixed phonetic correspondence rules (Alexandre 1981). This set of languages has been classified by Malcolm Guthrie, who, on the basis of intersecting isoglosses and geographical considerations, distinguished 15 zones (identified by a capital letter, from A to S, missing out I, J, O and Q) and within each zone different groups (identified by numbers) and sub-groups (identified by lowercase letters). Thus, Kikongo is classed as H 16 (zone H, sixth language of group 10) and is subdivided into H 16a, H 16b, H 16c, etc., Kinyarwanda is classed as D 61 (zone D, first language of group 60) and Kirundi as D 62 (zone D, second language of group 60), thus indicating the closeness of these two languages, etc. The languages of the three countries under consideration belong to groups C (Democratic Republic of Congo), D (Democratic Republic of Congo, Rwanda, Burundi), H (Democratic Republic of Congo) and L (Democratic Republic of Congo), to which should also be added group G for Swahili which, as we shall see, functions as a lingua franca throughout the zone.

### 1. Sociolinguistic situations

However, their common features stop here: the Democratic Republic of Congo is an extremely multilingual country (with more than two hundred languages spoken), with four regional lingua francas, whereas Rwanda and Burundi are considered 'monolingual' countries. In this context, 'monolingual' does not mean that only one language is spoken, but rather that there is a common language spoken by everybody. For example, in Kigali, the capital of Rwanda, 56% of the population claim to speak only Kinyarwanda (88% for the country as a whole), more than 20% claim to speak French as well, almost 24% claim to speak Swahili and 9% English. Thus, although these countries are only 'monolingual' in a relative sense, they are linguistically homogeneous.

Situated in the heart of Africa, on the watershed of the Nile and Congo rivers, Burundi and Rwanda also straddle a geolinguistic divide between the anglophone African countries to the East and the francophone African countries to the West. Moreover, these three countries also fall within the zone of a lingua franca which has spread from the East, Kiswahili, defined by Alexandre as 'Bantu-based'. A large portion of its vocabulary is borrowed from Arabic, but its syntax remains Bantu.

Swahili is spoken by about fifty million people (as a first or second language or as a lingua franca, with various degrees of competence), from the East to the West coast of Africa, including the countries discussed here, but also in Tanzania, Kenya and Uganda, that is in former colonies of the British crown. From this point of view the binary opposition between francophone and anglophone countries falls apart: the three countries in question are 'francophone' in the sense that they belong to the political organisations of the French-speaking world, but their languages belong to the Bantu family, like many of those of the neighbouring English-speaking countries with which they also share a lingua franca. These languages, spoken in countries such as Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania, Mozambique, Cameroon, Gabon, Congo, Angola and South Africa, whose official languages are French,

English or Portuguese, thus constitute a Bantu area divided into three post-colonial linguistic groups (anglophone, francophone and lusophone) at the centre of which are Burundi, the Democratic Republic of Congo and Rwanda. This pivotal position is particularly clear in the case of Rwanda, where it has been compounded by recent political events, a point to which we shall return at the end of this article.

## 2. Language policies

The legal status of languages in these countries is the result of Belgian colonial policy, this being particularly clear in the case of the former Zaïre.

In Burundi (population 6,100,000), Kirundi and French were designated as official languages after independence (1974, art. 3), a situation which was subsequently modified: 'The national language is Kirundi. The official languages are Kirundi and the other languages determined by the law' (1992, art. 8).

In Rwanda (population: 7,500,000), until recently, Kinyarwanda was the national language, the official languages being Kinyarwanda and French.

In the Democratic Republic of Congo (population: 47,400,000), the official language is French (1994, art. 1), the four main *lingua francas* mentioned above being national languages.

This part of the African continent could well prove a testing ground for the future relations between French and English. The case of Rwanda is revealing in this respect. Officially bilingual Kinyarwanda/French since its independence, this country has seen, following the genocide of 1994, a massive return of immigrants, some of whom, Francophones, came from Zaïre, while others, Anglophones, came from Uganda, Tanzania, Kenya, etc. and who took power. Political events have, therefore, put the language question on the agenda. But this question does not arise simply because of the return of migrants who acquired English in neighbouring countries and whose children were brought up in this language (some of them left as early as 1959), it is also a product of mental images associated with languages, which were themselves brought about by history. The ambivalent role of France during the genocide of 1994 has created a hostile situation and when, in De-

cember 1998, the French parliamentary commission submitted its report on these events, a communiqué issued by the Presidency of the Rwandan Republic declared dryly (and in English): "Genocide in Rwanda served as a price for the triumph of *la francophonie*. Therefore it is no wonder that the report exonerates France and accuses an Anglo-Saxon country" (16 December 1998). As a logical consequence of this stance, in February 1999, an article in the weekly *The East African*, announced the replacement of French by English.

In fact, this announcement was somewhat premature, for the authorities in Kigali now maintain that they envisage a trilingual regime. Rwanda has a national language, Kinyarwanda, and it already had an official language, French, but the new authorities have decided to promote English to the status of a joint official language along with French and Kinyarwanda, embarking on an educational policy based on the following principle: all three languages are taught from the first year of primary school onwards, but then, from the fourth year, French and English become the languages of instruction. In order to proceed to the implementation stage, this policy requires massive retraining of teachers, teaching French to those who are speakers of English and vice versa, an intensive programme in these languages for entrants to the University of Butaré or the Institute of Education in Kigali, etc.

These new educational arrangements may mark a transition towards English or towards the establishment of trilingualism among the elite. At the moment (April 2000) an unofficial policy is being applied: English and French are used informally in education, though there is no legislative text which gives any status to English. The future will depend very largely on the political evolution of the country and on its relationship with its neighbours, both of which are at present extremely unstable.

But these tribulations bear witness above all to a unique geolinguistic situation. A mountainous country, centrally situated, almost symbolically as we have noted, on the watershed of the Nile and Congo, Rwanda is pulled simultaneously towards the East and the West. The gravitational model (Calvet 1999) allows this situation to be understood in terms of tension between the hypercentral language, English, the pivot of the gravi-

tational organisation of the world's languages, and one of the supercentral languages, French. The situation of the country is special in two further respects. Firstly, unlike the vast majority of African countries, it has a national language, Kinyarwanda. Secondly, a deliberate effect of Belgian colonisation was to confine the populations to the hills, to prevent them from moving, which makes it still today one of the least urbanised countries in the world: only about 5% of the population lives in the Capital Kigali. A survey carried out in 1996 on the languages spoken in the country is interesting from this point of view.

Languages spoken	Total	
	Rwanda	Kigali
Kinyarwanda only	88.8%	56.9%
French	3.6%	11.5%
Swahili	2.0%	10.7%
English	0.4%	2.1%
French English	0.3%	1.8%
French Swahili	1.0%	7.2%
English Swahili	0.2%	2.0%
French Swahili English	0.4%	2.8%
Not declared	3.3%	5.9%

(Source: ESDR 1996, cited in Desfeux 1999)

It can be seen that the second foreign language, just behind French and well ahead of English, is Swahili. Indeed, the pivotal position of the country, which makes it a border country between the English-speaking and French-speaking zones, is coupled with a crucial economic fact: it is with the East that Rwanda has most of its economic dealings and it is to the East that it has access to the sea, at Mombassa, Dar es Salaam, etc. Now, the language which is flourishing in the East is Kiswahili rather than English; this means that we must distinguish here, from a functional point of view, between a language of potential regional integration, Swahili, and two competing international languages, English and French. These figures also show the effect of the city on linguistic situations: French, Swahili and English are spoken much more in Kigali than in the country as a whole. Since, as we have noted, the degree of urbanisation is low in Rwanda, these effects have only a slight impact on the country as a whole. Indeed, more generally, the African Capitals (like Kinshasa, Abidjan, Dakar, Bamako, etc.) work like pumps which suck in multilingualism and spit out monolin-

gualism. Speakers of peripheral languages, when they come to the city looking for work, acquire a language of integration, the language of trade, of the street, and possibly learn the official language later. We find nothing of this sort in Rwanda or Burundi, where the population, both urban and rural, has at its disposition a language which unifies the country.

The next ten years will therefore be test years both for the capacity of Rwanda to develop its new linguistic policy and for the relations between the three lingua francas of this part of Africa: English, French and Swahili. But above all, it is the link between the economic development of the country and its linguistic policy which should be watched closely.

The situation of the former Zaïre is very different. Here more than two hundred languages are spoken, including four major regional lingua francas:

- Kikongo, the lingua franca of the lower Zaïre and of Bandundu.
- Lingala, the lingua franca of the Upper Zaïre, the equatorial provinces and of Kinshasa.
- Ciluba, the lingua franca of the central provinces (Eastern and Western Kasai)
- Kiswahili, the lingua franca of the provinces of Shaba and Kivu.

These languages are used for communication between speakers of different native languages and appear along tracks, along the river and in the urban centres. Thus, in the central market of Kinshasa, it is Lingala which predominates by 81% whereas in the markets of Matadi, a town 366 kilometres to the East of the Capital, Kikongo is the dominant lingua franca (Calvet et al. 1992). This lingua franca variety of Kikongo, which stemmed from the intermingling of populations during the construction of the Léopoldville (Kinshasa)-Matadi railway, is perceived by its speakers as distinct from the dialectal forms which they have as native languages. This difference can be seen in the names which are given to it; the term *Kikongo* usually denotes a local, dialectal variety whereas the lingua franca form is referred to variously as *Kikongo ya léta*, *Kikongo ki léta* or *Kikongo-léta* (in all three cases 'Kikongo of the State').

The four major lingua francas are associated with different linguistic images. In a town like Kikwit (560 kilometres from the Capital), for example, Kikongo is consider-

ed as a functional means of communication with limited expressive potential, Lingala as the language of delinquency and of police and army brutality, Ciluba as the language of the jewelry trade, while only Kiswahili has a prestigious image (Calvet et al. 1992, 349).

The cities are therefore extremely multilingual, and in each of them one of the four major languages functions as a lingua franca whereas French, the official language and the main language of education, is the language of the elite and of contact with foreign countries. But this description corresponds to a situation which could change under the pressure of recent political events. Zaïre (now the Democratic Republic of the Congo) was heralded for a long time as the largest francophone country of the future, an analysis which was based on the size of its population, its birthrate and the assumption that educational provision would increase. When Laurent Kabila took power in 1997 with the help of Rwanda and Uganda, his troops spoke mainly Kiswahili (Lingala was traditionally the language of the Zaïrean army) and to a lesser extent English. In the first few months, in his public appearances, Kabila himself expressed himself in English, even though he could speak French perfectly. In Autumn 1997, at the summit meeting of francophone Heads of State in Hanoi, Kabila announced that his country was to withdraw from the political institutions of the francophone world. He subsequently went back on that decision and, to date (February 2000), the Democratic Congo is

still a member of the Francophony. But school education is in a lamentable situation, staff have not been paid and the future is uncertain.

These anecdotes show us how quickly linguistic situations could evolve. Here the distinction between *linguistic politology* and *linguistic politics* is crucial. The former involves the scientific analysis of state interventions regarding languages and the relationships between them whereas the latter relates to interventionist practices based on technique and militancy but not on science. The geolinguistic situation of Burundi, Rwanda and the Democratic Republic of Congo is unstable and will be worth watching closely over the next twenty years. Whatever linguistic policies may be pursued there will make a valuable contribution to the understanding of linguistic politology.

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## 198. Lusophone Africa / Das lusophone Afrika

1. Introduction
2. Cap-Vert
3. Guinée-Bissau
4. São Tomé et Príncipe
5. Angola
6. Mozambique
7. Bibliographie (choisie)

### 1. Introduction

L'Angola, le Cap-Vert, la Guinée-Bissau, le Mozambique et São Tomé et Príncipe, anciennes colonies portugaises, ont en com-

mun d'avoir hérité de la langue portugaise après avoir été colonisés et occupés par le Portugal pendant près de cinq siècles. Au sein des pays de la Communauté des Pays de Langue Portugaise (CPLP), incluant le Portugal et le Brésil, ils forment le groupe africain dit des Cinq (*Cinco*) ou PALOP («País Africanos de Língua Oficial Portuguesa» [Pays Africains de Langue Officielle Portugaise]). Le chiffre Cinq exprime symboliquement le lien linguistique qui rapproche ces pays africains et traduit par là leur sentiment identitaire commun qu'ils partagent

au-delà des disparités de chaque pays aussi bien en superficie et démographie qu'en ressources naturelles. La langue portugaise les rapproche et en même temps les différencie des autres pays d'Afrique du fait qu'ils sont désormais liés à la langue portugaise. En l'adoptant comme langue officielle pour l'enseignement, l'administration, la justice, la diplomatie, les écrits officiels, les publications et même souvent la radio et la télévision, ces cinq pays ont fortement contribué à donner au portugais une dimension internationale et montré clairement que la langue portugaise leur sert désormais d'outil *non portugais* de communication internationale et de progrès scientifique, technique et social (Cahen 1994, 25). Néanmoins, cet héritage commun de la langue portugaise ne signifie aucunement identité de situations linguistiques. Au contraire dans chaque pays la position de la langue portugaise varie selon qu'elle doit ou non coexister avec les langues africaines ou avec les créoles. Un clivage Nord/Sud se dessine ainsi en fonction de la présence de ces derniers: le créole est présent dans les trois pays qui se trouvent au Nord de l'équateur, Cap-Vert, Guinée-Bissau et São Tomé et Príncipe, il est absent dans les deux autres pays situés au Sud de l'équateur, Angola et Mozambique. D'où la nécessité d'évoquer séparément la situation linguistique de chaque pays.

## 2. Cap-Vert

La république du Cap-Vert est un archipel de 4033 km<sup>2</sup> constitué de dix îles. Sa population (estimation 1995) est de 392 000 habitants dont 70,3% rurale et 29,7% urbaine. La capitale est Praia (61 644 hab.) dans l'île de Santiago. Les principales villes sont Mindelo (41 109 hab.) dans l'île de São Vicente, São Filipe (5616 hab.) dans l'île de Fogo. Sa composition ethnique se répartie ainsi: Métis 71%; Noirs 28%; Blancs 1%. Depuis l'indépendance (1975), l'analphabétisme est tombé de 75% à 20% (1995). La langue officielle est le portugais qui est aussi la langue d'instruction et des situations formelles, jouissant de ce fait d'un prestige supérieur au créole (*kriolu*) qui est la langue nationale et maternelle, et aussi celle du vécu informel de la vie quotidienne. Le clivage dialectal (Quint 1998, 550) se situe principalement entre le créole du Nord propre aux Îles au Vent (*Barlavento*) et le créole du Sud des Îles Sous le Vent (*Sotavento*); un clivage secon-

daire sépare les créoles de l'Est (São Nicolau et Boa Vista) des autres créoles du Nord (Santo Antão et São Vicente). Plus exactement, chaque île a son créole spécifique. N'étant pas langue officielle et étant dépourvu d'un alphabet ou d'une écriture reconnus officiellement, le créole n'est pas enseigné de manière systématique et il est pratiquement absent de l'administration, des tribunaux, des églises et du parlement. Cette situation contraste avec le fait que le portugais est compris seulement par une minorité de lettrés, tandis que le créole est la langue de tout le monde, celle de la vie communautaire, de la famille, de l'affectivité, de la tradition et de l'environnement symbolique. Les habitants des îles parlent habituellement en créole, mais écrivent principalement en portugais. On est donc en présence d'une diglossie plutôt que d'un bilinguisme (Veiga 1999, 1), car les deux langues coexistent mais avec deux statuts et deux fonctions distincts: le portugais sert à l'intégration culturelle, sociale, économique et technologique au plan de la communauté internationale, tandis que le créole sert à l'intégration nationale sous ses différentes formes: famille, société, histoire, tradition, culture, imaginaire collectif, etc. Afin de dépasser ce clivage et de développer un véritable bilinguisme, le gouvernement a officialisé un alphabet, à titre expérimental pour la période 1996/2001. Il a ainsi suivi les suggestions des linguistes cap-verdeins qui préconisent une politique linguistique avisée et planifiée susceptible d'aboutir à une transformation graduelle du créole en langue co-officielle. Elle ne pourra être réalisée que (1) après de recherches linguistiques poussées, (2) à l'aide d'un enseignement de la langue, en un premier temps dans des institutions de haut niveau, ensuite dans le primaire et le secondaire, (3) grâce à la standardisation des variantes dialectales. L'objectif est de rendre le créole apte à être utilisé dans l'éducation, l'administration, la justice, au parlement, dans les œuvres littéraires et dans les situations formelles de communication au même titre que le portugais.

## 3. Guinée-Bissau

Avec une superficie de 36 120 km<sup>2</sup>, la République de Guinée-Bissau, est l'un des plus petits pays africains. Elle comprend une partie continentale et 40 îles, qui constituent l'archipel des Bijagos, dont 20 sont habitées.

La population dépasse à peine le million d'habitants (est. 1995: 1.073.000, dont 80% ruraux). La capitale est Bissau (125.000 hab.) et les villes principales sont: Bafatá (13.429 hab.) et Gabú (7.083 hab.). Sa composition ethnique est constituée de: Balantes 27,2%; Peuls 22,9%; Malinkés 12,2%; Manjaks 10,6%; Papels 10,0%; autres 17,1%. Le taux d'alphabétisation des personnes âgées de 15 ans et plus est de 54,9% (est. 1995). Dès son indépendance (1973), la Guinée-Bissau a adopté le portugais comme langue officielle et d'enseignement afin de faciliter la communication avec la communauté internationale et entre les différents groupes ethniques du pays. Le portugais est parlé comme première langue par environ 11% de la population. Par contre le créole portugais (*kriol*) est la langue nationale que le Partido Africano da Independência da Guiné e Cabo Verde (P.A.I.G.C.) a développée pendant la lutte de libération comme langue d'unité nationale. Le créole était la langue de la plupart des militaires. Depuis, il s'est imposé comme langue commune: à Bissau où il est généralement la langue maternelle, dans les villes (Bafatá, Farim) où il est la langue quotidienne de communication et de commerce pour 50% de la population (Lepri 1994, 396). Le a fini par empiéter sur les terrains de l'Est qui étaient dominés jusque là par le fulfulde et le mandinka. Plusieurs productions culturelles ont été réalisées en créole: poésies, chants, un film et même des livres comiques. Toutefois, si les émissions de la radio sont principalement en créole, celles de la télévision sont toutes en portugais. Il est même à craindre que progressivement s'instaure un certain continuum linguistique entre le créole et le portugais (Khim 1994, 7). Ce qui empêche encore que le créole soit utilisé comme langue d'alphabétisation et d'enseignement semble dû au fait que le créole n'a toujours pas été codifié; mais le 'forcing' pour l'adoption du créole comme langue d'enseignement est principalement le fait d'éléments extérieurs au pays (Lepri 1994, 395). Parmi les populations rurales, un grand nombre de personnes (50% de la population) ne parle ni créole, ni portugais, mais seulement la langue vernaculaire de leur ethnie. Le nombre et la diversité de ces langues contrastent avec l'étendue et le nombre d'habitants du pays: 21 langues de la famille Niger-Congo, dont 17 de la sous-famille Atlantic-Congo et 4 de la sous-famille Mandé (Grimes 1996). Certaines de ces langues ne sont parlées

que par quelques centaines ou milliers de locuteurs. Les langues suivantes avoisinent ou dépassent les 100.000 locuteurs: balante (270.000, 30%); fulfulde (180.000, 20%); mandinka (119.000); manjak (125.000); papel (97.000).

Néanmoins, ces données linguistiques ont été sérieusement bouleversées depuis 1990 en raison de la déstabilisation de la sous-région à la suite des guerres civiles qui ont touché tour à tour les pays limitrophes et, plus récemment, la Casamance et la Guinée-Bissau. De part et d'autre de la frontière qui sépare la Guinée-Bissau du Sénégal, des dizaines de milliers de réfugiés ont été déplacés et concentrés dans divers centres, dont celui emblématique de Safim qui à lui seul comptait de 60 à 70.000 déplacés entraînant ainsi un brassage humain et linguistique jusque là inédits aux conséquences non encore explorées.

#### 4. São Tomé et Príncipe

La République démocratique de São Tomé et Príncipe est un micro-état de par sa superficie (1001 km<sup>2</sup>) et sa population (est. 1995: 131.000), dont 55,9% rurale et 44,1% urbaine, avec concentration maximale dans la capitale São Tomé (44.420 hab.). La composition ethnique de l'archipel est celle d'une société plurielle issue du processus de créolisation: Métis (créoles d'origine luso-africaine), Forros (descendants des esclaves affranchis et premiers habitants de l'île), Serviçais (travailleurs contractuels d'origine étrangère: Angola, Cap-Vert et Mozambique), Tongas (descendants de Serviçais), Angolares (± 9000, descendants des esclaves angolais qui ont fui les plantations au XVI<sup>e</sup> s. et actuellement pêcheurs). Au plan linguistique, la langue officielle est le portugais qui est parlé, plus ou moins correctement, par la majorité de la population. La scolarisation des enfants est de 90% dans le primaire et 60% dans le secondaire. Néanmoins (Schang 1995-96, 12), ces enfants pratiquent une diglossie puisqu'ils parlent (et écrivent) le portugais et continuent à parler leur créole. Il existe divers créoles dans l'archipel: (1) créole de São Tomé, langue des Forros et aussi d'un grand nombre de Angolares, qui est parlé à la capitale et dans les villes principales (Santana, Trindade, Guadalupe); ce créole, sous une forme plus argotique, tend à remplacer les autres créoles chez les jeunes et sur les marchés; (2) créole Ngola parlé par

les Angolares entre eux; (3) créole *lun'jie* (quelques milliers), parlé dans le centre de Principe; (4) créole capverdien parlé par les Capverdiens (20% de la population). Chez les travailleurs contractuels étrangers on parle des langues bantoues: macualomué, shona, tonga, chichewa et makondé, dans les petites communautés d'origine mozambicaine; kimbundu, à Aldeia Camuso, parlé par les angolais anciens, mais seulement compris par les jeunes.

### 5. Angola

La superficie de la République d'Angola est de 1.246.700 km<sup>2</sup> et sa population de 12.486.000 (est. 1994: Pacheco/Roque 1995, 217), dont 45% a moins de 15 ans et seulement un tiers est censé vivre actuellement en zone rurale (EIU 1998–99, 16). La capitale est Luanda (est. 1994: 2.450.000) et les villes principales sont Huambo, Benguela, Lobito, Lubango, Uige, Malanje et Kuito. La population est pluriethnique (est. 1983): Ovimbundu (37,2%), Ambundu (21,6%), Bakongo (13,2%), Luimbe (5,4%), Humbes et Nyaneka (5,4%), Tchokwés (4,2%), Luéna (3,4%); Luchazi (2,4%), Ovambo (2,4%), Lunda (1,2%), autres (3,6%). L'inventaire des langues de l'Angola de la SIL (Grimes 1996) fait état de 40 langues ainsi subdivisées: (1) 35 langues bantu, sous-groupe Benue-Congo de la famille Niger-Congo, appartenant aux zones H (10, 20, 30), K (10, 20, 30, 40, 70) et R (10, 20, 30) de la classification de Guthrie; (2) 5 langues Khoisan des sous-groupes Nord et Central. Les langues umbundu, kimbundu, kikongo, tchokwe, kwanyama et nyaneka sont les plus importantes par rapport au nombre de locuteurs. Le portugais est la langue officielle pour tous les secteurs d'activité. Les langues nationales sont au nombre de 6: kikongo, kimbundu, tchokwe, umbundu, mbunda et kwanyama. Leur étude a été confiée à l'Instituto Nacional de Línguas (INL) qui a mis en place un projet expérimental d'alphabétisation (INL 1980 et 1985). Trois de ces langues ont fait l'objet d'une thèse de doctorat à Paris: kimbundu (Pedro 1993), iwoyo (Mingas 1994) et kisikongo (Ndonga 1995). Cependant, toutes les données chiffrées concernant les ethnies et les langues parlées en Angola s'avèrent aujourd'hui périmées en raison de l'état de guerre permanent qui a sévi dans ce pays depuis 1961 et s'est intensifié et amplifié depuis son indépendance de

1975 (Messiant 1994 et 1995). Les conflits, outre les graves pertes en vies humaines, ont provoqué des mouvements massifs de population qui se chiffrent en millions de personnes (Pacheco/Roque 1995; UNHCR 1999). Ils sont, soit de type externe en direction des pays voisins (*refugiados* [réfugiés]), soit de type interne au pays (*deslocados* [déplacés]) avec une concentration énorme de populations hétérogènes dans les villes, surtout côtières, laissant ainsi l'arrière-pays rural pratiquement vide. Les *deslocados*, à la suite de l'effort d'intégration dans le nouvel habitat, généralement se fixent et ne retournent plus chez eux. La durée et le caractère répétitif de ces deux processus a fait qu'on peut parler aujourd'hui de générations de réfugiés et de déplacés, créant ainsi des situations linguistiques nouvelles et particulièrement complexes. Ainsi, les réfugiés Bakongo (700.000) au ex-Zaïre (1961–1975), surtout à Kinshasa, ont certes continué à utiliser entre eux et en famille le parler kikongo natal, mais ils ont appris et pratiqué le lingala dans leurs relations extra-familiales. Leurs enfants par contre ont été scolarisés en français et ont appris et pratiqué exclusivement le lingala. En 1978, ces mêmes réfugiés ont pu revenir en Angola, mais seulement une partie d'entre eux est retournée au Nord de l'Angola, leur région natale, tandis que les autres se sont fixés dans la capitale, à Luanda. Les premiers, bien que dans leur lieu traditionnel d'origine, ont continué à utiliser le lingala comme langue véhiculaire, mais aussi à la maison avec leurs enfants. Ceux de Luanda, installés surtout dans la périphérie immédiate de la ville dans des quartiers nouveaux où ils étaient majoritaires, ont recréé le milieu familial de Kinshasa en parlant entre eux surtout le lingala et en s'insérant dans la petite économie informelle de Luanda, entraînant ainsi une transformation qualitative de la sociologie bakongo angolaise avec une très forte urbanisation (Messiant 1994, 190). Par leur manière d'affirmer leur différence et leur 'africanité' dans le vêtement et dans leur façon de vivre, par l'emploi du lingala, ils ont contribué à créer le stéréotype de *regressados* [revenus], complaisamment entretenu et amalgamé avec celui de 'Zaïrois trafiquant', avec l'appellation fréquente et péjorative de «*zaïrense*», 'zaïrois'. Lors des événements meurtriers de 1992–93, le fait de parler le lingala a servi parfois de prétexte à des lynchages à leur égard. Ainsi, le lingala qui auparavant était absent de l'Angola, est



devenu une de ses composantes linguistiques grâce aux *regressados*. Cette tendance est peut-être temporaire parce que limitée à l'usage interne d'une diaspora ethnique en phase de mutation et déliée de ses racines ancestrales. On constate, en effet, chez les jeunes *regressados* de Luanda, ceux de la deuxième génération ou fils de *regressados*, la tendance à privilégier le portugais comme langue de communication et aussi à employer un type de lingala qui est déjà différent, de par l'absence d'emprunts français, de celui qui est parlé par les jeunes de Kinshasa. Une autre conséquence linguistique des mouvements de populations est le nivellement dialectal. Les générations de l'après-indépendance, surtout dans les grandes villes, ne parlent pratiquement plus la langue africaine locale de leurs parents. Ils en ignorent souvent l'appellation traditionnelle et préfèrent utiliser le terme générique: 'kikongo' à la place de kisikongo, kizombo, kindamba ..., 'kimbundu' au lieu des formes locales attestées depuis la côte jusqu'à Malanje. Ces remarques se limitent à la ville et à la périphérie de Luanda. Pour les autres régions, même celles avoisinantes de Caxito (province du Bengo) et de Cacucaco (province de Luanda) où il existe une forte concentration de familles venues du haut plateau central (Pacheco/Roque 1995, 214), on ne dispose guère d'informations linguistiques. Un dernier fait linguistique d'importance concerne la langue portugaise. Elle continue à jouer amplement son rôle de langue officielle aussi bien dans les mass media que dans l'administration et l'enseignement. Néanmoins, les mouvements massifs de populations, en dehors du cas spécifique des Bakongo, ont renforcé son rôle de langue véhiculaire auprès de populations linguistiquement hétérogènes, le portugais s'étant pratiquement substitué aux langues africaines, notamment dans la capitale et dans les villes côtières. En contrepartie, ces populations pratiquent un portugais qui entremêle, à des degrés divers, des particularités morphosyntaxiques spécifiques du portugais d'Angola – déjà amplement illustrées dans les œuvres littéraires d'auteurs angolais publiées après l'indépendance – à des formes qui relèvent plutôt des approximations dues à un apprentissage encore insuffisant de la langue. Compte tenu de l'état de guerre permanent, source de fortes concentrations urbaines de population hétérogènes, et de la dégradation du niveau scolaire, de nouvelles

habitudes linguistiques risquent d'accentuer le caractère régional du portugais d'Angola.

## 6. Mozambique

La République du Mozambique a une superficie de 799 379 km<sup>2</sup> et une population de (est. 1995) 17.899.000 habitants. Les principales villes sont: la capitale Maputo (931.600 hab.); Beira (298.800 hab.); Nampula (250.500 hab.). Il existe une grande diversité ethnique: (1) au Nord: Nyanja, Makonde, Macua, Lomwe; (2) au Centre: Shona, Chuabo, Sena; (3) au Sud: Tsonga, Bitonga, Chopi, Tswa, Ronga. Au plan linguistique, le Mozambique est marqué par une situation de diglossie (Laban 1999, 15): d'un côté le portugais, langue officielle qui se développe rapidement dans les villes et est utilisé par les couches élevées de la société; de l'autre, les langues africaines qui caractérisent le monde rural et dans une moindre mesure le monde suburbain, mais qui sont encore peu ou pas décrites. Ces langues, toutes bantu, représentent les zones G (40), N (10, 30, 40), P (20, 30), S (10, 40, 50, 60) de la classification de Guthrie et ont souvent leurs prolongements de l'autre côté de la frontière, dans l'hinterland ex-britannique. Leur nombre est toutefois problématique: 20 selon la Comissão 1988 (kiswahili, kimwani, shimakonde, ciyao, emakhuwa, ekoti, elomwe, echuwabo, cinyanja, cisenga, cinyungwe, cisena, cishona, xitswa, xitsonga [xichangana], gitonga, cicopi, xironga, swazi, zulu), 32 selon la SIL (Grimes 1996) et 67 selon le PNUD (1998). La raison principale de ces différences semble être la date de référence qui est souvent celle du premier recensement de la population de 1980, alors que la guerre civile a ravagé le Mozambique de 1977–1982 à 1992. Le bilan de la guerre fut très lourd (Marchand 1995, 112): près de 1.200.000 morts, surtout à la suite de massacres aveugles de populations civiles en zones rurales, et afflux massif vers les villes. En octobre 1992, l'UNOHAC estimait à 3.278.000 la population déplacée à l'intérieur du pays et à 1,5 million le nombre de réfugiés hors du Mozambique. Un secteur particulièrement affecté fut celui de l'éducation. Des centaines de milliers d'enfants des zones rurales n'ont plus été scolarisés, leur nombre atteignant les 3,3 millions. Dans ces conditions, les enquêtes antérieures ou immédiatement postérieures à 1992 sont caduques. En ce qui concerne la langue portugaise (Laban 1999,

19), l'enquête de la Direction nationale de la statistique (Ministério 1995) et sur la base des réponses données à la question «savez-vous parler portugais?» indique que le portugais s'est largement diffusé depuis l'indépendance puisque 50,2% de la population le parlait en 1991, au lieu de 24% en 1980. Ce pourcentage s'élève à 77,6 pour la population urbaine (85% pour les hommes, 28,4% pour les femmes) et à 38,5% pour les populations rurales (49,9% pour les hommes, 28,4% pour les femmes). En outre, 54,3% de la population est monolingue (40,7% des hommes et 59,7% des femmes). Au niveau national, le portugais est l'instrument de communication quotidienne le plus utilisé: 39,1%, contre xitsonga (22,8%), emakhuwa (12,2%), cishona (3,5%), chisena (2,5%), autres (19,9%). Il importe néanmoins de relativiser ces résultats, car en 1991 une grande partie du territoire (48 *distritos* sur 128) était inaccessible aux enquêteurs. Ils confirment par contre le fait que la guerre a davantage favorisé la diffusion du portugais que celle des langues africaines, notamment en tant que langue véhiculaire auprès des réfugiés qui ont été mis au contact avec des populations parlant d'autres langues. Le retour d'une grande partie de ces mêmes populations vers les zones rurales après s'être réfugiées dans les villes est un autre facteur qui laisse entrevoir un développement rapide du portugais au niveau du pays. Quant au portugais du Mozambique, il importe de souligner que l'absence de l'influence de la norme européenne a privilégié un usage propre et un code d'expression linguistique où prévalent des particularités spécifiques qui concernent à la fois la morphologie, la syntaxe et la sémantique et que l'on peut caractériser comme «langue populaire» qui est répercutée d'ailleurs dans la «langue littéraire», parfois comme l'expression d'une identité revendiquée. Plus récemment, l'adhésion du Mozambique au Commonwealth en 1994, a suscité un débat autour de la place de l'anglais. Certains considèrent son introduction dans le pays comme un *danger*, d'autres l'envisagent comme une opportunité et n'excluent pas l'éventualité d'avoir deux langues officielles (Ribeiro 1993). Le débat se poursuit.

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## 199. Southern Africa / Südliches Afrika

1. Introduction
2. The language families and their history
3. Pidgin languages and urban jargons
4. The linguistic situation in the modern states
5. Literature (selected)

### 1. Introduction

This survey treats the countries of South Africa, Zimbabwe, Namibia, Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland; the total number of languages in the area is at least fifty. The survey starts with an account of the three major language families and their successive arrivals in the area, to provide a general background.

### 2. The language families and their history

#### 2.1. Khoisan languages

Khoisan languages have been spoken in southern Africa for several thousand years. There is no evidence for an earlier presence of other languages. Khoisan language speakers are currently found mainly in Namibia and Botswana, with very small groups of speakers in Zimbabwe and South Africa. The name Khoisan was established by Schapera (1930) and is composed of the names Khoi and San which are used for the two major subgroups within the family. Speakers of Khoi languages were formerly often called Hottentots, and some speakers of San may still sometimes be designated Bushmen.

There are relatively few speakers of Khoisan languages, around 250,000 in all. Of those, around 150,000 speak Nama, while around thirty other languages share the remaining speakers between them. Nama is spoken almost exclusively in Namibia. The other languages are found in and around the Kalahari desert which constitutes a large part of Namibia and most of Botswana. It has often been speculated that Khoisan languages were once spoken over a much larger area, before other groups migrated into central and southern Africa. One reason for this is that two small groups of people in Tanzania speak languages, Hadza and Sandawe, that seem to belong to the Khoisan group. The geographical distance between them and the other Khoisan speakers being around 1,500 kilometres, it is often assumed that they represent remnants from a time when Khoisan languages were spoken over a much larger area of eastern and southern Africa.

The languages belong to three different sub-families. Northern Khoisan consists of only one language with several dialects (or a number of closely related languages, depending on perspective). It is spoken in north-eastern Namibia, north-western Botswana, southern Angola, and a corner of Zambia. The total number of speakers has been estimated at 25–30,000. The Central Khoisan languages include most of the extant languages and most of the speakers; Nama belongs to this group. Southern Khoisan nowadays comprises only one language, !Xóõ, spoken by a small group of

people in southern Botswana. Two hundred years ago a number of South Khoisan languages were in use in South Africa, but they have disappeared because the speakers were either exterminated or have shifted to some other language, in most cases Afrikaans. There also used to be many speakers of Central Khoisan languages in South Africa, but the same fate befell them too. See the paper by Traill in Mesthrie, ed. (2002).

The second systems of all Khoisan languages are rather unusual: they employ consonants produced on a velaric ingressive mechanism, i.e. clicks. Otherwise, the three groups are very dissimilar in linguistic structure, suggesting either that they in fact have no common origin, or that the three groups are related but developed apart from each other for many thousands of years (for further discussion, see Güldemann Vossen 2000). At present, all the Khoisan languages except Nama are spoken by small, disadvantaged minorities. Several languages have disappeared in the last few hundred years, and most of those remaining are under threat (see below).

## 2.2. Bantu languages

Most people in southern Africa speak a Bantu language as their first language. Those languages almost certainly came into the area with their speakers from the north a few thousand years ago. There are fairly reliable archaeological remains in the area of groups that probably spoke Bantu languages dating from around the beginning of our era. Details of the dispersion are not known. The present distribution of languages hints that there may have been several incursions from different directions. One has to assume at least two main migrations, one southwards along the west coast down to Angola and Namibia, and another along the east coast through Mozambique down to eastern South Africa. There are fairly large differences between Western and Eastern Bantu languages.

Speakers of Khoisan languages and speakers of Bantu languages probably lived in close contact for several hundred years before the Khoisan speakers were pushed out into the desert areas. One indication of this is that several Bantu languages in southern Africa have clicks. These consonants are not found in any of the Bantu languages farther north, nor are they attested in any other part of the world. The inescapable

conclusion is that the Bantu languages in which they are found acquired them from the Khoisan languages.

Bantu languages show many similarities in lexicon and grammar. A salient feature is noun inflection. All nouns have prefixes denoting singular and plural. This includes the names of the languages themselves, such as *se-Tswana*. When names of Bantu languages are used in European languages, the prefixes are not always included, so that both *Setswana* and *Tswana* can be found in English texts. In this paper, prefixes are included in parentheses, as in *(se)Tswana*.

Four major sub-groups of Bantu languages are found in the area: Southern, Eastern, Central, and Western. The most important Bantu languages belong to the Southern Bantu group. Within this group there are two major subgroups, Nguni and Sotho. The Nguni languages, spoken mainly along the west coast of South Africa, comprise the two largest languages in numbers of speakers, (isi)Xhosa and (isi)Zulu, which are very closely related. There are around 7 million speakers of (isi)Xhosa, mainly in Southwest Cape and Transkei. Around 9 million people in Zululand and Natal speak (isi)Zulu. The language (si)Ndebele in Zimbabwe, with around 1.5 million speakers, was separated from (isi)Zulu less than two hundred years ago and is sometimes regarded as an (isi)Zulu dialect, though it has a written standard of its own. To the Nguni group also belongs (si)Swati, used by almost the entire population, perhaps around 700,000 people, of Swaziland, and around 1 million people in South Africa.

The other group, the Sotho languages, dominate the central parts of the region. In the south, (se)Sotho is spoken by some 1.5 million people in Lesotho (around 90% of the population) and about 2.7 million in South Africa. In north-western Transvaal, there are almost 4 million speakers of (se)Pedi, sometimes called Northern Sotho in English. As for (isi)Ndebele, with 0.5 million speakers in Transvaal, it is sometimes regarded as a separate language, and sometimes as a dialect of (se)Pedi. (Confusingly, it is entirely different from its Nguni namesake (si)Ndebele in Zimbabwe, mentioned above.) The main language in eastern Transvaal is (se)Tswana, with 2.8 million people; the same language is spoken by the majority of people in Botswana, around 1.1 million. The Sotho languages all have different

written standards but are very closely related and mutually intelligible. In addition to the Nguni and Sotho languages, there are also two other major Southern Bantu languages in South Africa, (tshi)Venda with 0.7 million people, and (xi)Tsonga with 1.7 million. The latter is also spoken by more than a million people in Mozambique.

North of the Southern Bantu languages is the Eastern Bantu group. The only major language of this group that is found in our area is (chi)Shona, the largest language in Zimbabwe with between 6 and 7 million speakers. The Central Bantu languages, found in Zambia and northwards, are represented by only a few languages, with few speakers, in the Caprivi strip of Namibia and in northernmost Botswana. The Western Bantu languages, however, are quite significant in northern Namibia. The main part of the Namibian population is in fact found in the north, and a majority of them speak Western Bantu languages. The largest language, (oshi)Wambo, is used by around 700,000 people, just about half the population of Namibia.

In addition to the major languages we have mentioned, there are also a number of smaller Bantu languages in the region. How many there are is difficult to say, partly because of the problem of distinguishing between languages and dialects. The languages cited above all have a more or less fixed written standard, with an official orthography, dictionaries and some production of printed books. The smaller languages often exist only or almost only as spoken languages.

### 2.3. Indo-European Languages

Speakers of Indo-European languages first appeared in the region about 500 years ago. The first Europeans, the Portuguese, preferred to establish trading posts in present-day Angola and Mozambique. In the region under discussion here, the first important incursion was the Dutch establishment of the Cape colony in 1652. In spite of the fact that the colony originally included only a handful of Dutch speakers, and remained quite small for a long time, it eventually had a major linguistic impact on the region. The language spoken by the Dutch people in the colony changed rapidly and radically during the first 150 years, and was also adopted as a first language by a large number of Khoisan speakers. After the English occupation of

the Cape colony at the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, many of the descendants of the Dutch migrated towards the north and east, and in that process their language was spread over the greater part of present-day South Africa. This language was generally seen as a (debased) dialect of Dutch up until the mid 19<sup>th</sup> century; and the written standard used was Standard Dutch. However, in the latter part of the century a strong nationalistic movement among the Boers, the descendants of the Dutch, stressed the distinctiveness of the culture and speech of their group, and the idea was launched that there was or should be a language called Afrikaans, separate from Dutch, with its own written standard. For this development, see Deumert (2004). From the 1920s, this language has enjoyed official status and is used extensively in writing. Nowadays the number of Afrikaans speakers is over 6 million, most of whom are found in South Africa. Afrikaans is partly intelligible to speakers of Dutch, though the differences in lexicon, phonology and grammar are quite marked: much of the Dutch inflection-system has disappeared, for instance.

Since the British occupied the Cape colony, there has also been a resident population of English-speakers in southern Africa. The number has increased gradually, partly because of large scale immigration from the British Isles during certain periods, both to present-day South Africa and to present-day Zimbabwe. At present there are around 3.5 million people in South Africa and perhaps around 350,000 in Zimbabwe who speak English as their first language. Further, English is a second language for large parts of the population in the region, and has a dominant role in education, government and other areas (see below). The kind of English spoken natively in southern Africa is now widely recognised as one of the major regional variants of the language in the world, and there are several dictionaries and other descriptions devoted to it.

Finally, speakers of Indo-European languages have also come from the East. There was an important wave of immigration from India to Natal in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, and one of the consequences is that there are now around 2 million speakers of Hindi, Urdu, Gujarati and other Indic languages in South Africa. Also, there are a few hundred thousand speakers of non-Indo-European Indian languages such as Tamil. The use of

those languages is now declining (Mesthrie 1995). The English lexicon used by the Indian population has been studied in Mesthrie (1992).

### 3. Pidgin languages and urban jargons

In a multilingual area such as southern Africa, there is an obvious need for a lingua franca. At present, this function is most often fulfilled by English. Previously, Afrikaans was used for the same purpose in many areas. However, there have also developed a number of special languages with a similar function. The oldest one that we know of is Fanakalo or Fanagalo, a pidgin with a vocabulary mainly from (isi)Xhosa and a few other local Bantu languages. Fanakalo has the characteristics of a typical pidgin language: a reduced vocabulary, fairly strict SVO word order, almost no inflection, and non-obligatory markers for aspect and number. Fanakalo may have developed in the last decades of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, perhaps in the diamond mines at Kimberley (but there are other theories too, see Mesthrie 1989). It has been used mainly as a command language: white bosses needed a language in order to communicate with black labourers. For most of the 20<sup>th</sup> century the language was used mainly in the gold mines around Johannesburg, where the number of manual workers at times reached the hundreds of thousands, mostly young men from the countryside who were employed for a contract period of a year or two. In spite of the fact that the language was learnt by several million people, it was never in very general use. It had the stamp of a language for elementary communication between whites who issued orders and blacks who were to obey, and it was therefore mostly avoided in other types of encounter. Although it was in use to some extent as late as the early 1990s, and is therefore certainly still known by some older people, it does not seem that it is actually spoken anymore.

Other language varieties have developed in the black townships of the large South African cities, mainly Johannesburg and Pretoria. These are urban jargons mainly used by young people, especially males. They are very much identity markers in what is a very volatile environment, and accordingly tend to change rapidly and to exhibit many local variants. These codes contain elements both from English and Afrikaans, and from most

of the Bantu languages of South Africa. An early variety was called Tsotsitaal; it was originally clearly based on Afrikaans, but it changed to become much more like a Bantu language (see Janson 1984). It has now been supplanted by other varieties, such as Isicamtho, which seems to derive its main structure from the Nguni languages but contains many elements from English (see Childs 1997; Makhucker in Mesthrie, ed. 2002).

## 4. The linguistic situation in the modern states

### 4.1. South Africa

The Union of South Africa was formed in 1910 from several states dominated by the Boers; since 1960 the country has been called the Republic of South Africa. Up to the 1990s, the state was openly racist: the right to vote was accorded only to "whites", people of European origin. From 1948 to 1994, the official ideology was *apartheid*, separateness, meaning that the "races" were to be kept apart. In language policy, this meant that children were to be educated in the language of the group they were deemed to belong to. Elementary education was given in all major languages, but a disproportionate amount of resources went into schools for whites speaking Afrikaans and English.

After the abolition of apartheid and the election of 1994, the official policy changed completely. Language questions are now accorded high priority, and in the new constitution, adopted in 1996, there is a section on languages, the first sentence of which runs: "The official languages of the Republic are Sepedi, Sesotho, Setswana, siSwati, Tshivenda, Xitsonga, Afrikaans, English, isiNdebele, isiXhosa and isiZulu." Thus, South Africa now has 11 official languages. The constitution also requires the newly created Pan South African Language Board (PanSALB) to "promote and create conditions for the development and use" of all the official languages, and in addition a number of other languages, including sign language. The constitution also declares: "Everyone has the right to receive education in the official language or languages of their choice in public educational institutions where that education is reasonably practicable." The long-term consequences of these provisions cannot yet be estimated with any certainty.

Still, some trends can be discerned. First, the balance between Afrikaans and English has clearly shifted. The former regime promoted Afrikaans very forcibly, and the language itself was often seen as an instrument for the apartheid policy. (It should be remembered, though, that a large proportion of Afrikaans speakers are non-whites.) The Afrikaans language is now no longer the government's language of choice, and it is yielding to English in very many contexts. Secondly, the nine official Bantu languages have clearly acquired a more prominent position. In theory, these languages can be used both orally and in writing in all contexts, and there is no doubt that they are now used much more than before for official and semi-official purpose. The PanSALB also spends considerable resources on language development, such as the production of dictionaries. Thirdly, the constitutional right for parents to choose the official language of education for their children seems to be having the result that very many children are being educated in English. A large number of parents in South Africa believe that it is more advantageous for their children to attend an English-medium school than one where the first language of the parents is used, notwithstanding all the assertions to the contrary from educationalists and linguists. Similar trends can be seen in many other African countries. In South Africa, it is stronger than elsewhere because the fact that the apartheid regime enforced education in the Bantu languages has created a distaste for the educational use of the languages among the speakers themselves, a most unfortunate situation. For further discussion and additional references, see Alexander (2001). Mesthrie, ed. (2002) provides ample information about the linguistic situation in South Africa.

#### 4.2. Zimbabwe

In 1980, the former British colony of Southern Rhodesia became the republic of Zimbabwe. The policy in Southern Rhodesia had also been racist, and political influence was mainly restricted to the small English-speaking majority of European descent. However, independence did not lead to any radical shift in language policy. English is the official language, and it is widely used in most formal domains, both orally and in writing. In education, the first language of children is used as the medium of instruction for the

first few years, but later teaching is only in English. In theory, all citizens should know English, and in practice a fairly high proportion does have some competence in the language. Native speakers of English are few, and are rapidly becoming fewer because of ongoing emigration. The largest language by far is (chi)Shona, spoken by perhaps 75% of the population. The second largest is (si)Ndebele, spoken by perhaps 15%. In addition, there are speakers of about 15 other Bantu languages (several of which are also spoken in adjacent countries), and a very small group of Khoisan speakers. The history of this part of the world during the last 200 years is to a large extent a record of conflicts between speakers of (si)Ndebele and speakers of (chi)Shona. As late as the 1980s, Zimbabwe was shaken by something very close to a civil war between the two groups. In order for the state to survive, it has been necessary to avoid issues that might create tensions between the speakers of the two largest languages. For that reason, it would be unrealistic to promote the language of the majority, (chi)Shona, to a stronger position in relation to English, unless the same position were also awarded to (si)Ndebele. In practice, it has been most practical for the government to maintain English as much as possible. However, an unusual amount of corpus planning and development (by African standards) has been going on in (chi)Shona. A common written language has been created and is being propagated in a speech community that consisted of a number of quite divergent dialect clusters a number of decades ago. This work was started in colonial times; during the 1990s, a notable achievement was a large monolingual dictionary, one of the first for any Sub-Saharan African language (Chimhundu et al. 1996). Lexical work is being continued at the University of Zimbabwe. A monolingual dictionary for (si)Ndebele is underway. As for the minority languages, an excellent sociolinguistic survey is Hachipola (1996).

#### 4.3. Namibia

Namibia became independent in 1990 after having been under South African rule for seventy years; before that, it had been a German colony for a few decades. The country is sparsely populated, with around 1.5 million people in an area of more than 800,000 square kilometres. The only region that is relatively densely populated is the north.

The people who live there mainly speak Bantu languages; the largest one by far is (oshi)Wambo, a Western Bantu language which is spoken by almost exactly half the population of the country. Around ten other Bantu languages are also used, most by quite small populations. The second largest language of the country is Nama, also named Nama/Damara or Khokhoegowab. This Khoisan language is spoken by two ethnically and genetically clearly distinct groups, the Nama and the Damara. The reasons for this situation are not clear. Between five and ten other Khoisan languages are also spoken by small minorities in or close to the Kalahari desert in the east. Afrikaans is the first language of almost ten percent of the population. Many of these are descendants of people, classified as "coloureds" under South African rule, who migrated northwards in the nineteenth century and settled in central Namibia. Other Afrikaans speakers are people of European descent who arrived during the twentieth century. During the 1990s, some of those moved back to South Africa. There are also small groups of speakers of German and English. During the period of South African dominance, the official language policy was quite similar to that of South Africa, with the difference that English was hardly used at all. Afrikaans was the official language, employed in all formal domains, with the other languages being used as languages of instruction in primary education. Over large parts of the country, Afrikaans was also the spoken lingua franca. After independence, the official policy changed dramatically. The liberation movement, SWAPO, had long advocated the use of English, and when it came into power English was declared the official language. This policy has been pursued with remarkable vigour during the last decade. This is one of the few cases in modern times of a country changing from one official language to another more or less overnight. On the whole, it seems that the operation has been reasonably successful, although the situation deserves systematic study. The best source on the language situation is Maho (1998).

#### 4.4. Botswana

Botswana became an independent state in 1966. It too is a large sparsely populated country, with 1.5 million inhabitants occupying 600,000 square kilometres, most of it semi-desert. The great majority of the

people speak (se)Tswana, a Sotho Bantu language also spoken by more than 2 million people in South Africa. The language has been used in writing since the 1820s, when a British missionary started publishing a Bible translation. (In fact, early missionary work played an important part in the definition of the Sotho languages – see Janson/Tsonope 1991). In addition, around twenty other languages are found in Botswana. The biggest is (chi)Kalanga, closely related to (chi)Shona and spoken by around 100,000 in the north-east. The others are small Bantu and Khoisan languages spoken in the Kalahari desert and in the Okavango delta in the northwest (see Andersson/Janson 1997). Botswana was formed out of the British protectorate of Bechuanaland, and the state has retained many links to Britain in administration and education. English is the official language used in most official domains and as the language of instruction after primary school. It is also widely used in the rapidly expanding industry and business sector. (se)Tswana is often referred to as the national language, even in official documents. It is used rather often as a written medium by African language standards. In oral use it is completely dominant, including as a lingua franca. All children, including those belonging to minority groups, go to primary schools where (se)Tswana is the language of instruction, and the language is taught as a subject throughout the school system. It is necessary to master (se)Tswana, as this is the language used in shops, in clinics, by the police, and by municipal officers all over the country. Speakers of the smaller minority languages are tending to shift to (se)Tswana, so several of them may become extinct fairly soon (see Batibo/Smieja 2000). The most interesting language policy issue is the relationship between English and (se)Tswana. The position of English in the educational system has been strengthened in recent years. For several decades, the language of instruction was (se)Tswana, up to the fourth year of school, but this is now being changed. The long-term plan is to introduce English as the medium of instruction in the second year, a decision that has been taken with strong support from parents but against strong opposition from educationalists.

#### 4.5. Lesotho and Swaziland

Swaziland and Lesotho became independent at the same time as Botswana, having



also been British protectorates. Both countries are small in area and population, and both are quite homogeneous in terms of ethnic and linguistic affiliation. In Swaziland, the first language of almost the whole population is (si)Swati; in Lesotho, it is (se)Sotho. In both countries, the official language is English, and the relationship between it and the main indigenous languages is similar to that between English and (se)Tswana in Botswana. However, there are few detailed studies of the language situations in these two countries.

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## 200. Madagascar and the Comoros/Madagaskar und die Komoren

1. Madagascar
2. The Comoros
3. Literature (selected)

### 1. Madagascar

Madagascar (area, 587,000 sq. km.; population approximately 15 millions) and the Comoros (2,236 sq. km., with a population of about 600,000 for the four islands), lie to the East of Africa, the 'Big Island' being separated from the continent by the Mozambique Channel. In spite of their geographic proximity, these territories have very different histories and demographic and sociolinguistic situations.

Little is known about the ancient inhabitants of this island; a subject of some controversy. They were probably Indonesian, and Malagasy is an Austronesian language, even though the Malagasy civilisation and culture arose from the coming together of peoples from the East Indies and the East coast of Africa. Nevertheless, its linguistic unity is not in doubt; although some twenty different ethnic groups ('karazabe') can be distinguished, even the most distant dialects share about 60% of their vocabulary. Mutual comprehension is further facilitated by the fact that one dialect, *Merina* (the dialect of the dominant group in the pre-colonial era), has long been codified and put to wider

use thanks to the efforts of English missionaries; it is even portrayed, somewhat abusively as we shall see, as 'Official Malagasy'.

French colonisation began in 1896 and, like everywhere else it was marked by the imposition of French as the official language, particularly in the educational system. As in many other former French colonies, independence (gained in 1960) did not radically alter the situation. The main turning-point came in 1975 with the coming to power, after a coup d'état, of D. Ratsiraka who put the country on a socialist path and broke off with French cooperation. One of the major elements of this revolution was the choice of Malagasy as the medium of education.

Effectively, this policy of 'Malagasisation', adopted on the hoof, imposed the use of so-called 'Official' Malagasy, Merina, on teachers who, for the most part, had been educated in French; moreover, while the use of Malagasy dialects was permitted in the early stages of elementary education, it was not clear when or how the transition to Official Malagasy should occur. The establishment of a 'Common Malagasy' (*Malagasy Iombonana*) ran into difficulty in so far as the different dialect groups saw little reason to give into each other. In 1986, President Ratsiraka put an end to the experiment by deciding to return Madagascar to the French-speaking community. The situation of Madagascar can therefore be seen as consisting of two 'nested' diglossias (cf. Rambelo 1981): French/Official Malagasy on the one hand and Official Malagasy/Malagasy dialects on the other.

## 2. The Comoros

The archipelago, lying across the Mozambique Channel, consists of four islands: Njazidja or Grande Comore, Nzwani (Anjouan), Mwali (Mohéli) and Mayotte; however, only the first three form part of the Federal Islamic Republic of Comoros since the fourth (Mayotte) declined independence in the referendum of 1974, becoming instead a Territorial Collectivity of France. The total population of the archipelago is in the region of 600,000 inhabitants.

Some facts are known about the demographic history of the islands: the earliest inhabitants were African, but the Arabs settled from the 10<sup>th</sup> to the 13<sup>th</sup> century and Malagasy influence was also significant later on. The latter influence is particularly

strong in Mayotte, where a dialect of Malagasy origin, *Kibushi*, is in use. Comorian (classed in the G40 group of Bantu languages) has four dialects, one for each island: *Shingazidja*, *Shimwali*, *Shinzwani* and *Shimaore*. About 70% of basic vocabulary is shared and mutual intelligibility between the dialects is good. *Shingazidja* has on its own about as many speakers as the other three dialects put together. Recent years have seen the emergence, particularly due to radio, of a common variety, *Shimasiwa*, but specific local differences remain evident.

The official languages are French and Arabic, but they have a limited role in everyday communication; for example, government proceedings are published in French, but national radio broadcasts in Comorian. Arabic, the language of religion, is known only by a small minority, but the significant development of educational networks supported by certain Arab states gives it a position of rapidly increasing importance. French still maintains an essential role, particularly in state administration, but it is threatened by the grave crisis in the state education system, the only vehicle for the dissemination of this language, and above all by the rising influence of Islam.

Education is conducted either in Arabic (reading of the Koran) or, in primary and secondary schools, in French. Comorian is used marginally, but increasingly, either in the Arabic alphabet or in Roman script.

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## 201. The Indian Ocean / Der Indische Ozean

1. Réunion
2. Mauritius
3. Seychelles
4. Literature (selected)

The Creole-speaking archipelagos of the Mascarenes (Réunion, Mauritius and Rodrigues, the last two islands forming a single State) and of the Seychelles lie between the Equator and the Tropic of Capricorn. These islands were colonised by France between 1665 (occupation of Bourbon, later named Réunion) and the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century (established settlement on Rodrigues). Colonisation proceeded from one island to the other: Bourbon (1665), Ile de France, now Mauritius, (1721), Seychelles (1770), Rodrigues (1804). This circumstance explains the similarities which obtain between the Creole languages of this zone.

According to the best established theories, the Creoles of the Indian Ocean result from the untutored acquisition of earlier varieties of French introduced by the settlers of the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries. The historical circumstances explain the closest relation between the Mauritian and Rodriguan Creoles; Seychellois, though quite close to Mauritian, nevertheless shares some features with Reunionnais. At the same time, there are various original and specific innovations which distinguish the Creoles of this zone from other French-based Creoles (e.g. *bane* as a plural marker or *zot* as the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> person plural personal / possessive form).

The inhabitants of the two archipelagos are very largely native speakers of these Creoles (Mauritius and Rodrigues, 1,200,000; Réunion, 780,000; Seychelles, 85,000). All of these territories conform to a fairly classical diglossic model, the 'high code' being either French, as in Réunion (an Overseas Département of France), or English, as in the other island, which became colonies of the English crown in 1814. While the status of French is reduced in the Seychelles, it remains important in Mauritius where English, without being *de jure* an official language, fulfils this function in practice, but remains largely a written language whereas French has a conspicuous presence in the spoken medium.

The only case of a significant evolution in the status of a Creole is represented by the Seychelles where in 1979 the Creole was declared the national language and first official language (above English and French).

In Réunion, French is of course the official language, even though Creole is the everyday mode of communication for a large portion of the population. In Mauritius, the official texts do not explicitly confer this status on English but it enjoys this status in practice. Except in the case of Mauritius and Rodrigues, which form a single State, the different situations must be examined separately.

1. Réunion. French is the language of all official and/or public situations (education, justice, administration, etc.); nevertheless a more open attitude towards Creole can be discerned in some circles such as broadcasting (independent radio stations), religion or cultural productions (theatre, music groups). The question of taking Creole into account in education is also on the agenda.

2. Mauritius. The situation is complicated by two factors: firstly, the presence of two colonial languages which have the status of high codes, English and French, the latter retaining an important place in education (taught as a foreign language from the start of elementary school), the media and oral communication in the urban areas; secondly, the presence of 'Oriental' languages (Indian languages but also Chinese) in so far as 70% of the population is of Indian origin and affective ties with India remain strong. The actual use of these languages is nevertheless low except for Chinese (within a Chinese community which is quite small) and for Bhojpuri (a language of Indian origin derived from the language known by this name in India, but distinguished from it by prolonged contact with Creole). Though little used, the Indian languages have a symbolic importance, particularly with regard to their presence in education.

3. Seychelles. This is the only country in which a policy of promoting the local Creole has been pursued. In 1981 it was decided to make Creole the first language taught in schools, but also the medium of instruction

in the early stages, with English taking over subsequently as the main medium of instruction and French taught later as a foreign language. This reform was put into practice, but because of its perceived link with the authoritarian regime which adopted it, it has now been called into question in the context of the return to democracy.

The modest but positive developments in the status of these Creoles represent a step towards different forms of progressive planning of diglossic situations.

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## 202. South Asia / Südasien

1. Introduction
2. Linguistic context
3. Linguistic repertoire
4. Contact languages
5. South Asian English
6. Language variation
7. Areal characteristics
8. Writing systems
9. Language minorities
10. Language policies
11. Language standardization
12. Language conflicts and movements
13. Language shift and death
14. Conclusion
15. Literature (selected)

### 1. Introduction

South Asia (hereafter SA) is a subcontinent of seven sovereign states: Bangladesh (130 m), India (1006.8 m), Nepal (25 m), Pakistan (156.0 m), Sri Lanka (19 m), Bhutan (2.03 m) and Maldives (300 thousand). The total population of these seven states adds up to 1339.13 million: about 22% of the world's current population.\*

In sociolinguistic literature, SA has been described within two perspectives: first, as a region that represents shared characteristics of AREAL features, revealing vital underlying cultural, linguistic, social, and historical unities within the subcontinent's diversity (see 7.); and second, as a region of conten-

tious pluralism along daunting linguistic, religious, ideological, political, and ethnic lines, and often erupting in what is termed in SA English its 'fissiparous tendencies'.

These tendencies are seen in the diverse currents and conflicts – political, religious, linguistic, caste, class, etc. SA includes nation-states representing a range of governments from democratic and secular traditions to extreme military dictatorships and monarchies. It represents the world's major religions; for example, India has followers of Hinduism, Islam, Christianity, Sikhism, Buddhism, and Jainism, as well as a small number of Zoroastrians and a diminishing number of Jews. Characterizing the region – as an area rife with divisiveness and contention, or as a subcontinent with binding strands of underlying unity – is thus a choice partly determined by the researchers' agenda and interpretations.

In linguistic scholarship, SA's conflicts and diversity, along with their consequences, have traditionally been emphasized to serve political and/or ideological goals, particularly during the several centuries of colonial period.

### 2. Linguistic context

Four major language families are represented in the subcontinent: Indo-Aryan,

Dravidian, Tibeto-Burman, and Munda (see table 202.1).

These language families found across the subcontinent form a linguistic convergence (*Sprachbund*) of typologically distinct languages, Dravidian and Indo-Aryan. This convergence is a consequence of centuries of shared political, cultural and literary histories. There is also a significant impact from Sanskrit, Persian and English on literary creativity and ideologies in SA, processes respectively termed Sanskritization, Persianization and Englishization (for Englishization, see Kachru 1994, 533–542).

The language policies (see 10.) in each nation-state of the subcontinent embody linguistic pluralism to various degrees. However, the one language which now has both presence and status in the language policy of all the states is English (see 5. for details, see, e. g. Singh/Manoharan 1997 for India; Rahman 1996 for Pakistan; and Gurung 1997 for Nepal).

### 3. Linguistic repertoire

The region is a vibrant case study of functional multilingualism of two types: societal and *individual*. The societal linguistic phenomenon is evident across the subcontinent in major linguistic enterprises and recognition of multilingualism. We see this, for example, in the following:

1. *Educational Policy Planning*: In principle almost all the status of SA have pluralistic language policies, varying from Sri Lanka's 2 to India's 22 "scheduled" languages. In India Hindi has the status of an "official" language and English an "associate" official language. Three Language Formula – the study of regional language, Hindi and English – is recommended for education, and 47 languages are used in primary education. The Three Language Formula, however, had only partial success. In Bhutan, the smallest state, 4 languages are used in some contexts (e. g. radio; for Pakistan see Rahman 1996, 261–269).

2. *Literary traditions and creativity*: A majority of South Asian languages have centuries of rich literary traditions, these include *South Asian* Persian and *South Asian* English literatures. The nativization and acculturation of English in SA has been extensively studied within the paradigm of bilinguals' creativity (see B. Kachru 1994, 528–542; 2005).

Tab. 202.1: Major language families in South Asia

Bangladesh		Bhutan		India			Maldives		Nepal		Pakistan			Sri Lanka	
Indo-Aryan		Tibeto-Burman		Dravidian	Indo-Aryan	Tibeto-Burman	Munda	Indo-Aryan	Indo-Aryan	Tibeto-Burman	Dravidian	Indo-Aryan	Indo-Iranian	Dravidian	Indo-Aryan
Bengali		Dzongkha		Tamil Tulu Telugu Malayalam Kannada	Assamese Bengali Gujarati Hindi Kashmiri Marathi Oriya Punjabi Sindhi Urdu	Bodo Naga	Mundari Santhali	Divehi	Nepali	Newari	Brahui	Gujarti Punjabi Sindhi Urdu	Baluchi Pushto	Tamil	Sinhala

3. *Media*: The broadcasting services (radio, television) and print media use a wide variety of languages and dialects: All India Radio (AIR, also known as *Akashvani*, Sanskrit for 'voice from space') broadcasts in over 71 languages. Indian Television (*Doordarshan*, Sanskrit 'distant vision') began as a pilot project in 1959, and it started regular broadcasts in 1965 and color in 1982. India produces films in 13 languages (Bhatia 2000, 44). The Pakistan Broadcasting Corporation (Islamabad) has daily broadcasts in over 24 languages (home service) and 15 (external service). This language diversity is present in Bangladesh, Bhutan (English, Sharchopkha, Dzongkha and Nepali) and in Sri Lanka. The announcers use local varieties of English. This range of multilingualism and multiculturalism is present in print media too.

Individuals' linguistic repertoires may comprise several dialects, styles and closely related languages, or even languages from two or more language families, e. g. Sanskrit, one or more of the Dravidian languages, and Arabic.

#### 4. Contact languages

The major contact languages are determined by function, as well as by the interlocutors. English continues to dominate pan-regional administration and higher education. At another level, Bengali, Hindustani (a demotic variety of Hindi-Urdu advocated by M. K. Gandhi as the national language of independent India), Hindi, Urdu, Tamil, or Sinhala may be used in such contexts, along with English-based pidgins and several other languages (see e. g. Hosali 2001). A number of languages, termed *Bazar languages*, have developed as market codes of communication heard (and now documented) at major centers of pilgrimages (e. g. Prayag, Haridwar, Puri, Tirupati, Amarnath, *dargah* of Khwaja Moinuddin Chishti in Ajmer, Pashupatinath Temple in Kathmandu) and at centers of tourism (e. g. *Bambaiya Hindi* Bombay [now Mumbai] Hindi), *Kalkatiya Hindi* (Calcutta [now Kolkata] Hindi), *Punjabi Hindustani* or *Karachi Hindustani*).

The colonial transplanted languages have historically played a variety of important roles. The types of such languages include: those that have deep impact in *depth* of penetration and *range* of functions (e. g. Persian

in Bangladesh, India and Pakistan, and English [see below]), and those used in some communities marked because of intermarriage, religious conversion, and specific identities, such as Anglo-Indians (Pakistanis) and Burghers (the Dutch word *burger* in Sri Lanka indicates a person of European descent (see 6)).

The other colonial languages are French in what was called French India (Chander-nagore, Karikal, Mahe, Pondicherry and Yanaon), and Portuguese in Goa, a Portuguese colonial possession until 1961. However, their impact was highly limited.

#### 5. South Asian English

There is an educated South Asian Variety of English (SAE) with a long history and presence in all of the regions. The antecedents of English in SA go back to 1600, when Elizabeth I granted a charter to London merchants, providing them a monopoly of trade with what was called 'East India'. The East India Company's influence culminated in 1859, when direct British rule was established in several parts of the subcontinent. The controversial Minute of Lord Macaulay was finally passed in 1835. It gave the English language a status in language policy and use in education and administration (for a critical and insightful discussion with relevant references, see Cohn 1985). In the use of SAE, there is a continuum in English users' competence: SAE educated variety, mesolectal varieties (e. g. *Anglo-Indian English*, *Babu English*, *Burgher English* (Sri Lanka), and basilectal varieties (e. g. *Bearer English*, *Boxwallah English*, *Butler English*, see Kachru 1994 and 2005).

SA has the largest number of English-users in the world, whose functional competence in English ranges from almost ambilingualism to minimal competence on the cline of bilingualism. India, whose constitution recognized English as an "associate" official language, has an estimated population of 333 million English-users. In its first major post-independence language policy decision, India gave English a lease of life until 1965 (for a "first hand" account of a political commentator, see Nayar 1969, "Bilingualism", 30–69). However, the Official Languages Act of 1963 lifted that time constraint (for profiles, discussion and references for various nation states in SA, see e. g. Baumgardner 1993; 1996; Islam 1975;

B. Kachru 1994; 2005; Kandiah 1991; Malla 1977; Rahman 1991; K. Sridhar 1989; McArthur 1992).

## 6. Language variation

The north Indian saying, *pāc kos par pānī badle bis kos par bhāshā*, “the water changes after every ten miles, and language after every forty,” aptly characterizes the variational dynamics of languages and dialects within the subcontinent. The tradition of linguistic study of this phenomenon in SA goes back to the colonial administrator and linguist George A. Grierson (1851–1941). In later variational studies, done by European and South Asian scholars, the focus shifted towards caste and religion. In the post-1950s, attention has also been paid to diglossic and triglossic contexts, and language contact and change (for references regarding this period, see Shapiro/Shiffman 1981).

## 7. Areal characteristics

There is a long scholarly tradition of characterizing SA as a *linguistic, sociolinguistic, and literary area*. This TRI-MODEL approach (see B. Kachru 1992) captures shared canons of cultural and literary traditions, diffusion of various socio-religious movements and typologies of language contact, convergence and change at phonetic, phonological, lexical, syntactic, morphological and discursive levels (see e.g. Emeneau 1956; Chatterji 1963; Khubchandani 1991; Masica 1976; D’souza 1986/1992; B. Kachru 1992; Y. Kachru 1992a; 1996; Mukherji 1981; Nagendra 1959; Pandit 1972; Sridhar 1981; Weber 1852).

## 8. Writing systems

All scripts used in SA, except Persio-Arabic and Roman, are derived from Brahmi, a script perhaps itself derived from an ancient Semitic (Aramaic) script or from the symbols found on Harappan seals, used in Indian orthography in about the 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. B.C.E.

There are eight writing systems in addition to Roman and Persio-Arabic: Bengali-Assamese-Manipuri; Devanagari; Gujarati; Gurumukhi; Kannada-Telugu; Malayalam; Oriya; and Tamil.

The complexity of the practical use of the scripts is evident when one considers the minority languages, particularly those termed

*tribal languages* (for India see Abbi 1997). A variety of political, historical, and religious factors have resulted in multiple scripts for some languages, with serious educational and other consequences. Multiple scripts have continued because they are major constructs for articulating religious and cultural identities. For example, Kashmiri (estimated 3 million speakers), is written in four scripts: Devanagari, Perso-Arabic, Roman and the now almost extinct Sharada; Konkani (estimated 1570108 speakers, including its varieties Kudubi [or Kudumbi] and Malwani), spoken primarily in the former Portuguese colony of Goa, is written in Devanagari, Kannada, Malayalam, and Roman scripts; Sindhi (estimated 2044389 speakers in India including Kachchi [or Kachchhi]; and 15 million in Pakistan (Rahman 1996, 11) is written in Perso-Arabic (mostly in Pakistan), and also in Devanagari (in India); and Santali (4332511 speakers), a tribal language, in five scripts. In some cases, the scripts represent idealized “norms” with which the spoken language – due to language change – does not match. Thus, the scripts, whether one (as in Bengali and Kannada) or multiple (as in Kashmiri and Konkani) have to establish a grid that matches with the Sanskrit alphabet. In the Oriya script (estimated 23021528 speakers), for example, a distinction is made between /s/, /š/, and /ś/. In Kashmiri, as written in Devanagari and Sharada scripts, a distinction is made between the unaspirated voiced plosives and aspirated voiced plosives, for instance, /g/ and /g<sup>h</sup>/, /d/ and /d<sup>h</sup>/, and /ḍ/ and /ḍ<sup>h</sup>/, /b/ and /b<sup>h</sup>/, which are not distinguished in the spoken language.

The question is: why not a unified script? That would no doubt contribute to administrative convenience, to technological efficiency in printing and to literacy. However, SA has a long and rich literary tradition in all its major languages. A change of a script entails recreating that tradition and its associations and articulation of identities – Hindu, Muslim, Sikh, Christian and so on – in another writing system, perhaps with different socio-cultural and ideological associations. In some cases, the scripts have acquired religious and cultural sanctity, as in the Devanagari (“script of the city of the gods”) for some Hindus; Perso-Arabic for Muslims; and Gurumukhi (the script of the Sikh scriptures, the *Adi Granth* and later the *Granth Sahib*) for Sikhs.

## 9. Language minorities

There is no exaggeration in characterizing SA a region of minority language speakers. These languages have contributed in maintaining the traditional cultures of SA. The salience of minority language speakers is evident even in those states which were carved out in India, for example, on the basis of “majority languages” in the 1960s. These reorganized linguistic states include, among the Indo-Aryan languages, Assamese-speaking Assam; Bengali-speaking West Bengal; Panjabi-speaking Punjab; Gujarati-speaking Gujarat; and Marathi-speaking Maharashtra; among the Dravidian languages, Telugu-speaking Andhra Pradesh; Tamil-speaking Tamilnadu; Kannada-speaking Karnataka; and Malayalam-speaking Kerala.

The rationale for the reorganization of India’s states on a linguistic basis was the numerical dominance of speakers of a particular language. The implementation of this policy was very controversial but powerful pressure groups prevailed to re-organize Andhra Pradesh on a linguistic basis, thus initiating a trend. This policy is not uniformly successful. A major limitation is that there continue to be several State/Union territories in India where the combined total of “minority” language speakers either exceeds that of the “majority” speakers or is at least numerically significant. These speakers of the so-called “minority” or “minor” languages are thus marginalized. The table 202.2 is illustrative:

Tab. 202.2: Indian states and numerical strength of languages

State/Union	Major langs. %	Minor langs. %
Andhra Pradesh	Telugu (85.13)	14.87
Jammu and Kashmir	Kashmiri (52.73)	47.27
Karnataka	Kannada (65.69)	34.31
Manipur	Manipuri (62.36)	37.64
Nagaland	Ao (13.94)	86.06
Punjabi	Punjabi(84.35)	15.12
Andaman & Nikobar	Bengali (69.59)	30.41
Chandigarh	Hindi (55.11)	44.89

## 10. Language policies

It was Macaulay’s (1800–1859) Minute of 1835 (see 5) that introduced a language policy for all of British India (which then included what is now Pakistan and Bangladesh). This Minute sparked a debate that has not yet abated. The debate has two major perspectives:

*The Occidental* (Anglicist) and *Oriental* (see Dua 1985; B. Kachru 1982, Rahman 1996; for an insightful critique, see Cohn 1984).

## 11. Language standardization

There are four major areas of language standardization that continue to receive some attention through government and non-government agencies and individual researchers: (a) orthographies for non-literary languages, especially the tribal languages, and graphemic simplification of the scripts for modern technological adaptation; (b) terminological uniformity;(c) register expansion; and (d) modernization (see Hasnain 1995; K. Sridhar/Y. Kachru 2000 Krishnamurti/Mukherji 1985; Krishnamurti 2000).

## 12. Language conflicts and movements

The language movements are the result of ideological, political, cultural, religious, and identity-related tensions, which often erupt in acts of violence, destruction of property, individual cases of self-immolation and in one case, even secession – i. e. Bangladesh. These conflicts have arisen between speakers of Sinhala and Tamil in Sri Lanka; among speakers of Urdu and Panjabi and Pashtu and Sindhi in Pakistan; and among Nepali, Newari, and Bhojpuri speakers in Nepal. The primary reasons for such conflicts are: linguistic insecurity of the minority language speakers, fear of loss of language identity by accepting another language as dominant language (as Hindi in South India and West Bengal; Urdu in Bangladesh and India (for Urdu in India, see Ahmad 1996, 191–220, and for an extensive study of Urdu literary culture and history see, Faruqi 2001), threats to the power structure, and attitudes towards other languages (see for India, Annamalai 1979; for Pakistan, Rahman 1996; for the earlier history of Ceylon, now Sri Lanka, Ruberu 1962; Tambia 1967;



see also relevant chapters in Baumgardner 1996).

The language conflicts are generally incited by and related to the agendas of politicians who use language issues to carve out their constituencies and establish their "vote banks", particularly during election times.

### 13. Language shift and death

SA is the world's fourth largest repository of languages, after Papua New Guinea, Indonesia, and Nigeria. The prediction is that during this century the world will witness the extinction of over 50% of the estimated 6000 existing languages. The subcontinent will have its share in this doomsday prediction. The speakers of "moribund" languages in the region are already showing signs of uttering their last words. For example, in India, Agariya has 98 speakers (1961 census); Andamanese, 17; Angika 473 or 502 (1971); in Pakistan, Brahui 1400, Baskarik 40000; Kati 5000; in Bangladesh Mru 2000; in Nepal, Sherpa 140000; Thakuli 7000.

There are several reasons for this language death, shift, and coma.

These include language and dialect *leveling* due to language policies and planning, and in the spread of bi/multilingualism in official and national languages. In India, the number of bilinguals in Hindi increased from 38% in 1971 to almost 42.88% in 1981. This trend has continued in the subsequent decades and by now Hindi is the medium of communication of over 56 percent of the population. The language planners in SA countries have also adopted language reductionist policies in their approaches to language planning; therefore, a significant number of languages and dialects are being marginalized. The Eighth Schedule of India's Constitution, which relates to language, is essentially based on *language reduction* and *language hierarchy*. These policies are flawed on several counts, including conceptualization, hierarchical identification, functional isolation and marginalization (see for example, Gupta, Abbi and Aggarwal 1995). The debate on this issue has just begun in SA, as it has in the wider context of the world's languages (see Crystal 2000, Dixon 1997, Krauss 1992, and B. Kachru 2001; for specific studies on SA see Abbi 1997; Khubchandani 1997; Ish-tiaque 1999; Y. Kachru 1992b/Phillipson/Skutnabb Kangas 1996).

### 14. Conclusion

What generalizations can one make from the sociolinguistic context of SA? First, that SA's characterization as the "Tower of Babel" is a construct that has now become cliché. When we consider SA's population, with its cultural, linguistic, and ideological diversity in varied political systems of the nation-states, the region has considerable strands of underlying unity. Second, there are shared civilizational and functional contexts that give the region many areas of overlapping identities. Third, the region has three levels of linguistic contexts (*sociolinguistic, linguistic and literary*), and each level is functionally vital: a network of minority languages that provide secure socio-cultural roots, a majority language of a state or region that provides a pan-regional language (with many varieties) for communication (Urdu in Pakistan, Hindi-Hindustani in India, Nepali, and Hindustani in Nepal), and the controversial but widely expanding language of communication, English, in its multiple variational incarnations – mixed or unmixed with the traditional regional languages – for national and international communication. English has extensive pan-subcontinental presence in media (for references and discussion, see Bhatia 2000), and in bilinguals' literary creativity (see B. Kachru 1990; 1992, Part V: 301–352). It is, however, true that the English language has generated considerable agony and immense ecstasy in every part of this vast subcontinent; but, in spite of the agony, English continues to expand its functional range.

We see that sociolinguistic research has generally viewed SA as a "problem" area. There is now – particularly after the 1970s – a critical reevaluation of the theoretical and methodological paradigms that are adopted in such research. There is a search for theoretical insights that are appropriate for the contexts of traditional multilingual societies. The questions asked entail a new direction (see e.g. Canagarajah 1999; Dasgupta 1993; Dhillon 1994; B. Kachru 1996; Y. Kachru 1994; Krishnaswamy/Burde 1998; Pandharipande 1992; Parakrama 1995; Singh 1998; Sridhar 1994). This direction in research is evident in recent studies on, for example, (a) speech acts and style types, (b) code-mixing and switching, (c) contact linguistics, (d) comparative onomastics, (e) language and religion, (f) secret

codes and (g) codes used at places of pilgrimages. It is, however, generally agreed that SA continues to be an as yet unexplored gold mine for sociolinguistic research, both theoretical and applied.

\* (Figures have been rounded to the nearest million. This particular figure was taken from the International Programs Center web page:

<http://www.census.gov/cgi-bin/ipc/popclockw>. The most up to date statistic is 6144488802.)

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## 203. China/China

1. Overview of languages and their distribution
2. The constitutional status of languages in China
3. Freedom of languages
4. The growing role of the Han language
5. Outline of language reform policy
6. Literature (selected)

### 1. Overview of languages and their distribution

China is a multi-national state with 56 officially acknowledged nationalities, but the ethnic identity of about 1 mio. people still remains to be determined. According to the fourth census of July, 1990, China's total population was 1 133 682 501 (1 246 871 951, July 1999 est.; cf. www.odci...) – Taiwan, Hong Kong and Macao not included (*Chinas Bevölkerung im Spiegel der Zahlen* 1991, 41), 91.96% belonging to the nationality of the Han, as the Chinese call themselves. The 55 remaining nationalities, the so-called national minorities, most of which have their own language, make up only 8.04% of the total, but the areas where minority peoples live in relatively compact communities make up 60% of the country's land total. Between the third census in 1982 and the fourth census in 1990, there was an increase of the Han Chinese population of 10.80% and of the national minorities of 35.52% (*Chinas Bevölkerung im Spiegel der Zahlen* 1991, 42).

The Han language (abroad called "Chinese") plays the dominant role in the political, economic and cultural life of both the People's Republic and Taiwan. In China it is the most important means of communication between speakers of different languages. Its standard form Putonghua ("Common Speech") enables communication also between Han dialect speakers (see below section 4.). Han is the official language of the Chinese state (Guowuyuan 1956). Of the more than 50 non-Han languages spoken in China, Zhuang, – in the south with more than 15.49 mio. speakers – is the largest one; Loba with about 2312 speakers in Tibet is the smallest one (*China – Zahlen und Fakten: 56 Nationalitäten* 1992, 3). The chart of the 10 largest national minorities shows their growth (figures of the national census

of July 1, 1953, July 1, 1964, July 1, 1982, and July 1, 1990), their geographical locations and their language situation (see Tab. 203.1).

### 2. The constitutional status of languages in China

The different constitutions of the People's Republic, which describe China as a "unitary multi-national state", lay down the status of the national minorities as being "equal", having "the freedom to use and develop their own spoken and written languages" (art. 3 of the const. of 1954, art. 4 of the const. of 1982) – yet the const. of 1975 does not mention the freedom of developing their languages (see below point 3.). Comparing the different constitutions one can see the changing attitude of the central government towards national minorities: While the const. of 1978 (art. 4) contains the romantic vision, "There should be unity and fraternal love among the nationalities and they should help and learn from each other", the 1982 text (art. 4) unemotionally strengthens state authority over the minorities: "The state protects the lawful rights and interests of the minority nationalities and upholds and develops the relationship of equality, unity and mutual assistance among all of China's nationalities". After Zhou Enlai's speech of 1957 "Some Questions of Policy Towards Nationalities in our Country", all constitutions pointed out the necessity of combating "big-nation chauvinism, mainly Han chauvinism" and "local national chauvinism" (const. 1982, preamble). This refers to the danger of racial discrimination and national fragmentation (Zhou Enlai 1957, 248; *Zhongguo minzu* 1983). Since the foundation of the People's Republic in 1949 the privilege is granted by the government for certain minorities that live in relatively compact communities to have "regional autonomy". In China today there are autonomous administrative units at different levels of the state. At the provincial level there are "Autonomous Regions" (A. R.), the names of which designate the main ethnic-linguistic group in the region: The Inner *Mongolian* A. R. (since 1974; 1969 drastic reduction of territory); the Guangxi *Zhuang* A. R. (1958); the *Tibet* A. R. (1965); the Ningxia

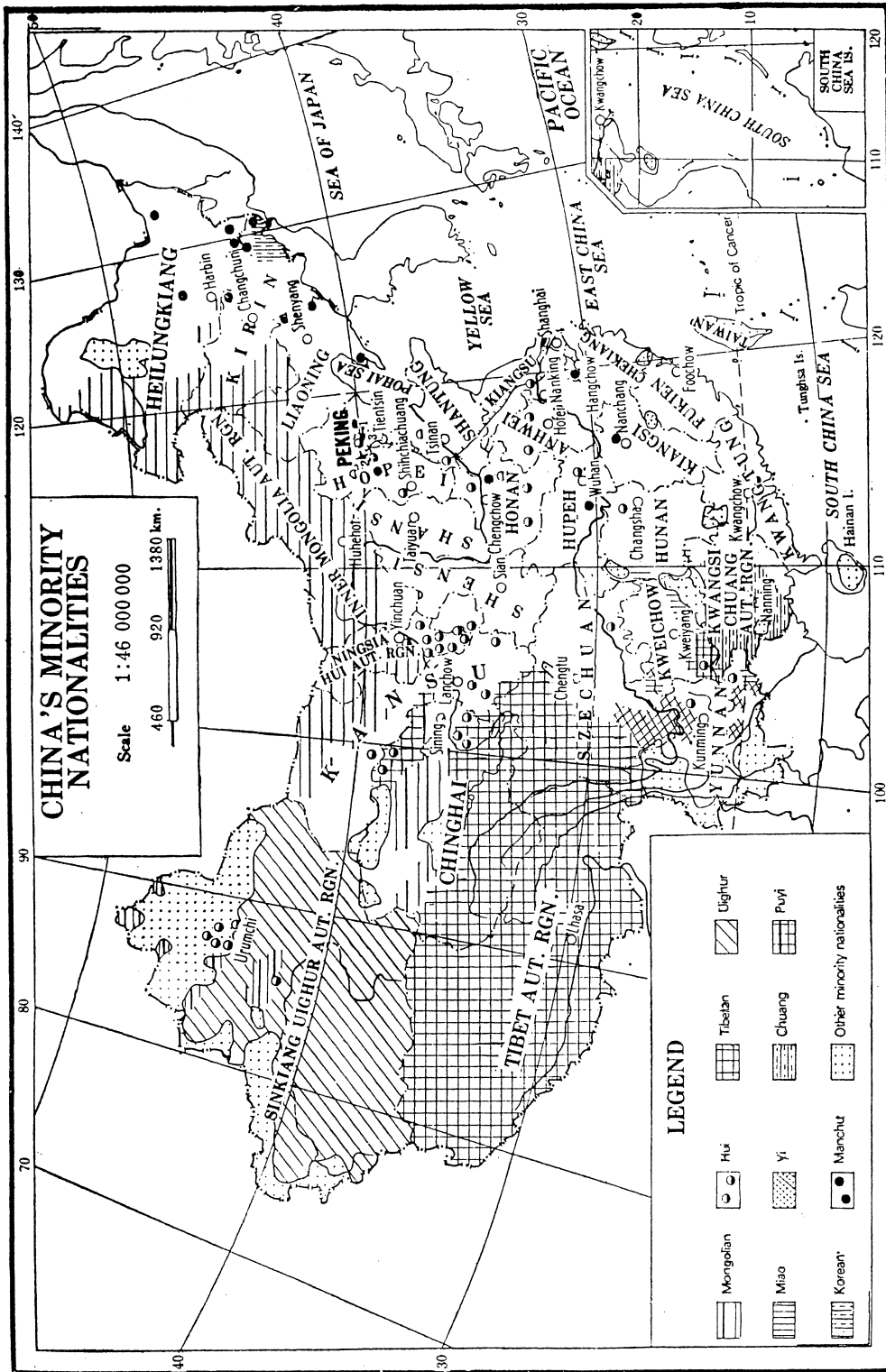


Fig. 203.1: An outline of Chinese geography (Chung Chih 1978, 23)

Tab. 203.1: China's 10 largest national minorities (Song Zhenhua/Liu Ling 1984, 405; Beijing Review 1983/21, 19; 1984/25, 23; China – Zahlen & Fakten: 56 Nationalitäten 1992, 3; The booklet “China – Zahlen & Fakten” refers to three further large national minorities, namely Tujia: 5.70 mio., Dong: 2.51 mio., and Yao: 2.13 mio. people.)

National Minority	Population (millions)				Areas of Distribution	Spoken and Written Languages
	1953	1964	1982	1990		
Zhuang	6.61	8.39	13.38	15.49	Guangxi, Yunnan, Guangdong, Guizhou	Zhuang; bilinguals: Zhuang + Han (few); Zhuang hieroglyphs
Manchu	2.49	2.70	4.30	9.82	Liaoning, Jilin, Heilongjiang, Hebei, Beijing, Inner Mongolia	Han (almost all), Manchu (very few); Han characters, Manchu writing not for practical use
Hui	3.56	4.47	7.22	8.60	Ningxia, Gansu, Henan, Xinjiang, Yunnan, Qinghai, Beijing, etc.	Han; Hanna characters
Miao	2.51	2.78	5.03	7.40	Guizhou, Yunnan, Hunan, Guangxi, Sichuan, Guangdong, Hubei	Miao; bilinguals: Miao + Han (many); mainly use Han characters
Uygur (Uighur)	3.64	4.00	5.96	7.21	Xinjiang, Hunan (Taoyuan County)	Uygur; bilinguals: Uygur + Kazak (few) in Xinjiang; in Hunan adaptation of Han; Uygur writing
Yi	3.25	3.38	5.45	6.57	Sichuan, Yunnan, Guizhou, Guangxi	Yi; bilinguals: Yi + Han (one half) in Yunnan and Guizhou; own writing system under development since 1956
Mongolian	1.46	1.97	3.41	4.81	Inner Mongolia, Xinjiang, Liaoning, Jilin, Heilongjiang, Qinghai, etc.	Mongolian; bilinguals: Mongolian + Han (some); traditional Mongolian writing
Tibetan	2.78	2.50	3.88	4.59	Tibet, Sichuan, Qinghai, Gansu, Yunnan	Tibetan; bilinguals: Tibetan + Han (some); some in Sichuan adopted Qiang or Jiarong; Tibetan writing
Bouyei	1.25	1.35	2.12	2.55	Guizhou – south-west, south-east, and at Zunyi	Bouyei; bilinguals: Bouyei + Han; mainly use Han characters
Korean	1.12	1.34	1.76	1.92	Jilin, Heilongjiang, Liaoning	Korean; bilinguals: Korean + Han; Korean writing

*Hui* A. R. (1958); and the Xinjiang *Uygur* A. R. (1955). Of the 208 administrative units at the prefectural level (zhou), which are organs of state power, there are 31 “Autonomous Prefectures”, and of the 2136 administrative units at the county level (xian) there are 80 “Autonomous Counties” or “Autono-

mous Banners” (Ngapoi Ngawang Jigme 1984, 17). In the constitution of 1982, article 121 says, “In performing their functions, all organs of self-government of the national autonomous areas ... employ the spoken or written language or languages in common use in the locality”. The expression “in com-

mon use” can, however, be problematic because of Han majorities in minority areas (see below section 4.).

The policy of the Chinese Communist Party towards minorities has changed during its history (Li Guihai 1981). An earlier formulated demand for self-determination was replaced by the principle of autonomy: Article 14 of the Constitution of the Chinese Soviet Republic (1<sup>st</sup> Soviet Congress, Nov. 1931) acknowledges “the right of national minorities in China to self-determination as well as their right to separation, and to the foundation of independent states of national minor-locality”. The expression “in common use” contrasts to this, in all the constitutions of the People’s Republic, the Chinese state is called a “*unitary* multi-national state”, and the national autonomous areas are called “*inalienable* parts of the People’s Republic of China” (const. 1982, preamble and art. 4). The administrative autonomy, in contrast to the state’s superintendence of the upholding and development of relationships among China’s nationalities, is one strong indication of the contradictory language situation in present-day China: At least after the Cultural Revolution, there *is* more freedom for nationalities to use and develop their languages, as granted by constitution (see below section 3.); however at the same time the role of the Han language in administration, production, education and science is growing everywhere (Guowuyuan 1982, 34).

### 3. Freedom of languages

Official Chinese statements on the ethnic situation in the country give prominence to the fact that both the revolution of 1949 and the reform policy after 1976 helped the minorities to go the way of economic, political and cultural progress, which includes improvement of their linguistic situation. Zhang Tianlu (1984, 25) summarizes, “before Liberation many minority groups were living reminders of the history of China’s social development. Primitive societies, slave societies, feudal serfdom and feudal societies all co-existed. Restricted by such socio-economic forms, the cultural level of most minority groups was fairly low. Some were still living in a primitive society.” Without doubt, the development since 1949 has brought important advantages to the living conditions of China’s nationalities, among other things

much better medical care and food supply, which helped the local people to lower mortality rate. According to Zhang Tianlu the minority population is now increasing faster than the majority Han nationality; however he concedes that the astonishing growth of China’s minority population is partly due to the fact that many who had not declared their nationalities in the time of Mao have now *re-identified* themselves. Even though before 1949 there were 13 minorities that had their own fully functioning writing system – Mongolian, Hui, Tibetan, Uygur, Korean, Manchu, Kazak, Dai, Russian, Xibe, Tartar, Uzbek, and She – about 95% of their people were illiterates. Modern education is now accessible to all nationalities in China, and the state has helped to develop appropriate writing systems for 10 languages – Zhuang, Yi, Bouyei, Miao, Dong, Hani, Lisu, Li, Va, and Naxi. Languages of the national minorities are used in most primary schools within autonomous areas with a non-Han majority, e.g. in the province of Yunnan languages such as Dai, Va, Jingpo, Lisu, and Lahu. In most middle schools of these areas both the prevailing non-Han language and Han are used, as for instance Tibetan and Han in the Tibet A. R. The language of higher education throughout the country is, as the rule, Han.

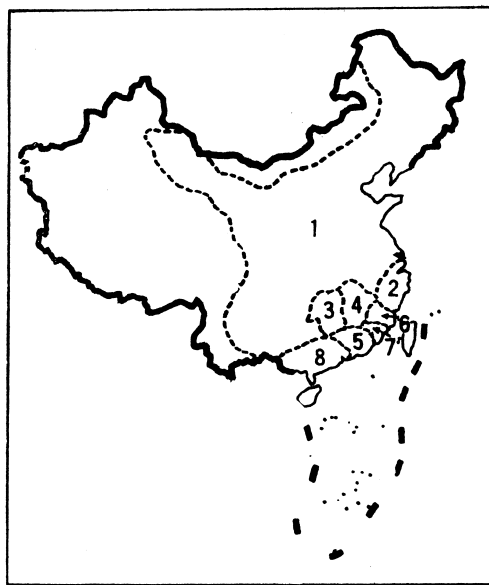
In the early eighties, China had established 10 Institutes for Minority Nationalities, with 12000 students, and 6000 teachers and staff members (Zhang Yangwu 1983, 43). In 1984, there were 23 publishing houses specializing in printing minority language material, 10% of the country’s total (National People’s Congress 1984, 17). Since 1979 more than 50 Mongolian research studies have been done in long neglected fields such as the history of Mongolian philosophy, religion, local chronicle, medicine, folk art, and grammar (Ethnic Studies 1985, 8). There are radio programmes in 16 minority languages – among them Mongolian, Tibetan, Uygur, Kazak, Zhuang, Dai, Li, Miao, Korean, Lisu, Jingpo, and Lahu, which are broadcast from local stations in the A. R.s of Inner Mongolia, Xinjiang, Guangxi, and Tibet, and in the provinces of Qinghai, Yunnan, Sichuan, Jilin, and Heilongjiang (China – Zahlen und Fakten: 56 Nationalitäten 1992, 7). Radio Tibet is on the air with the Lhasa and Qamdo dialects 12 hours a day. The Central People’s Broadcasting Station in Beijing sends programmes in 38

languages, among them Mongolian and Korean (Ling Yang 1982, 21). Article 134 of the 1982 constitution grants all nationalities the right to use their own language in court proceedings.

With the increase of autonomy for the national minorities and by the liberalization of cultural and religious life in the People's Republic after 1976, the status of non-Han languages is generally strengthened, the self-confidence of non-Han speakers has increased, and people feel much freer to confess their own religion, language, and individuality. Even languages declared dead now seem to revive: The Manchu and Hui minorities are often declared to be people "who speak Han" (China Minderheiten 1984, 25), but according to other sources, areas like Shuangcheng County, Heilongjiang Province, are described as "one of China's Manchuspeaking areas" (Manchu 1982, 29). The Hui, most of whom belong to the 15 mio. Moslems in China and who are of a complex ethnic origin (Turkish muslim merchants from Central Asia mingled with Han converts), revived their Arabic Koran-studies and re-established relations with the Arabic world.

#### 4. The growing role of the Han language

The Chinese Government propagates throughout the country the use of the Han language, namely its standard form Putonghua ("Common Speech") together with the Han hieroglyphic writing system, and this has above all political causes. China is not only a multi-national but also a multi-dialectal state, where the use of a unitary language has the political function of a clamp. China, with its more than 50 languages, has a number of dialects that are so different in pronunciation, vocabulary and grammar, that some Chinese linguists like to compare their differences with those of languages in Europe (Yuen Ren Chao 1967, 7). Sociolinguistically these dialects are a "polycentric system" (Sofronov 1979, 286) – the Han language would immediately fall apart into different self-dependent languages were there not a strong political power centre in China, and were there not the integrative force of the hieroglyphic writing system, which is to a high degree independent of how the characters are pronounced in different parts of China.



1. "Common speech" (standard spoken Chinese) area
2. Jiangsu and Zhejiang dialect area
3. Hunan dialect area
4. Jiangxi dialect area
5. Kejia dialect area
6. Northern Fujian dialect area
7. Southern Fujian dialect area
8. Guangdong dialect area

Fig. 203.2: The various dialect areas of China (*Beijing Review* 1980/33, 22)

Han, the language of the 91.96% majority in China, exists in 8 main dialect forms (cf. DeFrancis 1967, 142; Egerod 1967, 95):

1. the northern dialect variants with Beijing (Peking), Nanjing (Nanking) and Chongqing (Ch'ungking) as centres, which together make 71.9% of the Han population;
2. the Jiangsu-Zhejiang-dialect (8.5% of the Han);
3. the Hunan dialect (4.8% of the Han);
4. the Jiangxi dialect (2.2% of the Han);
5. the Hakka (Kejia) dialect (3.7% of the Han);
6. the northern Min (Fujian) dialect (1.3% of the Han);
7. the southern Min (Fujian) dialect (2.5% of the Han);
8. the Cantonese (Guangdong) dialect (5.1% of the Han).

The Han people whose original homeland was the Yellow River area, during the last three millennia expanded mainly to the



south and west, assimilating with some of the aborigines there, turning the rest into national minorities (Fan Wenlan 1980). K. Buchanan (1970) distinguishes two trends in this expansion: "first, in the subtropical lands of the south, the massive displacement of pre-Chinese groups followed by large-scale agricultural colonisation by Chinese settlers; secondly, in the deserts and high plateaux of the west, the extension of Chinese political influence over extensive areas inhabited by non-Chinese groups." (Buchanan 1970, 39).

Without belittling the effort made by the central government in recent years to give non-Han nationalities more rights and support in using and developing their own languages, the situation should be seen critically in respect to some main objectives of Chinese language and population policy:

The growing interest of Han-China in minority areas is accompanied by a traditional feeling of Han-superiority. Still today the Han population looks down on the way of life minorities live as being "primitive". When, for example, in 1980 the official Han marriage law of monogamy was made compulsory for the Naxi minority in Yunnan, their matrilinear family system was dismissed as underdeveloped and backward. *China Reconstructs* headed an article on the Naxi adoption of Han marriage law as "from pairing to marriage" (Wu Zelin 1980, 41). What makes the minority areas more interesting for Han-China is due to a new visual angle towards the periphery of the state territory: The Chinese government has become more sensitive to the fact that minority areas make up 60% of the land total with strategically important border regions and with very rich raw material (Schöler et al. 1978, 182; *Population* 1983, 26). Even though the autonomy system grants non-Han nationalities constitutional rights, there has been an everlasting rush of Han people into non-Han areas, especially in the fifties, with the result that there are often Han majorities within the autonomous areas. In the eighties, the autonomous regions, prefectures, and counties (banners) together had a population of 120 mio. people, of which only 50 mio. belonged to minority people (Ngapoi Ngawang Jigme 1984, 17). To ensure Han majorities in non-Han areas, earlier governments used the method of gerrymandering – by relocating administrative borders Han majorities were created, as was the case

when the province of Suiyuan was integrated into the Inner Mongolian A. R. in 1954 (Schöler et al. 1978; 1985), or by splitting up ethnically homogeneous areas: The Zhuang as the largest non-Han nationality live in a compact area that is now administratively divided among the Guangxi Zhuang A. R. and the provinces of Guizhou, Guangdong, and Yunnan, without the status of an autonomous area. The Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region on the other hand, according to the 1982 census, has more than 36 mio. inhabitants, less than one third of which belongs to the Zhuang nationality (Administrative Divisions 1983, 25). Besides this, a part of the Zhuang, the Bouyei, has officially been made a separate nationality, while another part of the Bouyei is reckoned among the Zhuang (Die VR China 1972, 219).

## 5. Outline of language reform policy

Comprehensive descriptions of Chinese language reform policy have been published during the last decades, e.g. J. DeFrancis (1953), G. P. Serd'uchenko (1959), P. L. M. Serruys (1962), J. DeFrancis (1967), Wenzhi Bixu Gai (1974), Wu Yuzhang (1978), M. V. Sofronov (1979), Zhou Youguang (1979), P. J. Seybolt (1979), T. S. Chen (1980), H. Martin (1982), I. Fodor/C. Hagège (1983), H.-J. Geduhn (1985), D. L. Kao (1993), Jialing Fu (1997), etc. This contribution will give only a general view of some of the most important problems language reformers have to solve in China and some of the political implications of language reforms. The main objects of language reform policy in China are the elimination of illiteracy, the creation of a standardized national language, the simplification and standardization of Han characters, the adoption of an adequate alphabet.

### 5.1. Towards the elimination of illiteracy

When the People's Republic was founded, more than 95% of the population were illiterates. The knowledge of writing was restricted to a small number of the traditional gentry class, intellectuals, and revolutionary cadres and soldiers. Enormous efforts have been made since then by the government in school and adult education systems to overcome illiteracy. However it is almost impossible to answer with exact numbers the question of how high the present rate of literacy

really is, because a writing system is concerned, which on the one hand takes the learner several years of intense learning to master it, and which on the other hand falls into oblivion much quicker than an alphabetic writing system. There have been hundreds of millions of school children and adults who passed special training programmes during the last three decades. The successes of such programmes remain limited because of the difficulty of the Han hieroglyphs. As Ling Yang (1980, 20) put it: Out of the 6000 characters used in writing modern Chinese, "a primary school pupil can only master some 3000 characters during his six years of schooling. Even then, he or she still finds it difficult to recognize the characters all the time, let alone fully understand them. Even college graduates make errors in pronunciation and writing." There is a very high rate of re-illiterates and semi-illiterates in China. Wan Li, former member of the Politburo and Vice Prime Minister, who made a speech at the National Conference for Education in Beijing (May, 15–20, 1985), had to concede that the proposed introduction of a nine year compulsory education is premature in view of the 230 million illiterates or semi-illiterates (Renmin Ribao 1985, 31; China aktuell, May 1985, 291). M. V. Sofronov (1979), whose study relies on other Chinese sources, estimates the rate of literacy only around 20%. The figure of an 81.5% literacy as stated by The World Factbook 1999 (cf. www.odci...) seems to be exaggerated. Whatever the truth may be, to give hundreds of millions an adequate education during the next decades will remain one of the cardinal problems of Chinese language policy.

### 5.2. The creation of a standardized national language

While the new Chinese constitution stresses that China is a *unitary* multi-national state, it must be compared with the fact that during the past 2000 or more years, local powers in China were not normally vested in a central authority, that on the contrary China for most of the time was economically, politically, ethnically, and linguistically a polycentric entity. With the exception of normally short times after new dynasties had come to power, and when there was a strong central authority, China was split into a host of production units at the family or village level, into spheres of interests of local warlords, and of relatively isolated

administrative units. Beginning with the Opium War (1840–42) the country was additionally divided into foreign spheres of interests, "extraterritorial areas", "mission areas", etc. The lack of a common national market coincided with the absence or weakness of central political powers. As a result, there was no nationwide communication, nor was there a common means of communication. Until our century official documents with a purview for all China were written in the classical Han writing style Guwen ("Old Writing"), totally unintelligible to the common people (see Pasierbsky 1977, 8).

The national-democratic (1911/1919), new-democratic (before 1949), and socialist (after 1949) revolutionary movements brought two important results in the creation of a standardized national language: the introduction of a common written language, which was oriented along the vernacular, called Baihua ("Plain Speech"), and since the end of the last century, the introduction of a nationwide educated standard Han, called Guoyu ("National Language"), later propagated under the name Putonghua ("Common Speech"), which is taken as the modern standard Han since the language reform 1956/58. Problems: While the constitution of 1982 says, "the state promotes the nationwide use of Putonghua" (art. 19), the status of the many dialects and sub-dialects is left uncertain. Articles in newspapers propagate a split in function between Putonghua and dialects: Putonghua for public life, dialects for private use only, "the popularization of the 'Common Speech' will not result in the elimination of dialects. While the people use it in public places, they will speak their own dialects at home" (Popularizing 1982, 16). New trends are to restrain local dialect use from early childhood: At a national conference held in 1982 by the Ministry of Education, the decision was made to introduce Putonghua as early as kindergartens and primary schools, "Children in kindergartens and primary schools should be taught the 'Common Speech'. They are a major force in the popularization drive because they constitute one fifth of the Chinese population" (ibid.). But economic interests turned out to be much stronger than political purposes and decisions, and it was international market links which promoted the use and the status of certain dialects, like Cantonese, at the end of the millenium.

### 5.3. The reform of the writing system

There are several reasons for a simplification of the complicated traditional characters: Many characters have a complex structure, some being built up by 30 or even more strokes. Compare for instance:

Tab. 203.2: A comparison of traditional and simplified characters

traditional characters	simplified characters	reduction of strokes	meaning
鬱	郁	29 → 9	anxious
籲	吁	32 → 6	to implore
識	识	19 → 7	to know
鑿	凿	27 → 12	chisel
靈	灵	24 → 7	spirit

For a number of characters different writing variants were used, which was inefficient for both learning and using characters. There existed, for instance, 5 variants of the word *lu* (lookout turret on a city wall):



Fig. 203.3: Variants of a Chinese character

In cases like this, one variant was chosen as being the standard form, and the other variants have been given up. To write a text in the traditional not simplified way takes much more time than to use the simplified forms. Experiments have shown that a simplified text can be written almost three times quicker (Xia Daotai 1956b). Since the decision for a simplification was made by the State Council in the 1950s, more than 2000 characters were simplified in a first step in the years 1956 and 1964, a second step in 1977 (Di'erci 1977) turned out to be unsatisfactory and is subject of a revision. Far reaching simplification programmes are dis-

cussed in China at the present to meet the needs of telecommunication, indexing, and computer technology. There are at least three reasons why the Chinese do not simply replace the character writing system by an adopted alphabetic system: their strong consciousness of tradition, the multi-language and multi-dialect situation in China today, and the large number of homonyms in their language. But to have a writing system that is able to represent single vowels and consonants is indispensable for a modern society, a task which cannot be postponed until the conditions for replacing character writing exist.

### 5.4. The adoption of an adequate alphabet

Having used different phoneticized writing systems after the revolution of 1911, the Chinese finally decided for a modified Latin alphabetic system in 1958, called Pinyin ("Combine Sounds"). The main domains where Pinyin is used today can be summarized as follows (Pasierbsky 1977; Ling Yang 1980):

- In the process of popularization of Pinyin, Pinyin has become a basic parameter between the languages and dialects spoken throughout China.
- Pinyin plays a dominant role in the Chinese education system.
- New dictionaries use it to mark the pronunciation of Han characters.
- Pinyin appears everywhere in public life: it is stencilled on to industrial products, trade marks, and signboards of shops and railway stations.
- It is used as a means for teaching the Han language to foreigners.
- It is used as a common alphabetical basis for devising new written languages for minorities in China.
- Pinyin was accepted as the international standard for the romanization of Chinese geographical names by the U. N. in 1977.
- It is used as the basis of dactylogical signs for teaching deaf-mutes.

The use of Pinyin for telegraph communication is still in the experimental stage; the Chinese telegraph employs coded Han characters, which make the service time-consuming, costly and inefficient. But modern technologies of electronic communication (Internet, fax, e-mail, etc.) offer totally new perspectives in sending and receiving Han characters without using alphabetic codes. The screen seems to save the Han hieroglyphs.

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## 204. Mainland Southeast Asia / Südostasiatisches Festland

1. Overview
2. Thailand
3. Laos
4. Cambodia
5. Vietnam
6. Burma
7. Literature (selected)

### 1. Overview

Mainland Southeast Asia (apart from peninsular Malaysia) comprises five nations with a substantial shared background: Thailand, Laos, Burma, Cambodia and Vietnam.

A couple of thousand years ago, people in what is now Thailand, Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam were speakers of Mon-Khmer languages: Viet in what is now northern Vietnam; Khmer, whose modern descendant is Cambodian; Mon in the plains of what is now central Thailand and lower Burma; and a large number of smaller upland minority groups speaking a variety of related languages. Early Indian influences on lowlanders included writing systems and much Sanskrit/Pali lexicon.

Vietnam is different because the Viet were part of the Chinese empire for more than a thousand years to 939 AD. During this time they adopted Chinese writing and very numerous Chinese loanwords.

Tibeto-Burman groups were already in what is now Burma at an early date, including the Pyu who were conquered by Nanzhao of Yunnan in the 9th century AD and

replaced by Mon in the south and the Burman Pagan kingdom in the north. The Burmans received their writing and much else from the Mons whom they gradually assimilated. Most groups speaking Tibeto-Burman languages remained hill dwellers in upland areas of Burma and southwestern China, and have also recently moved into northern and western Thailand, northern Laos, and northern Vietnam.

Austronesian groups arrived by sea in what is now southern Vietnam and established the Cham empire early in the first millennium AD; some of their descendants are now minority groups in southern Vietnam and eastern Cambodia, speaking Chamic Austronesian languages.

Speakers of Thai languages arrived in the north late in the first millennium AD, forced southwestwards by the expanding Chinese. They formed small city-states in what is now northern Thailand and Laos from the late eleventh century AD, soon conquered the Mon, and eventually defeated and replaced the Khmer. Thai migration from Yunnan in China left many Thai place names but relatively few Thai speakers, now classified together in the Dai nationality.

The final linguistic group are the Miao-Yao languages, also called Hmong-Mien languages. (Hmong or Mong and Mien are autonyms; the former are known as *Maew* in Thai and Lao, as *Meo* in Viet, and as *Miao* in Chinese. The latter are known as *Yao*. Other related languages are only in China.)

They live in mountain areas of the north, having arrived over the last 200 years from China. Many Hmong and some Mien became refugees from Laos after 1975 and have now resettled in western countries.

European colonists included the Portuguese traders from 1500, who left some creole communities in ports. The British conquered the Burmese kingdom between 1824 and 1885 and the French seized the three Indochina states from indigenous rulers between 1862 and 1893. Japan ruled the area during WWII, and the colonial powers gave independence soon after returning. The colonial languages remained strong; however English has recently supplanted French as the first foreign language in all three former French colonies, and has been the preferred European language in Thailand for more than a century.

In each country the national language is also the lingua franca and the sole medium of normal education. Nearly all public media, apart from a small proportion intended for specific local minority groups, are in these languages. Due to lack of official interest in minority languages, many are endangered and some are moribund. The main ethnic problem in all these countries is the economic dominance of the Chinese migrant community, which reached the area mainly by sea (though in Burma also by land) over the last couple of centuries. This is intermittently a cause of severe problems, and efforts to maintain Chinese language and literacy among these communities usually encounter official sanctions.

For a more detailed survey of the minority languages and their genetic, geographical and sociolinguistic positions see Bradley (1994).

## 2. Thailand

Thailand's current population is estimated at 70 million, of which over 90% identify as ethnic Thai. The original ethnic Thai part of the population comes from the north. Much of the population of the central plains was originally of Mon descent but is now fully assimilated. The last vestiges of these Mon are the Nyahkur of the hills between central and northeastern Thailand (Diffloth 1984), whose language is moribund. Mon refugees from Burma settled in various places around Bangkok around 1800; these Mons are also in the final stages of assimilations, though still aware of their Mon roots.

A substantial part of the population of northeastern and eastern central Thailand is descended from speakers of Khmer. There are still nearly a million Khmer speakers in the northeast, but in many areas of eastern Thailand said to be entirely populated by Khmers in the 19th century, everyone now identifies as Thai.

Khmer was the original source of the Thai script; a version of Khmer script is still used to write Thai for some religious purposes including amulets. Khmer also provided a large number of words for literary Thai, some of which have now become widely used in ordinary spoken Thai; for example *sabaay* 'be healthy'. There are also many doublets, even for grammatical markers, such as the modal 'should' which has an informal Thai form *khuan* and a more formal Khmer form *cuan* with the same meaning.

The Mon and Khmer in central and northeastern Thailand as well as over a million Malay-speaking Muslim Thais in southern provinces adjacent to Malaysia are also of course able to speak standard Thai and regional Thai as well. There are also about 30,000 Thai Buddhist villagers in northeastern peninsular Malaysia.

Over many centuries, particularly since the Thai Kingdom had its capital near the coast after 1350, seafaring foreign visitors have been welcomed, settled and assimilated. This included Portuguese, Arab/Persian, Indian and others. The most substantial group, one which has integrated thoroughly, is the Teochiu (in *pinyin* Chaozhou) Chinese. Another fairly large group which is less fully assimilated is the Sikhs, who sell cloth. Thai Chinese men have married Thai women for 200 years, but the Sikhs intermarry less, and some still bring spouses from the Punjab.

The earliest dated Thai inscription is that of King Ramkhamhaeng from 1292 AD. (The authenticity of this inscription has recently been called into doubt (Chamberlain 1991); some non-Thai scholars attribute it to the mid-nineteenth century.) The modern written Thai script is directly related to this and is also now replacing scripts of regional Thai languages. Thai script is now somewhat archaic; various consonant and vowel mergers and tonal splits are not reflected in the writing.

After a military coup in 1932, various changes were made to unify and modernise the nation. This included universal primary

education; before this, most education was conducted for boys in monasteries. Education and administration are in standard Central Thai; various regional varieties with independent literary traditions have now become regional diglossic Lows. However, some monasteries have again started to teach regional scripts. While Chinese schools exist, they are required to teach the Thai curriculum in Thai during normal school hours, and may only teach Chinese during extra hours. International schools, which teach in English or other foreign languages for the children of expatriates, have also become a popular option for the children of the Thai elite.

Thailand has a uniquely Buddhist literary form: cremation books. A Buddhist is cremated 100 days after death; during this time a book about the deceased and his interests, and sometimes concerning the cause of death, is produced. One recent example for a non-linguist friend who passed away from cancer of the larynx included a chapter on the physiology and speech functions of the larynx. Another popular genre is coffee-table books about members of the Thai Royal Family and their good works and achievements. The most popular Princess has philological interests and speaks Khmer and Malay.

Central Thai has extensive sociolinguistic variation. The stereotypical variable is *r*, usually replaced by *l* in initial position and deleted or replaced by *l* in medial position. Speakers often hypercorrect from *l* to *r*, and children in school need extensive drilling to learn which words to write with *r*. Another variable spreading from Bangkok low sociolects is a lisped dental or even interdental pronunciation of *s*. Henderson (1976) shows that the Thai tone system has changed the modern High tone from high rising-falling to high level over the last eighty years; other tones are shifting as well, such as the western central merger of Rising into Falling tone.

The main regional Thai varieties are Kham Myang in the north, various varieties of Lao in the northeast, and Pak Tai in the south. Diller (1985) discusses the continuum of variation from fully regional in lexicon and phonology to fully central. There are hybrid “segmentally subjugated” regional varieties, using the lexicon and segments of the standard, but the tonal system of the local region. Conversely, the speech of

Chiangmai in the north is partly “tonally subjugated” to the standard, but maintains regional lexicon and segmental phonology.

Thailand has standardised Thai under the guidance of the Royal Institute, which publishes a dictionary. The Ministry of Education, the *Khurusapha* (the official textbook publishers) and all media use this. Regional Thai varieties – Lao, Kham Myang and so on – are heard on the media, but mainly in songs.

In addition to lowland groups such as the Thai Khmers and Thai Malays, there are many so-called “hill tribes” in Thailand. The ones recognised by the government are concentrated in the north, but there are also widely scattered and sometimes substantial groups speaking various Mon-Khmer languages, mainly of the Katuic subgroup, in the northeast. The largest such is about 800,000 *Suai* or *Kui* in the northeast just north of the Khmer border and nearby in Cambodia and Laos.

It was normal Thai practice up to the late nineteenth century to bring entire villages from conquered areas to settle in the plains; so there are many widely scattered individual villages or village clusters of regional Lao and other Thai groups such as Lao Song (also known as *Tai Dam* ‘Black Thai’, they are quite numerous in northwestern Vietnam and nearby in China; many were transported from there to central Thailand), as well as a smaller number of similarly displaced Mon-Khmer and a few Tibeto-Burman groups in the northeast, north and central plains. To note just a few: there is one Thavung village, speakers of a Viet-Muong Mon-Khmer language, in the northeast; other Thavung are in Laos. There are two Bruu villages which still use their Katuic language; most Bruu are in the hills around the 17th parallel in Vietnam. Near Wiang Pa Pao in the north there is one Lamet village, speaking a Palaungic Mon-Khmer language mainly found in northwestern Laos. Near Phrae in the north there is one Mpi village, a group locally known as *Kaw* and officially classified as *Lua*, who speak a Tibeto-Burman language from China and were brought from there about 1800. There are two villages and a couple of former villages of Tibeto-Burman Bisu near Chiangrai in the far north who were brought from near Kengtung in Burma in the 1850s; they had earlier been brought from China by the Kengtung rulers sometime before that. These groups

are all in the process of losing their languages.

1996 Ministry of Interior figures for the groups in the north give a total of just under a million, but this does not include many who have moved into towns and cities to work, nor the large numbers of speakers of Mon-Khmer languages in the northeast and much smaller numbers of minority Austronesian language speakers (Moken, Moklen and Urak Lawoi) and Aslian Mon-Khmer speakers (Tonga or Mos) in the far south.

Over a third of the northern “hill tribes” are classified as *Kariang*, which includes several subgroups of Karen, a Tibeto-Burman group much more numerous in Burma, including four villages of *Tawngsu*; these latter are the “long-neck” group whose women wear rings to stretch their necks. Other Tibeto-Burman groups speaking languages close to Burmese are over 85,000 *Musur* or Lahu; nearly 60,000 *Ikor* or Akha, and nearly 35,000 *Lisaw* or Lisu; some smaller groups such as the Bisu, Mpi and Gong are included in a general category of “*Lua*” which includes them and various groups speaking distinct Palaungic Mon-Khmer languages. All *Lua* languages and other Mon-Khmer languages in Thailand are endangered to moribund.

Other groups speaking Mon-Khmer languages in the north include nearly 40,000 *Htin* or Mal and Pray, about 15,000 Khmu who are much more numerous in Laos, and a couple of smaller groups. The 130,000 Maew or Mong and 50,000 Yao or Mien speak Miao-Yao languages. See Bradley et al. (1999) for more on minorities in Thailand.

Unlike most of its neighbours, Thailand has contained ethnic tensions between its Chinese minority and the majority. This may be because most Chinese in Thailand are thoroughly assimilated and intermarried with the Thai, and because of Thailand’s long-established tradition of accepting outsiders. It is impossible to enumerate the Thai Chinese separately from ethnic Thais, and the government does not try.

### 3. Laos

The Lao People’s Democratic Republic has Lao as its national language. This is a Thai language very closely related to the Thai of Thailand, but with a separate script and literary tradition. Laos now has a population of nearly 6 million, half ethnic Lao in the

Mekong valley and another 17% in higher valleys collectively known as Lao Lum and speaking closely related Thai languages, mainly Phu Thai in the south and Lue in the north.

After French colonial rule from 1893 and a long civil war, the Pathet Lao ‘Lao nation’ rule of the entire country began in 1975. However, Laos is now an economic colony of Thailand and exposed to a barrage of Thai media: television, radio and print.

Within Lao the regional dialect differences are very great, especially in the tonal system; for example opposite pitch values for stop-final syllables between Luang Phabang and the modern capital Vientiane, and even greater differences with southern Lao. Lao speakers are adept at understanding other regional varieties of Lao. In the past the prestige form was Luang Phabang speech, but now the standard has shifted to Vientiane, and some say this is shifting again to Southern Lao varieties.

Over the last twenty years as the Thai media has become more pervasive, the Lao language has received a massive influx of Thai loans, adjusted to the phonology of Lao; for example, *pasum* ‘meeting’, borrowed from Thai *prachum* with medial *r* deleted and Thai *ch* replaced by *s*. Lao speakers in Laos now understand Thai and adjust towards it; but central Thai speakers do not understand Lao.

More than 90% of Lao speakers live in northeastern Thailand where they are the majority, while in Laos itself they are only half of the population and 10% of overall Lao speakers. However in Thailand the Lao use standard Thai as their literary and official language.

The Lao script, like the Thai script, is an Indic one; but it is more closely related to Kham Myang or Northern Thai script than to central Thai. After 1975 the new Lao government carried out a minor script reform to bring spelling more into line with pronunciation; see Enfield (forthcoming). Unpronounced medial *r* was deleted, as in Luang Phabang, the former royal capital previously written as Luang Phrabang. This script is taught in all schools, where Lao is the sole medium of education, and used in all government media. Lao language is also one pillar of Lao *ekaphap* ‘national identity’; compare the similar new Thai term *ekalak* ‘identity’ which also contains the Sanskrit *ek* ‘one’; both thus imply unity as well as identity.



The official classification of “ethnic groups” in Laos lists 47, of which Lao, Phu Thai, Lue, Nhuon, Yang and Saek speak Thai languages. 31 groups and 23% of the total population speak Mon-Khmer languages, the largest of which is Kammu or Khmu in the north, estimated at 11%. The Khmu are also found in smaller numbers in Thailand, Vietnam and China. The former Lao term for these Mon-Khmer groups was Lao Theung ‘jungle Lao’; this is now regarded as pejorative.

Seven Tibeto-Burman groups totalling 3% are recognised, all in the far north, including Kaw or Akha with 1.7%. There are also 6.5% of Hmong and 0.5% of Mien/Yao in the north; these proportions used to be much higher, but many of the Hmong and some Mien fled after 1975 and are now resettled in western countries. These groups are sometimes known in Lao as Lao Sung ‘high Lao’ as they usually live at higher altitudes.

The final recognised group is the Haw or Yunnanese Chinese, 0.2% in the far northeast. There are many smaller groups speaking distinct Mon-Khmer and Tibeto-Burman languages which are included within other ethnic groups; most of these languages are endangered, as are those of small recognised ethnic groups such as the Mon-Khmer Yumbri in the northwest, who also live in Thailand, where they are known as Mlabri.

Urban ethnic groups include substantial Chinese and Viet populations, but these are not officially recognised or separately enumerated.

#### 4. Cambodia

Cambodia is the modern descendant of the Khmer empire, long ruled by the Thais, then by the French from 1863; but a royal family has continued to exist with nominal and occasionally real power. Its population of over 11 million is approximately 95% ethnic Khmer, and there are several million Khmer in adjacent areas of Thailand and about 450,000 in the Mekong delta region of Vietnam.

Khmer is written with an Indic script which has a very long history, but was only standardised in its modern form by a National Commission within the Ministry of Education established in 1915 and eventually producing a standard dictionary in 1939–1943. Modern spoken dialects differ

mainly in vowels; the standard is the pronunciation of the capital, Phnom Penh, which is particularly innovative and has numerous diphthongs; the spelling is quite conservative and etymological. Major lexical changes eliminating formal and honorific forms were introduced by the Khmer Rouge in 1975, but most have been reversed since 1979. Thel Thong (1985) surveys language policy and education developments through Cambodia’s recent turbulent history from an insider’s perspective.

Most minorities speak Mon-Khmer languages: several tiny endangered Pearic languages over the western half of the country and into adjacent areas of Thailand, such as the Chong, Samre and others; Kui or Suai, a Katuic language, in the north; and several Bahnaric languages in the northeast. There are some Lao and some Jarai, a Chamic Austronesian group, in the far northeast.

The ethnic Chinese minority, mainly from southeastern coastal China, used to be substantial in urban areas before 1975, but many were killed by the Khmer Rouge or became refugees. Another lowland minority persecuted vigorously by the Khmer Rouge was the Moslem Cham of the area around Kampong Cham in the northeast. Some refugee Cham have now resettled in Malaysia, while ethnic Chinese and Khmer refugees are now in western countries. The Khmer Rouge also expelled the Viet from the southeast of the country; this ethnic cleansing was the trigger for the Vietnamese invasion in late 1978, which installed a pro-Vietnamese government in place of the Khmer Rouge.

#### 5. Vietnam

Vietnam was a Chinese province to 939 and a French colony from 1862 to 1954, under Japanese control during WWII. The communist Viet Minh took over the North in 1954 and in the South in 1975. The current population of Vietnam is over 80 million, of whom over 95% are members of the majority Viet or Kinh group. The national and official language is their language, Viet.

From the Chinese period onwards, Vietnamese was written in the Chinese script, with some additional characters created to represent Vietnamese words. Catholic missionaries developed the *Quoc Ngu* romanisation from the 1650s; this replaced Chinese characters during the French co-

lonial period, though some traditional scholars still used characters up to the 1970s.

There are substantial regional dialect differences, including mergers among tones and consonants in various central and southern dialects. However the standard has remained the northern pronunciation with six tones and the remanised spelling. Nguyen (1979) discusses language policy; apart from lexical changes, the effect of recent history has been surprisingly small.

In addition to the Viet majority, there are 53 recognised ethnic groups: 22 are Mon-Khmer, 12 Thai-Kadai, 4 Austronesian, 8 Tibeto-Burman, 5 Chinese and 2 Miao-Yao. The official count does not include the Khmer, who are thus a 55th group. 1995 figures for many of these groups are much lower than 1993 and earlier published estimates: 437,019 versus 1.19 million for the second-largest group, the Tay; 344,628 versus 1.04 million for the Thai, and so on; this represents overestimates up to 1993 and underenumeration in 1995. Fifteen groups had fewer than 5000 members in 1993, and 23 in 1995, including at least four endangered Tibeto-Burman languages, several endangered Thai-Kadai languages, and a number of endangered Mon-Khmer languages. In addition, there are various other endangered languages whose speakers are not recognised as separate ethnic groups. This includes a number of Muong languages very close to Vietnamese.

Like its neighbours, Vietnam has a large ethnic Chinese minority from various coastal regions of southeastern China. They have no linguistic rights, and many fled the country after 1975.

## 6. Burma

The national language is Burmese, which is a Tibeto-Burman language whose earliest surviving dated inscription, the *Rajkumar* or *Myazedi* (*Myazedi* is the name of the temple in Pagan where this inscription was; *Rajkumar* is Sanskrit/Pali for 'crown prince'). This is a quadrilingual inscription in Pali, Mon, Pyu and Burmese, and was probably a political statement by this crown prince, son of the Burman king's Mon wife, that he was after all a Burman. His Burman father's inscriptions were entirely in Pali and Mon.), is from 1112 AD. This is also the first language of at least half the population of about

50 million, and the sole legal language of education, government and national life. For more information see Bradley (1997). Burmese is a language with diglossia; all schooling is in the literary High, which is hardly ever spoken. Nearly every grammatical marker and many other lexical items are different; for example, 'this' is *i* in High and *di* in Low Burmese. Some literary lexical and even grammatical forms are used occasionally in the spoken Low. One High/Low lexical difference which has caused some confusion is the name of the country, literary *myanma* and spoken *bama*. The spoken form is the source of the English term Burma and was used during the independence movement; but since independence in 1948, the literary form of this word has been used for most official purposes in Burmese.

There was a minor spelling reform and a new standard dictionary produced in 1978–1980, and language standardisation work continues under the Myanmar Language Commission. For a discussion of this and other aspects of language policy in Burma, see Allott (1985).

In 1989 the military government reformed all English proper names, mainly according to modern literary Burmese pronunciation. To those who accept this change, the country is known as Myanmar, its capital Rangoon is known as Yangon, and so on. This has had no effect on the names in Burmese, which remain the same. Here, the usual English name will be given first, and the new form in parentheses following it, such as Burma (Myanmar). One interesting new use of the High/Low distinction is that since 1989 the majority Burman group is known as the Bamar, but the people of the nation as a whole, including other groups, are the Myanmar.

Officially there are 135 national groups, which include the majority Burmans (Bamar), the seven minorities for whom separate states exist: the Arakanese (Rakhine), Chin, Kachin, Shan, Kayah, Karen (Kayin) and Mon, and 127 others. A large number of these are subgroups within one of the larger national groups; for example there are said to be 54 kinds of Chin and 40 kinds of Burman groups. Arakanese (Rakhine) in the west is the largest of these Burman groups; the stereotypical difference between standard Burmese and Arakanese is that Arakanese retains *r* which has merged with *j* in the standard.

Most minorities speak Tibeto-Burman languages more or less closely related to Burmese. Linguistically closest are the Tsai-wa or Zi (The first name in each case is the group's own name; the second is the usual Burmese name. In some cases these Burmese names come from other minority languages: Kachin, Shan and so on.), Lhaovo or Maru, Ngochang or Maingtha, and Lacid or Lashi, included in the Kachin group in the northeast. Also close are the Lahu or Muhsu, Lisu or Lishaw, Akha or Kaw and related Loloish groups of the eastern parts of the northeast adjacent to China. The various Kachin groups of the north, numerous Chin groups of China and Arakan states in the west, and the various Karen, Kavah, Kayan or Padaung, Pa-o and other groups along the eastern borders speak three clusters of languages less closely related to Burmese but still Tibeto-Burman.

Mon-Khmer languages include Mon, the language of a state and former kingdom in lower Burma, who transmitted writing and Indic culture to the Burmans. Others are found in the Shan State in the northeast: De'ang or Palaung, Wa and a number of smaller groups.

The third genetic group represented in Burma is the Thai; the Tai Yai 'big Tai' or Shan, with a number of regional subvarieties including Khyn and Lue in the east and Hkamti in the far north, speak a cluster of languages closely related to Thai, but with separate literary traditions. The main Shan script, Lik Tai 'Tai writing', is derived from Burmese script; but others such as Khyn and Tai Lue are more similar to Northern Thai script.

Official statistics on minority populations in Burma are dubious. Just one example: the government says there are 120,000 Lisu, but community figures add up to nearly 300,000. This greatly exaggerates the proportion of ethnic Burmans, which is probably about half the total, though government figures suggest three-quarters.

Many of the ethnic Chinese, unlike those in neighbouring countries, are Yunnanese Chinese Moslems who came overland, es-

pecially in the late nineteenth century. Areas along the eastern border are controlled by drug armies with Yunnanese Chinese leaders; one hears and sees more Chinese than Burmese language there.

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## 205. Malaysia and Insular Southeast Asia Malaysia und insulares Südostasien

1. The geographical delimitation of the area
2. The sociolinguistic history of the area
3. Linguistic delimitation and genetic relationships
4. The main languages
5. The sociolinguistic profile of the countries
6. Issues connected with standardization
7. Issues connected with language maintenance and language death
8. Literature (selected)

### 1. The geographical delimitation of the area

The area covered in this article will be defined by state boundaries and include the following countries: Malaysia, Indonesia (including West Papua), Brunei, East Timor, The Philippines, and Singapore.

### 2. The sociolinguistic history of the area

#### 2.1. Language spread and diffusion

The pre-historic migrations in insular Southeast Asia are not attested in writing, so that what we know or think we know about them is based on archeological evidence and comparative linguistics. It seems, however, that the “language map” of the area, as far as the original indigenous languages are concerned, reached its present form during the course of the first millennium AD, when the oldest foreign influences and the oldest states also seem to have developed.

#### 2.2. The spread of lingua francas

The most important lingua franca in the area is Malay, which seems to have had its original heartland on the east coast of Sumatra, from whence it spread eastwards through migrations (prehistoric) and commercial dominance of the big Malay-speaking trade-based empire of Sriwijaya (centered near the present Palembang, southeast Sumatra, from where we have Malay-language epigraphs from the late 7th century). Chinese sources mention such a lingua franca very early, and a Portuguese source documents its use in the Moluccas by 1521, so that it covered the whole of present-day Malaysia and Indonesia (but not the Philippines). Portuguese itself became a second

lingua franca from the 16th to the 18th century.

#### 2.3. Foreign cultural languages

Sanskrit was introduced during the first millennium AD as a religious language of Hinduism and state language of Hinduized states arising in the area. We have a fifth-century Sanskrit epigraph from South Kalimantan (Borneo), but the center of Sanskritized Hinduistic culture became the already mentioned Sriwijaya and a series of powerful and culturally fertile rice-based empires on Java from the 8th to the 15th century. Although local written languages – Old Malay and Old Javanese – did exist and were in extensive use, Sanskrit was dominant for literary and religious purposes. In late medieval times, Arabic entered the area with Islam, and both Hinduism and Sanskrit were suppressed and disappeared (except on Bali and parts of Lombok). Arabic became the learned language in the Islamic religious sphere (all children had to learn the Arabic Koran by rote), but was not so much used in worldly matters. Even Persian for a while (16th and 17th century) played a role as an important cultural language, because of the dominance of the Persian-based Moghul empire in India.

#### 2.4. Colonial languages

The important European colonial languages in the area were – in order of appearance – Portuguese, Spanish, Dutch, and English. Portuguese was primarily a trade language, while used also for the administration of the few possessions Portugal owned, and as a missionary language, too. It had a lingua franca function long after the defeat of the Portuguese themselves, as already noted. Spanish became the official language of the Spanish colony of the Philippines, but did not reach beyond that. Dutch was introduced in the 17th century with the advent of the Dutch East India Company. The Dutch conquered the Moluccas rather early, and before 1800 they had factual power all over Java and most of Sulawesi in addition to smaller enclaves on the other islands. Only by 1908 did they have full control all over Indonesia, however. The Dutch used their own language as cultural and religious language

in the areas where the people were massively converted to Calvinism, North Sulawesi and the Moluccas. For the rest, they relied heavily on local languages, particularly Malay, in their dealings with the population; lower education was given in those languages. Only in the latest stage of Dutch rule did larger sections of the Indonesian population learn Dutch and thus get access to elite culture. English was in much the same way introduced in the British possessions in Malaya, which after treaties with the Netherlands in 1824 and 1891 were delimited to Malaya and North and Northwest Borneo. English was the language used for administering the country and for elite cultural purposes, while Malay was used in popular education and the dealings with the local people. In the Philippines, the Americans similarly introduced English instead of Spanish after conquering the islands in 1898. In modern times, English has become the most important elite second or even first language in all the countries. As a fifth colonial language, we may mention Japanese between 1942 and 1945, but this language remained solely the occupants' language; the time allotted to them was too short to allow for any attempt at "japanization" of the territories.

### 3. Linguistic delimitation and genetic relationships

Quantification of the existing languages of the area is very difficult because of the far-reaching ethno-linguistic fragmentation – particularly in the Philippines and East Indonesia including West Papua. Most of the languages are insufficiently described, and the usual vague boundaries between dialects and languages are a problem. However, these problems are not so great with regard to those languages which are used by larger ethnic groups with a writing tradition and a tradition of more complex political organization. In this article, the focus will lie on this kind of languages, since a comprehensive treatment of ethnic spoken languages and dialects is clearly unfeasible, certainly within the modest scope of an article like this. The numbers given for the speakers of the various languages in section 5 are tentative because of the census difficulties involved, but they give a roughly correct picture of the numerical relations between the languages.

Almost all the indigenous languages in the area are Austronesian. The sub-division of this language group is not settled, partly due to lack of data for many of the languages. Non-Austronesian indigenous languages are restricted to the eastern part of the area: West Papua, some of the Nusa Tenggara islands, among them Timor, and parts of the Moluccas, in particular North Halmahera. The aborigines of West Malaysia also speak non-Austronesian languages. The genetic relationships between these are not fully settled, and less relevant sociolinguistically.

## 4. The main languages

### 4.1. Malay

The dominant standard language of the area is Malay. It is (one of) the national and official language(s) of Malaysia, Indonesia, Brunei, Singapore, and East Timor. Indonesia uses its own national standard variety called "Indonesian" (*Bahasa Indonesia*). The language has a strong position as an international lingua franca, but only between the mentioned countries, in reality probably excluding Singapore as well. As to Indonesia, it is notable that even movements striving for secession normally use Indonesian as their official language, both in Aceh and West Papua. In East Timor, Indonesian is also widely spoken.

The differentiation within Malay has been strongly influenced by its history as a lingua franca. Besides many localized dialectal varieties in its original "home-land" (East Sumatra and West Malaysia), Malay early acquired a supra-local form, often called "Pasar Malay" or "Bazaar Malay". This was a simplified, reduced, language form of the pidgin type, but as it took roots in various parts of the area, it developed into creolized varieties with influences from local languages, especially in urban centres like Jakarta. Sociolinguistically, one may posit three "levels" of Malay, where these creolized varieties lie in between the traditional dialects and the standard varieties.

### 4.2. Tagalog

Tagalog has had a similar function in the Philippines. Centered in Manila, it has developed into a lingua franca for this multi-ethnic and multi-lingual city. Tagalog has

provided the basis of modern standard Filipino/Pilipino, which was declared official in 1946, and has had this formal status since. (On the relations between the terms Filipino and Pilipino, see 6.2.)

#### 4.3. Tetum

Tetum, an Austronesian language, is the largest language of Timor. It acquired the function of lingua franca at the oral level before the Dutch and the Portuguese consolidated their grips on the two halves of the island. After the Indonesian invasion of 1975, a massive dislocation of the population took place, when local communities were broken up and new ones created more or less haphazardly under Indonesian military supervision. This strengthened the position of Tetum, as a lingua franca between the different ethnolinguistic groups, and as a language of national resistance. It was used as the official language of the resistance movement as well as the Catholic Church, and it is officially acknowledged as the national language of independent East Timor.

#### 4.4. English

English has the status of an official (but not national) language in Malaysia, Brunei, Singapore and the Philippines. In Malaysia, Brunei and the Philippines, there have been movements to reduce the position of English and eventually replace it with Malay and Pilipino, respectively. This has in periods even been official policy, but the factual dominance of English in the “modern” sphere and its perceived value for economic and technical development, international contacts, and personal advancement in all these fields, has made the promotion of such a policy difficult. At present, the position of English seems secure, while the indigenous languages have to conduct an active policy to assert their own position against it.

#### 4.5. Mandarin Chinese

Mandarin Chinese is one of the four official languages of Singapore, although in practice, its position is eclipsed by that of English; Chinese remains strictly intra-ethnic. In Singapore and Malaysia, it is the dominant language of written and spoken media within the Chinese community. In Indonesia, strong restrictions have been placed on the use of Chinese, including a complete ban on Chinese characters under Soeharto.

#### 4.6. Tamil

Tamil is also one of the official languages of Singapore, and its position is similar to that of Chinese, except for a much smaller constituency of users. It is used in Tamil-ethnic media in Malaysia and Singapore.

#### 4.7. Portuguese

Portuguese was the official language of then Portuguese Timor until 1975, and was used by the resistance movement against the Indonesian occupation afterwards. After independence, it has been made an official language of East Timor, and it is the governmental policy at the time of writing (2005) to promote its use as the main language of the country along with Tetum.

#### 4.8. Arabic

Arabic has a position as a religious language in the Islamic countries, particularly Malaysia and Brunei. It is used in theological literature, and also in Koranic schools in these countries and Indonesia. In that way, it is present in the lives of ordinary people, but it is not widely understood outside the circles of the Moslem elite.

#### 4.9. Regional languages in Indonesia

Several Indonesian languages have writing traditions, partly extremely rich traditions – this goes above all for Javanese, but also for Sundanese and Balinese. Among other such languages, we may mention Batak and Buginese. Some of the bigger languages are used locally in written and spoken media even today; the most vigorous regional-language culture seems to be that of the Sundanese of West Java. But these regional languages have in common that their use to a large extent is confined to the “traditional” sphere of the communities concerned, or to the “cultural sphere” in the form of works of art, etc. – while having yielded to Indonesian in other contexts.

### 5. The sociolinguistic profile of the countries

#### 5.1. Malaysia

The national language of Malaysia is Malay, in a variety called “Malaysian” (“Bahasa Malaysia”). It is spoken by the ethnic majority, about 45% or 7 million of the 17 million Malaysians, in many dialectal varieties. The second largest language in terms of speakers

is Chinese (5 million), mostly southern Chinese varieties (Cantonese, Hakka etc.) – although Mandarin is the official standard form of the language. The third language is Tamil (1 million). Other indigenous languages exist within small ethnic groups: in Sarawak and Sabah, Iban (1/2 million) and other Dayak languages are spoken, and small groups of pre-Malay aborigines (Semang and Sakai) exist in West Malaysia.

English is an official, although not “national”, language. It is dominant in most modern sectors, among them higher education, science and technology, and all kinds of international relations. There is a linguopolitical opposition to this which in periods has gained wide political support, promoting a strengthening of Malay in these sectors, e.g. by law regulations (requirements to know Malay for employees in business firms, etc.); in fact, it has been a political goal since the inception of the independent Malaya/Malaysia to develop Malay to a fully-fledged standard language with the same status as the traditional European standard languages in their respective countries. But this policy has also met with opposition, because it is seen by many as detrimental to economic and technological development, and English seems to have strengthened its position during the latest years. As to Chinese, this language is confined to the ethnic Chinese, who have language rights, but are mostly left to care for their linguistic needs themselves (which is feasible due to the strong economic position of this group). In urban West Malaysia, Chinese is accepted and very visible, while in more traditional rural districts the language has been contained e.g. through restrictions on the use of Chinese characters. The Chinese are required to learn Malay at school, while virtually no Malay learns Chinese. (See Asmah (1992) for an extensive treatment of different aspects of the Malaysian language situation.)

## 5.2. Indonesia

Malay in its Indonesian standard variety, called “Bahasa Indonesia”, is the national and official language in all areas. No immigrant language has any strong position, but the indigenous ethnic groups are divided in several hundred languages. The most important ones both in terms of speakers and geographical extension is Javanese (Central and East Java, 60 million or almost 30% of

the more than 200 million Indonesians). Second comes Sundanese (West Java, 20 million), and third Madurese (Madura and East Java, 7 million). Malay itself is spoken in dialectal variations in many areas: East Sumatra, around the coast of Borneo, widely in East Indonesia (where older indigenous languages have been under pressure for centuries), and in Jakarta (heavily influenced by the languages of Java) – in total by 20 million. The most important regional languages besides these are Acehnese (2 million) and Batak (3 million) (both in North Sumatra), Minangkabau (West Sumatra, 3 million), Rejang and Lampung (both in South Sumatra), Buginese and Macassarese (both in South Sulawesi, 3 million), Balinese (Bali, 2 million), Banjarese (South Borneo, 2 million). The other languages (several hundreds) have smaller numbers of speakers, most of them extremely small. Steinhauer (1994) surveys the changes in the Indonesian linguistic scene based on demographic statistics.)

The colonial language of Indonesia, Dutch, is virtually extinct today. Indonesian was effectively implemented as the national standard language already in the 1950s, when Dutch was forbidden in higher education. At present, only educated people of the oldest generation are still able to speak Dutch fluently, in addition to specialists on certain fields where knowledge of Dutch sources is indispensable. English has largely taken the place of Dutch as the language of modernization and international contacts. Chinese is not much used in Indonesia due to the strong assimilationist pressure which has been exerted on the ethnic Chinese majority for decades.

In school, Indonesian is the main language of instruction, but in the three lowest grades of primary school, local or regional languages are used and Indonesian only taught as a subject. But the speakers of very small and restricted ethnic languages are taught in Indonesian right away, with their own language used as an aid only. In higher education, especially at the tertiary level, English dominates in much of the materials taught, but Indonesian is still generally used as language of instruction, except by foreign teachers.

## 5.3. Brunei

Malay is the national and official language, and also the majority spoken language. Chinese is spoken by Chinese immigrants, and

the Austronesian Dayak languages by the “aboriginal” population. There are about 300 000 inhabitants in Brunei, and 75% of them speak Malay, 20% Chinese, 5% Dayak languages. English is the second official language in Brunei, and has a leading position in the “modern” sector of society.

#### 5.4. East Timor

There are probably between twenty and thirty ethnic languages in East Timor, or were before the Indonesian occupation, but the largest in terms of speakers is Tetum, which has also acquired a lingua franca status. Tetum is also spoken by many in (Indonesian) West Timor. Tetum is given the status of national language in the East Timorese constitution, but Indonesian is also very widely spoken, at least by the young generation. Within the older generation, Portuguese is still used by educated people.

There are about 800 000 inhabitants in East Timor. Numbers concerning the indigenous languages are difficult to find, because the existing language communities were broken up by the resettlement policy of the Indonesian occupation forces in the 1970s and 80s. But Tetum and Indonesian have become the two majority languages among East Timorese. The most important languages beside these (numbering between 50 000 and 80 000 speakers each in the early seventies) are Makassae, Bunak, Mambai, Kemak, Idate, Galoli, and Tukudede (the first two being non-Austronesian) (Hiorth 1985, 10–11). Indonesian was the language of instruction during the occupation, although Tetum might be used at the lower stages. After independence in 2002, Portuguese and Tetum were declared “official languages” in the constitution, and Portuguese is now heavily promoted as the main language in education and public life.

#### 5.5. The Philippines

Here, there are 80 or more regional languages. Among the most important are Hiligaynon, Ilocano, Cebuano, etc. Tagalog, the fundament of the national standard language, is spoken by 12 million on Central and Southern Luzon, including the capital Manila. The other most important indigenous languages are Bisaya (24 million), Cebuano (15 million), Ilocano (7 million), Hiligaynon (6 million), Bikol (4 million), Loang (3 million), Pampanga (2 million), and Pangasinan (1.5 million).

English is a very dominant language in the Philippines. It is an official language, and the primary language in higher education, science and technology, business life, and other sectors. Attempts to replace it with Pilipino in official functions have met with only limited success. In education, regional languages are used at the lowest level, while Pilipino takes over in competition with English at the more advanced (secondary) stage.

Spanish is still known and used by sectors of the traditional elite, but plays a very minor role compared to both English and Pilipino.

#### 5.6. Singapore

Singapore has four official languages: Chinese, English, Malay and Tamil. Malay is the national language, largely a symbolic gesture. The majority of the 3 million Singaporeans are ethnic Chinese and speak Cantonese, Hakka, Fujian, and other Southern Chinese varieties (in total 2.5 million or 75%). Mandarin is the official variety, although spoken naturally by relatively few. Malay (450 000 speakers) and Tamil (140 000) are spoken by the respective ethnic groups, while English is the dominant language of business, technology, higher education, and politics in this international financial center.

### 6. Issues connected with standardization

#### 6.1. Malay

Malay has a long history behind it as a written language in Arabic characters, used in courtly and religious literature, but its appearance has shifted through time, partly because its geographical center has moved over the centuries. Shortly after 1900, it was officially standardized in a Roman-character version for use in schools both in the Netherlands East Indies and in British Malaya. The orthographic systems were based on those of Dutch and English, respectively. These standards were widely accepted for the time being.

Orthography was a hot issue during the first two to three decades after World War II. Partly, the discussion revolved around the relations between speech and writing, and the ideal of a phonemic writing system where only one character denoted each phoneme



was promoted, but never implemented. The speech to be reflected by this orthography was also discussed, since many features fluctuate in actual speech according to the substratum of the speaker. The system is marked by a strong degree of phonemicity in relation to standardized speech, which is partly based on this written language, and which seems to be expansive as the supra-regional spoken language except in markedly informal situations. Then, there was the question of the treatment of loanwords and foreign words, where a strong assimilationist line was advocated in the fifties, whereas a more adaptive policy prevailed after 1966 until today. Still, Malay orthography is quite assimilationist even today, retaining very little of “foreign spellings” in foreign words. Finally, there was the political question of cooperation and rapprochement between the Malaysian and Indonesian varieties, which were promoted in the late 50s, then abandoned because of political antagonism during the formation of Malaysia in the early sixties, and then resumed again after Soeharto’s takeover in 1966. A unified orthography was formally implemented in 1972 after years of deliberations and discussions. (For treatments of the spelling question from different angles, see Anwar 1980, 82–94; Abas 1987, 81–105; Vikør 1988; and Asmah 1992, 233–246.)

Besides this Roman-alphabet codification, there existed a writing tradition with the Arabic alphabet, which remained strong in Malaysia, but not in Indonesia. This tradition has strong Islamic connotations, and has been the vehicle of Islamism and Malay (i. e. anti-Chinese) nationalism.

The standardization of grammatical rules has perhaps been partly less successful, especially in syntax, where there has been a marked interference from Western languages (Dutch and English) against the wishes of traditional grammarians, but many users regard this as a necessary and positive contribution to the modernization process. The traditional standard around 1900 was based at the court of the sultanate Johore-Riau with its center on the Riau islands south of Singapore (and belonging to Indonesia). Modern Malay is a continuation of this standard, but especially its Indonesian version has been strongly influenced by Javanese. Java, and particularly Jakarta, remains a gravity center for the development of Indonesian.

The terminological elaboration has developed from a rather strong purist or anti-Western phase in the early years after independence, favoring indigenous roots or loans from Sanskrit and Arabic, to the present policy, which accepts Western loanwords quite liberally for the sake of modernization. (For treatments of Indonesian language planning and development problems, see Alisjahbana 1976; Anwar 1980; Vikør 1983; and Abas 1987).

## 6.2. Filipino/Pilipino

This language variety was codified on the basis of Tagalog during the 1930’s under the name Pilipino, and designed to become the future national language. Although it was declared official when the country became independent in 1946, it was difficult for it to assert itself against English. In the 1970s, the idea developed to aim for a future common national language”, which was to be called Filipino, and which on the basis of Tagalog should absorb words and other features from the diversity of Philippine regional languages. Thereby, the one-sided favorization of Tagalog-speakers in Luzon, which had created resentment in other language groups, was to be avoided. In the new constitution of 1976, this was promulgated as an official aim, and the non-existent “Filipino” even made an official language besides English (which continued its domination in practice). After the ouster of Ferdinand Marcos, a new constitution from 1987 again declared the existing Pilipino official, but renamed it Filipino, and the aim to integrate more features from other Philippine languages remained. (A discussion on Philippine language policy under different political regimes is given in Tollefson 1991, 141–163.)

There has been an intense cultivation process going on in Pilipino/Filipino, based on a purist line, thus favoring neologisms based on Philippine roots over loans from English. In practical usage, however, English loans have penetrated Filipino to a large extent.

## 6.3. Tetum

The standardization of Tetum (also called Tetun) is still in progress. But there has been some dissension as to which variety of Tetum should be used as a base: Tetum-terik, which is the authentic and more traditional Tetum of the mother-tongue speakers, or Tetum-praça, which is the creolized

Tetum used as a lingua franca in Dili and other towns. The latter is easier to learn and more widely known, and, of course, less ethnically biased, and it seems that it will be the most likely fundament of a Tetum standard language (Hull 1996).

### 7. Issues connected with language maintenance and language death

The area under treatment, and above all Indonesia, has an enormous amount of languages used by very small groups. During colonial times, these languages were able to maintain themselves fairly well, due to the policy of preserving the existing local cultures and social structures and exploit the most fertile areas under a system of indirect rule, i.e. rule through the mediation of the indigenous ruling class. After independence, national unity and economic development became important aims, and the early nationalist movement favored the universal use of a standard language. In the Philippines, little has been done to support local and regional languages until now, although they are used as sources of lexical enrichment of Filipino, and although some of their speakers have voiced an opposition to the universalization of Filipino.

In Indonesia, the constitution of 1945 mentions "those regional languages which have been well cultivated, among others Javanese, Sundanese and Madurese" as parts of the national heritage which should be preserved. In practice, the nationalist movement and the new state strove towards full implementation of Indonesian as the language of unity in a unitary state. The attitudes changed gradually, however, towards a more positive view on regional and local languages, and a more systematic documentation and development (at a modest level) of these languages or a number of them took place. Many, but still only a fraction, of the local languages have got dictionaries, primers, Bibles, local traditional texts, etc., to a large extent through the efforts of the national Center of Language Development and Cultivation in Jakarta. Missionaries both in colonial times and later have also done much to codify various local languages and produce Bibles and other religious texts in them.

However, the pressure on these languages is probably increasing, above all through the economic development policy, and the general increase in social and geographical

mobilization. Development often entails disruption of local communities because the government or private firms acquire traditional lands for forestry, dams for electricity production, tourism, and so on. During the Soeharto years, the possibilities of resisting such incursions were small. However, the consciousness of the rights of minorities in their traditional lands has increasingly grown, and more regards are paid to the values of local cultures, including languages. Still, the prestige of Indonesian as the only vehicle for social advancement and progress is overwhelming, and many languages are under pressure because of this. Even the larger languages, like Javanese, seem to lose domains to Indonesian, receding into the position of vehicles of traditional cultural values. A reduction of the number of languages is, therefore, clearly taking place, but its extent is little known. The picture is not totally one-sided, however: In some areas, regional languages, not Indonesian, experience growth at the cost of more local ones, notably Banjarese in South Borneo, which grew from 1.3 mill. to 1.9 mill. during the 1980s. There are also signs that the political opening after Soeharto's fall leads to a stronger regionalism and thereby a renaissance of local languages as cultural and political vehicles. It is difficult to assess the strength of this trend, however.

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## 206. Japan und Korea / Japan and Korea

1. Die soziolinguistische Situation
2. Bereiche und Charakteristik der Forschung
3. Aktuelle Themen
4. Literatur (in Auswahl)

### 1. Die soziolinguistische Situation

#### 1.1. Japan

Japan hat eine Bevölkerung von rund 120 Millionen, für die fast ausschließlich Japanisch die Erstsprache ist. Japanisch dient daher auch ohne ausdrückliche Bestimmung als einzige Amtssprache. Außerhalb Japans wird Japanisch in Gemeinden japanischer Ausiedler gesprochen, wie sie z. B. auf Hawaii oder in Nord- und Südamerika zu finden sind. Unter den Sprechern dieser Gemeinden sind jedoch viele, die die Sprache als Zweitsprache gelernt haben.

In Japan gibt es noch eine weitere Sprache, die vom Aussterben bedrohte *Ainu-Sprache*. Das Ainu-Volk, Nachkommen der Ureinwohner Hokkaidos in Nordjapan, ist eine Minderheit von rund 25000 Personen. Die Ainu-Sprache wird zwar von den Angehörigen dieses Volkes im täglichen Gebrauch so gut wie nie gebraucht, doch gibt es eine nicht geringe Zahl potentieller Sprecher. Ein größeres Problem als das der Ainu-Sprache stellt im Hinblick auf Minderheiten und damit zusammenhängender Sprachkontaktforschung die Sprachsituation der *Japan-Koreaner* da. Der nur lose definierte Begriff Japan-Koreaner bezieht sich auf in Japan ansässige Personen koreanischer Herkunft, von denen viele (auch in zweiter oder dritter Generation) noch die süd- oder nordkoreanische Staatsangehörigkeit haben. Mit fast einer halben Million Personen bilden sie die größte Gruppe unter den Ausländern in Japan. Der Autor geht in 3. näher auf dieses Themengebiet ein.

Ein weiteres Problem des Sprachkontakts in Japan sind Lehnwörter, vor allem aus dem Englischen. Um mit der immer schnelleren

Entwicklung von Technik und Wissenschaft mitzuhalten, verzichtet man im heutigen Japan zumeist darauf, die sich ebenso rapide vermehrenden Fachbegriffe ins Japanische zu übersetzen. Lehnwörter werden nur dem japanischen Lautsystem angepasst und dann mit der phonetischen Silbenschrift Katakana wiedergegeben. Ein Vokabular international gebräuchlicher Begriffe aus Bereichen wie Medizin, Technik, Freizeit und Sport ist zwar sehr nützlich, auf der anderen Seite ist die Mischung von Lehnwörtern in Katakana und japanischen Wörtern in chinesischen Bedeutungsschriftzeichen (Kanji) nicht ohne Probleme. Untersuchungen ergeben jedoch, dass, im Gegensatz zu älteren Japanern, die Lehnwörter eher negativ beurteilen, bei der jüngeren Generation eine positive Einstellung überwiegt. Die Tendenz, fremde Elemente in einer an die eigenen Bedürfnisse assimilierten Form zu übernehmen und frei in die eigene Kultur und Sprache zu integrieren, ist nicht neu in Japan. Schon im Altertum wurden die chinesischen Schriftzeichen und damit große Bestandteile der chinesischen Sprache ins Japanische übernommen. Viel diskutierte Merkmale der japanischen Sprache, wie der gleichzeitige Gebrauch dreier verschiedener Schriften (phonetische Silbenschriften Hiragana und Katakana, Bedeutungsschriftzeichen Kanji) oder die Unterscheidung zwischen sino-japanischer und rein-japanischer Lesung der Kanji-Schriftzeichen zeigen die Möglichkeiten und Grenzen der erfolgten Assimilation.

#### 1.2. Korea

Auch im Falle der beiden koreanischen Staaten (wenn nicht ausdrücklich anders erwähnt, beziehen sich in diesem Artikel alle Ausführungen und Daten zu „Korea“ auf Südkorea) ist Koreanisch die Erstsprache der gesamten Bevölkerung; 42 Mio. in Südkorea (Republik Korea) und 21 Mio. in Nordkorea (Demokratische Volksrepublik

Korea); und damit auch in beiden Staaten die einzige Amtssprache, ohne besonders als solche bestimmt zu sein. Durch Unterschiede in der Sprachpolitik sind zwischen Nord- und Südkorea jedoch leichte Variationen in Orthographie, Aussprache und Vokabular festzustellen. Koreanisch wird weiterhin in der autonomen koreanischen Provinz in der VR China (Sprecherzahl ca. 1,8 Mio.) und von etwa 900 000 Sprechern koreanischer Abstammung in Japan, den USA und der ehemaligen Sowjetunion gesprochen.

In Korea stellen sich durch die Einwanderung ausländischer Arbeitnehmer, zumeist aus Südasien, in letzter Zeit vermehrt Probleme des Sprachkontakts. Korea betrachtet sich jedoch als Staat mit homogenem Volk und homogener Sprache. Daher erfahren ernste linguistische Probleme, wie das der Mutter-, Landes- und Amtssprache, oder das des Bilingualismus, welche stark mit politischen, wirtschaftlichen und religiösen Fragen verbunden sind, jedoch als Probleme multikultureller Staaten angesehen werden, wenig Beachtung. Der Schwerpunkt soziolinguistischer Forschung liegt bisher fast ausschließlich auf Themen zur Korpusplanung. Häufig vertreten sind darunter Untersuchungen zu Schriftzeichen und Orthographie, wie der Gebrauch der koreanischen Hangul-Schrift oder die Orthographie von Fremdwörtern. Die Diskussion darüber, ob ausschließlich Hangul oder Hangul gemischt mit chinesischen Schriftzeichen als allgemeine Schriftform verwendet werden soll, setzt sich seit 1948 bis heute endlos fort.

Ein weiterer Schwerpunkt der koreanischen Sprachpolitik ist die Purifizierung der Landessprache, besonders im Hinblick auf die Eliminierung japanischer Einflüsse. Seit Ende der von 1910 bis 1945 dauernden japanischen Kolonialherrschaft wurden große Bemühungen angestellt, japanische Wörter als Überbleibsel des zwangsweisen Gebrauchs des Japanischen aus der koreanischen Sprache zu eliminieren. Weiterhin gab es bis in die heutige Zeit strenge Restriktionen und Zensuren hinsichtlich japanischer Einflüsse, einschließlich Medien wie Film, Fernsehen und Unterhaltungsmusik. Erst kürzlich wurde diese Sprachpolitik gelockert, als 1999 ein großer Teil der bestehenden Restriktionen durch die Regierung aufgehoben wurde. Dieser Schritt weckt Hoffnung auf eine weitere positive Entwicklung auf diesem Gebiet und, nicht zuletzt, eine bessere Verständigung zwischen den beiden Ländern.

Abschließend bleibt festzuhalten, dass beide Länder, Japan wie auch Korea, in Relation zu ihrer Bevölkerungszahl Regionen mit einer verhältnismäßig homogenen linguistischen Situation sind. Tiefgreifende Gegensätze zwischen Sprechern unterschiedlicher Dialekte oder Konfrontationen zwischen Volksstämmen gibt es in beiden Ländern nicht. So beschränkt sich z. B. ein Großteil der soziolinguistischen Betrachtung von Dialekten auf eine Gegenüberstellung feiner Nuancen im Sprachverhalten (einschließlich des Gebrauchs der Höflichkeitssprache) der jeweiligen Sprecher.

## 2. Bereiche und Charakteristik der Forschung

Der Autor unterteilt die Bereiche soziolinguistischer Forschung in Japan in neun verschiedene Kategorien (Sanada et al. 1992). Es folgt eine kurze Vorstellung von für Japan charakteristischen Forschungsmethoden sowie eine Auswahl relevanter Forschungsgegenstände in den jeweiligen Bereichen.

### (i) Methodologie

Ein charakteristisches Merkmal der japanischen Soziolinguistik ist, dass nicht die Aufstellung abstrakter Hypothesen oder Theorien, sondern die Erfassung der wahren Sachlage durch die Sammlung von objektiven Daten das Hauptziel der Forschung darstellt. Theorien, die nicht auf solchen Daten basieren, werden als leere Theorien angesehen. Weiterhin wird vermieden, die Ergebnisse zu abstrahieren oder zu verallgemeinern, da der eigentliche Schwerpunkt der Forschung in der Betrachtung der einzelnen Individuen und deren Sprache liegt.

### (ii) Sprachvarietäten

Einen Schwerpunkt auf diesem Gebiet bilden Untersuchungen zu geschlechtsspezifischen Unterschieden im Sprachgebrauch, wie z. B. Höflichkeitsformen in der *Frauensprache* und deren Beziehung zu der gesellschaftlichen Rolle der Frau (Ide/McGloin-Hanaoka 1990). Einen weiteren Schwerpunkt bilden Untersuchungen zu gruppen- und fachspezifischem Vokabular.

### (iii) Sprachverhalten

Auch in diesem Bereich ist die *Höflichkeitssprache* Gegenstand vieler Untersuchungen. In einer Forschung zu klassenspezifischen

schen Unterschieden in deren Gebrauch hat der Autor das Sprachverhalten aller Einwohner einer ländlichen Gemeinde in der Präfektur Toyama untersucht und gezeigt, dass der Gebrauch der Höflichkeitssprache in der Gemeinde von Familie zu Familie je nach deren gesellschaftlichen Stellung variiert (Sanada 1993). Ein umfangreiches Forschungsprojekt zum Sprachverhalten führte das Nationale Institut für Sprachforschung (*Kokuritsu Kokugo Kenkyūjo*) durch. Das Projekt, in dem in Intervallen von 20 Jahren dreimal fortlaufende Untersuchungen zur Standardisierung des Sprachverhaltens in der Stadt Tsuruoka (Präfektur Yamagata) durchgeführt wurden, erweckte durch seine methodologische Besonderheit auch internationale Aufmerksamkeit (Yoneda 1997).

#### (iv) Sprachleben

In einer weiteren Studie des Instituts, der sog. „24-stündigen Untersuchung zum Sprachleben“, wurden im Jahre 1971 in der Stadt Matsue (Präfektur Shimane) einen Tag lang alle Äußerungen einer Hausfrau und deren Konversationspartner aufgenommen, handschriftlich transkribiert und später analysiert. Die zu der Zeit noch primitiven Methoden der Diskursanalyse wurden später durch *Takeshi Shibata* verbessert, der dadurch einer der Wegbereiter der modernen Diskursanalyse wurde (Kunihiro/Inoue/Long 1998).

#### (v) Sprachkontakt

Wie oben bereits erwähnt, stellt auf diesem Gebiet die Sprachsituation der Japan-Koreaner einen wichtigen Themenschwerpunkt da. Die Relevanz dieses Themas ist der Mehrheit der Forscher in Japan zwar bekannt, konkrete Forschung in diesem Bereich begann jedoch erst in den letzten Jahren (Sanada/Yim 1993).

#### (vi) Sprachwandel

Mit der Verbreitung der Massenmedien nach dem zweiten Weltkrieg erlangte eine vorwiegend auf der Sprache Tokyos basierende Varietät des Japanischen die Funktion der Gemeinsprache des gesamten Landes. Diese Gemeinsprache übte einen starken Einfluss auf die Dialekte der einzelnen Regionen aus und in vielen Gebieten besteht die Gefahr des Untergangs traditioneller Dialekte. Jedoch ist in letzter Zeit auch unter jungen Sprechern wieder die Tendenz einer Betonung der lokalen Identität festzu-

stellen. Sie entwickeln durch eine Fusion von traditionellen Dialekten mit der Gemeinsprache eine neue, für ihre Region charakteristische, Varietät. Der Autor, der sich u. a. mit Studien zu solchen neuen Varietäten beschäftigt, definiert diese als *Neodialekt*. Ein Beispiel ist der Neodialekt *Uchinā-Yamatoguchi*, der durch den Kontakt der traditionellen Varietät Okinawas mit der Standardvarietät entstanden ist (Sanada et al. 1992).

#### (vii) Sprachbewusstsein

Japan hat sich in der Neuzeit weitgehend nach europäischem Vorbild entwickelt. Dazu kamen nach dem zweiten Weltkrieg weitere westliche Einflüsse durch die amerikanische Besatzung. Durch diese einseitige westliche Orientierung ist in Japan eine Art Komplex gegenüber der westlichen Welt entstanden, in dem sich auch viele der weit verbreiteten Stereotypen hinsichtlich der eigenen Kultur und Sprache begründen. Anderen asiatischen Ländern und deren Sprachen wurde dagegen verhältnismäßig wenig Beachtung geschenkt. Das auf diesen Faktoren basierende Bewusstsein bezüglich der eigenen Sprache und Fremdsprachen zeigt sich u. a. im Sprachverhalten gegenüber Ausländern, wo deutliche Unterschiede je nach Herkunft des Ausländers festzustellen sind (Ostheider 2004).

#### (viii) Spracherwerb

Auf diesem Gebiet hat die japanische Soziolinguistik den Terminus *Sprachbildungszeit* eingeführt. Der Begriff bezieht sich auf das Alter von 5–6 Jahren bis 13–14 Jahren als den Zeitraum, in dem sich die sog. Muttersprache herausbildet. Diese Erkenntnis beruht auf einer Studie des Nationalen Instituts für Sprachforschung im Jahre 1949, in der Veränderungen in der Aussprache (Wortakzent) von 500 im Krieg von Tokyo nach Shirakawa (Präfektur Fukushima) evakuierten Kindern und Jugendlichen in Bezug auf das Alter deren Umsiedlung analysiert wurden (Sanada/Long 1997).

#### (ix) Sprachplanung

Bis zu seiner Niederlage im zweiten Weltkrieg versuchte Japan die japanische Sprache in seinen Kolonien in Asien zu verbreiten. Forschungen, die sich mit den soziolinguistischen Hintergründen, Fakten und Folgen der Sprachpolitik jener Zeit beschäftigen, sind jedoch erst in letzter Zeit populär ge-

worden. Eine repräsentative Forschung darunter ist die Untersuchung über Mikronesien von Toki et al. (1998).

In Japan ist die Sprachvarietätenforschung, die sich mit der Beziehung zwischen sozialen Merkmalen des Sprechers und dessen Sprachgebrauch beschäftigt, am häufigsten vertreten. An zweiter Stelle stehen diachronische Untersuchungen auf dem Gebiet der Sprachwandel-forschung, gefolgt von Arbeiten über Sprachverhalten. Verhältnismäßig selten dagegen ist jedoch Forschung in den Bereichen Spracherwerb und Sprachplanung.

Was die Forschung in Korea anbetrifft, fällt die geringe Anzahl von Arbeiten zur Methodologie und der hohe Anteil von Untersuchungen auf dem Gebiet der Sprachplanung, auf deren Schwerpunkte oben schon eingegangen worden ist, auf. An zweiter bzw. dritter Stelle stehen Forschungen in den Bereichen Sprachkontakt und Sprachverhalten. Erstere beschäftigten sich überwiegend mit Einflüssen aus dem Englischen, letztere besonders mit dem Gebrauch der Höflichkeitssprache.

### 3. Aktuelle Themen

Im Folgenden werden einige Forschungen und deren Ergebnisse aus Bereichen vorgestellt, die sich mit dem Thema „Koreaner und Japan“ befassen. Weiterhin ein aktueller Blick auf Gründung und Aktivität soziolinguistischer Gesellschaften in den beiden Ländern.

#### 3.1. Sprachvariation bei Japan-Koreanern

Ein Vergleich hörer- und situationsbedingter Variation im Sprachgebrauch unter Japan-Koreanern zeigt bei der vom Hörer abhängigen Variation eine Zunahme im Gebrauch des Koreanischen bei Gesprächspartnern, die älter als der Sprecher oder eng mit ihm vertraut sind. Da in der koreanischen Gesellschaft der Respekt gegenüber älteren Personen, einschließlich der Eltern, eine wichtige Rolle spielt, ist anzunehmen, dass es als höflich betrachtet wird, die für den Hörer verständlichere Sprache zu wählen. Hinsichtlich situationsbedingter Unterschiede ist ein vermehrter Gebrauch des Koreanischen bei sozialen Funktionen wie „Begrüßung“ oder „Sprechen vor größerem Publikum“ festzustellen. Diese Tendenz ist besonders stark bei in Japan geborenen Sprechern der zweiten Generation, für die der Gebrauch des Koreanischen scheinbar

einen Wechsel von der Alltagssprache zu einer Sprache „sozialen Umgangs“ bedeutet (Ogoshi 1991).

#### 3.2. Sprachkenntnisse von Koreanern in Übersee

Yim (1993) untersucht die sprachliche Situation von Sprechern koreanischer Abstammung in Japan und den Vereinigten Staaten. Die Daten der Vereinigten Staaten zeigen die vorhersehbare Tendenz, dass mit abnehmendem Alter weniger Befragte angeben im Koreanischen kompetent zu sein. Der Anteil junger Befragter mit Kenntnissen beträgt jedoch immer noch über 80%. In Japan ist dieser Prozentsatz viel geringer. Selbst bei den älteren Befragten in Japan gibt nur etwas mehr als die Hälfte Kompetenz im Koreanischen an; beruhend auf der Tatsache, dass viele von ihnen bereits zur zweiten Generation gehören. Auch bezüglich der Kompetenz in der jeweiligen Landessprache sind große Unterschiede zwischen den beiden Gruppen festzustellen. Bei den in Japan ansässigen Befragten erklären fast 100%, unabhängig der Altersgruppe, Japanisch zu sprechen. In den Vereinigten Staaten dagegen gibt nur ein Drittel der älteren Befragten an Englisch zu sprechen, und selbst bei den jüngeren Befragten sind es weniger als 80%, die sich als kompetent in der Landessprache bezeichnen.

#### 3.3. Einstellungen zum Japanischen

Bei einer Umfrage im Jahre 1993 wurden über 300 Koreaner in Seoul und Umgebung zu ihrer Einstellung bezüglich des Japanischen befragt (Sanada et al. 1996). Interessanterweise zeigen Befragte über 60 Jahre, die den zwangsweisen Gebrauch des Japanischen unter der japanischen Kolonialherrschaft erlebt haben, die positivste Einstellung zur Sprache, während unter jüngeren Befragten der Anteil negativer Antworten zunimmt. Wenn man die Daten unter dem Gesichtspunkt, ob der/die Befragte jemals in Japan gelebt hat, betrachtet, fällt auf, dass unter Befragten mit Japan-Erfahrung der Anteil positiver Einstellungen bedeutend höher ist.

#### 3.4. Gründung wissenschaftlicher Gesellschaften

Im Dezember 1990 wurde in Korea *The Sociolinguistic Society of Korea* gegründet, die zweimal jährlich einen Kongress mit Vorträgen zu Forschungsergebnissen veranstaltet. Die Verwaltung wird hauptsächlich von jun-

gen koreanischen Wissenschaftlern mit Auslandsstudium (u.a. USA, Japan, Deutschland, Frankreich) durchgeführt. Unter den rund 400 Mitgliedern der Gesellschaft (Stand 2005) sind daher nur wenig Koreanisten. Wissenschaftler aus Bereichen wie Allgemeine Linguistik, Anglistik oder Japanologie bilden die überwiegende Mehrheit. Die Gesellschaft publiziert seit 1993 die halbjährig erscheinende Fachzeitschrift *The Sociolinguistic Journal of Korea*.

In Japan wurde im Januar 1998 *The Japanese Association of Sociolinguistic Sciences (JASS)* gegründet. Die Gesellschaft sieht sich als transdisziplinäre Organisation, die sich mit Fragen zur Funktion von Kommunikation und Sprache in der Gesellschaft beschäftigt. Auch hier wird zweimal jährlich ein Kongress veranstaltet, an dem nicht nur Soziolinguisten, sondern auch Wissenschaftler aus anderen Fachrichtungen wie Pädagogik oder Medienwissenschaften, teilnehmen. Die Anzahl der Mitglieder beträgt etwa 1200 (Stand 2005). Als Publikation der Gesellschaft erscheint seit November 1998 halbjährig *The Japanese Journal of Language in Society*.

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## 207. Australia and New Zealand/Australien und Neuseeland

1. A Bird's eye view of the language situation
2. Indigenous-English language contact
3. Contact between English and other immigrant languages
4. English in Australia and New Zealand
5. Conclusion
6. Literature (selected)

### 1. A Bird's eye view of the language situation

Australia and New Zealand are both multilingual societies in terms of their linguistic make up: English functions as the (de-facto)

official and as the national language, although Maori in NZ is also recognised as a national language. English is, however, the dominant language in the public domain in both communities and also records the highest numbers of speakers, i. e. more than 95% of the population speaks English either as a first or a second language. The situation of indigenous languages in both countries is precarious with many Australian Aboriginal languages already extinct and the long term survival of many others doubtful. Maori in New Zealand is also at risk but its official recognition as a national language may fa-

facilitate its survival and/or revival. A third element in this linguistic tapestry is the many immigrant languages other than English (LOTEs) especially in Australia but also in New Zealand. For example, the 1996 Australian Census processed information on almost 200 LOTEs and found that 14.6% of the total Australian population used a LOTE in the home. Although these societies share many common elements in their linguistic make up, New Zealand's linguists have described NZ as one of the most monolingual countries in the world (e.g., Bell/Holmes 1990) whereas multilingualism is the projected linguistic image of Australia. Although this difference in self image has had some impact on the volume of scholarship devoted to a specific issue, the main sociolinguistic topics in both countries include varieties of English and variation in English, as well as contact between English and indigenous or immigrant languages. Within the sociolinguistic study of language contact specific attention is directed at questions of language maintenance, shift and death as well as language revival. The development of language policies has also received attention in both countries. For the Australian language situation Romaine (1991) remains the most comprehensive source with papers on Aboriginal and Islander languages, Pidgins and Creoles, Immigrant languages, Australian English and language policy. To date, such a work is missing for the New Zealand language scene although there are some recent collections on New Zealand English (Bell/Holmes 1990; Bell/Kuiper 2000) which touch to a minor extent on the other issues. Below is a brief overview of the main sociolinguistic issues surrounding language contact and the emergence of local varieties of English as they shape the language situation in Australia and New Zealand.

## 2. Indigenous-English language contact

### 2.1. Australia

Prior to 1788 language contact was already a feature of the Australian Aboriginal speech communities whose members were often multilingual: they acquired the languages of their primary caretakers and often developed a 'hearing' knowledge of other languages (Brandl/Walsh 1982, 71ff). The arrival

of the first white (British) settlers in the late 1700s brought about language contact between English and Australian indigenous languages resulting partly in the development of *contact languages*, pidgins and later creoles (e.g., Kriol, Torres Strait Creole) – and more dramatically, to the loss (*death*) of many indigenous languages. Of the estimated 250 distinct languages expressed in more than 600 dialects in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century, only about 25 have survived with more than 250 speakers in the late 20<sup>th</sup> century (Walsh 1991, 30). Similarly the geographical territory of indigenous languages has shrunk mainly to the northern and central parts of Australia. The loss of many Australian Aboriginal languages is attributable to white settlers' attitudes and government policies as well as disease and genocide (Walsh/Yallop 1993). For example, the (forced) placement of diverse linguistic groups in small missions and reserves led to the need for a lingua franca and a subsequent abandoning of the first language. The placement of Aboriginal children in white homes and institutions (the 'stolen generation') in an effort to 'civilise' and 'christianise' them inevitably led to language loss as an English-only policy was imposed on these children (HRSCATSIA 1992). Today only some older people in indigenous communities still use the Aboriginal language as their main mode of interaction whilst younger people in such communities communicate mainly in creole and/or Aboriginal English. Their limited knowledge of the Aboriginal language prevents them from participating fully in a range of ceremonial events and can also lead to a breakdown in traditional kinship arrangements because they lack specific speech styles and appropriate language behaviour. There is also evidence amongst younger users of Aboriginal languages (e.g., Dyrbal, Warlpiri) that their language shows signs of English influence and that it deviates from that of the older speakers (e.g., Schmidt 1985; Bavin/Shopen 1985). Since the 1970s both the communities and the government have introduced some measures to halt the alarming loss of Aboriginal languages. These include regional language centres which assist community language programs, bilingual education and two-way schooling (Harris 1990), media services in and for indigenous languages, and most recently language revival programmes (e.g., Kurna in South Australia). Recent



changes in language policy have led to bilingual programs being dropped in the Northern Territory. To date most Aboriginal Australians who live in the northern and central parts of Australia speak a creole and a form of Aboriginal English [AbE]. In eastern and southern parts of the country the main modes of communication between Aboriginal people are varieties of English, including AbE. AbE can be described as a spectrum of varieties of English used by Aboriginal Australians (Malcolm/Kaldor 1991). They are distinct from creoles as well as from Standard Australian English [SAE]. The varieties closer to the creole end of the spectrum are very different from English whereas those closer to the SAE end are comprehensible to SAE speakers, although miscommunication may arise due to substantive structural and especially pragmatic differences between AbE and SAE (Malcolm/Kaldor 1991; Eades 1991; 1993). The function of AbE among Aboriginal Australians varies a great deal: in the southern and eastern parts of the country the use of AbE may be a marker of ethnic identity and stress group solidarity. In multilingual and creole-using communities AbE may function as the variety to be used with white people in the absence of SAE. Following concerns expressed by activists, educationists and sociolinguists about the place and recognition of AbE in the education system Education Departments and schools in the 1990s have become aware of the need to regard AbE as a legitimate variety and to undertake the teaching of SAE from the perspective of a second dialect. In 1999, for example, the Education Department of Western Australia [EdDeptWA 1999] produced a detailed guide to Aboriginal English which also identified strategies for teachers of how to build on this knowledge when teaching SAE.

## 2.2. New Zealand

Maori is the indigenous language of *Aotearoa*, the Maori name for New Zealand. Although early contacts between Maoris and European explorers and settlers would have been in a pidgin-like code, there is no strong evidence that a specific New Zealand pidgin developed (Clark 1990). There is evidence that since the signing of the *Treaty of Waitangi* in 1840 and British settlement Maori has rapidly declined in usage with English replacing Maori in almost all domains including the home. The Maori popu-

lation makes up about 13% of New Zealand's population today. The 1996 Census survey records approx. 154000 speakers of Maori, most of whom are bilingual in English and Maori. Benton (1979a; 1979b; 1983; 1987) who has worked extensively on Maori language use and maintenance reports that less than 20% of the speakers are fluent in Maori and that many of the younger Maori have mainly receptive skills in Maori. On the basis of sociolinguistic surveys in 1970s and 1980s Benton (1983; 1987) found that Maori was still strong as a ceremonial language associated with the *marae* – the square in front of a meeting house where ceremonial events and rituals are conducted. Maori was also used for less formal functions related to the *marae* and could also be found in pubs which older Maori considered a Maori domain. In other domains Maori is still used by or to older people although English dominates most interactions. Since the 1980s there have been strong efforts to stop the further decline of Maori language use and knowledge and to revitalise the language. 1982 saw the introduction of pre-school immersion programs, *kohanga reo* through community effort. To date there are around 800 such programs. Bilingual schools have been introduced. Broadcasts in Maori are now a regular feature. The status of Maori was also raised by its declaration as an official language in 1987. It is too early to tell if these efforts are having an impact on reversing language shift. The existence of Maori English is still being discussed among New Zealand linguists (see Benton 1991) although there is recognition that some Maori-English bilinguals use varieties of English to other Maori people which display 'Maori' pronunciations, incorporate many Maori words and systematically use non-standard grammatical features.

## 3. Contact between English and other immigrant languages

### 3.1. Australia

Immigrant language contact is a well-established and active field of research. Within the constraints of this chapter a comprehensive overview is not possible. However, there are good collections which allow a reader to gain an in-depth insight. They include Clyne (1982; 1991), Kipp/Clyne/Pauwels (1995), Pauwels (1988) and Romaine (1991).

### 3.1.1. Language maintenance and shift in immigrant speech communities

The 1996 Australian Census processed data on 192 immigrant languages and on 48 indigenous languages. These statistics reveal the extent of linguistic diversity in Australia, which is increasing in the immigrant language scene due to new migration from around the globe. This increasingly multilingual make up of the Australian population is, however, not a indication of greater levels of language maintenance [LM] in the communities. In fact, Clyne/Kipp (1997a) draw on the data of 3 Censuses (1986–1991–1996) to compare the rates of language shift [LS] suffered by immigrant groups over a 10 year period. Their analysis shows not only that all communities have undergone LS, – even amongst the overseas-born generation – but it also shows an overall rise in LS over the 10 year period. Rates of LS, however, vary greatly from group to group with the highest LS rate recorded for Dutch (61.9%) and the lowest for Macedonian (3%). Perhaps most indicative of the dramatic rise in LS is the extent of intergenerational LS: the Australian-born offspring of migrants maintain the LOTE far less than their parents so that the chances of the language being passed on to the next generation become very slim indeed, at least in some communities. For example, 95% of the Dutch second-generation only speak English. This compares with 28% of the children of Greek migrants. This upward trend in LS is also apparent from the changes in the rank ordering of languages according to the number of speakers: in 1986 the top ten languages were Italian, Greek, the ‘Yugoslav’ languages, Chinese, Arabic, German, Spanish, Polish, Vietnamese and Dutch, in 1991 they were Italian, Greek, Cantonese, Arabic, German, Vietnamese, Spanish, Polish, Macedonian and Croatian. By 1996 Italian and Greek were still the top two languages with 375752 and 269770 speakers respectively. However, both Greek and Italian together with German which is now ranked sixth, experienced decreases in the number of speakers: 10.3% for Italian, 5.6% for Greek and 12.8% for German. All other languages which make up the top ten, i.e. Cantonese (3), Arabic (4), Vietnamese (5), Mandarin (7), Spanish (8), Macedonian (9) and Tagalog (10) recorded increases since the previous Census. Following extensive analyses of census data

on language (e.g., Clyne 1982; 1991; Clyne/Kipp 1996; 1997a; b; c), Clyne/Kipp (1997a, 459) believe that degree of ‘cultural distance’ between the immigrant group and the host/dominant group is an important factor determining rates of LM and LS in Australia: the greater the ‘cultural’ distance, the greater likelihood of LM. Australian research on immigrant LOTE has not been limited to census analyses. In fact over the past 30 years there have been a spate of studies focusing on immigrant language groups and investigating the impact of various factors on LM (e.g., exogamy, gender, language variety, area of settlement). Many studies adopt a domain approach identifying those domains most and least resistant to the influence of English. The outcome of these (see Clyne (1991) for an overview) reveals that English has intruded in many domains. The more private domains of the family and friendship tend to be the most resistant to LS. The domain of family continues to be the domain in which the LOTE persists the longest for both 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> generation speakers. However, communication patterns in the family do vary with according to generation. The LOTE is increasingly becoming the language of communication with the older generation. Intergenerational communication is often bilingual with the older generation (parents/grandparents) addressing the younger generation in the LOTE and children responding in English. Among themselves children will almost always use English. In some communities where there is still sufficient proficiency in the LOTE in the second generation (e.g., Greek), second-generation parents may speak English to each other but speak the LOTE to their young children. The domain of friendship is especially resistant to LS in the case of ageing migrants who seek out friends from their own ethnic group for social interaction. The degree of LM associated with the religious domain depends largely upon the role assigned to language in practicing religion. Religious groups and denominations which believe in a close relationship between language and religion (e.g., Orthodox, Islamic) usually maintain the LOTE for religious purposes. The domain of education remains a strong English language domain despite the fact that there are now a small but growing number of private colleges and some state schools which offer bilingual programs,

both at primary and secondary level (in most cases these programs are available to all students irrespective of language background). There have also been investigations into the language maintenance efforts undertaken by families and groups. Case studies of Greek (e.g., Tasios 1991), Italian (e.g., Cavallaro 1997) and German (e.g., Murray 1995) second generation families who attempt to pass on the LOTE to their children allow an insight into the types of strategies and conditions which facilitate or hinder LM. The presence of LOTE-speaking grandparents or other members of the family, the displaying of a positive attitude towards the LOTE by the child's environment contact with LOTE speakers of the same age as well as consistent use of the LOTE were all found to facilitate LM among the third generation.

### 3.1.2. The emergence of Australian varieties of immigrant languages?

Earlier work on LOTEs in Australia (e.g., Clyne 1967; Kaminskis 1972; Kouzmin 1973; Bettoni 1981) was particularly inspired by Weinreich's 1953 classic work *Languages in Contact* and focussed on the linguistic aspects of contact between the LOTE in question and English. Particularly Clyne (1967) and Bettoni (1981) provide in-depth descriptions of the impact of English on the structure of German and Italian respectively. Interference and transference at the morphosyntactic as well as the lexical level is evident and both authors describe in detail the processes of grammatical and phonological integration which English transfers undergo in the LOTE. These studies triggered the question of whether Australian varieties of LOTE were emerging. For Italian Andreoni (1980) and Leoni (1981) believe in the existence of 'Australitalian' which they advocate as the language to be taught in Australian schools. For Greek Tamis (1991) also tends in that direction although not as strongly. Most other researchers tend to share Clyne's (1991, 162) view that 'there are as many varieties of community languages in Australia as there are speakers, since the nature and degree of English influence and general adaptation of the base language to the Australian context will depend largely on the individual speakers' activities and life-style as well as to their experience of both languages and cultures'.

Code-switching [CS] between immigrant languages and English has also been a prominent theme: a focus on the linguistic aspects of CS (e.g., structural constraints, types) is found in the work of Clyne (e.g., 1967; 1987; 2003) relating mainly to Dutch-English and German-English CS, of Ho-Dac (1996) for Vietnamese-English CS, and Hlavac (2000) on Croatian-English CS. Sociolinguistic aspects of CS including functions of CS, perceptions of CS, gender and CS have been examined in the work of Clyne (1991; 2003) and Tsokalidou (1994). Another aspect of language contact is the impact of immigrant languages on English. In 4.1. I will address some of these.

### 3.2. New Zealand

In 1997 Holmes (1997, 17) observed that 'research on language maintenance and shift among ethnic minorities in New Zealand is still relatively sparse'. The absence until 1996 of a language question in NZ census surveys has made it impossible to obtain a nation-wide picture of language ecology and ethnolinguistic vitality as has been the case for Australia. Nevertheless there is a growing number of studies (often higher degree theses) which have examined language use in (immigrant) ethnolinguistic communities, including Chinese (Roberts 1991; Xu 1993), Dutch (e.g., Kroef 1977; Folmer 1992), Greek (e.g., Verivaki 1991), Indo-Fijians (Shameem 1995), Indonesian (Adlam 1987), Italian (e.g., Plimmer 1994), Polish (e.g., Neazor 1991), Tongan ('Aipolo/Holmes 1990), Samoan (Fairbairn-Dunlop 1984). Hirsh (1987) also contains contributions on Dutch, Chinese, Hindi, Gujarati and 'Yugoslav'. The observations about language use in diverse ethnic communities in New Zealand, about LM efforts as well as the examination of factors influencing rates of LS bear a great resemblance to those made in relation to immigrant community languages in Australia (see 3.1. and 3.1.1.).

## 4. English in Australia and New Zealand

### 4.1. Australian English

The sociolinguistic study of Australian English [AE] has focussed on the origins and distinctiveness of AE, its emergence as a national standard variety of English and on social, regional and ethnic variation. The

most comprehensive sources on AE remain Collins/Blair (1989), Horvath (1985) and Romaine (1991). There is a fair amount of debate around the exact origins of AE. Bernard (1981) believes that the first variety of AE to develop was a proto-form Broad Australian (see below). Horvath's (1985, 36ff) sociolinguistic reconstruction of AE suggests that polarised social dialects (proto-Broad and proto-Cultivated) may have existed in the early days of the colony. There continues to be acceptance of Mitchell's (1946) findings that the quality of the vowels /i, e, o, u, ai, au/ determined the distinctiveness of the major variants of AE which he labelled 'Broad Australian' and 'Educated Australian'. Later work by Mitchell/Delbridge (1965) distinguished 3 major varieties in the speech of Australian adolescents: Broad, Cultivated (Educated) and General. Guy (1991, 219ff) claims that the cultivated variants of the vowels /i, u:, ei, ou, ai, au/ have phonetic values close(r) to the British RP variety whereas the Broad variants show "a systematic chain-shift whereby the first four of these (non-low long vowels) are diphthongal with centralised and lowered nuclei, while the last two have respectively backed and fronted nuclei." Aboriginal languages have had some influence on AE especially with regard to place names (e.g., Wollongong, Warrumbungle, Uluru), numerous words for local flora and fauna (e.g., kangaroo, wallaby) and words referring to Aboriginal life and cultural values (e.g., corroborree, woomera). The influence of immigrant LOTEs has been limited mainly to some culinary terms – pasta, felafel, sushi. The study of regional variation in AE has revealed a remarkable level of dialectal uniformity which is largely due to early internal (within Australia) population mobility. Nevertheless some regional differences at phonological and lexical level have been found (e.g., Bradley 1989; 1991; Bryant 1985). Australian studies examining the social distribution of some phonological and grammatical variables reveal a picture of social patterning highly compatible with that found in the US and Britain: there are strong correlations between linguistic variants and the categories of gender, class, age and to some extent ethnicity (e.g., Eisikovits 1991; Horvath 1985). To date Horvath's (1985) study of the sociolects of Sydney remains the most extensive sociolinguistic study in Australia. She found that younger people moved more to-

wards the use of General Australian, away from both the Cultivated and the Broad Australian ends of the continuum. This move towards the centre is in part the linguistic expression of Australian nationalistic feelings elevating General Australian to the standard variety of AE. Horvath also suggests that the move away from Broad Australian by teenagers is caused by the influx of large numbers of migrants of non-English speaking backgrounds who use 'ethnic Broad' variants of AE which are not used by the core (Anglo-Australian) speech community. These 'ethnic Broad' variants, however, are not passed on to the second generation who move into the core speech community. In the late 1990s Professor Michael Clyne and colleagues from the Linguistics Department at Monash University have gathered a large database of urban (Melbourne) and rural (in Victoria) forms of Australian English in order to advance the study of AE since Horvath's study of Sydney English in 1985. Their research tries to ascertain patterns of phonetic, lexical, grammatical and discourse variation and change.

Attitudes towards AE have changed dramatically since European settlement: the early attitude of outright rejection of AE was followed by a period of linguistic defensiveness which has made way for a favourable attitude towards the distinctiveness of the Australian accent. The publication of the Macquarie Dictionary in 1981 which takes Australian English as the norm for pronunciation, word usage and syntactic usage was a major milestone in the proclamation of Australian English as the national language of Australia. Australian English is now being recognised as a separate and valid national variety of English along the lines of British and American English.

#### 4.2. New Zealand English

According to Bell/Kuiper (2000) the study of New Zealand English(es) did not really take off until the mid 1980s following a conference in 1986 devoted to NZE. Both Bell/Holmes (1991) and Bell/Kuiper (2000) acknowledge the existence of pre-1980s studies on the NZE lexicon (e.g., Turner 1966) and some aspects of phonology (e.g., Bennett 1943). Since 1986 there has been a meteoric rise in the number of sociolinguistic studies of NZE (for an overview see Bell/Holmes 1991; Bell/Kuiper 2000). Bayard (1987) became the first large-scale study of phono-

logical variation in NZE which adopted a Labovian-style methodology (albeit with substantial shortcomings in range of styles). His study focussed on social variation in relation to the diphthongs /ei, ai, au, ou/; the centralisation of /I/, the merger of the vowels in *ear* and *air*, and vowel variants before /I/. His results reveal that vowel variants which are RP-like are found more frequently among higher social classes. With RP and Cultivated NZE still being the prestige varieties in New Zealand (Bayard 2000) these results are in line with findings for other varieties of English. The study of gender variation is internationally known through the work of Janet Holmes and her colleagues. Whilst there is some focus on phonological features (Woods 1997) most studies deal with gender differences in conversational patterns in a variety of settings and with gender-specific uses of pragmatic particles, discourse markers, syntactic hedges and politeness markers (e.g., Holmes 1984; 1988; 1990; 1995). Another growing area of interest is the study of Maori English and to some extent Pacific Islander Englishes. Bell/Holmes (1991) state that most work on Maori English pre-dating the 1990s was couched in a deficit framework and did not yield conclusive results about the existence of a distinctive variety of Maori English (Benton 1991). More recent work by e.g., Bell (1997; 2000), Holmes (1997a; b), Holmes/Bell (1996), Holmes/Hay (1997), and Stubbe/Holmes (2000) examines differences in discursive features between Maori and Pakeha (White New Zealander) English. Regarding regional variation in NZE several researchers comment that there is little evidence of variation putting NZE on a par with its neighbour, Australian English.

In terms of attitudes towards English in New Zealand Bell/Holmes (1991) comment that there is a long history in New Zealand of denigration of the local variety of English, NZE. Although there has been some movement towards a positive evaluation of 'Cultivated NZE' (mainly in the more urbanised centres of the North Island) there is still strong evidence that RP continues to be regarded as the prestige variety in New Zealand, especially in the South Island. Another major pursuit of NZ sociolinguistics is the in depth study of a diverse types of discourse, genres and registers. Although the primary purpose of studies on compliments (Holmes 1986), on sporting formulae

(Kuiper/Austin 1990), on livestock auction (Kuiper/Haggo 1984), on courtroom interaction (Lane 1990) and on the language of the media (Bell 1991) may not have been to extract the distinctiveness of these discourse types in NZE they nevertheless contribute to insights into NZE.

## 5. Conclusion

The previous paragraphs have highlighted the main sociolinguistic issues that characterise the speech communities in New Zealand and Australia. Whilst in-depth treatment of any of these issues is not possible in the context of the handbook it is hoped that the discussion as well as the references provided in this chapter allow readers to gain an insight into the language situations of Australia and New Zealand as well as some familiarity with its sociolinguistic research.

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## 208. The South Pacific / Der südliche Pazifik

1. Geography, demography and political units
2. The major families of indigenous languages
3. Explaining the diversity
4. European and other recently arrived languages
5. Lingua francas and multilingualism
6. Literacy and orthographies
7. Language varieties and discourse genres
8. Language status and politics
9. Future prospects
10. Literature (selected)

### 1. Geography, demography and political units

The 'South Pacific', for the purposes of this survey, coincides roughly with the three geographic regions known as Melanesia, Micronesia, and Polynesia. However, there are some qualifications: the western half of New Guinea (a province of Indonesia formerly known as Irian Taya or West Irian but now simply as Papua) and New Zealand and Hawai'i (two apices of the Polynesian Triangle) are excluded. Norfolk Island, a territory of Australia lying north of New Zealand is included.

The South Pacific, as defined here, contains about 1100 languages – between 15 and 20% of the world's total. These languages are spoken by about 0.1% of the world's population and their territories occupy less than one percent of the world's land mass. The South Pacific is a region of islands. These range from mountainous continental islands hundreds of kilometres long to tiny atolls just a couple of metres above sea level. From New Guinea to Makira (San Cristobal) in the Solomons most of the islands are intervisible. Beyond Makira vast ocean spaces separate the main groups. Melanesia is dominated by New Guinea, over 2300 kilometres in length. The eastern

half of New Guinea belongs to the independent state of Papua New Guinea, which also includes the Bismarck Archipelago, encompassing New Britain, New Ireland, and the Mussau and Admiralties groups, as well as Bougainville (geographically part of the Solomons chain). Papua New Guinea, with a population of close to five million, is by far the largest of the South Pacific countries. The remaining political units of Melanesia are the independent states of the Solomon Islands, Vanuatu and Fiji, and the French overseas territory of New Caledonia (including the Loyalty Islands).

The principal political units of Polynesia falling within our domain are the independent states of Tonga, Tuvalu. Samoa (until recently known as Western Samoa), American Samoa (a territory of the USA), Tokelau, Niue and the widely scattered Cook Islands (each a territory of New Zealand). Wallis and Futuna (a territory of France), and French Polynesia (a French territory comprising the Society Is., i. e. Tahiti and its neighbours, together with the Marquesas, Tuamotu, Gambier and Austral Islands). Easter Island is part of the Valparaiso province of Chile. The small, remote islands of Pitcairn and Henderson, lying between the Gambiers and Easter Island, are British possessions.

Micronesia consists chiefly of four archipelagos, three of them predominantly made up of tiny atolls. The most farflung island chain is the Carolines, which extend east-west for 3000 km just north of the Equator. Politically the Carolines are divided into the Republic of Belau in the west, and the Federated States of Micronesia, including the States of Yap, Chuuk (formerly Truk), Pohnpei (Ponape) and Kosrae (Kusaie). To the north of central Carolines lie the high islands of the Marianas. These divide into the



Territory of Guam (part of the USA) and the Commonwealth of the Northern Marianas. Northeast of Kosrae are the Marshall Islands and to the southeast are the Republics of Kiribati (formerly the Gilbert Islands) and Nauru.

The distribution of Pacific Island languages and their genetic groupings is mapped in detail in the two volume *Language Atlas of the Pacific Area* (Wurm/Hattori 1981–83). Looking at the maps one is overwhelmed by the dense concentration of languages and unrelated language stocks in Melanesia. Papua New Guinea is about the size of France but linguistically speaking it is the equivalent of a continent, containing at least 850 languages, which fall into more than a dozen different genetic stocks and several isolates. Another 200 or so languages are spoken in the remaining regions of Melanesia; on present evidence these belong to at least eight different genetic families.

Polynesia and Micronesia are linguistically, culturally and ethnically much more homogeneous than Melanesia. Between them, Micronesia and the Polynesian Triangle contain fewer than 40 indigenous languages, all belonging to the Austronesian family. Whereas in Melanesia the norm is many languages per large island, in the Polynesian Triangle each well-defined island group has a single vernacular language and in Micronesia (excluding the Carolines) either one or two.

The largest indigenous Pacific Island language communities (figures very approximate and excluding emigrants) include several in Papua New Guinea – the central highlands languages Enga (200 000), Kuman (150 000), Hagen (100 000) and Huli (60 000), plus Tolai, of New Britain (70 000), Standard Fijian (330 000) and three in Polynesia: Samoan (200 000), Tahitian (150 000) and Tongan (100 000). Chamorro, with about 70 000 speakers, is the most numerous language in Micronesia. Most of the indigenous languages in Melanesia have fewer than 5 000 speakers. For example, Vanuatu has 80 or so actively spoken languages averaging 2 500 speakers each, only one of which (Lenakel, of Tanna Is.) has more than 10 000 speakers, and it has another 17 languages whose speakers no longer use the language (Lynch/Crowley 2001; Tryon 1995). In Papua New Guinea 114 languages are reported as having fewer than 200 speakers.

Tab. 208.1: Approximate number of indigenous languages and unrelated families in South Pacific regions (after Grimes 1992; Ross 2001; Wurm/Hattori 1981–83)

Region	Land area (sq. km)	Languages	Families
Papua New Guinea mainland	406650	730	12 +
Admiralty Is.	2098	29	1
New Britain & offshore islands	35862	45	4 +
New Ireland & Mussau	9615	18	2
Bougainville	9329	28	3
Solomon Is.	29800	63	2
Vanuatu	12190	100	1
New Caledonia & Loyalty Is.	19100	28	1
Fiji-Rotuma	18270	3–6	1
Micronesia	3750	13.17	1
Polynesian Triangle (excluding NZ & Hawai'i)	25050	16	1

## 2. The major families of indigenous languages

Most of the indigenous language families of the South Pacific fall into one another of two very large families: Austronesian and Trans New Guinea. Although they do not form a genetic unit, those indigenous languages of Melanesia that are not Austronesian are usually collectively referred to as 'Papuan' (Foley 1986). An excellent introduction to the languages of the Pacific Islands languages is Lynch (1998); see also Sebeok (1971) and Lynch et al. (2002).

### 2.1. Austronesian

Until about 1200 BC human occupation of the South Pacific stopped at the Solomons Islands. But one or two millennia earlier a chain of events began that was to transform a large part of the Pacific as well as Island Southeast Asia. Around the beginning of the 4th millennium BC pottery-making peoples moved from South China across to the is-

land of Taiwan, bringing with them an economy based on the cultivation of rice and root crops and the keeping of pigs, chickens and dogs, and fishing (Bellwood 1997). Before 2000 BC variants of this Taiwanese neolithic culture were carried south into the Philippines and Indonesia, where the maritime technology improved with the development of the five-piece outrigger canoe with sails. In the mid-2nd millennium BC an archaeological culture known as Lapita, marked by ceramic vessels, some showing highly elaborate dentate-stamped and incised patterns, and with a suite of shell artefacts and adze types, appeared suddenly on offshore islands and coastal sites in the Bismarck Archipelago north of New Guinea. Within a few centuries bearers of the Lapita culture settled the main previously uninhabited island groups of the southwest Pacific, reaching Fiji and Tonga, 4500 km to the east of the Bismarcks by about 1000 BC (Kirch 1997; 2001; Spriggs 1997). Their cultural descendants went on to settle the rest of Polynesia and most of Micronesia. In the 2nd millennium BC the Marianas and Belau were settled independently from SE Asia.

These movements of neolithic peoples in the 3rd and 2nd millennia BC can be associated with the diaspora of the Austronesian family of languages, one of the more spectacular chapters in human prehistory (Bellwood 1997; Blust 1995; Kirch 2000; Pawley 2002). Until the post-Columbian expansion of Indo-European Austronesian was the most widespread of all language families. When Europeans began their great voyages of exploration they found Austronesian languages not only throughout Island SE Asia but in Madagascar and, nearly two thirds of the way around the world, on Easter Island. In the Pacific their distribution spanned 70 degrees of latitude from Hawai'i in the north to the southern limits of New Zealand in the south. Key elements in the Austronesian diaspora were (i) possession of outrigger canoes with platforms and sails, allowing rapid dispersal across ocean gaps and (ii) an agricultural 'package' that enabled immigrant communities to dominate non-farming populations throughout Island Southeast Asia and to survive on islands with impoverished biota in the central Pacific.

Recent estimates (Grimes 2000; Tryon 1995) place the number of Austronesian languages at between 1000 and 1260, well ahead of any other generally accepted language

family except Niger-Congo. Around 500 languages of the South Pacific fall into the Austronesian family. It is significant that all the Austronesian languages of Melanesia east of 136 degrees E, plus the Polynesian group and all the languages of Micronesia except Chamorro and Belau, fall into a single lower-order subgroup of Austronesian, known as Oceanic. The boundary between Oceanic and the rest of Austronesian runs through western New Guinea and curves northwest through Micronesia east of Belau and the Marianas. The immediate relatives of Oceanic are the Austronesian languages of south Halmahera and Cenderawasih Bay, at the northwestern end of Irian Jaya. These facts strongly indicate that Proto Oceanic was spoken in NW Melanesia. For a survey of the Oceanic languages see Lynch/Ross/Crowley (2002) and for historical treatments see Ross (1988) and Ross et al. (1998).

Although they came to dominate Island SE Asia and Island Melanesia (i.e. Melanesia except New Guinea), Austronesian languages had much lesser impact in mainland New Guinea. There they are mainly confined to certain patches along the north coast and in southeast Papua. This distribution suggests that the autochthonous peoples of the north coast had the population numbers to hold their ground, and some were probably already practising agriculture when the Austronesians arrived. There are abundant signs that the Austronesians at first had a similar, marginal distribution in New Britain, New Ireland, Bougainville and the Solomons. But some 3000 years of trade and intermarriage between Oceanic and Papuan speaking communities has had far-reaching effects on their languages and cultures. In due course most of the Bismarck Archipelago, Bougainville and the Solomons became Austronesian-speaking but many languages show signs of extensive contact-induced change (Dutton/Tryon 1993; Thurston 1987).

## 2.2. The Trans New Guinea

By far the largest of the many Papuan families is Trans New Guinea (TNG). As defined in Wurm (1975) and Wurm/Hattori (1981–83) it contains about 500 languages although recent studies (Pawley 1998; Ross 1995) exclude a few dozen of these. The TNG family completely dominates the central cordillera that runs the length of New

Guinea and it covers large parts of northern and southern New Guinea and has a subgroup in the Timor region of Indonesia.

The lexical diversity of the TNG languages is much greater than is exhibited by the Indo-European and Austronesian families which probably broke up some five to six millennia ago. Only a small number of cognate sets – around 150 to 200 – have been securely identified as widely distributed across subgroups of TNG. The high-order subgrouping of TNG remains controversial but TNG languages appear to have dispersed very early along the central highland spine of New Guinea. There we find many subgroups that are only very remotely related. By contrast some of the TNG groups of the southwestern plains and swamplands of Irian Taya are more closely related to each other and to the Ok family found in the highlands and foothills around the Irian Taya-Papua New Guinea border, pointing to an expansion of TNG languages into this southwestern region from further inland within the last three millennia.

It seems clear that the large Trans New Guinea family expanded at the expense of other languages. What cultural advantage could have underpinned such an expansion? Possession of agriculture is a good guess. If TNG speakers were the first agriculturalists in New Guinea it is likely that they would have come to enjoy a considerable population advantage over peoples dependent on foraging. But this hypothesis remains speculative.

### 2.3. Other non-Austronesian families

The greatest concentration of Papuan families and isolates is on the northern side of New Guinea, and especially in the Sepik-Ramu basin of Papua New Guinea (Wurm 1975; Wurm/Hattori 1981–83; Foley 1986). These families have received little comparative study and in some cases their validity is by no means secure. The Sepik-Ramu family is a putative (but problematic) grouping of about 100 languages spoken on the Sepik River and in the western part of Madang Province. The Torricelli family consists of about 48 languages centred in the Torricelli Ranges between the Sepik River and the north coast and extending into NW Madang Province. Several smaller genetic stocks have been identified, including the Sko group (spoken on the north around the Papua New Guinea-Irian Taya a border),

Kwomtari (northwest part of Sandaun Province), Left May (south of Kwomtari around the May River, a tributary of the Sepik) and Amto-Musian (between Kwomtari and Left May). In addition there are a number of individual languages with no established relatives scattered about New Guinea, especially in the Sepik area.

New Britain contains perhaps four small families and isolates. There is an isolate on New Ireland, two families of two and four languages, respectively, in North and South Bougainville, a family of four languages in the central Solomons and a problematic group of three ‘mixed’ languages in Santa Cruz whose status (possibly Papuan heavily influenced by Austronesian, or vice versa) is disputed. The idea, proposed in Wurm (1975) and followed in Wurm and Hattori’s atlas, that there is a large ‘East Papuan phylum’ consisting of all the Papuan languages of the Bismarck Archipelago and the Solomons, plus Yela Dne of S.E. New Guinea, is no longer accepted (Ross 2001).

### 3. Explaining the diversity

For the Eurocentric observer a natural question is: Why are there so many languages and language families in Melanesia? And why are the language communities so small? A Melanesian might equally well ask: Why are there so few languages in Europe and why are the language communities so large? Before we tackle these questions it is necessary to distinguish two kinds of linguistic diversity. *Language density* is measured by the number of distinct languages within a region of a given size. *Genetic diversity* is measured by the number of unrelated and distantly related linguistic stocks.

The exceptional genetic diversity of the languages of Melanesia must be attributed chiefly to a very long period of human settlement in this region, with new populations coming in from time to time from SE Asia. Archaeological evidence shows that humans reached what was then a single Australia-New Guinea continent at least 40000 years ago, after making a series of ocean crossings (some of at least 100 km) from SE Asia, presumably by raft or dugout canoe (Kirch 1997; 2000; Spriggs 1997). By 30000 to 35000 years ago people had made the crossings to New Britain and New Ireland and to the main Solomons group. By 20000 years ago the Admiralties, 200 km west of

New Ireland, had been settled. Thus, it is possible that some of the diverse language stocks of Melanesia continue the languages of the earliest, late Pleistocene settlers in this region. As Australia and New Guinea were connected as recently as about 8000 years ago one might expect to find traces of old connections between these regions, especially on opposite sides of the Torres Straits, but no convincing evidence has been found in the form of cognate lexical or grammatical elements. It seems that whatever languages were once spoken south of the central cordillera in New Guinea have disappeared with the rise and fall of sea levels and other events; contemporary languages are largely or entirely derived from later movements into this region.

The explanation of Melanesia's language density must be sought in terms of social and political organisation, technology and geography. The fact is that, in having many 'small' languages, Melanesia is not very different from many areas of contemporary southern Asia and sub-Saharan Africa, or from North and South America before the 19th century. By 9000 to 6000 years ago some societies in the central highlands of New Guinea had developed agriculture (Kirch 2000; Spriggs 1997), probably cultivating taro and bananas, and that over the next few millennia many of the peoples of New Guinea became, primarily farmers rather than foragers. But technological developments associated with farming that in some parts of the world led to the rise of highly stratified societies, city states and imperial conquest did not take place in Melanesia. Political units remained small, probably seldom larger than a collection of kinship groups or a village containing at most a few hundred people. There is no evidence that agriculture spread to Island Melanesia before the arrival of Austronesian speakers although the tending and perhaps planting of food-producing trees was probably practiced.

Geographic factors also contributed to the high degree of linguistic fragmentation. In New Guinea and New Britain, in particular, heavily forested mountain ranges and extensive swamps imposed natural limits to communication. And for those coastal societies that did not have efficient sailing craft substantial ocean gaps between islands and island groups provided natural points of linguistic fission.

That brings us to another question. Why do Polynesia and Micronesia generally have only one indigenous language per well-defined island group whereas in Island Melanesia (except for Fiji) no island group has fewer than 28 languages? The differences can be attributed to a combination of factors. Unlike New Guinea and much of Island Melanesia, Polynesia and Micronesia were uninhabited before the arrival of Austronesian speakers. The founding colonisers of each island group could occupy the whole region rather than being confined to residual pockets between established communities. The remoteness of the island groups in the central Pacific limited the chances of outsiders arriving in numbers. And there has been less time for local diversification – about 3000 years in Fiji and West Polynesia and a shorter time in East Polynesia and most of Micronesia. However, Vanuatu and New Caledonia, which are also remote and were first settled about the same time as Fiji, have very high language densities. Technological and social factors must be invoked here. Sailing skills declined in most parts of Island Melanesia during the past three millennia after the Lapita dispersal but were well maintained (in fact, probably improved) in Micronesia and Polynesia, enabling regular interaction to be maintained between dispersed sister communities. In Micronesia and Polynesia the position of boundaries between languages correlates closely with the length of voyages by canoe: islands that could be reached by an overnight voyage have the same language and generally show little dialectal variation (Marck 1986, 2001). And finally, the development of powerful hereditary chieftainships in some island groups, such as Tonga, Samoa, the Societies and Hawai'i, provided social and political motives for regular inter-island voyaging long after initial kinship ties had weakened.

#### 4. European and other recently arrived languages

Over the past 200 years a host of new languages have taken root in the Pacific Islands. European exploration of the region began in earnest in the 1760s. European and American missionaries, beachcombers, sandalwood and *bêche-de-mer* traders, and whalers and planters followed. During the second half of the 19th century rival colo-

nial powers took possession of almost all of the islands. Britain annexed the southeastern part of New Guinea, known as 'Papua' (West New Guinea had become part of the Dutch East Indies in 1848), and also took the Solomons, Fiji and Rotuma, the Gilbert and Ellice islands (today's Kiribati and Tuvalu), the Cook Islands, Niue and Pitcairn and Henderson. France acquired New Caledonia and the Loyalties, Wallis and Futuna, the Society Islands, the Marquesas, the Tuamotus and the Australs. The New Hebrides (today's Vanuatu) became a condominium jointly administered by Britain and France. Tonga remained an independent kingdom under British protection. Germany took possession of northeast New Guinea, the Bismarcks, Bougainville, Samoa and the Marshall Islands. Chile annexed Easter Island. Spain had centuries earlier occupied the Marianas and in the 1880s briefly took possession of the Caroline Islands. After the Spanish-American War of 1898 the USA took Guam and Spain sold the Northern Marianas and the Carolines to Germany. Early in the 20th century Britain ceded the administration of Papua to Australia and the Cook Islands and Niue to New Zealand. After World War I German New Guinea became a territory of Australia and Samoa of New Zealand. Japan took possession of the German territories in Micronesia but after World War II these became territories of the USA. In all cases the language of the colonial power became the language of administration and, in many cases, of schooling.

Although many of these territories became independent nations in the generation following WWII certain of the colonial languages have retained and increased their influence. French is an important second language throughout the French colonies and in Vanuatu (where it co-exists with English) (Hollyman 1971). It is the first language of most people in New Caledonia (but not among the substantial indigenous population) and of many in urbanised Tahiti. English is an important second language throughout the entire South Pacific but particularly in Papua New Guinea, the Solomons, Vanuatu, Fiji and Micronesia, and in throughout Polynesia except for the French territories (Laycock 1971). On Easter Island Spanish coexists with the indigenous Polynesian language. The other colonial languages have largely been forgotten.

The colonial period also saw the arrival of various groups of Asians. 60000 Indians came to Fiji in the late 19th century to work on plantations. Their mother tongues were diverse: various dialects of Hindi, Gujarati, Tamil, Telugu and Malayalam. From the levelling of the different varieties of Hindi a distinctive Fiji Hindi koine has arisen which is in a diglossic relationship with the structurally and lexically quite different standard Hindi (Siegel 1987). Other Indian languages are spoken by small groups but are losing ground to Hindi as the mother tongue of Fiji Indians. Chinese merchants, mainly speakers of Cantonese and Hakka, settled in all of the towns in Papua New Guinea, the Solomons, Vanuatu, Fiji, Samoa and French Polynesia. There are small communities of Vietnamese speakers in Vanuatu and New Caledonia, and Javanese in New Caledonia.

During the last century speakers of many Pacific Island languages have themselves established enclave settlements far from their homeland. For example, Fiji has received settlers from Kiribati, Rotuma, Tonga, Samoa and Futuna. Speakers of various Polynesian languages, as well as Kiribatese, have settled in parts of the main Solomons and Carolineans and in the northern Marianas. The list is much longer. In the case of several Polynesian languages, such as Samoan, Tongan, Niuean, Tuvaluan, Tokelauan and Cook Islands Maori, the number of speakers living abroad in New Zealand and Australia (and the USA, in the case of Samoan) approaches or exceeds the number living in the homeland.

## 5. Lingua francas and multilingualism

### 5.1. Patterns of multilingualism

In parts of Melanesia where small indigenous languages are juxtaposed it is normal for adults to speak two or more such languages. One also finds passive bilingualism, where each party speaks his own language and understands the other. Often bilingualism is or was asymmetrical with one of the indigenous languages serving as a regional lingua franca. These asymmetries have led to interesting patterns of contact-induced change. Thurston (1987) distinguishes between 'exoteric' and 'esoteric' languages in linguistic change. An exoteric language is one that functions as a contact language, and which consequently tends to

simplify its structure. An esoteric language, on the other hand, is one that functions solely as an in-group language and there is no pressure on it to simplify. Prior to European contact, structurally and lexically reduced contact languages had sometimes developed, particularly for use among people in trading relationships. Trade was frequently conducted between coast-oriented Oceanic speakers and more inland-oriented non-Austronesian speakers in Papua New Guinea.

After the first colonial contacts, the patterns of multilingualism began to change. The missions were a major influence. Missionaries in the Pacific aimed to work in the vernacular languages and throughout Polynesia they did so very effectively, aided by the norm of one language per island group. In Melanesia the greater diversity led to a compromise solution: one local language was chosen for use as a lingua franca in a wider area for evangelical purposes. Oceanic languages that were spread in this way included Nakanamanga (of Nguna) widely used on Efate and in the Shepherd Islands, Mota, used in the Banks and Torres Islands and also in the southeastern Solomons, Roviana used in the western Solomons, Motu, used along the central Papuan coast, Suau, on the southeast tail of Papua, Oobu, in the islands of eastern Papua, Wedau, on the north coast of the tail of Papua, in Milne Bay and Oro Provinces, Jabêm, in parts of Morobe Province, Gedaged, in parts of Madang Province, and Tolai, in northern New Britain, the Duke of York Islands and New Ireland. In Fiji, the Bauan dialect of the Eastern Fijian language was adopted as a lingua franca over the whole archipelago (Schütz 1972).

### 5.2. The rise of Melanesian Pidgin

In the South Pacific the establishment of large plantations using workers recruited from many parts of Melanesia created extraordinary sociolinguistic conditions that led to the creation of new, mixed languages. Most important among these are the several, closely related English lexifier pidgins known variously as Tok Pisin in Papua New Guinea (Mühlhäusler 1979), Pijin in the Solomons (Keesing 1985; Jourdan 2002), and Bislama in Vanuatu (Crowley 1990). These can be regarded as divergent dialects of a single language sometimes referred to as Melanesian Pidgin.

Melanesian Pidgin had its origins in the English lexifier pidgin that developed in New South Wales in the first years of the 19th century. Varieties of this were carried as an unstable pidgin ('South Seas Jargon') to various parts of the South Pacific by sailors, especially sandalwood and bêche-de-mer traders (Clark 1980; Tryon/Charpentier 2004). The pidgin began to stabilise and to take on many of its modern features during the final decades of the 19th century when thousands of speakers of Oceanic languages from the Loyalty Islands, Vanuatu, Solomon Islands, New Britain and New Ireland were recruited as labourers for sugarcane plantations in Samoa, Fiji and coastal Queensland.

The lexical forms of early Melanesian Pidgin were largely derived from English but the structure of these languages, i. e. the lexical semantics and grammar, owes a great deal to the Oceanic languages of Melanesia. For example, the pronouns use elements taken from English which have been completely reworked to create a pronominal system identical in structure to that of many Oceanic languages, having four persons (1<sup>st</sup> person exclusive vs inclusive) and three numbers and with no gender and case distinctions. In Tok Pisin the singular pronouns are: *mi* 'I, me', *yu* 'you', *em* 'he/him, she/her', the dual pronouns are *mitupela*, 'we/us two, excluding the addressee', *yumi tupela* 'we two including the addressee', *yutupela* or *tupela* 'you two' and *tupela* 'they/ them two', and the plural pronouns are *mipela* 'we three or more excluding addressee', *yumi* 'we/us three or more including addressee', *yupela* 'you three or more' and *ol* 'they three or more'. The pronouns in Bislama and Pijin are very similar to those of Tok Pisin.

Returning plantation labourers carried the pidgin back to their home regions. In New Guinea Melanesian Pidgin was carried to the Bismarck Archipelago and parts of the north coast of New Guinea when this region was a German colony. After WWI the Australian administration encouraged its use as a lingua franca between colonial officers and local peoples in newly contacted regions. Tok Pisin steadily spread throughout Papua New Guinea, to the point where now well over half the population of that country uses it as their primary lingua franca. It is spoken by perhaps three million people as a second language and intermar-

riage in urban areas has ensured that it is now the first language of many thousands of people. In Vanuatu and the Solomons Melanesian Pidgin did not have the same degree of functional support by the colonial powers but even so it spread rapidly as a lingua franca; the Vanuatu census figures indicate that some 94% of people over the age of six speak Bislama. In the French colony of the Loyalty Islands, Melanesian Pidgin gained a foothold but was later replaced by French as the lingua franca. During the first half of the 20th century well-marked regional varieties developed in different parts of Melanesia. These varieties retain a fair degree of mutual intelligibility.

As a result of the introduction of Melanesian Pidgin, the original patterns of individual multilingualism in many places have been significantly changed. Among younger uneducated Melanesians, it is common for people to speak just two languages – their local vernacular, and Melanesian Pidgin – whereas members of earlier generations would probably have spoken three or four vernaculars and no Melanesian Pidgin. Increasing numbers of younger Melanesians are now also growing up speaking Melanesian Pidgin exclusively, or with greater confidence than they speak any other language.

### 5.3. Other pidgins and creoles

A number of other pidgin languages developed in South Pacific. Only a couple will be mentioned here (for a fuller account see Wurm et al. 1996). Pitcairn Is., halfway between the Cook Islands and South America, is the remote, uninhabited island occupied by ‘The Bounty’ mutineers in 1790 – eight English-speaking mutineers, six Tahitian men, 12 Tahitian women and a small girl. Within 12 years all but one of the men were dead but their children were already developing a creole language, based on English but strongly influenced by Tahitian. In 1856 the Pitcairn families were moved to Norfolk Island. Most remained there, continuing to speak Pitcairnese creole, but a couple of families returned to Pitcairn. Today the use of Pitcairnese/Norfolk Is. creole is declining with younger people preferring English.

In Port Moresby in 1884, the colonial police force adopted a structurally and lexically reduced form of the local Motu language as their lingua franca. This language, known as Police Motu, eventually spread throughout much of the then colony of

Papua, and its descendant is still widely spoken today, though it is now generally referred to as Hiri Motu (Dutton 1985, 59–81). Today it is losing ground to Tok Pisin and English.

## 6. Literacy and orthographies

With one possible exception, no South Pacific languages were written before European contact. Vernacular literacy first came with the Christian missionaries. A case has been made that the *rongo* characters of Easter Island preceded contact (Barthel 1971) but Fischer (1997) argues that the script developed as an indigenous post-contact response to Easter Islanders witnessing early Spaniards writing in the late 1700s. About 500 characters have been preserved on wood. But early missionaries destroyed most of the tablets and knowledge of how to interpret them was lost.

In Polynesia and Fiji the missionaries, aided by the relative simplicity of the phonological systems, devised near phonemic orthographies generations before Western linguists made the phonemic principle explicit. The most brilliant orthography was that devised for Standard Fijian in the 1830s by David Cargill, a young missionary from the London Missionary Society (Schütz 1972). Cargill represented the nasal + homorganic stop clusters [mb, nd, ŋg], which are unit phonemes, by *b*, *d* and *q*. He wrote the voiced interdental ‘th’ as *c* and the velar nasal as *g*. The only digraph in the orthography was *dr*, for the prenasalised trill [nr]. The labio-velars that occur in the languages of Vanuatu were generally written as ordinary labials with superposed tildes, though in the far north of the islands, where the labio-velars have a very distinct velar onset, the labio-velar stop was written as *q*. When confronted with velar fricatives, the letter *g* was sometimes used, necessitating another choice for the velar nasal. In other parts of Melanesia, unusual sounds were met with a variety of innovative solutions. In Morobe Province, Papua New Guinea, for example, the glottal stop was often symbolised as *c*.

In the missionised regions of Polynesia and Fiji communities quickly acquired functional literacy. In some communities literacy rates among young adults soon approached 100%, much higher than in Europe at that time. In a few of the larger languages, such as Fijian, Samoan and Tongan, there are

flourishing newspapers and a range of other publications including novels, histories and biographies. For a study of the linguistic and social ramifications of literacy in a small Polynesian society see Besnier (1995).

### 7. Language Varieties and Discourse Genres

In all South Pacific speech communities there are language varieties and usages linked to social constraints and discourse functions (Fischer 1971).

One class of varieties is characterised by the avoidance of certain words and the use of substitute forms in particular social contexts. Many societies imposed taboos on particular words and topics during economic activities of uncertain outcome, such as hunting and fishing. There are some cases of special languages where lexical substitution applies to virtually the whole lexicon. In parts of the highlands of Papua New Guinea, where a high altitude species of pandanus (*Pandanus brosimus*) is valued for its edible nuts, a special 'pandanus language' is used when people are camping in the forest harvesting and cooking the nuts. Pandanus languages have been best documented for Kewa of the Southern Highlands (Franklin 1972) and Kalam of the Schrader Ranges (Pawley 1992). The lexicon of Kalam Pandanus language consists of about 1000 words and phrasal lexemes, virtually all of which are different in form from those of ordinary language. The rationale the Kalam give for using Pandanus language is that ordinary words carry associations making their use inimical to the healthy growth of the pandanus nuts.

In the hierarchical societies of Samoa, Tonga and Pohnpei there are quite extensive respect vocabularies used in addressing chiefs and other people of status, such as ministers of the church. In Samoa upwards of 400 everyday words must be replaced by synonyms when speaking to a high-ranking person in a formal context (Duranti 1992; Milner 1961). For certain words there are up to five levels of synonyms depending on the status of addressee. In Tongan society there is a distinct set of words reserved for speaking to the king and another set for hereditary *hou 'eiki* 'nobles'. Thus the everyday word *ha 'ele* 'come' corresponds to the royal word *ha 'u* and the *hou 'eiki* word *me 'a*. Similar systems of lesser complexity are

found in many parts of Polynesia and Micronesia.

Less extensive name taboos were important in various parts of the South Pacific, and remain so in some areas. In the Markham valley of Papua New Guinea place name taboos are observed. Certain places are regarded as sacred, and the belief is that if people were to use the words these place-names are derived from, the ancestral spirits would punish them with disasters, sickness, or the failure of crops upon which they depend for food. People in the Markham valley have a range of options available to them that allow them to talk about things and at the same time avoid breaking these taboos. Some languages have two or three synonymous terms to refer to the same thing, especially for very common words. Another possibility is for people to substitute a word that is semantically related to the taboo word in some way.

Tahitians were in former times forbidden to say the name of a chief, or even part of the name of a chief, with special vocabulary for use in such situations. In the Big Nambas language of Malakula in Vanuatu, a woman should not say the name of a chief, her senior male in-laws, or her eldest son, or even words that sounded like any of these names. In many New Guinea societies the names of one's cross-cousins or in-laws should not be spoken. Because personal names are commonly taken from the names of familiar animals, birds, plants etc. one must also find alternative names for these referents.

A second class of language varieties consists of specialised discourse genres associated with verbal arts, and showing distinctive stylistic features that set them off from everyday speech. Oratory is everywhere mainly a male art, and oratorical styles with distinctive discourse structure rules and special features of intonation and voice quality occur in many societies. In every Pacific society we find the composition and performance of songs and stories for entertainment and, sometimes, for ritual purposes (Finnegan 1977). Generally the language of songs allows small, conventional modifications of standard phonology and grammar and makes extensive use of formulas. In several parts of the central highlands of Papua New Guinea men and women perform epic chanted tales. Rumsey (2001) describes that of the Ku Waru people of the Nebilyer Valley, where chants typically



range from 300 to 700 prosodically defined lines, which must obey strict metrical requirements. Sung poetry was well developed in many parts of Polynesia, Fiji and Micronesia and in certain parts of Melanesia. The Fijians had a tradition of heroic poetry, celebrating the deeds of distant ancestors, using vocalic rhyme in the two final syllables of each line. Tongans held poetic contests before their chiefs making use of complicated and insulting metaphors. Polynesian poetry, and the Kuwaru chants, often involve parallelism, where successive lines express similar ideas by the same structure but with some variation in wording.

Samoa is noteworthy for having two markedly different phonological styles distinguishing speech in a range of formal contexts as opposed to everyday speech (Mayer 2002). In the everyday style, formal *t* becomes *k*, *n* becomes *ŋ* and there are many other morphophonemic changes.

## 8. Language status and politics

Today in every South Pacific society indigenous languages co-exist with metropolitan languages and, in much of Melanesia, with Melanesian Pidgin. Generally there exists a more or less stable division of functions. But there are also tensions arising from competition between different languages for the same function. Modern Pacific Islanders tend to be torn between wanting to 'get ahead' in the modern world and wanting to preserve traditional values and language.

Some of the Polynesian and Micronesian nations have constitutional provisions giving status to the language of that country. However, in none of these cases is the Oceanic language given higher legal status than English at the national level. In Melanesia only Vanuatu makes a constitutional guarantee of protection for the local vernaculars. The constitution of Vanuatu declares Bislama to be the national language, with English, French and Bislama being co-equal "official" languages, and English and French co-equal as "principal languages of education". In Papua New Guinea, the Solomon Islands and Fiji, there is *de facto* recognition of English as the national language, though in Papua New Guinea Tok Pisin and Hiri Motu do gain some recognition as languages of which non-citizens must demonstrate a knowledge if they are to be granted citizenship.

Except in the French colonies and Easter Island, English is the main language of education in all South Pacific nations and territories, especially at secondary and tertiary levels. In most communities people tend to value the vernaculars as symbols of local identity and community cohesion but are anxious for their children to become proficient in metropolitan languages for their economic advancement and have not pushed the claims of the vernaculars. In Tonga and Samoa the vernacular languages are widely used, together with English, as one of the languages of instruction in primary schools. In parts of Melanesia, where teachers are often outsiders not proficient in the local community language, Melanesian Pidgin has, unofficially (and often in direct contravention of ministerial directives), played a similar role. In recent decades some educators have argued forcefully for the use of vernaculars or Melanesian Pidgin as the main language of instruction in the early years of schooling and in Papua New Guinea several hundred such vernacular schools have been established by local communities with Government support.

## 9. Future prospects

In the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century, at the height of the colonial period, a good many European commentators took the view that the languages and cultures of native peoples, and even the peoples themselves, were bound to disappear within a few generations. In the South Pacific Islands these predictions were certainly not fulfilled in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Of the indigenous languages that were spoken two hundred years ago in this region, only a handful have not survived into the present. On Erromango in Vanuatu, there were originally probably five languages, and only one of these has survived the nineteenth century epidemics, cyclones and famines as a viable language towards the end of the twentieth century. A few small languages have died out in New Guinea during the 20<sup>th</sup> century but the rate of loss was probably no faster than in prehistoric times.

But what of the future? Commentators disagree on the question of just how many South Pacific languages are likely to disappear during the 21<sup>st</sup> century. Some hold that every language with fewer than 10000 speakers is at risk of extinction in the medium

term, and that languages with less than 1000 speakers are severely at risk, with the likelihood that fewer than 20% of languages will survive the century (Dixon 1991). Others, such as Crowley (1995) are more optimistic, pointing out that some indigenous languages seem to be in a stronger position now than they were 50 years ago. Mühlhäusler (1996) has correctly emphasized the importance of viewing each language in its 'ecological' context, i.e. in terms of a web of relationships – demographic, social, political and functional – that hold between the languages and social groups of a region. More important than the number of speakers a vernacular language has is the social cohesion of the speech community and the range of functional domains in which that language is preferred to its rivals. There are parts of Papua New Guinea where small language communities place little value on the vernacular and the younger generation are shifting to Tok Pisin (Kulick 1992). On the other hand, many small languages are holding their own. In several South Pacific nations, including Papua New Guinea and Vanuatu, there has recently been an increasing emphasis on community-based programs in vernacular education.

All the signs are that while most the vernacular languages of the South Pacific will persist over the next two or three generations, almost all will lose some of the functional domains they now occupy. Two factors that kept most small languages viable in the 20<sup>th</sup> century were physical isolation of the speech communities and their reliance on traditional subsistence, making them relatively self-contained and self-sufficient. These factors apply to an ever diminishing degree. Urbanisation, formal education and greater mobility are aiding the spread of English, French and Melanesian pidgin and weakening the position of the vernaculars. Melanesian Pidgin may now be approaching its peak as a lingua franca in Papua New Guinea, the Solomons and Vanuatu. Except in the towns, English (and, in Vanuatu, French) cannot yet compete with it as an interlanguage at the grass roots level. The rate at which English gains ground in the rural districts will no doubt be constrained by the political and economic management of the nations concerned and the extent to which resources are invested in infrastructure and education. These are factors that are hard to predict.

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## 209. Canada / Kanada

1. Introduction
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### 1. Introduction

Canada is a huge country (almost 10 million km<sup>2</sup>) whose population is very unevenly scattered; only about one-tenth of the area is permanently settled. It is a bit like Chile laid on its side – a thin inhabited ribbon of great length. It is also a bit like the former Soviet

Union, a country whose colonies were not far-flung overseas possessions but, rather, were found within its state boundaries. Historically, Ontario has been the major economic and industrial powerhouse, the centre, the essence – and provinces to the west and to the east were typically the senders of raw materials and the recipients of federal transfer payments and other forms of governmental largesse.

As with other new-world “receiving” countries, Canada’s social and linguistic landscape reflects the coming together of aboriginal peoples and immigrant settlers. Thus, the indigenous population – itself, of course, an earlier migrant to North America – found itself faced, after the sixteenth century, with powerful European forces. The result was a country formally established in 1867. From then to now, immigration has continued (sometimes fitfully) from many parts of the world – well beyond, for example, the traditional European sources that initially complemented and nourished those who had gone before them.

The unique aspect in all this is that the country evolved on the basis of the emerging dominance of not one, but *two*, European settlers, or colonists, or conquerors. Canada’s social mainstream, then, has run in twin channels – one French, the other English. The latter was always the larger and the more potent, but the French presence has historically possessed considerable political power, represented in many of the country’s most prominent leaders – from Wilfrid Laurier (Prime Minister from 1896 to 1911), to Pierre Trudeau (1968 to 1984), to Jean Chrétien (1993–2003). This same presence has, of course, always involved social and political tension, and the last few years have seen the rise of strong separatist sentiment. The current *indépendantiste* desires of nationalist *Québécois* are often seen, in the rest of the country, as a “problem” to be “solved”. It is, however, an error to imagine that these desires are new – sovereigntist aspirations have been a fixed feature of the political landscape although, naturally enough, their prominence has waxed and waned. More important is the widespread failure to see that the very nature of the country involves such “dualism” (the “two solitudes”, as novelist Hugh MacLennan dubbed them, drawing the term from a poem by Rilke). To put it at its broadest: Canada is an ongoing experiment in the accommo-

modation of (at least) two nations under one state roof.

The fact that one of these nations (Quebec) is more classically delineated, that the other is so heterogeneous (if based essentially on the English “stream”) that the very idea of *nation* is hardly appropriate, and that neither adequately understands the nature of the social solidarity felt by the other – these are some of the reasons why recent Canadian political discourse is less a dialogue than it is two monologues.

But this same discourse reflects other important players in the drama, too. The *allophones* – those immigrants whose background is neither French- nor English-speaking – are now a sizeable presence, indeed. Census figures (for 1996) show that the allophone block now constitutes 42% (of the overall Canadian population of 28.5 million). Those of British ethnic origin make up 32%, and those of French background 24%. As with many census details, these figures are not entirely clear-cut. The 42% allophone presence, for example, includes 16% whose backgrounds also involve French, British or Canadian (an “ethnic” category now available on census forms, but one which research suggests is almost completely chosen by people who would otherwise have reported French or British origins – i. e., *not* allophones. The figures just noted for those of French and British backgrounds also include this “Canadian” category. Fuller details and explanatory notes can be found in Pendakur/Hennebry (1998) and Pendakur/Mata (1998). The final 2% of the general population is of aboriginal ethnic origin.

This last group, however – the fourth important player – has an importance which numbers alone would not suggest. It must be remembered, of course, that none of the major groups with roles in the Canadian drama – francophones, anglophones, allophones and aboriginals – is itself a monolithic or seamless entity. The social and linguistic stage in Canada is thus a contentious area, indeed. What makes it even *more* fractious is that all the action takes place against the huge backdrop of the United States.

The point here is a central one: in Canada, as elsewhere, sociolinguistic struggles are essentially about power and, more specifically, *identity*; the tensions here remind us that language is much more than an instrumental medium. It would be difficult enough for Canada – huge, sparsely-popu-

lated, historically young, and so on – to deal with such powerful internal tensions, even if it did not share a 6000-km border with the world's most potent and expansive regime. As it is, all the interior wrangling occurs within a country traditionally uncertain of itself, unsure of its social and cultural allegiances, without a strong “national” identity. And this, of course, is largely attributable to the relationship between Canadian geography and demography, and those found to the south. The most popular play for more than a century has been the one called “Who are we?” and the most common response has been one born out of comparison with America. It is arguably the case that no new-world “receiving” country is yet a nation, in the classic sense of the term, but there are degrees of unity. Some identifiable quantity called “American culture” has greater substance, for example, than a Canadian counterpart. A fairer comparison for the latter, however, might be Australia. Similar to Canada in many aspects of social and political development, it is nonetheless different in one pivotal way: its population does not lie along a hundred-mile-wide border with the modern leviathan.

On the contemporary Canadian stage, the main antagonists are nationalist *Québécois* francophones and anglophone federalists. Most readers will be aware of the continuing tensions here, tensions most recently focussed in Quebec's 1995 referendum on independence, held by the *Parti Québécois* – which remained the governing party in that province until 2003, formally committed to another referendum. Fewer, perhaps, will know that the other players, as mentioned above, also have strong stakes in the piece. Indeed, within the general picture I have sketched here, these most recent and most sensational debates have led to broad examination of virtually *all* aspects of the Canadian political, social, cultural and linguistic fabric. Going beyond the desire of nationalists in Quebec to achieve sovereignty – and the reaction to this in other constituencies – other matters now under the collective microscope include the cultural and political rights of indigenous “first nations” and all policies and practices involving bilingual and multicultural accommodations. All such matters are politically highly-charged, but it should be remembered that all reflect deep concerns about the maintenance and continuity of group identity.

The Canadian setting represents, in many ways, a “purer” example of linguistic and national struggles than is often found. That is, while disputes over language and culture are always of intrinsic interest, they are sometimes mainly symbolic – they signal other fundamental inter-group problems (of economic or political nature, for instance). In contemporary Canada, however, while powerful symbolic marking is of course at work, the forces of ethnonationalism are, in fact, central to the debate. It is not economic deprivation or lack of adequate political representation that most accurately characterizes the current drive for Quebec sovereignty, for example. It is, rather, a more “classic” sense of nationalism, in which the coincidence of nation with state is the paramount concern. This profound yearning – entirely understandable, and with many historical parallels – is now allied with a sense that a sovereign Quebec could, in fact, prosper. This accounts for the potency of current manifestations. Nationalistic aspirations without economic plausibility can lead to frustration; nationalism allied to economic viability can be a recipe for change.

## 2. Federal language and culture policies

Following the findings of a royal commission in the 1960s, an Official Languages Act was passed in 1969 (since revised and updated). Its main thrust is institutional bilingualism, provision of government services in both languages, and so on. No individuals – apart from civil servants – are required to become bilingual, although the expansion of personal repertoires is naturally seen to be desirable. Mother-tongue education (in French or English, that is) is mandated “wherever numbers” warrant (an elastic term which has often proved contentious).

The commissioners had closely examined both the “personality” and the “territorial” principle – in the first, linguistic rights attach to individuals wherever they live within the state; in the second, rights vary regionally, and the outcome is commonly some sort of “twinned unilingualism”. Largely on political grounds, the commissioners and the government opted for the “personality” approach. Nonetheless, social and demographic forces have brought about a *de facto* territorialism. Francophones outside Que-

bec and anglophones within the province have undergone either language or physical shift. Apart from a “bilingual belt” in those parts of Ontario and New Brunswick (the latter, incidentally, being the only officially bilingual *province*) which border Quebec, the tendency is for greater linguistic polarization. The idea – perhaps the dream – of a truly bilingual country has faded.

As second languages, both French and English are mandated in public education, of course, and figures reveal almost five million self-reported bilingual individuals in the 1996 census – about 17% of the total population. Bilingualism rates are highest in Quebec (at 38%) and New Brunswick (33%), and thus are considerably below the overall 17% rate in other regions (see Marmen/Corbeil 1999). Census figures rest upon reported ability to conduct conversations in both languages – a loose measure, indeed. A more fine-grained investigation by Statistics Canada, for instance, has shown that, when people are asked if they “can carry on a fairly long conversation on different topics”, there is a noticeable decline in reported bilingual ability (see Edwards 1995).

Official bilingualism has essentially been a peripheral entity for most Canadians, and the federal policy has received largely passive acceptance – with more active resentment against its manifestations in some quarters, particularly in regions furthest from Quebec. In any event, however, the policy has always been contentious. Was it truly intended to give official substance to the actual state of affairs, in which French and English mainstems were to continue and, where possible, intertwine via bilingual adaptations? Or, was it a bone thrown by an increasingly powerful anglophone community? These are extremes, and accuracy is probably found somewhere between them; it is, of course, an irony that, since the country became officially bilingual, Quebec itself has steadily supported French dominance.

The same royal commission which led to the Official Languages Act also gave rise to the Canadian multiculturalism policy – outlined by Pierre Trudeau in 1971 and formalized in legislation in 1988. Its general aim is to aid cultural groups (essentially, the “allophones”), both in their own development and in their contribution to wider society. A specific feature is assistance in learning one (or both) of the two official languages. Thus,

a multicultural program is embedded in a *bilingual* framework – that is, there is no particular support for allophone languages. With only the two “charter” languages emphasized, many have wondered from the outset if some enduring difference between the status of the allophonic “others”, and that of the English and the French, was to be enshrined. There is, of course, the more general objection that policies supportive of culture are curious beasts, to say the least, if they have no explicit linguistic component.

As with official bilingualism, the multiculturalism initiative has been seen as politically opportunistic, in a country in which the “others” are collectively so numerous. Indeed, the most recent figures (see Department of Canadian Heritage 2000) emphasize how strong these “others” are, particularly in the urban landscape. In 1996, for instance, 48% of the population in all Canadian metropolitan areas reported “at least one ethnic origin other than British, French, Canadian [see above] or Aboriginal” (p. 5). In Toronto, the figure is 68%, in Vancouver 64%, and even in the Montreal/Ottawa region it reaches almost one-third. Given such powerful concentrations, it is easy to understand government attention to diversity. It is also easy to see why criticism of multicultural policy – along lines with which readers will be familiar – has been particularly marked in Quebec. There, the fear has been of gradual relegation to the status of “other”. The recent sovereigntist activity among nationalist *Québécois* has given a sharper edge to this. On referendum night (in 1995), then premier Jacques Parizeau spoke of the narrow loss: “It’s true we have been defeated, but basically by what? By money and the ethnic vote” (see Edwards 1997).

In any event, despite all the rhetoric about the vibrancy of the multicultural society, about the more tolerant Canadian “mosaic” – as opposed, of course, to the American “melting pot” – most commentators have agreed that, in both settings, angloconformity has been the prevailing force. Just as social forces shape linguistic directions, so they inexorably affect cultural “programs” of a wider nature. The conclusion is that, short of draconian and illiberal intervention, policies of social engineering – like official bilingualism and multiculturalism – can “work” only to the extent to which they build upon, reflect or reinforce actual or broadly desired states of affairs.

### 3. The status of French and English

As already implied, one of the official languages is very much stronger than the other, and each is increasingly geographically delimited. While the proportion of the population of generally British provenance has declined with the immigration of allophones, this latter group is of course very fragmented in terms of both origins and languages. Consequently, English remains the single most dominant variety, the linguistic destination for most allophones (but also the most potent – or threatening – variety for francophone and aboriginal groups). A language of ever-increasing global clout, English is a medium which tends to attract speakers, not lose them. Even among Quebec anglophones, whose French competence has enlarged in recent years, the place of English, in a bilingual accommodation, is generally not at risk. For speakers of other languages in Canada, however, bilingualism is often a way-station on the road to a new monolingualism.

Recent census figures (as reported by Castonguay 1998, for example) show that, while mother-tongue proportions for English, French and “Other” are about 60%, 24% and 15%, the actual home-language use figures are 68%, 23% and 8%. The trend is clear. Statistics also reveal the linguistic polarization already referred to: the “official” minorities (i. e., the English in Quebec and the French outside that province) are both in decline. Outside Quebec, for example, 78% report English as the mother tongue, while home-language use is about 88%. Inside Quebec, on the other hand, the French mother-tongue and home-language use figures are essentially identical (at roughly 82%). There is no reason to think that these tendencies are about to alter. French in Quebec has “gained” – not least because of anglophone out-migration – while francophones in the rest of the country continue to undergo anglicization. Due to government policies, allophone immigrants to Quebec now tend to end up more on the francophone side of the linguistic ledger, but allophones in other regions are subject to anglicization.

The “bilingual belt” (see above) accounts for about 75% of the roughly one million francophones found outside Quebec. Of this percentage, about half a million live in Ontario (where they represent about 5% of the

provincial population) and the other quarter million live in New Brunswick, where they constitute about 35% of the population. It is sometimes forgotten that the bilingual belt crosses provincial borders. Thus, 85% of Quebec’s anglophones live close to Ontario (most of them, more specifically, in the western part of Montreal island) or north of the American border.

There have developed, as one would expect, distinctively Canadian varieties of both languages. Papen (1998), for example, discusses so-called “Standard Quebec French”, an essentially formal and educated variety which overlaps in large measure with standard continental French. The more informal “Common Quebec French” is often referred to as *joual*. As elsewhere, formal and informal varieties do not exist in watertight compartments but are, rather, designations along a continuum. English has of course influenced Quebec French, both in lexical terms and as evidenced in code-switching, but this influence has been minor in comparison with its effects on French in other parts of Canada. Such influence aside, the varieties spoken in the Quebec “diaspora” are very close to the provincial norms. Papen notes that Métis French forms a special case, largely through its contact with western aboriginal languages. And, of course, there is Acadian French, which exhibits considerable regional variation throughout New Brunswick and the other maritime provinces.

English in Canada is much less regionally diversified than it is south of the border. At standard level, for example, one urban and middle-class variety can be found virtually everywhere. There are, of course, regional differences – particularly marked along urban-rural lines – but Chambers (1998) describes how and why English Canada is a linguistically very conservative society. There are well-understood reasons for this, rooted in the history of the country and, more specifically, in immigration and mobility patterns.

### 4. Aboriginal varieties

Prior to the coming of the Europeans in the sixteenth century, millions of North Americans spoke as many as 300 languages. In Canada today, just over one million people are of declared aboriginal origin – Indian, Métis or Inuit. Only about 17% have an aboriginal

language as mother tongue, and fewer still (11%) use one at home. Statistics are somewhat different for those who more specifically identify themselves as Canadian Aboriginals. Drapeau (1998) reports, for instance, that about 33% of this group (which, itself, comprises about 625 000 people), can speak an aboriginal variety, and another 17% report some degree of understanding.

The 53 aboriginal languages still extant in Canada are classified into eleven families and isolates – Eskimo-Aleut, Na-Dene (including Athabaskan varieties and the Tlingit isolate), Tsimshian, Wakashan, Salish, Algonquian, Siouan, Iroquoian, and the Haida and Kutenai isolates. Accurate speaker estimates are rare (see Cook 1998) but a simple consideration of overall population size and number of varieties will lead to obvious conclusions.

In fact, Foster's 1982 assessment, which is still cited, revealed that only three of the 53 languages (those, that is, which had more than 5000 speakers) could be seen to have an "excellent chance of survival". The others fell into five categories, ranging from "moderately endangered" (13 varieties, each having between 1000 and 5000 speakers) to "verging on extinction" (8 varieties, with fewer than 10 speakers each). Drapeau's more recent tabulations show that the critical conditions persist: none of the three isolates, for instance, has more than 200 speakers.

The strongest surviving languages – when both mother-tongue and actual usage figures are taken into account – are Inuktitut, Ojibwa and Cree. The latter, strongest of all the varieties, has about 60 000 regular speakers (representing about 75% of those of Cree mother tongue).

The problems afflicting aboriginal-language maintenance are easily understood. Indigenous cultures continue to be at gravest risk, following conquest and much subsequent ill-treatment. Education through and about aboriginal languages has grown recently, but is often restricted to the earliest school years. In any event, educational programs are always uncertain guarantees of "ordinary" language continuity.

##### 5. Allophone languages and language teaching

Recent census figures present the details of a picture whose broad outline we have already noted: about 20% of the population (almost

six million people) can speak a language other than French or English, and 10% speak such a variety "most often" at home (although 17% report a non-official mother tongue). The ten most common languages are Chinese (with about 800 000 speakers), Italian (700 000), German (650 000), Spanish (500 000), Portuguese and Polish (about 260 000 each), Punjabi (250 000), Arabic and Ukrainian (about 220 000 each) and Tagalog (190 000). Marmen and Corbeil (1999) provide a succinct guide to many further details. Immigration during the post-war years has greatly increased the overall numbers here. More interesting, perhaps, is the changing nature of the mixture of allophone languages. Reporting of mother tongue in 1971 showed, for instance, that German, Italian, Ukrainian, Dutch and Polish were the most numerous varieties. Twenty years later, Chinese mother-tongue speakers had dramatically increased (from 95 000 to over 500 000), and Punjabi now also figured in the "top ten" (with some 150 000 mother-tongue claimants). The last census (1996) shows – as noted above – further alterations reflecting changes in immigrant origins.

The most interesting features here, of course, go beyond numbers and the rich linguistic diversity which is now an obvious part of the Canadian fabric. How permanent is this diversity or, to put it another way, how is the mosaic affected by language-shift tendencies? In general, the pattern is not unlike that found in other "receiving" countries, and has already been hinted at here: assimilative pressures are strong, even if largely unofficial in nature. In such situations, educational provisions are often seen as central in the maintenance and continuity of varieties which are neither officially mandated nor – except in relatively restricted contexts – necessary for full social and political access.

As Cummins (1998) points out, federal initiatives concerning the teaching of so-called "heritage" or "international" languages derive from the multiculturalism policy (see above). These have not been substantial. On the one hand, as we have seen, the multicultural thrust is, itself, allied to the two official varieties, and explicit provision is not made for other languages. On the other, surveys have shown that the lukewarm public support for multiculturalism generally becomes cooler still when faced with specifics – like, for example, al-



locating money to teach allophone languages. Consequently, federal involvement has been modest, and has usually taken the form of subventions to communities who arrange for their languages to be taught outside regular school hours (typical are Saturday-morning schools). Even such minor support has become rarer over the last decade.

Direct educational funding aimed at heritage languages falls under provincial jurisdiction in Canada, and the most extensive programs are (unsurprisingly) found in regions with the greatest numbers and concentrations of immigrant-language groups. Thus, in Ontario, well over 100 000 students learn more than 60 languages. However, the program requires both community involvement and minimum numbers of potential students. Again, classes take place outside the regular school curriculum (on weekdays after school, or on weekends, or – and this has proved the most controversial model – as part of a slightly extended regular school day). Similar “programs” exist elsewhere in the country. As Cummins (and others) have noted, there are many potential benefits associated with such undertakings (as well as risks, of course, often associated with apprehension and intolerance within the larger society). As noted in the preceding section, however, there are real limitations in how much education *per se* can do for vernacular language continuity.

## 6. French immersion education

This is not an essay on education *per se*, but it would surely be remiss not to mention French immersion “programs” (see Edwards 1994; Genesee 1998). Here, anglophone children receive all their schooling – at least in the earliest years – through the medium of French. Their mother tongue is hardly put at risk, given its commanding national and global role. The origins of immersion education – at least in this modern incarnation – are found in Montreal in the 1960s, where anglophone parents were dissatisfied with the French learned by traditional methods. Immersion “programs” are designed to capitalize on young children’s abilities, relative unselfconsciousness and attitudinal openness. Communicative purposes are emphasized throughout, thus capturing (so far as possible) something of the atmosphere of first-language acquisition. As well, immer-

sion education is often associated with well-motivated and enthusiastic parents and teachers.

There is a large and often technical literature on immersion methods and outcomes. Overall, however, the “program” can be counted a success, inasmuch as children gain a more native-like command of French than do their more traditionally-taught schoolmates – and without losing ground across subject areas or, indeed, in English-language development. Surveys suggest that, even in the current political climate, support for this type of education remains strong. It is a curiosity (noted by de Bot 1994, among others) that a country which is increasingly linguistically polarized, and in which the separation of Quebec would likely lead to the abandonment of official bilingualism in fairly short order, is also a country in which voluntary enrolment in immersion “programs” remains broadly attractive.

Immersion education was also meant, however, to provide something of a bridge between the “two solitudes”, and here success has been rather less marked. Studies have suggested that those students with immersion experience often seem not to make fullest use of their competence, and their rationale for learning French remains more instrumental than integrative. Although better and more comfortable with conversational French than are their more traditionally-instructed counterparts, immersion graduates are not markedly more likely to seek out or initiate “cross-group” encounters – even in contexts, like Montreal, where opportunities abound (see Edwards 1994).

## 7. Conclusion

Canada is a society in flux. A country long regarded as a bastion of democracy and tolerance has come to the verge of fracture – and many of the most contentious matters have to do with identity, culture and language. Because of the linguistic and cultural complexities within the Canadian social fabric, issues and policies here may be illuminative for other contexts. The most general lesson of all, perhaps, is that traditional notions of “majority” or “mainstream” are themselves dynamic entities – faced with revision and subject to negotiation – wherever liberal democracy confronts social heterogeneity.

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## 210. The USA/Die USA

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### 1. Introduction

This chapter surveys the sociolinguistic situation in the USA, delineated by the national boundaries.

### 2. Sociolinguistic history of the area

The US is characterized by extensive linguistic diversity, with 329 spoken languages mentioned in the 1990 US census report. There are 55 distinct Native American languages families, comprising 175 langua-

ges. Most scholars believe the first Native Americans came across the Bering Strait, probably about 12,000 years ago (Campbell 1997). Hawai'ian, a Polynesian language (Austronesian family), arrived in Hawai'i about 500 AD. The earliest Europeans arrived less than 500 years ago, leaving English the dominant language, but with pockets of French, German, and Spanish surviving from the colonial period to the present. More recent immigrants have brought languages from all regions of the world. American English has several well-known regional dialects, and African American Vernacular English (Black English) has played a prominent role in sociolinguistic literature.

### 3. The languages of the USA

#### 3.1. Native American languages and families in the United States

The Native American languages with the largest numbers of speakers are Navajo (c. 80,000), Central Alaskan Yup'ik (20,000),

Sioux (c. 20000), Creek (c. 18000), Tohono O'odham [Papago] (c. 15000), and Choctaw (c. 11000). All Native American languages of the US are endangered. Even Navajo is being learned by a declining proportion of children. Most of these languages are spoken only by elderly persons.

The Native American languages of the US are the following. Names of 'extinct' languages are preceded by the symbol †; those with fewer than ten speakers are listed as 'moribund'; those with 10–100 speakers as 'obsolescent'; and languages with more than 100 speakers with no special indication. Many of these families have languages also in Canada or Mexico, but here only branches and languages represented in the US are included.

## [1] Eskimo-Aleut

Aleut Aleutian Islands

Eskimo

Yup'ik Alaska, Siberia

Inuit-Inupiaq Alaska, Canada,

Greenland

## [2] Eyak-Athabaskan

†Eyak South Central Alaska

Athabaskan

Northern Athabaskan

Ahtna Alaska

Tanaina 250 Cook Inlet, Alaska

Ingalik obsolescent Alaska

Holikachuk moribund Alaska

Koyukon central Alaska

Kolchan Alaska

Lower Tanana obsolescent Alaska

Tanacross Alaska

Upper Tanana Alaska

Han obsolescent Alaska, Yukon

Kutchin (Loucheux) Alaska,

Canada

†Kwalhioqua-Tlatskanai Oregon

Pacific Coast Athabaskan

Oregon Athabaskan Oregon

†Upper Umpqua

Tolowa-Chetco (Smith River)

moribund California

†Tututni-†Chasta Costa-

†Coquille

†Applegate-Galice

California Athabaskan California

Hupa(-Chilula-Whilkut)

obsolescent

†Mattole

†Wailaki-Sinkyone(-Nongatl-

Lassik)

†Cahto (Kato)

## Apachean

Kiowa Apache moribund Oklahoma

Navajo Arizona, New Mexico, Utah

Apache

Jicarilla New Mexico

Lipan moribund Texas

(now New Mexico)

Kiowa-Apache (Oklahoma Apache,

Plains Apache) obsolescent

Western Apache Arizona

Chiricahua moribund Oklahoma,

New Mexico

Mescalero New Mexico

[3] Tlingit Alaska, Canada

[4] Haida Alaska, British Columbia

[5] Tsimshian Alaska, British Columbia

Nass-Gitksan

Coast Tsimshian

Southern Tsimshian (Klemtu)

moribund

[6] Wakashan

Nootkan

Makah moribund Washington

[7] Chimakuan

†Chemakum (Chimakum) Washington

Quileute Washington moribund

[8] Salish(an)

Central Salish

†Nooksack Washington

Straits (Northern Straits) obsolescent

Washington, British Columbia

Clallam moribund Washington, British

Columbia

Lushootseed (Puget/Puget Sound

Salish, Nisqually) moribund

Washington

†Twana Washington

Tsamosan

Quinault moribund Washington

Lower Chehalis moribund

Washington

Upper Chehalis very moribund

Washington

Cowlitz extinct? Washington

†Tillamook Oregon (Dialects: Tilla-

mook, Siletz)

Interior Salish

Southern

Columbian (Moses-Columbian)

obsolescent Washington

Okanagan British Columbia

Kalispel Idaho, Montana (Dialects:

Spokane, Kalispel, Flathead)

Coeur d'Alene obsolescent

Idaho

[9] Kutenai (Kootenay) Idaho, Montana,

British Columbia

- [10] Chinookan Oregon, Washington  
 †Lower Chinookan (Chinook proper)  
 Upper Chinookan obsolescent  
 Cathlamet  
 Multnomah  
 Kiksht (Dialects: Clackamas; Wasco, Wishram)
- [11] †Alsea(n) Oregon  
 Alsea  
 Yaquina
- [12] †Siuslaw Oregon (Dialects: Siuslaw, Lower Umpqua)
- [13] Coosan Oregon  
 Hanis Extinct?  
 †Miluk (Lower Coquille)
- [14] †Kalapuyan Oregon
- [15] †Takelma Oregon
- [16] Sahaptian  
 Nez Perce Oregon, Idaho, Washington  
 Sahaptin obsolescent Oregon, Washington
- [17] Klamath-Modoc moribund Oregon, California (Dialects: Klamath, Modoc)
- [18] †Cayuse Oregon
- [19] †Molala (Molale) Oregon
- [20] †Shasta (and †Konomihu?) California
- [21] Karuk (Karok) moribund Northwest California
- [22] †Chimariko Northwest California
- [23] Palaihnihan  
 Achomawi (Achumawi) moribund Northeast California  
 Atsugewi moribund Northeast California
- [24] †Yana(n) North Central California
- [25] Pomoan obsolescent North Central California  
 Southeastern moribund  
 Eastern  
 †Northeastern  
 Western Branch obsolescent  
 Northern Pomo  
 Southern Group  
 Central Pomo obsolescent  
 Southern Pomo obsolescent  
 Kashaya (Southwestern Pomo) obsolescent
- [26] Washo obsolescent East Central California, Western Nevada
- [27] †Esselen California
- [28] †Salinan California
- [29] †Chumashan Southern California  
 †Obispeño (Northern Chumash)  
 †Central Chumash  
 †Ventureño  
 †Barbareño
- †Inezeño (Ineseño)  
 †Purisimeño (?)  
 †Island (Isleño)
- [30] Yuman California, Arizona, Mexico  
 Pai Subgroup (Northern Yuman)  
 Upland Branch: Walapai-Havasupai-Yavapai  
 Mojave (Mohave) obsolescent, Maricopa, Quechan (Yuma) Arizona, California  
 Delta-California Subgroup  
 Cocopa Arizona, California, Baja California  
 Diegueño obsolescent California
- [31] Wintuan (Wintun) North Central California  
 (North) Wintun  
 Wintu moribund  
 Nomlaki very moribund  
 Patwin very moribund
- [32] Maiduan South Central California  
 Nisenan very moribund  
 Konkow moribund  
 Maidu very moribund
- [33] Miwok-Costanoan (Utian) Central California  
 Miwokan Northern California  
 Eastern Miwok  
 Sierra Miwok obsolescent  
 Plains Miwok Extinct?  
 †Saclan (Bay Miwok)  
 Western Miwok  
 Coast Miwok very moribund  
 Marin Miwok (Western)  
 Bodega Miwok (Southern)  
 Lake Miwok very moribund  
 †Costanoan Northwest California  
 †Karkin  
 †Northern Costanoan  
 †San Francisco (Ramaytush)  
 †East Bay (Chocheño)  
 †Santa Clara (Tamyen)  
 †Santa Cruz (Awaswas)  
 †Soledad (Chalon)  
 †Southern Costanoan  
 †Mutsun (San Juan Bautista)  
 †Rumsen (Monterey/Carmel)
- [34] Yokutsan obsolescent South Central California  
 Poso Creek (Palewyami)  
 General Yokuts  
 Buena Vista  
 Nim-Yokuts  
 Tule-Kaweah (Wikchamni, Yawdanchi)  
 Northern Yokuts

- Kings River (Chukaymina,  
 Michahay, Ayticha, Choynimni)  
 Gashowu  
 Valley Yokuts (includes Yawelmani)
- [35] Yukian North Central California  
 Wappo 10?  
 Core Yukian  
 †Yuki  
 †Coast Yuki  
 †Huchnom
- [36] Uto-Aztecan  
 Northern Uto-Aztecan  
 Numic (Plateau Shoshoni)  
 Western  
 Paviotso-Bannock-Snake  
 (=Northern Paiute)  
 Oregon, Idaho, Nevada  
 Mono (=Monachi) obsolescent  
 California  
 Central  
 Shoshoni-Goshiute, Panamint  
 obsolescent Nevada, Utah,  
 Wyoming, Comanche obsolescent  
 Oklahom  
 Southern  
 Southern Paiute Utah, Nevada,  
 California, Arizona  
 Ute, Chemehuevi obsolescent  
 Utah, Colorado, California,  
 Arizona  
 Kawaiisu obsolescent California  
 Tübatulabal (Kern River) moribund  
 California  
 Takic (Southern Californian  
 Shoshoni)  
 Serran: Serrano moribund,  
 †Kitanemuk  
 Cahuilla moribund?, Cupeño  
 moribund  
 Luiseño-Juaneño obsolescent  
 †Gabrielino-†Fernandeño  
 Hopi Arizona  
 Southern Uto-Aztecan  
 Pimic (Tepiman)  
 Pima-Papago (Upper Piman)  
 Arizona, Mexico  
 Taracahitic  
 Yaqui-Mayo-Cahita Arizona,  
 Mexico
- [37] Keresan New Mexico  
 Western Keresan  
 Acoma  
 Laguna  
 Eastern Keresan  
 Zia-Santa Ana  
 San Felipe-Santo Domingo  
 Cochiti
- [38] Kiowa-Tanoan  
 Kiowa Oklahoma  
 Tanoan  
 Tiwa New Mexico  
 Northern Tiwa  
 Taos  
 Picuris obsolescent  
 Southern Tiwa  
 Isleta  
 Sandia  
 †Piro  
 Tewa New Mexico  
 Hopi Tewa  
 Santa Clara-San Juan  
 Towa (Jemez) New Mexico
- [39] Zuni 3000 New Mexico
- [40] Siouan (Siouan-Catawban)  
 Catawban North and South Carolina  
 †Catawba  
 †Woccon  
 (Core) Siouan  
 Mississippi Valley-Ohio Valley  
 Siouan  
 Southeastern Siouan (Ohio Valley  
 Siouan)  
 Ofo-Biloxi  
 †Ofo Mississippi  
 †Biloxi Mississippi  
 †Tutelo (Saponi, Occaneechi?)  
 Virginia  
 Mississippi Valley Siouan  
 Dakota North and South Dakota,  
 Canadian Reserves  
 (Dialects: Santee, Yankton,  
 Teton, Assiniboin,  
 Stoney)  
 Dhegihan  
 Omaha-Ponca Ponca  
 obsolescent, Omaha  
 Kansa-Osage †Kansa, Osage  
 obsolescent  
 †Quapaw  
 Chiwere-Winnebago  
 Chiwere (Iowa-Oto-Missouri)  
 (Iowa moribund, Oto mori-  
 bund, †Missouri)  
 Winnebago Wisconsin  
 Missouri River Siouan  
 Crow Montana  
 Hidatsa North Dakota  
 Mandan moribund North Dakota
- [41] Caddoan  
 Caddo 200 Oklahoma  
 Northern Caddoan  
 Wichita 50? Oklahoma  
 †Kitsai Oklahoma  
 Arikara group

- Arikara 200 North Dakota  
Pawnee 200 Oklahoma (Dialects:  
South Band, Skiri)
- [42] †Adai (Adaize) Louisiana  
[43] †Tonkawa Texas  
[44] †Karankawa Texas  
[45] Coahuilteco Texas, Mexico  
[46] †Aranama-Tamique (Jaranames) Texas  
[47] †Atakapan Louisiana, Texas  
    Akokisa  
    Western Atakapa  
    Eastern Atakapa  
[48] †Chitimacha Louisiana  
[49] †Tunica Louisiana  
[50] †Natchez Louisiana, Mississippi  
[51] Muskogean  
    Western Muskogean Mississippi,  
    Oklahoma, Louisiana  
    Choctaw  
    Chickasaw  
    Eastern Muskogean  
    Central Muskogean  
    1a. Apalachee-Alabama-Koasati  
        †Apalachee Florida, Georgia  
        Alabama-Koasati  
        Alabama Texas  
        Koasati Louisiana, Texas  
    1b. Hitchiti-Mikasuki  
        †Hitchiti  
        Mikasuki Florida  
    Creek-Seminole  
    Creek Oklahoma  
    Seminole Oklahoma, Florida  
[52] †Timucua Florida  
[53] Yuchi obsolescent Georgia, Oklahoma  
[54] Iroquoian  
    Cherokee Oklahoma, North Carolina  
    (Dialects: Elati, Kituhwa, Otali)  
    Northern Iroquoian  
    Tuscarora-Nottoway  
    Tuscarora obsolescent New York,  
    Ontario  
    †Nottoway-Meherrin Virginia,  
    North Carolina  
    Five Nations-Huronian-  
    Susquehannock  
    Huronian  
    Huron-Petun  
    †Petun (?)  
    †Wyandot Ontario, Quebec,  
    Oklahoma  
    Seneca New York, Ontario  
    Cayuga Ontario, Oklahoma  
    Onondaga obsolescent New York,  
    Ontario  
    †Susquehannock Pennsylvania  
    Mohawk-Oneida
- Mohawk Ontario, Quebec,  
New York  
Oneida New York, Wisconsin,  
Ontario
- [55] Algic (Algonquian-Ritwan)  
    Algic  
    †Wiyot California  
    Yurok moribund California  
    Algonquian (Algonkian)  
    Blackfoot Montana, Alberta  
    Cheyenne Wyoming  
    Arapaho  
    Arapaho Wyoming, Oklahoma  
    Atsina moribund Montana  
    Menominee (Menomini) Wisconsin  
    Ojibwa-Potawatomi(-Ottawa)  
    Michigan, Ontario  
    Fox  
    Fox Iowa, Oklahoma, Kansas  
    Sauk  
    Kickapoo Kansas, Oklahoma,  
    Texas, Coahuila (Mexico)  
    Shawnee Oklahoma  
    Miami-Illinois obsolescent Oklahoma  
    Eastern Algonquian  
    Abenaki(-Penobscot) Maine,  
    Quebec  
    †Narragansett New England  
    †Powhatan  
    Delaware (Munsee, Unami)  
    moribund Oklahoma  
    †Massachusetts Massachusetts  
    Maliseet(-Passamaquoddy) Maine,  
    New Brunswick  
(Campbell 1997, 107–55.)
- ### 3.2. European languages
- More recent immigration has brought speakers of languages from all over the world. In the 1990 US census, 31 844 979 persons (five years or older) reported they speak a language other than English at home, about 13% of the population, of whom 60% were born in the US. Two-thirds of the minority-language speakers are concentrated in just eight states. The numbers of speakers are revealing: 17 345 064 Spanish, 19 304 404 French, 15 479 877 German, 13 194 462 Chinese, 13 086 483 Italian, Tagalog 8 432 511, Polish 7 234 883, Korean 6 264 478, Vietnamese 5 070 699, Portuguese 4 306 101, Japanese 4 276 577, Greek 3 881 500, Arabic 3 551 150, Russian 2 417 988, Yiddish 2 130 664, Hungarian 1 479 020, Mon-Khmer 1 274 411, plus linguistically undifferentiated groupings of language speakers in the census as “Indic” 555 126, Native North American languages 331 758, other Slavic language-

ges 270863, Scandinavian 198904, other Indo-European languages 578076, and other and unspecified languages 1023614 (Lippi-Greene 1997, 220). For example, in Hawai'i, Hakka, Cantonese, Japanese, Korean, Ilocano, Cebuano, Hiligaynon, Portuguese, Spanish, and Samoan language communities persist along with English, Hawai'ian, and Hawai'ian Creole English.

### 3.2.1. French from colonial times

When the British acquired the Canadian maritime provinces from France in 1755, they expelled the about 6000 Acadian French (especially from Nova Scotia, called *Acadie*), of whom perhaps half eventually made their way to Louisiana the origin of Cajun French. The picture of French in Louisiana is complicated by regional and social variation, and language loss under encroachment from English. Standard (International) French was taught in the schools in a revival program from the Council for the Development of French in Louisiana (CODOFIL) launched in 1968. However, Standard French is looked on negatively, and the program met with little success – Cajun French is preferred.

Cajun (or Acadian) French declined from 572000 speakers in the 1970 census (16.2% of the population) to 262000 in 1990 (6.7%). Speakers are concentrated in southwestern Louisiana, called “Acadiana”, though pockets of speakers are found throughout Louisiana and in neighboring Texas and Mississippi. Cajun French is reasonably similar to Standard French in phonology and grammar, though it has its own distinctive traits (Valdman 1997). (See below for Louisiana Creole.)

There are also a significant concentration of French speakers in New England and states bordering Quebec. French Canadians began settling there around 1900, with slow immigration continuing into the 1960s, with only a very few third-generation Franco-Americans able to speak French (Russo/Roberts 1999).

### 3.2.2. German from colonial times on

“Religious-societal isolation” this the key factor to German maintenance in the US today (Kloss 1966), of which the following are examples.

[1] Pennsylvania German (popularly called “Pennsylvania Dutch”, probably from a misconstrual of *Deutsch*) stems from Ger-

man immigration started before the Revolutionary War. Between 1726 and 1755 some 40000 Germans arrived in Philadelphia. Pennsylvania German originated to a large extent in migration of persecuted Swiss Anabaptists in the 16<sup>th</sup> to 18<sup>th</sup> centuries to Alsace, Pays de Montbeliard, Territoire de Belfort and the Palatinate, and further to America. The majority came from the southwest of the German language area of Alemannic and Rhenish Franconian dialects, with the (Rhenish-Franconian) Palatinate dialect dominating in the process of dialect leveling, giving a distinct Pennsylvania German dialect by around 1800. From an original concentration in southeastern Pennsylvania, the dialect spread in networks to Maryland, the Indiana-Illinois border, Virginia, West Virginia, Wisconsin, Ontario, and as far as Central American and South America, eventually to be represented in 23 US states. It is healthy today, with some 200000 speakers, mostly among conservative Anabaptists religious groups (Old Order Amish and Old Order Mennonites); it is moribund among non-sectarians. In the Mid West (Minnesota, Iowa, Missouri, Wisconsin, Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, and Ohio) secular speakers and more liberal sectarians born before World War I are still fluent, but for those born later, shift to English monolingualism is almost complete (Van Ness 1992).

[2] The South-Bavarian/Carinthian-based variety of the Hutterites in North and South Dakota, Montana, and Manitoba, Alberta, and Saskatchewan. It originated with 16<sup>th</sup> century Tyrolese Anabaptists who first migrated to Moravia, Hungary, Romania – where their numbers were strengthened by a new wave from Carinthia, hence their dialect base –, then to Russia, and eventually to America in the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

[3] The Upper-Alsatian (Alemannic) dialect of a few Old Order Amish groups in Indiana. It derives from the migration of Bernese Anabaptists to the Swiss and French Jura, the Pays de Montbeliard, the Territoire de Belfort, and then to Ohio and Indiana during the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

[3] Near Standard German (with Hessian dialect features) of the Amana Colony in Iowa. This variety began with Pietist *Gemeinschaft der Wahren Inspiration* (“Society of the True Inspiration”) in Büdingen (Upper Hessian), migrating to Buffalo in the 1840s, and to Iowa in the 1850s, where only

those born before 1930 still maintain some German.

Some varieties associated with religious groups which have not maintained German are: the Volga German in central Kansas of Russian Mennonite immigrants; Plaudietsch (Plattdeutsch, Low German) in Nebraska; and Low German in Reedley, California.

Another surviving variety is Texas German (estimated 70000 in 1960s, but shifting to English only). Other more politically or economically motivated German immigrants brought with them a strong motivation to integrate also culturally, and their shift to English monolingualism was mostly completed in three generations.

(I thank Silke van Ness, personal communication, for much of this information.)

### 3.2.3. Spanish then and now

The US is the country with the fourth largest Spanish-speaking population in the world. The 1993 Current Population Survey's official figures give 22.8 million Hispanic residents, 8.9% of the total population. However, this hides considerable ethnic and linguistic variety: 64% are of Mexican background, 11% Puerto Rican, and 5% Cuban (and 20% others) (Lippi-Green 1997, 229). Most of these represent recent immigrants, bringing Mexican, Puerto Rican, and Cuban varieties of Spanish. Few pockets remain from the original Spanish colonies of California, Florida, Louisiana, New Mexico, and Texas.

The Isleños are descendants of colonizers from the Canary Islands, brought to Louisiana between 1778 and 1783. In Ascension Parish, the "Brule" dialect is nearly extinct (Holloway 1997), while in St. Bernard Parish (just south of New Orleans), there were an estimated 400 speakers of Isleño Spanish in the 1980s (Lipski 1990, 970). Isleño Spanish has survived in relative isolation from other varieties of Spanish. It is currently undergoing a cultural revival (Armistead 1992; Holloway 1997; Lipski 1990; MacCurdy 1950).

There is another variety of Spanish, also moribund and also surviving mostly without contact with other varieties of Spanish, still spoken in Sabine Parish of northern Louisiana (in the region of Ebarb and Zwolle). In the 1980 US census, 202 persons in the parish reported knowing Spanish, 17 of them under the age of seventeen. It derives from a Spanish colony (from New Spain, i.e. Mexi-

co), originally established as a buffer against the French (Shoemaker 1988; Stark 1980).

Most other varieties of Spanish in the US from the colonial era have either been replaced by English or have been overwhelmed by varieties spoken by more recent immigrants. Even New Mexican Spanish, important in Hispanic dialectology (Espinosa, 1909–15, 1911), now shows changes due to contact with more recent Spanish-speaking immigrants.

Many significant sociolinguistic studies have been undertaken with other Spanish speaking communities in the US, contributing to issues of language contact (Silva-Corvalán 1994), code-switching (Poplack 1980), language shift and maintenance (Fishman/Cooper/Ra 1971), etc.

## 4. Varieties, attitudes towards them, and dialect variation

### 4.1. Regional dialects

Most regional dialects of American English were established before the Revolutionary War and reflect early settlement patterns. There are three major dialect areas: North, Midland, and South. The main dialect divisions, established in dialect atlas research of the 1930s and 1940s (Kurath 1939; 1949; Kurath/McDavid 1961), are: (1) New England (subdivided into Eastern New England and Western New England); (2) New York (subdivided into Upstate New York and New York City); (3) Southern (with divisions of Atlantic [or Tidewater] South and Delta South); (4) Midlands (parts of Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Maryland, Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois; and (5) the less securely defined Southern highland region or Upper South (western part of Virginia, North Carolina, West Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, and northern Arkansas (Wolfram/Schilling-Estes 1998, 102–3). More recent studies indicate that, while on the whole these major dialect distinctions persist, some are losing their distinctiveness, for example Eastern New England. At the same time, a Western US dialect area has come to be recognized. The most important finding, however, is that some of these dialect distinctions are intensifying rather than weakening. Labov (1991), relying mostly on changes in vowel systems, also found three major dialect areas (coinciding not entirely with earlier classifications): Northern (called "Northern Ci-



ties" area), Midland (characterized by the merger of /ɔ/ and /a/, as in *caught* and *cot*), and Southern. To these a fourth is now added: West (which shares the /ɔ/-/a/ merger with Midland) (Wolfram/Schilling-Estes 1998, 120–1). In the pattern of change Labov calls the "Northern Cities Vowel Shift," long low vowels are moving upward and forward, and short vowels are moving backward and downward: /ɔ/ (*coffee*) is moving forward towards /a/ (of *father*); /a/ (*lock*, *pop*) moves towards /æ/ (of *bat*); /æ/ (*bat*) moves upward towards /e/ (of *bet*); /e/ (*bet*) moves backward toward /ʌ/; and the /ʌ/ (*but*) is in turn pushed backward. The Northern Cities area includes western New England, northern Pennsylvania, Northern Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin, more concentrated in the bigger cities such as Buffalo, Chicago, Cleveland, and Detroit. In the vowel change pattern Labov calls the "Southern Vowel Shift," more advanced in rural areas, short front vowels (as in *bed* and *bid*) are moving upward and taking on gliding (for example, *bed* pronounced more like [beɪd]); long front vowels (as in *beet* and *late*) move backward and downward; and back vowels are moving forward. Significantly, African Americans in these areas on the whole do not participate in these on-going changes, resulting in even greater divergence between ethnic varieties.

#### 4.2. Ethnic varieties

##### 4.2.1. African American Vernacular English (AAVE) (Black English)

In the 1990 census, the African American population was 39 930 524, about 12% of the total population, of whom it is estimated that 80–90% speak AAVE (Lippi-Greene 1997, 176).

The origin of AAVE is much debated. The creolist hypothesis holds that AAVE developed from an English-based creole, once widespread among descendants of Africans on Southern plantations, similar to Caribbean creoles, with Gullah (see below) as a vestige, but decreolized to become more like varieties of English around it. The "Anglicist" (or dialectologist) hypothesis explains characteristics of AAVE as originating in English dialects spoken in the South. (A third position involves combinations of the two.) Many AAVE traits do coincide with Southern dialects, especially features of pronunciation, though some of the grammatical

traits are more difficult to explain in this way and may be suggestive of a possible creole background. The creolist hypothesis has been challenged based on investigations of recordings of former slaves born between 1844 and 1861 (Bailey et al. 1991) and of the language of descendants of African Americans who migrated to the Dominican Republic and to Nova Scotia in the late 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, living in isolation and maintaining their variety of English. These varieties are similar to earlier American English varieties and unlike the presumed creole predecessor (Poplack/Sankoff 1987; Poplack/Tagliamonte 1989, 1991). Still, reinterpretations of these data, analyses from other external varieties (such as Liberian English), and interpretations of early textual evidence (Rickford 1999, 231–51) suggest there may be more evidence for the creolist case than initially recognized (cf. Wolfram/Schilling-Estes 1998, 177).

Though AAVE is surprisingly homogeneous, with features shared across regions, there is some variation. AAVE in northern rural varieties is distinguishable from Southern rural varieties, and South Atlantic coastal varieties are different from those of the Gulf region. After World War I, many African Americans migrated northward along two routes. From North and South Carolina they moved along the coast to Washington DC, Philadelphia, and New York; those from the Deep South migrated through the Midwest to St. Louis, Chicago, and Detroit. There are small dialect differences reflecting these different routes. For example, AAVE speakers in Midwestern cities do not use /v/ (where standard English has /ð/) in words such as *brother* and *smooth* as much as those in Philadelphia and New York do (Wolfram/Schilling-Estes 1998, 115, 174). African American youths integrated into urban culture choose among grammatical, lexical, and phonological variables which identify them as aligned with either the west or the east coast (Lippi-Greene 1997, 176). Stylistic variables in addition to phonological and grammatical ones are important. Some upper-middle-class African Americans may not always use the grammatical features of AAVE, but still signal African American solidarity by use of AAVE intonation, address systems, rhetorical features, and discourse strategies in what Smitherman (1997) calls the African American Verbal Tradition.

Investigations of on-going change in AAVE suggest that it is diverging even further from Standard English and vernacular varieties of “White” English (Rickford 1999, 252–80).

#### 4.2.2. Hispanic English

Many speak a variety of English influenced by Spanish. Varieties of Hispanic-English, spoken also by some who do not have Spanish as their native language, may be characterized by such things as the monophthong /e/ in words such as *bait* and *case*, where most dialects of American English have a diphthong /ei/, and the merger of /i/ and /ɪ/ (as in *sit* and *seat*) and of “ch” and “sh” (as in *chew* and *shoe*, both as /ç/) (Wolfram/Schilling-Estes 1998, 114).

#### 4.2.3. American Indian English

Leap (1992) points out that among Native American groups there are distinct varieties of English, each with phonology, syntax, and discourse features specific to it. For example, a feature of Indian English from the Northern Ute Reservation is devoicing of vowels in certain positions (Leap 1992, 144); features of Lumbee Vernacular English, spoken by the Lumbee Indians of North Carolina, are finite *be*, as in *These girls in the picture be(s) my sisters*, distinct from the ‘habitual *be*’ of AAVE; relic *be* forms rather than *have* in constructions such as *I’m been to the store* (for *I’ve been to the store*); and regularized *were* rather than *was*, as in *I weren’t there, she weren’t there* (Wolfram/Schilling-Estes 1998, 115, 183).

#### 4.2.4. Cajun English

Well-known and stereotyped locally and even in motion pictures, Cajun English of southeastern Louisiana has not been widely studied and deserves more investigations (see Cox 1992).

#### 4.3. Attitudes towards varieties

Early in radio broadcasting, a decision was made to emphasize the variety of American English most understood by most people, which both reflected notions of prestige and “correctness” and helped rigidify attitudes regarding regional varieties. NBC (National Broadcasting Company) identified three varieties of American English: (1) New England or Eastern, (2) Southern, and (3) Western, Middle Western, or “General American” (Ehrlich 1951, ix; Lippi-Greene 1997, 138). Broadcasting policy determined that

the only appropriate language would be so-called “General American,” not general at all, but representative of the middle class of the Midwestern and Western region. Linguistic insecurity from those who do not speak this variety is evidenced in the businesses and schools in New York and the South offering to reduce or correct accents (Lippi-Greene 1997, 140). The term “Standard American English (SAE)” is often used to distinguish this variety from other Englishes in the world. “Network Standard” is the sort of SAE aimed for by national television and radio broadcasters, intended to be devoid of regionally and socially stigmatized features (Wolfram 1997; Schilling-Estes 1998).

Preston’s (1989, 54) survey of attitudes revealed that students ranked the areas having the “most correct” English as the northern states, New England, Colorado, California, and Washington, with the South seen as the worst. Despite the prominent role of numerous southern writers and southern presidents, the stereotype persists which associates southern accents (of 25 million Americans) with lack of education, intelligence, or morals. The stereotypes concerning regional dialects and foreign accents are inculcated early. For example, Disney animated films were found to link language varieties with national origins, ethnicities, and races often in overtly discriminatory ways (Lippi-Greene 1997, 101).

Attitudes towards AAVE vary greatly among African Americans. That black children should learn the standard English is generally accepted, though opinions about why range from pragmatic acceptance to angry resignation. However, whether AAVE should have any basis in school curriculum as a bridge towards acquiring mainstream English is controversial.

#### 5. Education and language

Dialect differences affect negatively the education of many students. Also, schools want to address the fact that many people make egregious assumptions about speakers’ intelligence, attitude, and morality based on the nonstandard dialect they speak. Sociolinguists have been effective in combating views that equate language difference with cognitive or even genetic deficiencies (Labov 1972; Wolfram/Schilling-Estes 1998, 263–322). In a 1979 court case in Ann Arbor, Michigan, African American parents won a

suit against the school system, claiming their children were denied equal educational opportunity because of their language background. They maintained that the school failed to teach their children to read because of the students' language differences were not taken into account (Chambers/Bond 1983). Notwithstanding, controversy surrounds how to deal with dialect differences in schools. Some insist that standard English be taught to eradicate nonstandard features. Some assume these dialects are corruptions of standard English that must be "corrected." Others suggest that even if the dialects are linguistically equivalent, socially they are not, and therefore nonstandard varieties should be replaced. Another approach advocates bidialectalism, teaching standard English with the goal of maintaining both the standard and the vernacular for different social purposes. Some argue dialect rights, that the requirement to master standard English is discriminatory, placing an unfair burden on certain students, and therefore instruction should aim to change the prejudice towards vernacular dialects (Wolfram/Schilling-Estes 1998, 284–5).

There have been attempts to produce dialect readers, usually intended as a bridge towards acquisition of reading skills and Standard English. However, such efforts have not worked, mostly because of negative reaction from parents and teachers (Rickford 1999, 329–47; Rickford/Rickford 1995).

In December 1996, the Unified School Board of Education in Oakland, California, approved a policy that acquisition of Standard English by African American students, 53% in Oakland schools, is best achieved through recognition of the unique aspects of their language, which they referred to as "Ebonics." Ebonics was coined in the 1970s to embrace the positive aspects of "ebony" and "phonics," for what linguists call AAVE or Black English. This decision set off an enormous media controversy. Many interpreted the policy's statement that "African language systems have origins in West and Niger-Congo languages and are not merely dialects of English" as meaning Ebonics was a separate language, rather than that languages or dialects may contain components derived from different languages. Where the statement "recognizes the existence and the cultural and historic bases of West and Niger-Congo language systems," many interpreted this as meaning Ebonics is an African

language. However, this merely reflects the creolist hypothesis about the origin of AAVE which links it via Gullah with other creoles, assumed to have input from African languages. The statement that "the English language acquisition and improvement of skills of African-American students are as fundamental as is application of bilingual or second language learner principles for others whose primary languages are other than English" was thought to urge that speakers of Ebonics should qualify for federal funds restricted to bilingual programs, rather than merely acknowledging that speakers of other varieties of English should have access to programs where they can learn standard English and that in such programs it is advantageous to take differences in the native variety into account. Finally, the recommendation to "implement the best possible academic program for the combined purposes of facilitating the acquisition of and mastery of English language skills, while respecting and embracing the legitimacy and richness of the language patterns [...] known as 'Ebonics' [...]" was read to mean that students would be taught in Ebonics and teachers would be required to learn and use Ebonics in teaching, rather than merely that students' dialects would be respected and taken into account in teaching with standard English as the medium of instruction (Wolfram 1997).

## 6. Lingua francas, pidgins and creoles, and contact languages

### 6.1. Native American pidgins and contact languages

Several Native American pidgins, contact languages, and lingua francas are attested, though they deserve more study.

[1] *Eskimo Trade Jargon*. Stefánsson (1909, 218) reported two Eskimo trade jargons, used by Eskimos in dealing with whites and Indians, both based on Eskimo grammar and lexicon. He reported a "ships' jargon", involving whalers and others, and another more highly developed one used further inland among Eskimos, Loucheux Indians, and others.

[2] *Mednyj Aleut* (Copper Island Aleut), is a mixed Aleut-Russian language, now nearly extinct. Most of the vocabulary and grammar are Aleut, but verb morphology is Russian.

[3] *Chinook Jargon*, best known native pidgin in the New World, was widely spoken among native groups and non-Indians alike. By the latter half of the nineteenth century, it reached from southern Alaska to northern California, and west to the Rocky Mountains, in use among speakers of more than a hundred mutually unintelligible languages.

[4] *Michif* (Metchif) is a mixed language in which most nouns and adjectives (and their morphology and syntax) are French in origin, while the verbs (with their morphology and syntax) are from Plains Cree. It is spoken in North Dakota, Montana, Manitoba, and Saskatchewan.

[5] *American Indian Pidgin English*, with many Algonquian forms in the attestations, was used in New England along side pidgin Massachusetts.

[6] *Pidgin Massachusetts* is little known, aside from its existence. It may have connections with Delaware Jargon or broader pidgin Algonquian.

[7] *Delaware Jargon*, the Delaware-based Traders' Jargon, a pidgin, was used between Delaware River whites and Indians in the seventeenth century. It is attested in several sources, but the total material is quite limited. The best known is "the Indian Interpreter," a list of 261 words and phrases. Its vocabulary is almost all from Delaware (Algonquian). Its grammar is simplified, but exhibits no European influence and has some features at odds with Dutch, English, and Swedish which colonists in the area spoke.

[8] *Jargonized Powhatan* (Virginia) was reported by Captain John Smith.

[9] *Lingua Franca Apalachee*, a contact language based on Apalachee (Muskogean), cited in sources on the southeastern US, is extinct and poorly attested, though early colonial sources say it was a mixture of Spanish and Alabama (Alibama).

[10] *Mobilian Jargon* (Mobilian Trade Jargon) was a pidgin based on a Western Muskogean language, in use as a trade language in the lower Mississippi Valley and the Gulf coast by speakers of Choctaw, Chickasaw, Houma, Apalachee, Alabama, Koasati (Muskogean languages); Atakapa, Chitimacha, Natchez, Tunica (isolates); Ofo and Biloxi (Siouan); Caddo and Natchitoches (Caddoan), and possibly Algonquian groups of southern Illinois, plus various speakers of English, French, German, and Spanish.

[11] *Others*. Ocaneechi (Occaneechee), a little-known extinct language (Siouan-Catawban?), was used as a lingua franca among a number of Native American groups in colonial Virginia and the Carolinas. Trader Navajo was spoken only by non-Navajo traders and not by Navajos themselves. So-called "Afro-Seminole Creole," once spoken by people of African and Seminole descent in the Texas-Mexico border area, is an English-based Creole, in fact a variety of Gullah (below). Ojibwa (Algonquian) was used as the lingua franca around the Great Lakes, while "Illinois" (Peoria, another Algonquian language) was used along the Mississippi River, replaced by French in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Several other languages were also used as lingua francas in wider areas, e.g. Tuscarora, "Savannah," Catawba, and Creek. (Campbell 1997, 18–21.)

[12] *Plains Sign language*, used for intertribal communication, is familiar from popular accounts. The Kiowas were renown as excellent sign talkers, while in the northern Plains the Crows are credited with disseminating sign language to others. There was variation from tribe to tribe, some using distinct signs. This sign language became the lingua franca of the Plains, and spread as far as British Columbia. Early attestations argue for an earlier sign language in the Louisiana-Texas-northern Mexico area which appears to be the ancestor of Plains sign language (Wurtzburg/Campbell 1995).

## 6.2. Other pidgins and creoles

[1] *Gullah* ("Geechee", Sea Island Creole) is a creole language spoken by some 125000 African Americans on the Sea Islands of South Carolina and Georgia, now on the verge of being eliminated by other varieties of English. It is related to Caribbean English-based creoles. It contains such features typical of other English-based creoles as *d'ə* 'copula', *se* 'complementizer' (from *say*), *gi* 'for' (from *give*), *buckra* 'white man', and so on. The best-known work on Gullah is Turner (1949), though it has been the focus of many subsequent studies. Gullah is the only clear English-based creole still surviving in the US; some believe that this black creole was formerly much more widespread and argue that it eventually became African American Vernacular English (Black English) through decreolization due to contact with surrounding dialects of English (Mufwene 1992, 1994).

[2] *Hawai'in Creole English* (called also just "Pidgin") is spoken by about 600000, nearly half the population of Hawai'i; some 100000 or more speak no other variety of English (Lippi-Greene 1997, 119). Hawai'ian Creole English is really a creole continuum, with varieties closer to Standard English and with basilect varieties, more highly stigmatized, spoken widely but more common among the working class. It formed rapidly at the close of the 19<sup>th</sup> and beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, based on an earlier pidgin whose origin and development are disputed. There is considerable variation in its use, in part correlated with speakers' varied ethnic backgrounds. Contract laborers were brought to work in the plantations who spoke various languages: Hakka, Cantonese, Japanese, Korean, Ilocano, Cebuano, Hiligaynon, Portuguese, Spanish, and later Samoan.

[3] *Louisiana (French) Creole* (also called *Gombo, Negro French*) is moribund, though Creole Inc. is attempting to revive it. It is highly stigmatized, with many of its speakers able to code-shift into higher status Cajun French, resulting in a continuum with no clear demarcation between basilectal Creole and more prestigious Cajun French. Today it is attested in only three isolated areas (Saint James and Saint John parishes, New Roads (Pointe Coupée Parish), and Bayou Teche (Saint Martin Parish)). It is often associated with people of African origin, though a quarter of its speakers are white. Its origin is not entirely clear, usually assumed to be the descendant of a plantation creole used by slaves, connected with Caribbean French creoles. Some early evidence suggest it may have developed, at least in part, locally in Louisiana; nevertheless, an important part of the picture is the arrival in Louisiana before 1810 of 10000 refugees from Saint-Domingue (Haiti), occasioned by the slave revolt led by Toussaint L'Ouverture. Structurally Louisiana Creole is quite distinct from Cajun and Standard French, with features more typical of Caribbean French creoles (Valdman 1997).

[4] *Chileno* is a poorly attested Spanish-based pidgin known to have been used among Native American groups in northern and central California; little is known about it.

## 7. Political, social, and ethnic problems and issues

Official language policy in America has been debated off and on since before the American Revolution, resulting in English as the unofficial official language, but with no law designating English as the official language of the US. Various federal laws do require English for specific purposes: air traffic control, product labels, warnings, official notices, service on federal juries, and becoming a naturalized citizen. Attempts since the 1980s to enact official English legislation set off heated debates. Though controversial, organizations favoring such legislation have considerable support. For example, *US English's* website proclaims 1.3 million members nationwide; *English First's* 140000 members is modest in comparison. For some proponents of "English Only," "English First," "the English Language Amendment," "US English," and so on, the motivation was pragmatic or patriotic: many thought English is de facto official; why not make it officially so? For many, American English is identified with Americanism; some argue it is the glue holding together the melting pot with its ethnic diversity; other proponents' motivations seem racist, hispanophobic. Some proponents insist minority language speakers must assimilate to the monolingual English norm to demonstrate their patriotism and to be able to participate in the economic mainstream (in order, some argue, not be a burden on social services). A headline on *English First's* website proclaims "\$3.5 billion of your money wasted on bilingual education since 1974." Such sentiments have resulted in California's Proposition 227 Anti-Bilingual Education Initiative, called the "English for the Children" initiative, being voted into law in 1998, even though all bilingual education programs are aimed at aiding transition to English.

Ironically, as linguistic assimilation is being demanded for minorities, the monolingual mainstream is encouraged to learn foreign languages to help the country compete economically and to strengthen its military defenses. The fear that English is somehow losing ground to Spanish and other languages and that recent immigrants are refusing to learn English is unfounded. Of those who speak a language other than English at home, 82% report they speak English

well or very well; immigrants continue to learn English, and the US remains mostly monolingual, where almost 90% speak only English (Baron 1990, 177). Another irony is that this movement came at the same time linguistic rights were being affirmed, as in the Native American Languages Act of 1990. International laws fosters freedom from discrimination on the basis of language and the right to use one's language in everyday activities.

In 1986, Californian voters passed a referendum making English the official language of the state. To date, 24 states have passed such legislation. (Arizona's 1988 Official English amendment was overturned by the Arizona State Supreme Court in 1998.) In addition, Michigan, New Mexico, Oregon, Rhode Island and Washington passed "English-plus" laws (advocating knowledge of English plus another language). (Baron 1990, 201.) The so-far unsuccessful English Language Amendment to the US Constitution was first proposed in 1981 by senator S. I. Hayakawa, author of a famous textbook on semantics and founder of *US English*. Extremists in different states claimed (erroneously), for example, that opponents to the amendment were aided by a Soviet front group undermining national unity, that Hispanic fertility could lead to the national disintegration, that the success of multilingual policy in Switzerland was a myth, and so on. Official English bills pending before Congress at present include: English Language Empowerment Act, Declaration of Official Language Act, National Language Act, English Language Amendment, Parents Know Best Act, as well as the less negative English Plus Resolution.

As expected, other languages also lack official status in most states, though Hawai'ian has official status in Hawai'i (since 1978, though this is seen by many as a symbolic gesture, since there are extremely few native speakers of Hawai'ian today – 8872 speakers in the 1990 census of nearly 200000 Native Hawai'ians). French has legal recognition in Louisiana, as has Spanish sometimes had in New Mexico.

#### 8. Language endangerment and revitalization

Native American languages are becoming extinct at an alarming rate, and shift towards English is pervasive in all the other

language communities. For example, in California, of the approximately 100 languages encountered in 1800, only 50 still have speakers, but today "there is not a single California Indian language that is being learned by children as the primary languages of the household" (Hinton 1994, 21). Various revitalization efforts are underway in numerous communities and schools. There are a few immersion language programs: Navajo; Central Yup'ik (Alaska, one primary school, total immersion, local funding); Inupiaq (Alaska, one primary school, total immersion, local funding); French in Louisiana Acadian parishes (partial immersion, Parish and local funding); Hawai'ian (in 13 Hawai'ian schools, total immersion; in some schools all subjects except English taught in Hawai'ian, in others only social science and Hawai'ian language taught in Hawai'ian). There are a number of Hawai'ian *Punana Leo* ('language nests') immersion programs for preschoolers, modeled on the Maori Kohanga Reo program of New Zealand. Success is hoped for, but not often anticipated.

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## 211. Bermuda and the Bahamas/ Bermuda und Bahamas

1. Bermuda
2. The Bahamas
3. The Turks and Caicos Islands
4. Literature (selected)

### 1. Bermuda

An overseas territory of the UK, Bermuda consists of a group of islands in the North Atlantic Ocean approximately 1000 km east of North Carolina. With a population of 65365, 58% of which are black (CIA 2005), Bermuda enjoys one of the highest per capita incomes in the world, attracting the financial business of international firms as well as 360000 visitors annually (before September 11, 2001), most of them from North America. International business accounts for over 60% of Bermuda's national production; a failed independence vote in 1995 is attributed to apprehensions about scaring away foreign firms. The present-day residential population of Bermuda is composed of descendants of the original British settlers and slaves as well as of Portuguese whose ancestors came as agricultural workers from the Azores from the late nineteenth century onward (Tucker 1975, 62). The languages spoken are English (official) and Portuguese.

Bermuda was settled by accident – in 1609, Sir George Somers's *Sea Venture* was wrecked there on its way to Jamestown, Virginia. The islands soon proved to be not only ideal as a way-station between Europe, North America, and the West Indies but also suitable for tobacco cultivation. The expansion of the tobacco industry on the North American mainland, however, brought the downfall of this crop in Bermuda, and more and more Bermudians turned to the sea for a living as boat builders, sailors, and traders of Turks Island salt (Zuill 1987, 52). First assigned to the Virginia Company, Bermuda was soon turned over to a separate, London-based Company of Adventurers, which held the colony from 1615 to 1684 with the idea of turning it into a "fragment of England translated overseas" (Craton/Saunders 1992, 69). Given that all settlers were to be Englishmen, the Company's charter originally did not foresee slavery; however, the number of indentured laborers was soon found to be insufficient,

and increasing numbers of Africans were taken to the colony. From 1620 onwards, these were mainly slaves seized from the Spaniards, some of whom must have spent time in the West Indies (Tucker 1975, 62). Even though the English eventually got involved in the slave trade themselves, the proportion of black Bermudians grew slowly. By the third quarter of the seventeenth century, blacks amounted to a third of the population; parity was reached around 1760 (Tucker 1975, 88–9). During the early years of the seventeenth century, there was considerable social mobility in Bermuda, but the scarcity of land and religious conflict soon led to a hardening of the social matrix, for whites as well as blacks (Craton/Saunders 1992, 72–3). The arrival of batches of Scottish prisoners from the defeats of the Royalist Armies in 1649 (Tucker 1975, 71–2) certainly did not help to defuse the situation, and many Bermudians soon emigrated to other colonies; best known of these are the Eleutherian Adventurers, who set off for the Bahamas in 1648.

The formation of Bermudian English must have taken place in an environment similar to that found later in the early colonial Bahamas. A low proportion of blacks and occupations such as boatbuilding and sailing brought about close contact between Bermudians of African and British descent; the former presumably had ample opportunity to acquire the latter's varieties. Contemporary Bermudian is one of the most severely underresearched varieties of English – the only treatment of it is an article from the 1930s (Ayres 1933). From what can be gathered from the scattered references, "Mudian" is a dialect of English which resulted from the koinéization typical of colonial varieties of English (Trudgill 1986, 127). In terms of phonology, it seems fairly close to varieties of American English; Ayres (1933, 4) describes it as a form of speech which "would create least remark, if indeed any at all, between, say, Norfolk, Virginia, and Charleston, South Carolina." Among its distinctive features are the "interplay" (Ayres 1933, 5) of /æ/ and /ɛ/, as in *hat* (pronounced [hɛt]) or *ten* (pronounced [tæn]), and the interchange of /w/ and /v/, as in *witness* (pronounced [vɪtnɪs]) or *very* (pronounced [wɛrɪ]). A few features distinguish



black from white Bermudian: whereas whites pronounce *grass* as [græs], for blacks the vowel is [a]; only blacks seem to stop the alveolar fricatives /θ/ and /ʃ/, as in *with* or *the* (Ayres 1933, 6–10). It is interesting that Ayres should draw parallels between Bermudian and Gullah, the creole spoken in the South Carolina and Georgia lowlands and offshore Sea Islands; these shared features underscore the view of a historical Bermuda-Bahamas-Carolina triangle. More research on Bermudian is sorely needed.

## 2. The Bahamas

The Commonwealth of The Bahamas comprises an archipelago of over 700 islands extending over 1000 km between southeast Florida and northern Hispaniola with a population of 301 790 (CIA 2005). The Bahamas is a stable developing nation whose economy rests on tourism and offshore banking. Tourism alone accounts for more than half of the nation's GDP and directly or indirectly employs almost half of its labor force. Between three and four million foreigners – mostly North American – visit the Bahamas each year, roughly half of them as cruise passengers or day visitors. The touristic infrastructure concentrates on New Providence with the capital, Nassau, and offshore Paradise Island. Migration between the 29 inhabited islands has been largely unidirectional, i. e., from the “Out” or “Family Islands” to New Providence. Thus, whereas at the turn of the century less than a quarter of the Bahamian population lived in the capital (Saunders 1994, 61), this figure amounts to two thirds today.

Some 85% of the Bahamian population are black. The white population segment comprises native-born whites – descendants of the colonial settlers or American Loyalists – as well as expatriate British, American, or Canadian citizens. The indigenous white population has traditionally inhabited New Providence, racially mixed Long Island, and some all-white cays or islands off the two northern Bahamian islands of Abaco and Eleuthera. The relationship between English as spoken by whites and blacks has been described as a “non-continuum” (Shilling 1980, 133), with black speech covering the entire span of a creole continuum but white speech a variety sharply different in its avoidance of unambiguous creole features. Two of the most prominent phonological pe-

culiarities of white Bahamian vernacular speech are the loss of /h/, as in ‘*orrible* and raised /ay/, as in *hoi* ‘hi.’ A prominent grammatical feature is the use of *I’m* for *I have*, as in *I’m got lights* or *I’m been here all my life*. More recently, the Bahamas has received waves of immigrant Haitian laborers, speaking Haitian Creole French.

In the development of black vernacular speech in the Bahamas, three stages can be delimited (Hackert 2004, 34): the early colonial years (1648–1783), Loyalist times (1783–1807), and the post-slavery epoch (1807–WW II). Although Columbus first entered the New World on October 12, 1492 via the Bahamian island of San Salvador, the Spanish did not settle the Bahamas. They were aware that the people were the most valuable resource of the entire archipelago and thus contented themselves with carrying off the indigenous Lucayan Indians to the gold mines of Hispaniola, where they soon died out. The Bahamas themselves were depopulated by 1513 (Craton/Saunders 1992, 56), and they remained so until the first British settlers – about seventy religious Independents – arrived from Bermuda in 1648. It was Bermudians, too, who – in 1666 – first settled on the site of what is now Nassau, the capital. From the beginning, servants and slaves – mostly those found “socially undesirable” by the Bermudian colonial elite (Craton/Saunders 1992, 78) – were part of the shipments that arrived in the Bahamas. Since Bermuda had first been settled in 1609, blacks deported from there in the 1660s could have been born either in Africa or in Bermuda and thus spoken anything from their native African languages to forms of restructured English (Holm 1980, 47). By 1670, the Bahamian population amounted to about a thousand (Craton/Saunders 1992, 79), two thirds of whom were white. In that year, Charles II granted all of the Bahamas to eight Lord Proprietors as an addition to a patent they had received on Carolina in 1663. Charleston was founded in the same year, and from then on, the Bermudian connection of the early colonial days was gradually replaced by a Carolinian one.

Owing to the poverty of the islands’ soil, Bahamians had soon turned to the sea for a living in fishing, turtling, or the salvaging of shipwrecks. Log cutting, salt raking, and subsistence farming were important as well. Common to all these pursuits was the close

contact between whites and blacks. During the early period of colonialization, thus, blacks in the Bahamas must have had ample access to the white settlers' dialects. Some of the few plantations that existed on New Providence may have reached the 80% ratio of slaves that Bickerton (1981, 4) defines as the demographic prerequisite for creole formation; however, the likelihood that a creole was in general use in the Bahamas before the 1780s seems small.

With regard to the superstrate of the original contact situation, Scottish settlers are generally believed to have played a prominent role among the colonists (Holm 1981, 51). While Smith (1983, 113) indicates that Scotticisms may not be as frequent in the Bahamian lexicon as Holm/Shilling's (1982) comparison with Wright (1895–1905) and other sources suggests, personal names point to a sizeable Scottish presence in the archipelago – a result which is in keeping with evidence cited by Rickford (1999, 186) that settlement patterns in the eighteenth-century American South (which, after all, is the region where a majority of the later Loyalist immigrants to the Bahamas came from) were profoundly affected by the Scotch-Irish. There seem to be striking parallels between the English spoken by white Bahamians living in Cherokee Sound, Abaco and that of coastal North Carolina, at least some of which may be due to a common Scotch-Irish heritage (Wolfram/Sellers 1998).

Although only about 7300 of the approximately 100000 Loyalists who left the newly-founded United States in 1783 because they opposed independence from Britain actually found their way to the Bahamas, this tripled the colony's population, increased the proportion of slaves and other blacks from roughly one-half to three-quarters, and raised the number of permanently settled islands from three to a dozen (Craton/Saunders 1992, 179). Loyalists from northern American states usually brought few blacks with them; they took up a seafaring life either on the capital island of New Providence or on other northern islands. New England regional words such as *lot* 'to plan' or *up along* 'away from the sea' still used by white Abacoians testify to the origin of these settlers (Holm 1980, 52). Another group of Loyalists came from the American South. Most of them were planters who arrived in the Bahamas with large families and up to a hundred

slaves each; they proceeded directly to southeastern Bahamian islands like Cat Island, Crooked Island, and Exuma, where they set about establishing a plantation economy based on cotton. According to Lambert (1987, 260), "[v]irtually all of the blacks and a substantial majority of the whites" of this group were South Carolinians – substantial indication that what was taken to the Bahamas by these slaves was an early form of Gullah, the English creole that had become established in the South Carolina and Georgia lowcountry and on the offshore islands between 1720 and 1750 (Holm/Hackert 1997). The existence of lexical items such as *gutlin* 'greedy' or *sperrit* 'ghost,' which are common to Gullah and Bahamian but cannot be found in the English creoles of the Caribbean proper, lends further support to this (Holm 1983, 313). The plantations, however, did not last. The crop soon exhausted the thin soil, and by the 1820s, most planters had left their island estates, leaving their slaves behind in virtually complete isolation – ideal conditions for the flourishing of the imported creole.

After the British had abolished the slave trade in 1807, some three thousand (Shilling 1984, 9) Africans seized from foreign slave ships were released in the Bahamas between 1811 and 1860. It seems that most of these liberated Africans were either Yorubas or "Congos" (Eneas 1976, 28); they were settled on New Providence, where they must have re-inforced existing African structures – socially, culturally, and linguistically. It seems safe to assume that these structures persisted as long as segregation was in place.

Most black Bahamians today speak a mesolectal creole known locally as Bahamian Dialect (BD). Basilectal speakers tend to be elderly Bahamians and/or those who live on the more remote islands, especially in the southeast Bahamas. The mesolectal nature of BD has led to questions about whether to classify it as an English creole or as a dialect of English (Lawlor 1988, 13). Rickford addresses this issue in relation to Barbadian English and classifies the language as a creole by focusing on existing creole features, both basilectal and mesolectal, that Barbadian shares with well-established varieties like Jamaican Creole (Rickford 1992, 11). Other linguists' (Seymour 1995, 53; Psilnakis 1996, 140) inter-creole comparisons have suggested that, although the Bahamas is primarily a mesolectal-speaking

community, the linguistic variety spoken there should not be dismissed as a non-standard dialect of English but acknowledged as an English creole (Hackert 2004) on the basis of such features as *dem* used either as a prenominal or postnominal associative plural marker (*dem boy, Larry an dem*); *does/is/s* used as a habitual aspect marker (*we does go to church*); *done* used to mark completive aspect (*he done gone*); *did* as relative past marker (*white people did buy it*); and *say* used as a complementizer (*he tell me say no*).

Most BD speakers consider their language sub-standard, viewing it as ‘broken’ or ‘bad’ English, but are unwilling to abandon the creole because of the covert prestige associated with it. This was most clearly demonstrated in the mid 1980s, when the General Manager of the local television and radio stations banned BD from the media and urged Bahamians to embrace standard English. The ban was short-lived because it was felt to be an attack on local culture and ‘Bahamian-ness.’ Nonetheless, the opposition to the ban was and is not an indication of an overall positive attitude towards BD. Linguists and students of linguistics, a few entertainers, educators, and literary persons are among the few BD proponents who emphasize the legitimacy of the creole, but the general consensus is that, although BD should not be eliminated, it should not leak into certain domains. For many Bahamians BD simply “has its place,” and they tend to switch from the creole to a more standard variety in formal situations. This code switching is reminiscent of Rickford’s repertoire extension theory (1987, 38); it suggests that decreolization may consist simply in the adoption of standard features without the relinquishing of creole ones.

British-based standard Bahamian English is the official language of the Bahamas and a major competing language system, especially for Bahamians who were in school before and immediately after independence in 1973. Because of the Bahamas’ proximity to the United States and the arrival of thousands of American tourists each year standard American English has become the target for many younger Bahamians. American-trained teachers, both Bahamian and expatriate, and American textbooks with their characteristic spelling and vocabulary have replaced traditional British ones. The Bahamas’ exposure to American media has also had its influence, most obviously in

what is perceived as standard pronunciation. Thus, although standard Bahamian is non-rhotic, many Bahamians view r-full American pronunciations as “correct” and try to imitate them, even to the extent of introducing a hypercorrect [r] in words like *Cuber* ‘Cuba’ and *Baharmas* ‘Bahamas.’ Many young Bahamians adopt pronunciations that are typical of African American Vernacular English; in fact, it is often difficult to determine whether radio announcers or disc jockeys are American or Bahamian.

In all domains, BD is restricted in function. In the media, literature, and advertisements it is typically used to convey authenticity and/or humor. Although poems, short stories and plays in BD are studied in schools, standard English is the variety primarily used in education. Taught by the British colonial authorities that BD was marginal and without academic value, Bahamian policy makers perpetuated this attitude of linguistic inferiority. After independence, a “White Paper on Education” was drafted with the aim to reverse the traditional deculturization practices of the colonial administrators. While this was partially accomplished with subjects such as History, Social Studies, and even Literature, the Bahamianization of the English Language curriculum was never seriously attempted. However, some Bahamian linguists and educators argue for a change, advocating the teaching of English as a second dialect on the basis of the awareness method of vernacular language education (Bain 1995, 33; Seymour 1998). This approach involves the use of the vernacular to aid students in their transition to the standard in reading and writing. Its ultimate goal is not the elimination of the vernacular but bidialectal competence and awareness of the linguistic options required in different types of communicative situations, to be achieved through explicit contrastive study of vernacular and standard features. Since the majority of Bahamians is still opposed to such a program, proposals for the standardization of BD are on hold until this alternative method of instruction has been approved.

### 3. The Turks and Caicos Islands

The Turks and Caicos Islands (TCI) is a British dependency consisting of some eight major islands and more than forty islets and cays forming the southeastern end of the Ba-

hamas archipelago. The name “Turks” comes from an indigenous cactus called the “Turk’s Head,” a small globular plant with a fez-like cap of whitish hairs from which the red flowers and fruit arise. There are six inhabited islands in the TCI – Providenciales, Grand Turk, Salt Cay, North Caicos, Middle Caicos, and South Caicos – with a total population of 20556 (CIA 2005). Grand Turk and Salt Cay are referred to as the “Turks Islands,” while Providenciales, North Caicos, Middle Caicos, and South Caicos make up the “Caicos Islands.”

The official language of the colony is English. Most of the population is concentrated on Providenciales (Provo) and Grand Turk. Provo, a popular tourist destination, has several large resorts and a population of approximately 7000 (Faul 1996). Grand Turk, the seat of government, has approximately 4000 inhabitants (1990 Census). The remainder of the population lives in the sparsely populated islands of North Caicos, Middle Caicos, South Caicos and Salt Cay. Approximately 90% of the population throughout the islands is black (Meditz/Hanratty 1989). The non-black population is made up of British civil servants and a handful of North Americans who run local businesses. In 1985, literacy in the TCI was 86.7% (ibid). The economy in the TCI is increasingly based on tourism and offshore banking.

Migration between the islands since the 1960s has been chiefly unidirectional, i.e., from the relatively undeveloped and agricultural islands of North, Middle and South Caicos to Grand Turk and Provo. Caicos Islanders traditionally came to Grand Turk to find work on military bases or in government, but Provo with its large tourist resorts has proven to be a much better source of employment in recent years. Historically there was (and still is to a certain extent) a great deal of prestige connected with being from Grand Turk as opposed to the Caicos Islands. Of all the islands, Grand Turk was settled earliest (by Bermuda), and Turks Islanders are proud of their Bermudian heritage. Throughout the colonial history of the islands, Grand Turk has been the seat of government. Turks Island salt was known throughout the West Indies and North America and made the island quite prosperous during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. This prosperity, the relatively large white population (averaging around

20% from 1773–1943), and substantial intermarriage between blacks and whites has made Grand Turk the repository of privilege in the TCI (Cutler 2003). Today, it is common for Turks Islanders to have traveled or spent time living in the Bahamas and U.S. In earlier generations, young men often found work on ships and traveled extensively throughout the West Indies, North and South America, Africa and Europe.

The Caicos Islanders, in contrast, have been traditionally somewhat isolated. The inhabitants (except in Provo) still make a living by farming and fishing. No secondary education was available in the Caicos Islands until the 1960s when some Caicos children were brought to Grand Turk to attend high school. Today, there are still only three public high schools throughout the TCI, so many Caicos children must still live away from home during the school year to complete their education. Caicos Islanders are reputed to have darker skin than people on Grand Turk and were called “monkeys” by Turks Islanders in past times. The social and economic asymmetries between Grand Turk and the Caicos Islands are shifting as tourism develops in the Caicos Islands. Provo’s appeal as a tourist destination is helping to spur tourism on Middle and North Caicos, and plans are underway to build a port on South Caicos to accommodate large cruise ships.

Religion also plays a role in defining different social groups in the TCI. Religious affiliation functions as a loose index of social class and island of origin: the wealthier families on Grand Turk and Salt Cay with ties to the old white ruling class (often through admixture) are nearly all Anglican; Methodists tend to be middle class and Baptists lower class with kinship ties to the Caicos Islanders. Today the overall breakdown of religious affiliation in the TCI is as follows: Baptist 40%, Methodist 16%, Anglican 18%, Church of God 12%, other 14% (CIA 2005).

As Britain attempts to loosen the ties to its dependent territories, people in the TCI increasingly look toward the U.S. Grand Turk was home to two U.S. military bases from World War II until 1983. In the mid 1960s, when the salt industry was shut down, many Turks and Caicos Islanders sought employment in the Bahamas and the U.S. Today, young people on Grand Turk often spend holidays and summer vacations

with relatives in Miami and return with new words and ways of speaking referred to as “Yankin,” i. e., to talk American. Another significant social change in the TCI in recent years has been the influx of Haitian and Dominican immigrants. By some estimates there are between 1000 legal and 6000 illegal Haitians living in the TCI (Faul 1996, 24). The newcomers are regarded as harder working and more reliable than the locals, making them the focus of some resentment. The Haitians are also criticized for practicing “obeah” (although by all reports, it predates their arrival).

The islands of the Bahamas, and the Turks and Caicos were originally inhabited by Lucayan Indians until the arrival of the Spanish in the late fifteenth century. The history of the Caicos Islands and the Bahamas since that time to the arrival of the Loyalists from North America is quite similar. Following the departure of the Loyalist planters, the remaining African American inhabitants of the Caicos Islands and their descendants lived in relative isolation. The main contact they had with the outside world was with people on Grand Turk. The TCI (specifically the Caicos Islands, where African Americans were brought in the 1780s) probably represents the single most important African American Diaspora community yet to be studied. According to some reports, various customs and idiomatic expressions of southern United States origin still survive in the Caicos Islands (Great Britain, Foreign and Commonwealth Office 1966, 39). The later figures for the Caicos Islands indicate a small but stable black and colored population through the early twentieth century. Whites constitute only a tiny proportion of the total population, as was characteristic of earlier periods.

The Turks Islands (Grand Turk and Salt Cay), have a different pattern of settlement. In 1676, Bermudians established the first settlement on Turks Island and claimed it as a Bermudian possession (Craton/Saunders 1992, 89). Turks Island salt was taken to the British North American colonies from Newfoundland to South Carolina where it was sold and grain and salt-fish purchased to be taken back to Bermuda, a trading sequence that became the backbone of Bermuda’s economy during the eighteenth century (Packwood 1975; Zuill 1951). Although the Turks Islands had always been under Bermudian control, the Governor at Nassau re-

quested they be added to the Bahamas in 1736. In 1799, despite the protests of Turks Islanders, the Bahamas were granted control of the TCI. Then, in 1848, “after prolonged agitation, Britain agreed to a separation [and] the TCI were placed under a local president and council, responsible to the Governor of Jamaica” (Albury 1975, 196). When this arrangement proved too costly, the islands were annexed to Jamaica as one of its dependencies in 1873. But when Jamaica gained its independence in 1962, people in the TCI voted to remain a colony and were placed once again under the governorship of the Bahamas. Eventually, when the Bahamas gained its independence in 1973, the TCI received its own Governor. Today, the TCI is one of twelve so-called “Dependent Territories” with British colonial status but lacking the right to live and work in Britain (Black 1997).

Only one sociolinguistic study has been carried out in the Turks and Caicos Islands (Cutler 2003). Holm (1989, 488f.) writes that “[g]eographically – and probably demographically and linguistically – the [...] Turks and Caicos Islands forms part of [the Bahamas].” Given the historical patterns outlined above, we would expect there to be a some degree of overlap with both the Bahamas and Bermuda, the Caicos patterning more with the former, and the Turks Islands more with the latter. Grand Turk has taken in large numbers of Caicos Islanders over the years and this has also had an impact on the variety spoken there. The presence of American military personnel until 1983 and the fact that many Turks Islanders have spent time living in the U.S. may also have had some impact on the variety. A more recent trend is the influx of Haitians immigrants to the islands and the influence their acquired forms of English may have on the larger speech community.

Initial surveys of the variety spoken on Grand Turk indicate that it is mesolectal to acrolectal (Cutler 2005). Words like *skirt* are pronounced [skat] or [skʌt]. This contrasts with Bahamian English and Gullah, both of which have the diphthong /ʌɪ/ in *skirt* (Holm 1989, 490; cf. Wells 1982). Speakers of Turks Island English merge initial /v/ and /w/ into a voiced bilabial approximant as in Bahamian and Gullah (cf. Turner 1949, 24): e.g. *well* [βeɪ]; *vex* [βeks]. Habitual aspect is marked with the auxiliary *does* (reduced to [z] or [s]) followed by *be* (cf. Rickford 1986,

271), e. g. *She's be home*. Younger speakers also mark habitual aspect with *be* as in African American Vernacular English and Gullah, e. g. *She be goin' there*. Informal surveys on Grand Turk suggest that people are not familiar with Bahamian terms like *hoe-cake*, *sperrit*, *hoppin' John*, or *ninny* found in Holm/Shilling (1982). Expressions commonly found in the speech of Turks Islanders include *lighter* 'small open boat,' *reach* 'to arrive,' and *surrethnorret* 'southwards/northwards.'

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## 212. Mexico and Central America / Mexiko und Mittelamerika

1. Mexico
2. Central America
3. Literature (selected)

### 1. Mexico

Mexico is located in North America to the south of the United States. Its limits are the Atlantic Ocean to the east and the Pacific to the west. To the south it borders with Guatemala and Belize.

The territory presently occupied by the republic of Mexico includes what the Spanish conquerors called New Spain plus Yucatán to the east and a very large territory to the north. The center of Mexico was dominated by the Mexica (Aztecs) who spoke Nahuatl. Many groups speaking diverse languages were dominated by them and Nahuatl was the official language. In Chiapas and Yucatan, Mayan languages were spoken. The northern area was not as densely populated as the central one, but considerable linguistic diversity was also found.

The Spaniards would have imposed their language together with Catholicism in the newly conquered territories had they not been faced with tremendous linguistic complexity. With independence from Spain (1821), Spanish remained the official language.

Nowadays while official education for speakers of Indian languages is intercultural and bilingual, in practice bilingual teachers use Spanish in the classroom.

The languages of Mexico include the official language which is Spanish, English which is a required subject in all secondary schools, and a few immigrant languages spoken by tiny minorities (Hawayek et al. 1992).

More important, demographically and socially are the indigenous languages, which taken together constitute at least 10% of the population. They belong to ten different stocks. There is general agreement about their classification, but not their subclassification or even their number. (For discussion on classifications and descriptive work see Suárez (1983), Campbell (1997), and Bartholomew/Lastra/Manrique (1994–95). Here we list them by number of speakers according to the 1990 census giving their stock in parenthesis.

*More than 100,000*

Nahuatl (Yuto-Aztecan) 1,197,328

Yucatec (Mayan) 713,520

Zapotecan languages (about 38) Otomanguan 401,760

Mixtecan languages (29–33) (Otomanguan) 386,800

Otomí (Otomanguan) 280,238

Tzeltal (Mayan) 261,089  
 Tzotzil (Mayan) 229,203  
 Totonac (Totonacan) 207,876  
 Mazatecan languages (Otomanguean)  
 168,374  
 Chol (Mayan) 128,240  
 Mazahua (Otomanguean) 127,826  
 Huasteco (Mayan) 120,739  
 Chinantecan languages (14) (Otomanguean)  
 109,000  
*50,000–100,000*  
 Mixe languages (16 Mixe-Zoquean)) 95,264  
 Zoque languages (Mixe-Zoquean) 74,000  
 Purepecha (language isolate) 94,835  
 Tlapanec (Otomanguean) 68,483  
 Tarahumaran languages (Yuto-Aztecan)  
 54,431  
*20,000–50,000*  
 Mayo (Yuto-Aztecan) 37,410  
 Tojolabal (Mayan) 36,011  
 Chontal (Mayan) 30,000  
 Chatinan languages (5) (Otomanguean)  
 28,987  
 Amuzgan (2) languages (Otomanguean)  
 28,228  
*10,000–20,000*  
 Huichol (Yuto-Aztecan) 19,363  
 Tepehuán (Yuto-Aztecan) 18,469  
 Trique languages (2–3) (Otomanguean)  
 14,981  
 Mam (Otomanguean) 13,168  
 Cuicateco (Otomanguean) 12,677  
 Huave (language isolate) 11,955  
 Cora (Yuto-Aztecan) 11,923  
 Yaqui (Yuto-Aztecan) 10,984  
*1,000–10,000*  
 Tepehua (Totonacan) 8,707  
 Pame languages (2) (Otomanguean) 5,700  
 Oaxaca Chontal /Hokan?) 2,232  
 Chichimeco (Otomanguean) 1,582  
 Matlatzinca (Otomanguean) 1,452  
 Ixcateco (Otomanguean) 1,220  
*Less than 1,000*  
 Piman languages (Yuto-Aztecan) 800  
 Guarijío (Yuto-Aztecan) 300 (Estimate)  
 Ocuilteco (Otomanguean) 755  
 Seri (Yuma-Serian) 561  
 Lacandón (Mayan) 104  
 Motocintleco (Mayan) 235  
 Acateco (Mayan) 100 (Estimate)  
 Tuzanteco (Mayan) 300 (Estimate)  
 Paipai (Yuman) 196  
 Kiliwa (Yuman) 41  
 Cochimí (Yuman) 148  
 Cucapá (Yuman) 136  
 Kumiai (Yuman) 96  
 Kikapoo (Algonkian) 232

Spanish, serves also as lingua franca among speakers of Indian languages. There are no major newspapers in any of the languages though periodical leaflets may circulate locally. Some state governments and cultural organizations have made efforts to foster literature in Indian languages, but there is really very scanty reading material except perhaps in Nahuatl and Isthmus Zapotec. It must be kept in mind that although there was writing in pre-Hispanic times (codices and inscriptions), after the conquest very few members of the Indian elite preserved the tradition for a short time. Thereafter, writing was done only in Spanish and Indian traditions were only transmitted orally.

At present none of the languages are given space on television. There are, however regular radio programs, some with government support, but they are usually heard at very inconvenient hours of the day.

On March 13, 2003 a new law declared that Indian languages, together with Spanish, are national. The use of native languages should be protected by federal, state and local governments. At the same time a National Institute for Indigenous Languages (INALI) was created. This institute has begun its work this year (2005).

As can be surmised from the list of languages we have given, what were considered languages, such as Chatino, for instance, are really language families. The problem of delimiting the languages and deciding which varieties are dialects and which are languages has not yet been fully solved. It is discussed at length in Suárez (1983, 13–20). Bilingual education has been faced with the problem of deciding which variety or varieties to use as there have not been any serious standardization efforts. Most languages have conflicting orthographies and government agencies decide which one to use in the preparation of teaching materials.

As can be observed in the list given above, many of the languages have very few speakers and are consequently endangered. The list of those now extinct numbers up to one hundred (Garza/Lastra 1992). In order to prevent further extinction, the negative attitude of the bilingual teachers towards their own languages would have to be modified in order to change that of many parents; campaigns at the state and local level explaining the value of the languages and their relation to culture and tradition could be undertaken in order for the languages to regain some of



their prestige and not be blamed for the ill-conceived programs of education with which the rural population has been inflicted.

The current insurrection in Chiapas is witness to the awareness of at least part of the indigenous population to the social injustices they are subject to; they would like to govern their own affairs, but autonomy has thus far been denied them.

## 2. Central America

The seven countries which constitute Central America will be treated separately below, but since five of them evolved together historically, it is convenient to state briefly something of their common history.

At the beginning of our era in the isthmus there was already a differentiation between Mesoamerican high culture (north of Central America and central and southern Mexico) and the Intermediate Area (north of South America and the isthmus) (Constenla 1991). The Spaniard Rodrigo de Bastidas discovered the Darien coast by accident in 1501. In ten years (1525–1535) a group of adventurers, never more than two thousand at a time, conquered the territory of five million inhabitants extending from Tehuantepec to the Darien for Spain with the help of natives trying to escape domination by helping the invaders. Thus Central America became a historical entity.

When silver was discovered, Audiencia de los Confines (1541–63), which included the Yucatan and all of Central America was established. When it was dismembered: the old Mesoamerican territory was assigned to the Audiencia de México. Costa Rica and Panamá (formerly Chibchan) to the Audiencia de Lima; the former Intermediate culture area to the Audiencia de Santo Domingo. This tree-fold division turned out to be impractical in spite of continuing economic growth based on cacao, indigo, and silver (largely mined by imported Blacks), and finally in 1570 the Audiencia of Santiago de Guatemala was established without Tabasco, Campeche, and Yucatan (but including Chiapas) and excluding Panama to the south.

Spanish power and with it Central American economy greatly declined. Pirates ravaged the coasts toward the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century; soon a beach-head was established by English pirates at a site named after one Wallace, whose name became Belize. During the 18<sup>th</sup> century the British also dominated

the islands of the bay of Honduras, and the coastal territory with the help of the Indians. The alliance was such, that it became customary for a Miskito king to be crowned by the British in Jamaica.

The Spanish crown in theory kept Indians apart from Blacks and Spanish colonists, but in reality there was constant mixture. Indians learned Spanish, some stayed in haciendas or mines where they intermarried with Blacks. In the north the indigenous culture assimilated Spanish traits. It was characterized by solidarity within each village which preserved kinship ties together with a political and economic organization and communally-owned land. Ancient beliefs were integrated with Christian ones and religious organizations (*cofradías*) functioned much as credit unions.

Africans brought to work in the mines in the 16<sup>th</sup> century were absorbed by the *mestizo* population (mixture of Spaniards and Indians and in some cases Blacks as well) in Honduras and Nicaragua. Nevertheless, there developed an Afro-Caribbean culture in the Atlantic coast, from Belize to Panama. Blacks had no ties to Spain and therefore collaborated with the pirates, selling them food, guiding them through the interior and helping them to attack Spanish cities.

Spaniards resided mostly in capital cities; they were also religious, their culture was preserved and reproduced in convents. In contrast with the Indians, they tried to preserve cultural purity, but soon acquired cultural traits from both Africans and Indians. As time went on the Spaniards born in America, called *criollos*, came to be very different from the Iberian ones.

Thus there developed mixtures with different proportions of Spanish, indigenous, and African traits. In the central rural provinces the mixture revolved quickly. It was limited in El Salvador and slower in Guatemala and Chiapas. There was practically no mixture in Costa Rica, peopled late by Spanish immigrants. In any case the legal recognition of racial subdivisions was abolished shortly before independence in 1821. Soon each of the provinces seceded becoming the five Latin American nations we now know. Later attempts at Central American union were opposed by both Mexico and the United States as contrary to their commercial and political interests. Panama was never part of the Central American nation

because since 1570 it was integrated with the south. It did not become a separate country until 1903 when the United States engineered its independence from Colombia in order to build the Canal. Belize was the last country to gain independence in 1981.

### 2.1. Guatemala

Guatemala borders on the north and east with Mexico. To the south is the Pacific Ocean; to the east going from north to south are the countries of Belize, Honduras and El Salvador.

Its official language is Spanish in spite of the fact that about 60% of the population is of Maya origin. According to Herrera (1998) the State has rarely considered the linguistic factor and has acted as though the country were homogenous linguistically and culturally. In 1987 the orthographies of the Mayan languages were officialized and in 1990 the Academy of Mayan Languages was recognized by the government. Only recently (1995) an incipient program of bilingual education was instituted. It has served to initiate standardization processes and modernization of the lexicon.

During the 20<sup>th</sup> century modern means of transportation and mass media were introduced as well as national education. All of these factors imply the extended use of Spanish at first used in formal situations and from there it spreads to others until parents stop transmitting the language to their children because they believe balanced bilingualism is difficult to achieve and knowledge of the indigenous language prevents that of Spanish.

In Guatemala 21 Mayan languages are spoken. There are also a handful of speakers of Xinka (belonging to the Xincan family), which is becoming extinct, and speakers of Garífuna, who probably number about 40,000 altogether in Guatemala, Belize, Honduras, and pockets of Nicaragua. Pre-historic speakers of Carib from South America invaded the Lesser Antilles which were of Arawakan speech. It is clear that Carib was never more than a second language even to the first generation born of Arawak-speaking mothers and Carib-speaking fathers. Later, black slaves imported by the British escaped and fled in 1675 to the Island of St. Vincent where they mixed with indigenous Carib of Arahuan speech. They resisted the British who finally defeated and deported them in 1796 to an is-

land in the Bay of Honduras. From there they have spread to other countries. Anthropologists know them as Black Caribs, but they call themselves Garífuna.

The Mayan family of languages spreads from the Huasteca in the Gulf states of Mexico, through southeastern Mexico and the Yucatan peninsula and on to Guatemala, and Belize. Here we list all of them according to Kaufman's classification (1964) and estimates by Otto Schumann (personal communication) or Ruth Moya (personal communication) of the number of speakers in Guatemala.

#### A. Huastecan

Huastec, San Luis Potosí, Mexico  
Cichomuceltec (extinct, Chiapas, Mexico)

#### B. Yucatecan

Yucatec, Yucatán, Campeche,  
Quintana Roo, Mexico;  
also spoken in Belize;  
Mopán, Belize; Guatemala 8,000

(Schumann)

Itzá	Belize
	Guatemala 3,000 (Moya)
Lacandón	Eastern Chiapas, Mexico

#### C. Greater Tzeltalan

Cholan  
Chol Northern Chiapas, Mexico  
Tabasco Chontal Tabasco, Mexico  
Chortí Guatemala 22,000

(Schumann)

Tzeltalan	
Tzeltal	Chiapas, Mexico
Tzoltzil	Chiapas, Mexico

#### D. Greater Kanjobalan

Chujean  
Chuj Chiapas, Mexico  
Guatemala 29,000 (Moya)  
Tojolabal Chiapas, Mexico

Kanjobalan

Kanjobalan Group	
Kanjobal	Chiapas, Quintana Roo, Mexico
	Guatemala 100,000

(Schumann)

Jacaltec	Chiapas, Mexico
	Guatemala 32,000 (Moya)
Acatec	Chiapas, Mexico
	Guatemala 30,000

(Schumann)

Cotoque		
Motozintlec-Tuzantec (Mochó)		
Mototzintlec	Chiapas, Mexico	
Tuzantec	Chiapas, Mexico	
E. Greater Mamean		
Mamean		
Mam	Eastern Chiapas, Mexico	
	Guatemala	686,000
(Moya)		
Teco	Chiapas, Mexico	
	(called Cakchiquel);	
	Guatemala	8,000
(Schumann)		
Ixilan		
Ixil	Guatemala	72,000 (Moya)
Aguacatec	Guatemala	16,000 (Moya)
F. Greater Quichean		
Quiche		
Quiché		
Guatemala	1,300,000 (Schumann)	
Cakchiquel	Guatemala	475,000
(Schumann)		
Tzutuhil	Guatemala	50,000
(Schumann)		
Sacapultec,	Guatemala	10,000
(Quiché variety with Cakchiquel influence, Schumann)		
Sipacapense	Guatemala	14,000 (Quiché variety with Mam influence, Schumann)
Uspantecan		
Uspantec	Guatemala	2,000
(they marry Quiché women and are usually trilingual, Schumann)		
Pocoman-Pocomchi		
Pocomam	Guatemala	15,000
Pocomchi	Guatemala	50,000
Kekchi		
Kekchí	Belize;	
	Guatemala	475,000

## 2.2. Belize

This small country, formerly called British Honduras, is a member of the British Commonwealth. It borders on the north with Mexico, on the west and south with Guatemala and on the east with the Caribbean.

English is the official language and the language of instruction in schools despite

the fact that it is the mother tongue of very few children. The language of the majority is an English-based creole called *Bileez kriol*. Spanish is also spoken since it is the language of immigrants from Mexico and Guatemala and recently also from Salvador and Honduras. Many of these people learn English in Belize and then emigrate to the United States.

There is also a considerable number of speakers of Mayan languages (Mopán and Kekchí), Garífuna and Miskito. There are also minorities who speak German, Chinese and other languages. According to the 1980 census the percentage of usage of the most important languages is the following: English 50.6%; Spanish 30.6%; Mayan languages 6.4%; Garífuna 6%; German 3.3%.

Belize is a very interesting country from the point of view of its linguistic situation which has been studied in detail by Le Page and Tabouret-Keller (1985) as well as by Esquire (1982).

In Belize there were no plantations. British pirates started settlements on the coast. Then came Jamaican immigrants with creole-speaking slaves who were the ancestors of the creole-speaking population.

In colonial times education was in the hands of missionaries. From 1966 on education began to be supervised by the Ministry of Education, but Churches continue to play an important part even after independence. Church education does not encourage a national identity. Most primaries are Catholic and the most important high school is St. John's College run by American Jesuits. According to census figures, 73% of the people finished primary school, 15% secondary school and only 2% had a university degree. Until recently secondary school graduates took exams prepared in British universities, which were not adequate for the national reality. Many children failed them and educators did not seem to realize that the native language of the majority of the population is not English. Recently speakers of Spanish have acquired economic power, and the Creole majority is beginning to realize that they are in danger of becoming subordinate to them.

Standard English is West Indian, generally somewhat creolized except in formal situations and in school. The Creole spoken in Belize is very similar to Jamaican except that it has some influence from Spanish and

some from Miskito. There doesn't seem to be a great deal of difference between the city and the rural varieties of Creole and it doesn't seem to be changing in the direction of the standard language either, according to a recent study by Hoebens (1998). The least standardized variety of Creole is called broad or raw Creole and is used mostly in the district of Belize for Anansi stories about personified animals. In spite of the increase in population due to the immigration of Spanish speakers from Central America, Creole keeps spreading and it is the only language related to national identity. It is not a written language, however, and its social status is low: Its speakers do not consider it a language but "just the way people talk" (Hoebens, 1998, 110).

Standard English is the most needed international language, but English is not a language of solidarity whereas Creole is. There is no doubt as to its covert prestige; furthermore its prestige is associated with Creole values and also with the covert prestige of American Negro English.

The radio uses mostly English but there are some programs in Spanish, Mopán, Kekchí, and Garífuna.

### 2.3. El Salvador

This small republic is located to the east of Guatemala. Honduras is to its northeast and the Pacific Ocean to the south. Sociolinguistic information about El Salvador is scanty. Its censuses have not included questions about language. The official language is Spanish. There is linguistic and historical information about Pipil (Campbell 1985) which is still spoken in Santo Domingo de Guzmán by some 200 old speakers according to Schumann (personal communication). The few remaining speakers, however, tend to deny their knowledge of the language because most Pipiles were exterminated in 1932 when they participated in a rebellion to recover land that had been expropriated a few years before in order to establish coffee plantations. The army organized a full-scale genocide (Pastor 1988, 217). There are no fluent speakers of Cacaopera (Misumalpan) left; Lenca which used to be spoken in this country is now extinct. There are some speakers of Kekchí (Mayan) who are recent immigrants from Guatemala and Belize. Immigrant languages include over one thousand speakers of Chinese according to the *Ethnologue*.

### 2.4. Honduras

The republic of Honduras borders with the Caribbean in the north, Guatemala in the northwest, El Salvador and the Pacific in the southwest and Nicaragua in the southeast.

The official language is Spanish, but according to Herranz (1998) indigenous peoples and Blacks are recognized in the 1982 constitution which states that their languages and cultures must be preserved and assumes responsibility for their education. At present there are the following ethnic groups which speak a language other than Spanish: Payas or Pech (Chibchan), Jicaques or Tolupanes, Sumo-Tawahkas (Misumalpan), Miskitos (Misumalpan), and Garífunas (Arahuacan). The inhabitants of the Islands of Bahía also constitute a different ethnic group. They speak a variety of English which is close to standard English with certain archaizing traits. There are also speakers of an English-based creole living in cities on the Atlantic coast. They were brought over from Jamaica and the Cayman Islands by banana companies.

There are also Lencas and Maya-Chorties who have lost their language, but retain a good number of cultural traits. English in the Bay Islands was officially recognized in 1859. The State would respect Protestantism and would permit schools which used English as a medium of instruction.

The period lasting from 1911–1945 is characterized by civil war and dictatorship, the donation of jungle territories to banana companies, and the colonization of the northern coast. The linguistic effects were the settlements of Spanish speakers. Many Jicaques lost their language and other migrated to the mountains. Speakers of Garífuna who lived on the coast lost some of their lands and settled at the edges of the banana-company towns. This resulted in Garífuna-Spanish bilingualism. Paya speakers had to migrate to another region. Banana companies encouraged immigration of Creole speakers from Jamaica, Greater Cayman and the Bay Islands.

There are still speakers of Paya in Olancho and Gracias a Dios; about 400 Jicaque speakers in la Montaña de la Flor. Miskitos younger than 30 are all bilingual. Tawahkas remain in five communities, two of which have Miskito influence, two others have mestizo influence and only one, Ypuwás lo-

cated on the Patuca river, is really autochthonous. Trilingualism Tawahka-Miskito-Spanish is very common.

Since 1994 there is bilingual and intercultural education for indigenous peoples. It is not a matter of transitional bilingualism, but of language maintenance together with efforts of revitalization of endangered languages. The curricula should be different for each ethnic group including those who have lost their language: Lencas and Chortías (Herranz 1998).

### 2.5. Nicaragua

The republic of Nicaragua is situated to the south of Honduras and to the north of Costa Rica; the Caribbean is to the east and the Pacific Ocean to the west.

Indians who have best maintained their languages and cultures are those of the Atlantic or Eastern half of the country (Salamanca 1998). The Atlantic coast is sparsely populated. Before the Sandinista revolution there was no highway uniting the Atlantic and the Pacific coasts. The first one was opened in 1980. Formerly the Atlantic coast had more communication and trade with English-speaking countries in the Caribbean and with the United States. The Sandinista revolution was not popular in the Atlantic since it had been promoted by speakers of Spanish in the Pacific.

The Sandinista government gave autonomy to the region and considered Sumus, Miskitos, Creoles and mestizos to be equal. All groups had the right to preserve their languages and cultures.

In the Atlantic coast there are six ethnic groups: Spanish-speaking mestizos (183,000), Miskitos (85,000), Afro-caribbeans (26,000), Sumos (6,000), Ramas (700), and Garífunas (1,500). There are two Sumu groups: Twahka-Panamahka (who live in the north) and Ulwa, who live in the south in the community of Karawala. There are about 700 of them and they all speak the language. Miskitos and Sumus have preserved their languages, but those living in the north tend to be bilingual in Spanish. Sumus usually speak Miskito as well except in the Panamahka community of Musawas traditionally considered the Sumu capital. The Rama and Garífuna in the south speak an English-based creole and so do many Miskito communities in the south. Sumu and Miskito together with Matagalpa (formerly spoken in Honduras) constitute the Misumalpan

family. Rama is Chibchan and is not spoken in Honduras; Sumu and Miskito are spoken, but the majority of the speakers are found in Nicaragua. Garífuna are more numerous in Honduras. In the southern region, Zelaya Sur, there are speakers of a creole language which is similar to Jamaican. It is spoken in Bluefields and in the islands of Mangle Grande and Maíz (Hancock 1977, 375).

The Ulwa are interested in the revitalization of their language. Kenneth Hale and Thomas Green, of MIT were involved in this project.

Unfortunately the present government is no longer interested in bilingual education.

### 2.6. Costa Rica

Costa Rica's limits are: Nicaragua to the north, the Caribbean and Panama to the East, the Pacific Ocean to the West and Southwest. It is a republic with some three million inhabitants (1993); 1% of them are Indians, about 30,000. Some of these have preserved their language and cultures. They inhabit 22 reservations which constitute about 6.3% of the national territory. All of the languages are Chibchan. The indigenous groups are:

Group	Location	Population	Speakers
Cabécar	Talamanca and southern region	9,300	5,000
Bribri	Talamanca and southern region	6,700	4,500
Guaymí	Southern frontier	3,000	2,500
Boruca	Southern region	2,660	10
Térraba	Southern region	1,504	c. 12
Huétar	San José Province	800	Extinct
Chorotega	Nicoya Peninsula	720	Extinct
Guatuso	Northern region	350	300
Bocotá	Southern frontier	100	95

There is also an English-based creole in Puerto Limón which has been studied by Herzfeld (1978; 1999; 2002).

Guaymí is a language in state of resistance (Quesada 1998). There are about 40,000

speakers, most of them in Panama. Of those living in Costa Rica it is estimated that 2,500 of them are bilingual (Guaymí-Spanish) and 500 monolingual in Spanish.

Bribri and Cabécar are mutually intelligible. Cabécares live in the highlands and Bribris in the valley. During the occupation by the United Fruit Company in 1912 the Indians took refuge in the mountains, but after 1945 they recovered their territory and are now self-sufficient (Quesada 1998). Education for assimilation had been the norm until a bilingual program was instituted in the late 70s but it did not succeed because of changes in administration. Recently, there are other plans supported by the Indians themselves who want to preserve their language and culture, but also be informed about the best in universal culture (Borje 1998, 145).

Constenla (1988) has studied the decline of the Guatusos and Portilla (1986) that of the Térrabas. Quesada (1998, 118–121) reports efforts for the revitalization of Boruca started by a native speaker, continued by a linguist of the University of Costa Rica with the help of the Ministry of Education and the support of the whole community.

For many years, as in most Latin American countries, education was administered in the official language. A change in policy started in the 50s. The University has done excellent research on the languages themselves and it supports many projects on behalf of language maintenance, but it is too early to tell whether or not these will be successful after so many years during which indigenous languages were looked down upon by the authorities.

### 2.7. Panama

Panama is the southernmost country of Central America. The Caribbean is to the North, the Pacific Ocean to the south, Costa Rica to the west, and Colombia to the southeast. The Canal cuts across the country connecting the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. Spanish is the official language. According to the 1995 census Panama had a population of 2,659,000 and an estimated indigenous population of less than 250,000. The majority of the Indians live in the provinces of Chiriquí, Comarca de San Blas and Bocas del Toro, but also in Darién, Veraguas, and Panama. The languages spoken and the approximate number of speakers are the following:

Movere	(Chibchan)	128,000
Kuna	(Chibchan)	50–70,000
Embera	(Chocó)	7–8,000
Bocotá	(Chibchan)	2,500
Huaunana	(Chocó)	3,000
Teribe	(Chibchan)	3,000

Kuna has been well studied. Sherzer (1983) has written an ethnography of speaking which reveals the ways of life of the people through the study of their ways of speaking. Constenla (1991) provides some linguistic information about the languages.

In Panama there are also more than 100,000 speakers of an English-based creole, mutually intelligible with Jamaican, in the provinces of Panama, Bocas del Toro, Chiriquí and Colón and a French-based creole, San Miguel Creole French, an immigrant language from St Lucia in mid 19th century which has not been studied. There are also some 6,000 speakers of Chinese out of a much larger ethnic group according to the *Ethnologue*.

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## 212a. The Hispanophone Caribbean Die hispanophone Karibik

The area under consideration here comprises most of the Major Antilles: Cuba (population 11.1 million), the Dominican Republic (8.7 million), and Puerto Rico (3.9 million). Until the end of the fifteenth century, the populations of these islands spoke Arawak (a member of the Arawakan family), principally including the variety known as Taíno, used especially in La Española (Eng. *Hispaniola*), a territory now divided between Haiti (the Western third) and the Dominican Republic (the remainder), as well as in Puerto Rico. Carib may also have been spoken in these islands. Such Amerindian languages ceased to be spoken in the Antilles, it is thought, within a few generations of the arrival of Spanish-speakers, whose earliest settlement-targets, outside

Europe and the Canaries, were the coastal regions of the Major Antilles, already explored by Columbus in 1492. Arawak and Carib, despite the low prestige accorded to them in early colonial times, contributed a good number of lexical loans to the Spanish language, some of which have become universal in Spanish. In turn, a certain proportion of the latter have been borrowed further afield (e.g., Sp. *canoa* > Eng. *canoe*).

Because of the Western Andalusian origins of the majority of the earliest colonists, the varieties of Spanish which emerged from the koineization process in the Antillean settlements had a strong Southern Peninsular flavour, which continues down to the present with regard to certain phonological features. However, nineteenth-century im-

migration into Cuba from other Peninsular regions, especially the North-West, has in some respects modified the Andalusian character of Cuban Spanish, making it more similar to central and northern varieties of Peninsular Spanish.

Practically the whole of the population of Cuba and the Dominican Republic is monolingual in Spanish, irrespective of race, although there is a community of African-American English speakers in Samaná, Dominican Republic (Poplack/Tagliamonte 2001). In Cuba the population has been racially described as: mulatto 51%, white 37%, black 11%, Chinese 1%. In the Dominican Republic, the racial mix has been defined as: mulatto 73%, white 16%, and black 11%. The black population in both cases is formed by descendants of West African slaves, imported from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries, but especially (in Cuba, as also in Puerto Rico) during the sugar-production boom in the early nineteenth century. The languages of these slaves gave way to Spanish (or possibly to creoles, which were then decreolized in the direction of Spanish). One marginal survivor of a West African language is Lucumi (a member of the Niger-Congo family), now with no native speakers but used as a religious language by Cuban followers of the *Santería* faith.

In Puerto Rico, which passed from Spanish control to that of the United States in 1898, Spanish and English coexist, with Spanish the dominant or only language of the large majority, while monolingual speakers of English, largely urban and middle-class, form a small fraction of the population. One description of the racial makeup of Puerto Rican society divides it into 80.5% white (mostly of Spanish origin), 8% black, 0.4% Amerindian, 0.2% Asian, and 10.9% 'mixed and other'.

Spanish is the sole official language of Cuba and the Dominican Republic, while in Puerto Rico this has only recently become the case, following a period of many decades when it was co-official with English. Education in Cuba and the Dominican Republic has always been provided through the medium of Spanish, and high adult literacy levels have been achieved in recent times in Cuba (95.7% in 1995; Dominican Republic: 81.5%). In Puerto Rico, for several decades following the establishment of US rule, English became the sole medium of education, although that situation has again been changed and Spanish is now the almost uni-

versal language of the classroom, with 89% of adults achieving literacy in that language by 1980.

The language of print and broadcast media in Cuba and the Dominican Republic is exclusively Spanish. In Puerto Rico, Spanish is by far the dominant language: all radio and television channels broadcast in Spanish, and there is only one English-language newspaper with more than negligible circulation, the remainder using Spanish. This is the case despite the fact that much of the media is under US financial, and sometimes editorial, control.

It seems that the pressure against fragmentation of Spanish is as strong in the Antilles as it has become, in recent decades, in the rest of the Spanish-speaking world. Although newspaper headlines often emphasize local linguistic characteristics, especially lexical features, increasing interchange of television programmes, and (in the case of Dominicans and Puerto Ricans) increasing travel, help to maintain the effectively perfect degree of mutual intelligibility among the Antillean varieties of Spanish, and between these and other varieties of Spanish, both European and American. Adherence to a world standard of written Spanish usage is assisted by the presence in each of the countries discussed here of a Spanish Language Academy (the *Academia Cubana de la Lengua*, founded in 1926, the *Academia Dominicana de la Lengua* (1927), and the *Academia Puertorriqueña de la Lengua Española* (1955)).

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## 213. The Anglophone Caribbean / Die anglophone Karibik

1. Defining the 'Anglophone Caribbean'
2. A linguistic and sociolinguistic overview of the speech communities
3. The sociolinguistic history: 'conquest diglossia' in the Caribbean
4. The language varieties in the contemporary diglossia
5. Conclusion: the future of diglossia in the 'Anglophone Caribbean'
6. Literature (selected)

### 1. Defining the 'Anglophone Caribbean'

The word 'Anglophone' in the phrase 'Anglophone Caribbean' is problematic. Anglophone means 'English speaking'. The problem, however, is that of how one defines 'English'. Does the term 'English' include all forms of English considered as 'acceptable' for purposes of international communication? And what proportion of the population has to be made up of speakers of English, and with what level of competence, for a country or territory to be deemed 'English speaking'? And does it matter whether these speakers are first language speakers of English or not?

Given these difficulties, we shall use 'Anglophone' to refer to those countries and territories in which English serves as an official language. By this definition, the term would include entities that are part of the Commonwealth Caribbean. These territories are either currently colonies of the Britain or have been colonies of Britain up until the latter half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Since English is one of the official languages of the Netherlands Antilles, they, and in particular the 'English speaking' islands of Sint Maarten, Sint Eustatius and Saba, would also fall within the 'Anglophone' Caribbean. The definition would also include the United States Virgin Islands of St. Croix and St. Thomas, but not Puerto Rico, which, although a United States possession, has Spanish as its official language.

We can now address the other issue raised by the title, that of the term 'Caribbean'. The term 'Caribbean' will be relaxed to include not just the islands of the Caribbean. The Central American mainland country of Belize, with a Caribbean Sea coast, is included. So, too, is Guyana, which is on the

mainland of South America and which does not border the Caribbean Sea but rather the Atlantic Ocean. However, Guyana is linked linguistically and culturally to the Commonwealth Caribbean and is considered by popular consensus to be an integral part of this grouping.

Many of the entities covered in this profile are multi-island states, a fact which might be reflected in the name, as in the case Trinidad & Tobago and sometimes not, as in the case of the state of Grenada, consisting of three islands, Grenada, Carriacou and Petite Martinique. Each individual island entity within a unitary state often has its own peculiar language history and current sociolinguistic situation.

Based on the criteria just discussed, the countries which will be covered by this sociolinguistic description are, Anguilla, Antigua & Barbuda, Barbados, Belize, the British Virgin Islands, the Cayman Islands, Dominica, Grenada (inclusive of the islands of Carriacou and Petite Martinique), Guyana, Jamaica, Montserrat, the Netherlands Antilles (specifically its Leeward Island territories of Sint Maarten, Sint Eustatius and Saba), St. Kitts & Nevis, St. Lucia, St. Vincent & the Grenadines, Trinidad & Tobago, the Turks & Caicos Islands and the U.S. Virgin Islands.

### 2. A linguistic and sociolinguistic overview of the speech communities

A brief linguistic overview of the countries and territories under discussion, as summarised in Fig. 1, divides the languages in use into the following categories, (i) indigenous languages, 'Indig.', (ii) Creole languages not lexically related to English, 'OthCr.', (iii) basilectal/conservative varieties of English-lexicon Creole most deviant from English, 'Basi.', (iv) mesolectal or intermediate varieties of Creole diverging from basilectal Creole as a result of varying degrees of influence from English, 'Meso.', (v) those forms of English most divergent from basilectal Creole, 'Eng.'

It is difficult to estimate the number of speakers of any particular language variety since this depends on how one defines what constitutes a speaker of a variety. Speakers generally do not have linguistic repertoires consisting only of a single language variety.

	Eng.	Meso	Basi.	OthCr	Euro	Other	Indig.	Pop. '000
Bdos								256
CayI								38
Ang	+(O)	+(G)	+?	-	-	-	-	7
AnBr								68
BVI								14
SKNv								47
Mont								12
Tbgo								
TrkC								12
StVn	+(O)	+(G)	+(G)	-	-	-	-	113
Dmca	+(O)	+(G)	+(G)	-	-	-	+(-)	78
StLu	+(O)	+(G)	+(G)	+(R)	-	-	+(-)	142
USVI	+(O)	+(G)	-	+(G)	-	-	-	103
SSS	+(O)	+(G)	+(R)	+/-	-	-	-	
Tdad	+(O)	+(G)	+(G)	+(O)	+(O)	-	-	12
Guyn	+(O)	+(G)	+(R)	+(R)	+(R)	+(R)	-	1,190
Belz	+(O)	+(G)	+(G)	+(R)	+(R)	+(R)	+(R)	750
	+(O)	+(G)	+(G)	-	+(G)	-	+(R)	179

Rather, repertoires may span several varieties, with varying levels of competence in each of these language varieties. In addition, the use of particular varieties may be restricted by social convention to specific contexts or domains.

To deal with the issue of numbers of speakers, therefore, I have included in the Fig. 213.1 below (i) estimates of total population sizes, taken from Allsopp (1996, xviii) except for Sint Maarten, Sint Eustatius and Saba (SIL Ethnologue), which give an idea about the total number of potential speakers of any given language variety, (ii) indicative symbols, a) O, for official language, the numbers of persons able to use this, their levels of competence being in large measure influenced by the availability of formal education in the society concerned, b) G, for a language variety in general use across social groups and over a wide geographical area, by at least one-third of the population, c) R for languages which have restrictions based on geographical or

ethnic factors or have a narrowly circumscribed social use, d) +/- for languages which became extinct in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, and e) +? for varieties whose existence is or may be contested by linguists. The territories listed below, in the order of their listing are Barbados (Bdos), Cayman Islands (CayI), Anguilla (Ang), Antigua & Barbuda (AnBr), the British Virgin Islands (BVI), St. Kitts & Nevis (SKNv), Montserrat (Mont), Tobago (Tbgo), the Turks & Caicos Islands (TrkC), St. Vincent & the Grenadines (StVn), Dominica (Dmca), St. Lucia (StLu), the United States Virgin Islands (USVI), Sint Maarten, Sint Eustatius & Saba (SSS), Trinidad (Tdad), Guyana (Guyn), Belize (Belz).

In the above table, the OthCr. category is French-lexicon Creole for St. Lucia, Dominica, Grenada and Trinidad. Use in the last two cases tends to be restricted to isolated rural communities and older speakers. For Guyana as well, French-lexicon

Creole is one of the OthCr. varieties in use, occurring in the main in communities of St. Lucian immigrants and their descendants, notably in settlements such as Mahdia, located in the interior of the country. Guyana has, in addition, Berbice Dutch Creole, which may be on the verge of becoming extinct, as well as Skepi, Essequibo Dutch Creole, which is already extinct. The two Dutch Creoles are not mutually intelligible, with the latter showing a great deal of similarity to Negerhollands, the Dutch Creole of what is now the U.S. Virgin Islands (Robertson 1979; 1989). Negerhollands itself became extinct during the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

In the cases where both an English-lexicon Creole basilect and a mesolect exist, there is considerable difference between the extent of the usage of each of these. In countries like Guyana, Belize, Tobago and Jamaica, more basilectal forms of speech may be quite widespread, particularly in the rural areas, with use remaining vibrant. On the other hand, basilectal speech may be on its way to becoming moribund in Trinidad, where it has come to be associated with only older and less educated rural speakers.

Dominica provides an interesting contrast. It has an English-lexicon basilectal Creole, referred to as Kokoy. This variety is associated only with the Wesley-Marigot area in the north-east of the country (Christie 1998, 65). It retains vibrancy in everyday use, particularly in its role as a *de facto* ethnic language, serving to culturally distinguish its speakers from other Dominicans. There is, as well, French-lexicon Creole traditionally spoken in areas of Dominica outside of the Wesley-Marigot area. In Dominica, there existed an Arawakan language, Karipuna, which became extinct in the early part of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The related language variety, Garifuna, historically spoken in St. Vincent, and reportedly nearly extinct in that island, thrives in Belize in Central America. St. Vincent differs from Dominica in not having a French-lexicon Creole and in having a basilectal English-lexicon Creole which is in general use across the country.

### 3. The sociolinguistic history: 'conquest diglossia' in the Caribbean

#### 3.1. Characterising the language situation

'DIGLOSSIA is a relatively stable language situation in which, in addition to the pri-

mary dialects of the language, [...] there is a very divergent, highly codified variety [...], which is learned largely by formal education and is used for most written and formal spoken purposes but is not used by any sector of the community for ordinary conversation' (capitals in original) (Ferguson 1959, 435).

Of the four defining situations which Ferguson establishes for diglossia, two, i.e. Greece and Arabic, involve classical/literary varieties of an 'internal' language as the High or H language variety. The other two are German speaking Switzerland and Haiti, which are cases where the H language variety is one imported from another country. In the former case, a historically pragmatic decision was taken by the German speaking Swiss themselves to employ an external norm, that used in Germany, as the language of writing and formal interaction (Walter Haas, p.c.). By contrast, French in Haiti owes its status to colonial imposition, a history it shares with other European languages used in the Caribbean. Haiti as a defining situation for diglossia is representative of one of the possible types of the diglossia, one which I here term 'conquest diglossia'. This is the form of diglossia that has typically operated in the Caribbean.

Ferguson (1959, 429) states, in his discussion of diglossia, that there is '[...] the analogous situation where two distinct [related or unrelated] languages are used side by side throughout a speech community, each with a clearly defined role.' Some situations in the 'Anglophone' Caribbean are better described as situations analogous to diglossia since quite distinct languages can be involved in a diglossic type relationship with each other.

#### 3.2. The historical origins of Caribbean 'conquest diglossia'

The pre-Columbian inhabitants of these islands, before the coming of the Carib or Karina, were speakers of an Arawakan language sometimes referred to in the literature as Igneri. At an as yet unspecified time prior to the arrival of the Europeans, but often estimated at around 1200 AD, contact seems to have developed between the resident Arawakan speakers and Carib or Karina speaking peoples migrating into the Caribbean from the South American mainland. According to the most common historical version of this contact, male invaders con-

quered the Igneri, massacring the men and seizing the women as wives. Reasoning backwards from the language situation recorded in the mid-17<sup>th</sup> century, one could postulate that in the earlier period of Karina conquest, one had a society within which Karina was used exclusively amongst males and Arawakan/Igneri was for use amongst women and for communication across the gender groups. Being male in such a society would have been equated with (i) being a member of the ruling group and (ii) having exclusive access to domains of power and prestige. These latter domains, normally associated with the use of H in a diglossic situation, would have involved exclusively male interlocutors. By contrast, female and cross gender interaction, involving the use of Arawakan/Igneri, would not have taken place for functions normally associated with the use of H in diglossic situations. We would have had a situation analogous to diglossia, i. e. one involving two separate languages used in complementary sets of social domains (Taylor 1977, 13–28).

The first European attestations of language within the community occurred in the mid-1600s. Based on data appearing in Breton (1665; 1666; 1667), Taylor (1977, 28) concludes that the bilingual situation involving the pre-existing Arawakan language, Igneri, on one hand, and the imported Karina, on the other, had broken down by that time. This existing situation was one in which there was a single language, an Arawakan one, with gender based diglossia, involving partial biliteralism. There were two varieties, the H, associated with interactions in domains which were exclusively male, and the other, the L, in domains where females were amongst the interlocutors. Taylor (1977, 28) further suggests, based on evidence from modern Garifuna, that this diglossic situation has not entirely been outgrown three centuries later.

There were three trends in existence in 17<sup>th</sup> century Dominican. There was firstly that involving the use of Karina lexical items to differentiate exclusively male speech from common speech. There was secondly the trend towards the erosion of Karina influence within the speech community and thirdly that of convergence between male speech and common speech. The last involved both the loss of Karina features in male speech and the absorption of some Karina features into common speech.

A sample of the 17<sup>th</sup> century relationship between male and common speech, can be seen as follows. In the two sentences, *nebouiatina tibónam* and *chileatina tone*, the first is characteristic of male speech, the second of common speech. In the former sentence, the roots, /nemboui-/ and /-ibónam/ mean ‘come’ and ‘go’ in Karina. This contrasts with the common speech, which takes the Arawakan roots, /chile-/ and /-óne/, also meaning ‘go’ and ‘come’ respectively. What both sentences share is a single set of grammatical affixes, /-a-ti-na/ (perfective aspect, 1<sup>st</sup> person singular) and /t-/ 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular female (Taylor 1977, 27). The Arawakan affiliation of even the men’s speech in the 17<sup>th</sup> century can be seen, with grammatical morphemes of Arawakan ancestry being used with Karina lexemes.

In modern Garifuna, a related variety spoken in Belize in Central America, certain relics of Karina influence continue to serve to distinguish between male speech and common speech. Thus, in modern Garifuna, there are emphatic personal pronoun forms, *au* ‘I, me’ and *am?r?* ‘you’, items of Karina origin in exclusively male speech now as in the mid-17<sup>th</sup> century, in opposition to *nuguya* ‘I, me’ and *buguya* ‘you’ which are Arawakan in origin and which occur in common speech. However, the trends towards the erosion of Karina influence and towards the convergence between male speech and common speech have also been maintained. In modern Garifuna, the three Karina personal pronoun prefix forms of men’s speech in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, i. e. *i-*, *a- ~ e-* and *k-*, have died out, leaving in place only their common speech equivalents, i. e. *n-*, *bu-*, and *ua-*, all of Arawakan origin.

Lexical statistics illustrate these trends. In the mid-17<sup>th</sup> century, there were 56 synonymous pairs of ‘non-cultural’ words, i. e. items from the 100 word Swadesh word list, whose individual members were used respectively in men’s speech and common speech. In the modern Garifuna, however, the number of pairs of items differentiating between exclusively male speech and common speech has shrunk from 56 to 6. The male speech item in each of these 6 pairs continues to be of Karina origin, with the common speech equivalent being of Arawakan origin. In the meantime, the number of ‘common speech’ Arawakan words on the Swadesh word list without a ‘male speech’ competitor of Karina origin, has increased

from 33 to 77. The presence of 1 African and 16 Karina origin words which have no specialised male speech competitor, indicates that convergence is not taking place exclusively by way of an erosion of Karina linguistic influence (Taylor 1977, 76, 81).

The original contact situation resulted in the marking of difference between incoming males of the Karina speaking group and women speaking an Arawakan language. Some version of this has persisted over centuries in the form of a gender based diglossia. However, as links with the mainland Karina became attenuated, these two originally distinct groups came to form a single community with a shared identity. This identity has come to be expressed by way of shared language behaviour. The trend towards linguistic convergence has, therefore, been inexorable. The historical reality of being different is pulling in one direction, and the present reality of belonging to the same community is pulling in the other. The latter is winning over the former but only over a very protracted period of time.

I would suggest that the historical process outlined here is characteristic not just of the pre-Columbian era in the Caribbean but the period since then. What can be observed is various stages in the resolution of 'conquest diglossia'. Ferguson (1958) himself envisaged such a process when he suggests that in many situations, "[...] H fades away and becomes a learned or liturgical language studied only by scholars or specialists and not used actively in the community. Some form of L or a mixed variety becomes standard." (Ferguson 1959, 437).

### 3.3. European Imposed 'Conquest' Diglossia

Caribbean Creole languages owe their origins to European colonisation of the region. Historically, the central feature of this development is African-European contact in plantation slave societies within which speakers of European languages occupied dominant positions in relation to Africans imported as slave labour. Crudely oversimplifying, what emerged was a language contact situation involving a particular European language, be it English, French, Dutch or Spanish-Portuguese, on one hand, and speakers of a fairly heterogeneous group of West African Niger-Congo languages on the other.

Over time, language varieties emerged which derived the bulk of their vocabularies

from the European language in question but which showed features of phonology, morphology and syntax highly divergent from the European language. In the case of phonological features, it is widely accepted that Caribbean Creole phonology shows influence from the West African substrate languages. In the area of morpho-syntax, however, there is great controversy. One view, typically represented by Alleyne (1980, 136–180), is that these features are also a result of West African retentions in these newly formed Caribbean Creole languages. Diametrically opposed is Bickerton (1981, 43–135). He posits that the linguistic heterogeneity in early Caribbean plantation society and the consequent lack of a stable and structured linguistic input amongst children born into such societies, caused such children to fall back on a linguistic bioprogramme which they used to create new languages, Creole languages.

However formed, it is generally agreed that Creole languages became, over time, the native language of locally born speakers, in particular those of African descent but as well those of European descent. These languages also came to serve as *lingua francas* across all ethnic and social groups, including the succeeding waves of imported West African slaves. In all this, the European language continued to function as the language of government and of public formal interaction amongst the dominant group.

## 4. The language varieties in the contemporary diglossia

### 4.1. The 'high' language

Forms of language approximating Internationally Acceptable English (IAE) exist in each territory, under local labels such as Standard Guyanese English, Standard Belizean English, etc., or under the regional label of Standard Caribbean English. It is these forms of language that function as the official languages of these societies. As is frequently the case in countries of Anglo-Saxon tradition, there tends to be no explicit legislation stating that English is the official language. Rather, custom and practice take this fact as given.

English owes its presence in the Caribbean to its introduction as a language of conquest by invaders from the British Isles who set up permanent colonies in the Carib-

bean, from the third decade of the 17<sup>th</sup> century onwards. Perhaps the only linguistic feature which unites all of the 'Anglophone' Caribbean is the fact that English functions as their official language. This is a natural outcome of the historical fact that, up until the latter half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, almost all of these countries were possessions of English-speaking colonial powers, in the main Britain, but the USA in the case of the US Virgin Islands. In spite of its now relatively long presence in the Caribbean, stretching back some 400 years, English has survived in these countries in a form which is mutually intelligible with British and North American varieties of English. Karina did not show the same level of survival 400 years after its introduction in the mid-17<sup>th</sup> century, the period during which Breton wrote on the Dominican Karifuna.

The difference between the fate of English, as a language of conquest, and that of its predecessor, Karina, can be explained. Firstly, unlike the Karina, the English presence in the Caribbean was the result of overseas expansion by a centralised nation state, rather than by loosely knit members of an ethnic group. British colonies in the Caribbean were extensions of a centralised nation state, a fact which ensured continuing intimate contact between parent country and off-shoots. A more loosely organised parent community without a centralised state, such as existed amongst the mainland Karina in pre-Columbian times, would not have required any such continued contact with its off-shoot communities. The difference is further emphasised by the fact that Britain, as a nation state, ran its affairs by way of a standardised national language, English, supported by language technology, notably writing and the printing press. By contrast, the Karina language at the time of the Karina expansion, would have been entirely an oral language, unsupported by the technologies of writing and print.

Nevertheless, English came to be endangered by the widespread use of English-lexicon Creole languages amongst the planter class in the British colonies. By the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, visitors from Britain were regularly commenting negatively on the prevalence of Creole speech amongst particularly the female members of the planter class. In fact, as part of an effort to protect the young of this community of the 'disease' of Creole speech, it came to be the

practice to send young males of this class to England to be educated (D'Costa/Lalla 1989, 15–16, 44).

Despite efforts over four centuries to preserve the original British 'purity' of English, Caribbean varieties of English have developed features which serve to distinguish them from metropolitan varieties. The major sources of 'contamination' are the Creole languages with which English co-exists in these societies, with the main influences being in the areas of phonology and lexicon. It is against this background that Allsopp, as editor of the *Dictionary of Caribbean English Usage* (1996), hereafter DCEU, states, in a discussion of 'Caribbean Standard English', "as home-made, the Caribbean linguistic product has always been shame-faced, inhibited both by the dour authority of colonial administrators and their written examinations on the one hand, and by the persistence of the stigmatised Creole languages of the labouring populace on the other" (Allsopp 1996, xvii).

Between 1962 and 1983, 11 of the 16 political entities covered by this survey gained political independence from Britain. In every case, they retained English as the sole official language, but in Allsopp's view, they each had "... a linguistic entitlement to a national standard language ..." (Allsopp 1996, xix). The solution he proposed was to use Caribbean varieties of English as expressions of these newly developing national identities. To promote this solution, the Caribbean Lexicography Project was set up in 1971 in the aftermath of first four 'Anglophone' countries gaining their political independence. Over time, it received considerable governmental and institutional support.

The major purpose of the project was to produce the DCEU (Allsopp 1996). The DCEU has as its main objectives to describe Caribbean Standard English and make prescriptions for it such that it could function as national language in each of the independent countries (Allsopp 1996, xix). The DCEU presents itself as a piece of lexicography no different from "... other non-British regional dictionaries when they emerged at landmark times in their nations' history – *Webster's in the USA* in 1828, the *Dictionary of Canadian English* in 1967, the *Australian National Dictionary* in 1988 ..." (Allsopp 1996, xxxi).

The DCEU fulfils its mandate by establishing a 'hierarchy of formalness' with descending levels – formal, informal and anti-formal. These are defined as follows: (i) Formal – 'Accepted as educated: belonging or assignable to IAE; also any regionalism which is not replaceable by any other designation', (ii) Informal – 'Accepted as familiar; chosen as part of usually well-structured, casual, relaxed speech, but sometimes characterized by morphological and syntactic reductions of English structure and other remainder features of decreolization', (iii) Anti-Formal – 'Deliberately rejecting Formalness; consciously familiar and intimate, part of a wide range from close and friendly through jocular to coarse and vulgar; any Creolized or Creole form or structure surviving or conveniently borrowed to suit context or situation' (Allsopp 1996, lvi).

Entries associated with formal speech are unmarked in the dictionary and can be presumed to have been described as part of 'Caribbean Standard English' and to have been prescribed for it. Entries at the remaining two levels of formalness are marked. All of this suggests the incorporation of increasing numbers of Creole features into what is otherwise 'Caribbean Standard English', in order to allow the latter to acquire some level of informality. 'Caribbean Standard English', therefore, has no real existence outside of formal domains, language use in non-formal domains being characterised by use of Creole or Creole-influenced varieties. This perception is reinforced by the DCEU definition of 'Caribbean Standard English' as "[T]he literate English of educated nationals of Caribbean territories and their spoken English such as is considered natural in formal social contexts" (Allsopp 1996, lvi).

Caribbean English in the 'Anglophone' Caribbean emerges as a range of forms closest to IAE and designated by the DCEU, 'Caribbean Standard English'. We can convert Allsopp's formal, informal and anti-formal designations into the terminology of diglossia, i. e. the public-formal, the private-formal and the public-informal/private-informal respectively. 'Caribbean Standard English', the H, has as its domain the public formal and the private formal. The L, Creole influenced varieties or Creole, prevail elsewhere. This is, in essence, a description of a diglossic situation or one analogous to diglossia.

#### 4.2. The intermediate varieties on the English-to-Creole continuum

In those territories where the Creole language in general use shares the bulk of its vocabulary with English, there is an absence of clear lines of demarcation between varieties. There is, rather, a gradual shading off from the most English varieties towards those which are most deviant from English. A considerable amount of research has taken place trying to describe what has come to be called the (post-) Creole continuum (De Camp 1971, 349–370; Bickerton 1975, 1–163; Rickford 1987).

Devonish (1989, 129–140; 1991, 565–584; 1998, 1–12) argues that, in these situations, the linguistic interaction between English and Creole is rule governed. A language variety can only be proposed to exist at the level of the clause. Beyond the clause, speakers are free to shift language variety as their linguistic repertoires allow and as social factors require. Within the clause, only a very restricted number of the theoretically possible combinations of Creole and English features are possible. To illustrate, below we see a sample of the Creole and English combinations possible in equivalent sentences in the Guyana and Jamaica language situations respectively. The linguistic variables involved are (i) past marking with the variants /bin/ [Creole], /did/ [intermediate] and /woz/ [English], and (ii) continuative aspect marking, with the variants, pre-verbal /a/ [Creole], and post verbal /-in/ [English]. The starred sentences are the ones not acceptable in the particular language situation. At the most English and the most Creole levels, (a) and (f) respectively, usage in the two speech communities is almost identical. However, at the level of the mixed or intermediate varieties, there is complete divergence. The evidence suggests that the combining of features from Creole and English is permissible and the possible combinations constrained, in both communities. The constraints, however, are peculiar to each of the two communities.

- |    |                          |                      |
|----|--------------------------|----------------------|
|    | 1) 'The man was talking' |                      |
|    | Jamaica                  | Guyana               |
| a) | di maan bin a taak       | di man (b)en a taak  |
| b) | di maan bin taakin       | *di man (b)en taakin |
| c) | *di maan did a taak      | di man did a taak    |
| d) | di maan did taakin       | *di man did taakin   |
| e) | *di maan woz a taak      | di man woz a taak    |
| f) | di maan woz taakin       | di man woz taakin    |

(Devonish 1989, 133)

Speakers have repertoires which span varying ranges on the continuum. However, in the more formal social situations, speakers are likely to produce varieties in their repertoires more approximating English, and for informal situations, those more approximating Creole. For some speakers, notably the uneducated, the intermediate varieties may represent their H. For others, in particular the educated, the intermediate varieties may represent their L. This situation, I suggest, is simply a manifestation of the kind of linguistic convergence which Ferguson (1959) notes as occurring in diglossic situations. As he suggests, “[t]he communicative tensions which arise in the diglossia situation may be resolved by the use of relatively uncodified, unstable, intermediate forms of the language [...] and repeated borrowing of vocabulary items from H to L” (Ferguson 1959, 433). The one deviation from the Fergusonian prescription relates to the postulated instability of the intermediate varieties. In the ‘Anglophone’ Caribbean, these converged varieties, as can be seen from the above, are quite stable.

#### 4.3 The ‘Low’ Language Varieties

##### 4.3.1. The English Lexicon Creole Languages

These language varieties, grouped with the intermediate speech forms discussed in the previous section, are known by many names, which vary from one speech community to another, e. g. ‘Creole’ in Belize, ‘Creolese’ in Guyana, ‘Kokoy’ in Dominica, ‘Patwa’ in Jamaica, etc. A popular perception shared across these communities is that these are dialects of English. As a consequence, the term ‘(the) dialect’ is also a fairly common label.

Within the framework of this language ideology, Louise Bennett, noted as a pioneer ‘dialect’ poet in Jamaican Creole, writes a poem defending Jamaican ‘dialect’. In it, she asks the opponents of Jamaican Creole who have vowed to destroy it, whether,

Yuh gwine kill all English dialect  
Or jus Jamaica one?  
[Are you going to kill all the dialects of English or just Jamaica’s]  
(Bennett 1966, 218).

The dominant language ideology views standard varieties of English, including Standard Caribbean English, as distinct entities.

This is assisted by the status and prestige of IAE along with its idealizing instruments such as dictionaries and grammar books. The internal coherence of the language forms closest to IAE is emphasised while the existence of any such coherence in those forms of speech regarded as deviant from IAE is denied. This shows itself even in the academic work on these language situations. Thus, De Camp (1971, 35) criticises the grammar of Jamaican Creole by Bailey (1966) for describing “[...] an abstract ideal type, a composite of all non-standard features, a combination which is actually spoken by few if any Jamaicans.” This is a characterisation with which Bailey (1971, 342) agrees when she states, “[t]he speakers of unadulterated JC [Jamaican Creole] are rare indeed [...].”

The interesting point, however, is that IAE and its local approximations are also abstractions, and are equally a composite, this time of all ‘standard’ features. I would posit that speakers of unadulterated Standard Caribbean English or any of its more localised equivalents such as Standard Jamaican English, are as rare as are speakers of ‘unadulterated Creole’. Even if, as a result of formal education, a speaker is able to use Standard Caribbean English in formal situations, no speaker can be expected to use Standard Caribbean English consistently in all situations. As we have seen, there are a series of domains, notably the DCEU’s informal and anti-formal, in which other language varieties are the norm.

Under the influence, in the past four decades, of academic research done on Caribbean language, official policy towards Creole varieties has been evolving. This has perhaps been most pronounced in language education policy. The traditional official stance was that English-lexicon Creole languages were forms of broken English requiring correction in the direction of ‘Standard English’. The new official position which has become fairly common across the ‘Anglophone’ Caribbean, sees the need to respect Creole languages which children bring into the school system and to use them where necessary to help the transition to the language of the school, English. This is neatly summed up, with reference to Jamaica, by Pollard (1993, v), in spelling out the aims of an English language teachers’ handbook: “The intention is to help teachers help their students move from being able to use



only one language (J[amaican]C[reole]) to being able to use the two languages which we need to operate successfully in the Jamaican situation”.

This relative enlightenment, at the level of official education policy, has not translated into any single language practice at the level of the classroom. Bryan (1998, 60) suggests that, in Jamaica, classroom practices include transitional bilingualism and monoliterate bilingualism, the latter implying the oral use of both languages with literacy being taught and exercised only in English. This flexibility in language use is partly a result of the sociolinguistic norms operating in society. These allow for, or even require, the use of English lexicon Creole in a formal domain in which English would otherwise be the norm, if one wishes to (i) signal emphasis, (ii) signal humour, or (iii) ensure communication in circumstances where listeners may have restricted competence in English.

English-lexicon Creole varieties also manifest their presence in schools through the medium of writing. School textbooks increasingly over the years have come to include works of Caribbean literature, some of which is written in English-lexicon Creole. Literary Creole writing tends to employ the orthographic traditions of English ‘dialect writing’. This system of orthography relies for its readability on indications to the reader of the ways in which the ‘dialect’ has deviated from the ‘standard’ form of the language, English, e.g. by the use of apostrophes to indicate sounds ‘left out’ of the ‘standard’ English original.

English as the major language of writing and literature, has come to share some of its traditional written functions with English-lexicon Creole. These include (i) written material associated with traditional culture, (ii) poems, in particular those written with the intention of them being performed, (iii) the dialogue of narrative literary pieces but also occasionally the narrative itself, (iv) the dialogue in newspaper cartoons, (v) advertisements, (vi) verbatim reports of interviews done with persons whose speech was in Creole, (vii) occasional letters to the press particularly if the subject is the language question, and (viii) the occasional newspaper headline that employs a traditional Creole expression. As a counter to the ‘dialect writing’ orthographic traditions, there have been experiments with popularising a

phonemically based orthography for Jamaican Creole developed by Cassidy (1961, 433), a writing system originally designed for linguists wishing to accurately represent the language. One such activity lasted for six years during the 1990s and involved a Jamaican Creole newspaper column written by Carolyn Cooper fortnightly in the Jamaica Observer, using this orthography (Cooper 2000, 94).

In the electronic mass media, Brodber (1998, 202) refers to “[t]he gradual erosion of diglossia in Jamaica, accelerated by programmes such as phone-in radio talk shows [...]” She describes a process by which hosts of such programmes “[...] code-switch regularly from English to Creole for a variety of pragmatic purposes, and/or acts of identity, and who thereby provide a certain legitimacy for the use of J[amaican] C[reole] in public/formal media [...] and callers with demonstrably weak mastery of English, who shift to JC [...]” Scripted programming other than drama would normally be in English. Drama, advertisements for products of mass consumption, live interviews, etc., allow for the use of English-lexicon Creole languages. This is generally the pattern throughout those parts of the ‘Anglophone Caribbean’ within which an English-lexicon Creole is widely spoken.

Some relatively radical activities have been carried out aimed at breaking English-lexicon Creoles out of the roles to which they have been confined. Between 1982–1984, on Radio Central, a regional radio station broadcasting to a primarily rural audience in central Jamaica, local news in what was styled ‘the local language’ was employed in daily newscasts. Then, on Irie FM, a national radio station, for over a year, between 1993–4, there was a weekly news summary broadcast entitled ‘Big Tingz Laas Wiik’ on the programme ‘The Cutting Edge’ hosted by the poet, Mutabaruka. The latter experiment was quite popular and when it ceased, due to difficulties with financing the activity, there were numerous public expressions of regret. In this same period in Jamaica, the Bible Society of the West Indies produced an audio tape of portions of the New Testament translated into Jamaican Creole. These translations received some level of public exposure, particularly by being broadcast on the radio, along with what might be termed qualified public acceptance.

In the case of Belize, Escure (1983, 32) refers to the use of Belizean Creole in short radio programmes and newspaper articles up to 1983, practices which seem to have continued up until the present. Escure comments, however, on what she perceives as a continuing ambivalent attitude amongst speakers about these uses of their language. This attitude seems to have weakened since, by the 1990s, there had developed organised interest and activity surrounding the expansion of the language into new domains. Perhaps the most important development has been the publication of a draft standard orthography for Belizean entitled 'How fi Rite Bileez Kriol' by the Belize Creole Orthography Project (1994). The Summer Institute for Linguistics, the USA based Bible translation organisation, has been active in Belize and through its representative, involved in the devising of this writing system. The SIL has pursued Bible translation work in Belizean Creole, employing this writing system.

Current developments threaten to have far reaching effects across the 'Anglophone' Caribbean. One such is the acceptance in December, 2000, by the Board of Regents of the State of New York in the USA, that Caribbean English lexicon Creole languages are 'languages other than English'. Approximately 20000 immigrant children from the 'Anglophone' Caribbean enter the education system of the state of New York each year. The effect of the decision is that, subject to certain conditions, bilingual education has to be provided to such pupils, inclusive of language arts in the native language and bilingual instruction in content subjects (Board of Regents, Part 154. 2g & .4). The decision means that speakers of Caribbean English-lexicon Creole languages have rights to English/Creole bilingual education in New York State, rights not available to them in their home countries. The developments in New York State are likely to have a profound impact on debate about language education policies and practices in the home countries. Even more potentially far reaching for this debate is a motion on the order paper of the Senate of Jamaica. The motion, due to be debated in the first quarter of 2001, proposes the setting up of a Commission of Inquiry to investigate the issue of recognising both Jamaican Creole and English as official languages of Jamaica. The prospect of a parliamentary debate on this pro-

posal, even in a single country, gives such a proposal a level of credibility across the 'Anglophone' Caribbean it has not had before.

#### 4.3.2. French lexicon creole languages

The French-lexicon Creole varieties, as spoken in St. Lucia, Dominica and in a more restricted way in Trinidad, Grenada and Guyana, are traditionally and popularly known as '(French) Patwa/Patois'. However, associated with the 1981 officially sanctioned Seminar on an Orthography for St. Lucian Creole and a similarly titled 1981 report, a more 'politically correct' label for the language, Kwéyòl, has emerged, at least amongst the conscious promoters of the language (Seminar 1981). Use of this alternative title seeks to avoid the pejorative associations of the traditional labels.

Even though no language statistics exist, it is difficult to disagree with the statement that while French-lexicon Creole remains the native language of many St. Lucians, the proportion of monolingual speakers of this language has diminished considerably. This has been a result of the emergence and increased acceptance and use of non-standard/mesolectal English-lexicon varieties showing influence from French-lexicon Creole. These, according to some analyses, constitute the mid-range on a continuum between the basilect, French-lexicon Creole, and the acrolect, English. This development has created a significant number of bilinguals and even some persons who are monolingual in the non-standard/mesolectal varieties (Ministry of Education, etc. 1999, 10). This situation is probably even truer of those areas of Dominica in which French-lexicon Creole has been the vernacular language traditionally used.

In spite of the above, the status of French-lexicon Creole in both St. Lucia and Dominica has been steadily on the rise. The year 1981 was a turning point in the development of the French lexicon Creoles of St. Lucia and Dominica. It was in this year that a government supported Seminar on an Orthography for St. Lucian Creole was held (Seminar 1981; Louisy et al. 1983). An orthography, based on phonemic principles, was approved for St. Lucian Creole and eventually accepted for Dominican French-lexicon Creole, as well. The seminar was the catalyst for the creation of two Creole language organisations. In St. Lucia, Mou-

man Kwéyòl Sent Lisi (Mokwéyòl) was set up and in Dominica, the Komité Etid Kwéyòl (KEK). These organisations have been responsible over the years for the promotion of writing in French-lexicon Creole using the standard orthography, notably through bilingual Creole/English newspapers which have appeared intermittently, i.e. 'Balata' in St. Lucia and 'Konn Lanbi' in Dominica.

In the electronic media, French-lexicon Creole in St. Lucia is expanding considerably. Traditionally, the use of this language on radio targeted the rural and the uneducated, generally considered to have low levels of competence in English. However, the range of programming has expanded considerably and is being aimed at a much wider cross section of the population. Radio news broadcasts, public education documentaries and Government Information Services programmes are currently broadcast in French-lexicon Creole. In addition, there has been strong encouragement of the public to use the language during call-in programmes, resulting in it being widely used in this domain (Ministry of Education, etc. 1999, 14). In large measure, the developments in St. Lucia in the electronic media seem to follow the pattern discussed by Brodber (1998, 202) for Jamaica.

At the symbolic level, the most significant development was the 1998 change in the Standing Orders of the St. Lucia parliament. This change formally admitted the use of St. Lucian French-lexicon Creole into parliamentary proceedings. This event marked official recognition of a practice which had emerged in the late 1990s, in which oral presentations in parliament were delivered in both French-lexicon Creole and English. The change in the Standing Orders, however, was circumscribed by an explicit statement that use of Creole was limited to oral exchanges and that the official record of proceedings would continue to be kept in English.

A 1999 'Concept Paper' on language policy commissioned by the Ministry of Education, Human Resource Development, Youth and Sports of St. Lucia on the recommendation of the Governor-General, herself a linguist and language activist, is quite significant. This paper presents proposals for an official language policy for St. Lucia which would recognise St. Lucian French-lexicon Creole as (i) a joint official language

alongside English, (ii) the national language, i.e. the language of national identity associated with cultural and folk heritage, (iii) a promoted language, i.e. used by government agencies in public communication, (iv) language of literacy in adult literacy/education programmes (Ministry of Education, etc. 1999, 18–26). The paper is intended to form the conceptual basis for the formation of a 'Commission for the Development of St. Lucian French Creole'. The goals of this commission would involve both the status and corpus planning of St. Lucian French-lexicon Creole. Given the on-going tradition of cooperation between St. Lucia and Dominica on language matters, it is likely that developments in St. Lucia will trigger off similar moves in Dominica.

#### 4.3.3. The indigenous languages

There are just two countries in which indigenous languages remain in active use. The first is Guyana with the Cariban languages, Carib, Macushi, Akawaio, Wai-Wai and Arekuna, and the Arawakan languages, Arawak and Wapishiana, and another language, Warrau. The other country is Belize, with Garifuna, an Arawakan language, and Mayan, the latter divided into three ethnolinguistic sub-groups, Mopan, Yucatecan and Kekchi.

Indigenous languages, notably those of Belize and Guyana, generally play no open and obvious role in the formal education system or in the mass media. They continue to function in the main, as exclusively oral languages, restricted to the ethnic communities within which they have traditionally been used. They exist in some kind of societal trilingual/triglossic relationship with (i) English and (ii) an English-lexicon Creole. Garifuna, brought to Central America by a mass deportation of Garinagu or 'Black Caribs' from St. Vincent in the aftermath of a Garinagu uprising against the British in 1796, is a partial exception to this pattern. It is perhaps the most successful of the indigenous languages in the region.

An active movement amongst the Garinagu of Central America supports the promotion of the language. A native speaker linguist, E. Roy Cayetano (1993), as part of the Garifuna Lexicography Project and under the aegis of the National Garifuna Council of Belize, has compiled an English-Garifuna/Garifuna-English dictionary aimed at use by members of the community and gen-

eral public. It employs a consistent and phonemic writing system which is being promoted as the standard orthography for representing the language. The dictionary and writing system function as part of cultural preservation and promotion activities by the Garinagu of Belize. Garifuna is used in a limited way in the electronic mass media. This is encouraged and reinforced by the widespread use of Garifuna in the music lyrics of punta rock, an extremely popular form of modern Belizean music originating amongst the Garinagu population.

#### 4.3.4. Other languages

Dutch is one of the three official languages of the Netherlands Antilles of which Sint Maarten, Sint Eustatius and Saba are a part. The other official languages are Dutch and Papiamentu. Even though, from a strictly linguistic point of view, English-lexicon Creole is the native language of the mass of the population of these three islands, English is regarded as the native language for purposes of formal education. Thus, the Netherlands Antilles policies promoting mother tongue education are implemented in these islands through the use of English.

Bhojpuri is a language associated with the populations of Trinidad and Guyana who are descended from 19<sup>th</sup> century indentured servants imported from India. It is historically a language of north-east India, widely spoken in the Indian state of Bihar. In the Caribbean, however, it is usually referred to as Hindustani or Hindi, not to be confused with the language varieties to which those labels attach on the Indian sub-continent. Bhojpuri is rapidly disappearing as a spoken language in the Caribbean, though it retains some currency in the increasingly popular form of local Indian-influenced music known as 'chutney'.

Spanish is a marginal language in Trinidad, associated with rural and older speakers in some areas of the country. By contrast, in Belize, native Spanish speakers account for 33% of the population and its use continues to be vibrant, reinforced by continued twentieth century migration from the neighbouring officially Spanish speaking countries in Central America. In Belize, Spanish is used within the formal education system and, as far back as the early 1980s, there has been three to four hours of radio broadcasting in the language (Escure 1983, 31–32).

#### 5. Conclusion: the resolution of 'conquest diglossia' in the 'anglophone' Caribbean

Meade (forthcoming, 277–8) studies phonology acquisition amongst children between the ages of 1 and 4 years. He does a longitudinal study of 20 children, ten of whom have caregivers with relatively low levels of competence in English. The other ten have caregivers with much higher levels of competence in English. Caregivers of the first group of children show a preponderance of use of Jamaican Creole phonological features in their linguistic interaction with their charges. This is, however, accompanied by the limited use Standard Jamaican English features. A third of the children in this group show signs, by age 4, of acquiring the Jamaican Creole system only. The other two thirds show evidence of acquiring both systems.

Caregivers of children in the second group, while also using both systems, show more frequent use of Standard Jamaican English phonological variants when interacting with their charges than do the caregivers of the first group. Approximately a third of the children in the second group show signs, by age 4, of acquiring an English system and some features of the Creole system. The remaining two thirds show evidence of acquiring both systems in full (Meade in print, 271, 274). One can conclude, subject to corroboration with evidence of acquisition in the areas of syntax and the lexicon, that a large majority of persons in the speech community, at an early age, develop diglossic linguistic competence, irrespective of the socio-educational backgrounds of their families. The other is that the only language variety which some children in the sample show no signs of learning up to age 4, is English. This could be interpreted as a sign that English is not being fully transmitted across the generations.

Unlike perhaps some other forms of diglossia, 'conquest diglossia' is inherently unstable and requires resolution. Over time, either the H increasingly becomes the sole language used by all groups, or it dies out being replaced by some partly converged variety of L (Ferguson 1959, 437). Some societies, perhaps Barbados, may be moving in the direction of the former option. Others, notably Jamaica, based on the Meade evi-

dence, and probably Belize, may be moving in the direction of the second. St. Lucia too, as a language situation analogous to diglossia, may be heading in a direction similar to that of Jamaica and Belize. Only time can tell.

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## 214. The Francophone Caribbean / Die frankophone Karibik

1. Haiti, Guadeloupe and Martinique
2. French Guiana
3. Literature (selected)

### 1. Haiti, Guadeloupe and Martinique

#### 1.1. Introduction

The island of the Greater Antilles, called Hispaniola by the Spanish and then Saint Domingue by the French, was divided at the beginning of the nineteenth century into Haiti to the West and the Dominican Republic to the East. Guadeloupe and Martinique are islands belonging to the arc of the Lesser Antilles. From North to South, this arc comprises Guadeloupe, Dominique, Martinique, St Lucia, St Vincent and the Grenadines, Grenada, Trinidad and Tobago. These islands, up to and including St Lucia, alternate between French and English as the official language because of various wars.

#### 1.2. Historical Approach

Christopher Columbus discovered Haiti on his first voyage to the Americas and it was occupied in the name of Spain which used it mainly as a starting point towards South America. Guadeloupe (initially called *Karukera*) was discovered in 1493 during Columbus' second trip and Martinique (initially *Madinina*) in 1502 during a fourth trip. Within twenty years, the Carib Indians were almost completely gone from Haiti, whereas this elimination took 50 years in the Lesser Antilles; in part, because, although conquered by the Spanish, the islands were not settled until the French arrived in 1635. Before this, the French had settled for ten years (1625–1635) on Saint Christopher (present day St Kitts) which is a hundred and fifty kilometres north of Guadeloupe. It is on St Kitts that a first Creole might have been formed; an initial seed from which other Creoles developed and became different as the French, from 1635 onwards, began their colonisation of other islands.

With a partly Amerindian language base (allowing newcomers to give names to things unknown in the Old World) and with the substrate of a most likely relexified nautical lingua franca, Creole was born for the most part through contacts between the African slaves (either captured first from the Spanish

and the Portuguese or later directly 'imported' through the slave trade) and colonists from Western France.

Linguistic diversity was very strong at this point in time; not only between Africans and Europeans but also within each of these two groups; on the one hand, the numerous African languages were not always mutually intelligible, especially as the slaves were often deliberately mixed to prevent revolts and on the other hand, the French immigrants, at a time when a French linguistic unity was still far from being achieved, spoke dialects which were not immediately accessible to each other. Creole is thus a mixed language, born in a context of communicative urgency amongst speakers of different languages and its creation is due to the slaves as well as to the colonists. The first period of colonization (clearing the land in order to be able to cultivate it, the first attempts at socialization between groups of different origins) is marked by a relative proximity of the slaves and their masters, due to the precarious living conditions. A certain *laissez-faire* existed, in this first phase, represented by the freedom of marital unions between members of different ethnic groups in the colonies.

Everything changed in 1685, a genuinely symbolic date of the change in the socio-economic reality of the islands and in attitudes. This date marked the appearance of the Black Code which regulated the condition of Blacks in a particularly reactionary way. Moreover, it is also the moment when a class of colonists made rich through tobacco and the by-products of the sugar cane (sugar and rum) began to make its presence felt. Colonial society had another important group now; the 'Big Whites', as well as an upper class which was linked to the administration of the island.

At this point in the history of colonisation racial discrimination was born, which carries within it seeds of linguistic minoritisation as well. Racism created taboos, incorporated into the Black Code itself, in the realm of marriage. The intermediate group of Mulattos, born of out of wedlock relationships between masters and their slaves, played an important part in the cultural and political evolution of these colonies. Often rejecting their white fathers

(who, in general, would not recognize them) and yet believing themselves to be superior to 'pure' Blacks, this group were very influential in developing the ideologies of Negrophobia and Creolophobia which, though started by the White colonists, was taken up and raised to the level of a model, and transmitted to other strata of the population who aspired to socio-economic and cultural elevation.

Once Creole was present, colonists could, for the most part, use both it and French (either a regional or official variety), whereas the slaves only had Creole at their disposal, it having become their mother tongue (this has to do with the phenomenon of linguistic nativisation). This situation of exclusiveness was then the cause of an important symbolic investment and also furthered, on the ideological level, the illusion that this language was the identification factor par excellence of the slave group. French, on the other hand, was a trait associated with the masters. This situation had consequences in the minds of the slaves' descendants, who after the abolition of slavery, wished to take French as their own in order to be identified with magistrate values and to rid themselves, at the same time, of the stigmatism of slavery.

From 1801, the date of Haiti's independence and 1848, the date of the abolition of slavery in the French Antilles, social promotion was based on access to the dominant language and rejection of the dominated language, which was thus stigmatised. This ideological model, legacy of the dominant groups and passing through the mulatto ones, was largely amplified by the educational ideas of the French leading groups and affected the entire population of the colonies from the intellectual elite to the rural and proletarian masses. In the Antilles, the main instrument of Frenchification was schooling, especially at the end of the nineteenth century when innovative legislation adopted by Jules Ferry, Public Instruction Minister of the Third Republic, made school obligatory and non religious.

### 1.3. Present Data

Guadeloupe and Martinique (800'000 speakers spread more or less equally between the islands) belong to the group of Creoles said to be in *ka* in opposition to those in *ap*, one of which is Haiti (5 million speakers). *Ka* and *ap* are both aspectual morphemes with a

durative value. These different groups of Creoles, although they are very similar, have distinguishing characteristics: regressive nasalisation on the one hand and progressive on the other, presence or absence of the possessive *a* morpheme, presence of *a/la* alternation or not as the post posed definite article, presence or absence of occlusive palatals in front of preceding vowels etc.

Martinique has less linguistic heterogeneity than Guadeloupe; in any case the original elements of heterogeneity were neutralized by socio-economic factors. These factors are linked to the importance of Fort-de-France, which tends to relay linguistic homogeneity to the whole of the territory, especially amongst the youngest strata of the population. The situation is somewhat different in Guadeloupe where the geographic discontinuity appears to have favoured or maintained a more noticeable degree of linguistic variation. This discontinuity appears, however, to be relatively integrated; that is to say that the linguistic differences which are present on Guadeloupean soil are in the process of becoming neutralised, without this process being as intense as in Martinique. This variation is, however, primarily within the realms of phonetics, lexis and prosody and only very weakly in that of morphology. This neutralisation is essentially due to urbanisation, to the rural exodus which is linked to it and to the recent phenomenon suburbanisation which is when the urban population leaves the city to move to purely residential areas.

Haitian Creole is different from those of the Lesser Antilles on several counts. For example, the [ap] or [pe] morpheme depending to the context can have either a durative aspectual value or a future modal one, because of the existence of other forms of the future. Indeed, [pral] is used for the nearby future and [a], [va] or [ava] for the distant future. However, in the Lesser Antilles one finds [ka] for the durative, [kaj] for the nearby future and [ke] for the distant future. Plural marking is shown through the post-position of [yo] to the noun in Haitian and [se] ante-posed to the noun phrase in the Creoles of the Lesser Antilles. Haiti can be divided into two dialectal groups, one to the North (region of the Haitian Cape), and one which is made up of the rest of the country. The northern dialect is similar to Guadeloupean Creole in a few areas such as the [a] possessive morpheme. There is also a strong tenden-

cy, as in the Lesser Antilles, to use the form [zɔt] “vous” for the fifth person rather than [nu] which is used in the rest of the country. The [ava] future form is used far more than [va]. The preposition ‘with’ is [ake] rather than the [avec], [EvEk] forms found in the rest of the country. The durative aspectual [pe] is characteristic of the North.

Today on the political level, there is an opposition between Haiti which is independent and Guadeloupe and Martinique which are *départements d’Outre-Mer* (French Overseas Departments). In the whole of the Antilles a very strong will for social promotion in a society marked by slavery has created attitudes of refusal; that is to say a non-observance of linguistic loyalty usually found in communities endowed with a certain identifying conscience. For Haiti, the political and economic evolution has been such that 90% of the country is illiterate, that is to say monolingual Creole speakers. In this country then the ‘elite’ has remained numerically quite small.

The current situation in Haiti was, until the end of the nineteenth century, that of Guadeloupe and Martinique where diglossia has been the main sociolinguistic feature since the beginning. But in these islands the diglossia has had a different type of historical evolution. Indeed, they have gone from a situation where Creole was the primary language and French the second (refused first of all and then through various fights for its use, claimed and acquired in school). In the social classes where French has taken the upper hand as a mother tongue, Creole was learnt not within the family but in peer groups, thanks to those who did have Creole as a mother tongue. Nowadays the spread of ‘early teaching’ of French as a mother tongue tends to eliminate mother tongue creolophones from peer groups. In these circumstances the transmission of Creole can only be through other means, among which the mass media (radio and television). Indeed, militant demands and the birth of a mediabased freedom have allowed Creole to gain more and more importance in the public sector.

In Haiti, which became independent in 1801 after the slave revolt, the ubiquity of Creole, associated with an ideological evolution marked by a wish to replace the mulatto elite with a new Black elite, made things such that the non transmission of Creole is an exception, found only in the

very highest spheres of society. But even in these cases, the numerical importance of monolingual Creole speakers means that every Haitian child is exposed to the vernacular from earliest infancy. Haitians from the French speaking classes can then be considered to have two mother tongues: Creole and French. A notable difference between the Lesser Antilles and Haiti is the fact that in the latter country the diglossia is in fact becoming triglossia; English is growing more and more important for the middle classes and for those in the urban working classes whose work is tied to the United States.

In Haiti, the national language has the same official status as French. The mass media which was almost exclusively under Francophone control has grown even more since the end of Duvalier’s dictatorship and is an important factor in decreolisation. In the French Antilles only French is the official language, Creole being the *de facto* regional one. The recent creation of a Creole C.A.P.E.S. (Certificate of Aptitude for secondary teaching) comes as the culmination of demands by left wing political movements and by a fringe of civil society (researchers at the University of the Antilles and Guiana within the GEREK-F [Study and Research Group in Creolophone and Francophone places]) which have finally been transmitted by political representatives at a national level. In other terms the domains and the ‘volume’ of Creole use have considerably spread in the past 20 years. Such an evolution is obviously the cause of many important changes in the Creole. Nowadays the most noticeable of these changes consists in a more and more rapid advance of decreolisation, a long present factor which now finds itself growing more important. One of the characteristics of this phenomenon is that, on the one hand, it consists in the Frenchification of Creole and that on the other it is entirely unilateral, as there are French borrowings in Creole but Creole influences only the local French it is in contact with and not Standard French.

#### 1.4. Conclusion

Decreolisation (just as creolisation) is linked to communicative urgency. One could then ask whether strategies of delayed communication (that is to say when speakers can prepare their utterances – this delayed communication also implicates journalists or any person who is in a position to deliver a



non-spontaneous message and thus unconstrained by communicative urgency); including within the context of school, could help slow this decreolisation down, or even allow a rebirth of Creole through lexical creativity on the one hand, and on the other hand through a pooling of resources within the different Creoles. The Creole C.A.P.E.S. because of its precisely transversal aspect which brings together very different Creoles of the four overseas departments (Guadeloupe, Guiana, Martinique and Reunion) might offer a place for the emergence of a literary language, the need of which cannot help but be felt given the demands of the schooling context. Real contacts (be they psychological, physical, geographical) can be made amongst the creolophones of these various places. They might even spread to Creole-speaking countries which are not under French rule, their language and their culture unable to remain estranged from the influx of people from the French overseas departments. They will be able to be used in the context of a new and original linguistic market which could give way to a koiné able in turn to revive spoken language in each territory. For the moment, however, any guess concerning this cannot be but speculative.

## 2. French Guiana

### 2.1. Introduction

French Guiana, in terms of its administration and legal system at least, is just like any other French *département*. Yet, by virtue of its location on the continent of South America, its history as a colony, and in terms of its population and of the languages spoken there it cannot be considered on the same grounds as mainland France. It is now considered 'Europe's space-port' thanks to Kourou and a place to be envied by the developing regions which surround it, but in the past it was seen as a symbol of France's colonial failure and a place where convicts

were sent. It is a land of many races and more than forty languages from around the world are spoken there. Nevertheless, French is still the only official language.

### 2.2. Demographics

The 1999 general census of the French population found the population of Guiana to be 153 213 of which 30% are foreigners. However, unofficial numbers, taking into account the important number of illegal immigrants, are much higher. Nevertheless this is quite low for a territory of over 90 000 square kilometres. The rapid evolution of the population during the last 50 years, which has utterly changed the ratio of the various groups to one another so that none of the linguistic-cultural groups can really be said to be most important in terms of population, should also be taken into account.

The geographical distribution of the land is also of importance; 85% of the population is on the Atlantic coast (which represents 15% of the total surface), whilst the others, mainly Bushinenge and illegal immigrants, live inland.

### 2.3. Sociolinguistic situation

The various demographical groups are presented in the order of the numerical importance rather than by traditional historical means.

#### 2.3.1. The Creoles

##### 2.2.1.1. The people

The slave system played a formative role in the genesis of the Creole society, but it was with the abolition of slavery in 1845, and the subsequent dispersion towards isolated farming areas followed by the gold rush that a distinct Creole culture was born. *Creole*, first used for White colonists born away from their homeland, is now used to designate any degree of mixing between Whites and Blacks. In fact, there are hardly any White Creoles left in Guiana. The Guianese

Tab. 214.1: Demographics of French Guiana in 1999

Guianese Creoles: 58 000	French mainlanders: 17 000
Antillean Creoles: 9 000	Native Americans: 6 240
Bushinenge: 15 000	Hmong: 2 000
Foreigners: 46 000	<i>sources: INSEE census, 1999, Chamber of commerce and industry, 1998, Ethnological research Pierre &amp; Françoise Grenand and François Ouhoud-Renoux</i>

Creoles, although they are less important than before, still are the most numerous group in Guiana and most of them live on the coast where they are the local power.

### 2.3.1.2. The language

The Creole language of Guiana, locally called *patois*, which originated on the plantations so that slaves and masters could communicate, has an important French lexicon; in particular through the transfer of French words to represent American aspects of life; thus, *corbeau* (crow) is used for the vulture *urubu*, *couleuvre* (grass snake) is used for the anaconda. Creole speech became different from French in several ways, including, phonetically. An important use of metathesis has changed the words *corbeau* (crow), *courbe* (bend), *hair* (to hate) into *crobo*, *crob*, and *rai*. Another common phenomenon is the merger of the article or of a part of the article with the word itself so that *la nuit* (the night) or *de l'eau* (some water) are rendered as *lānwit*, *dilo*. The African languages, deliberately dispersed on the plantations by the owners, have not left many traces in the Creole language. The Amerindian languages' traces are more important, as the colonists adapted them for the fauna and flora, as well as for a few everyday objects. All these terms are present in today's Creole.

### 2.3.2. Mainlanders

#### 2.3.2.1. The people

There are no White colonists left from the *Ancien Régime*, as they mixed for the most part with their freed slaves. Today there are four main groups of Europeans; the civil servants who come for a few years with their families, those who have chosen to remain permanently in Guiana, the workers at the space station in Kourou, and finally marginal mainlanders who come to Guiana in the hope of finding a tropical paradise or an Amazonian adventure.

#### 2.3.2.2. The language

There is no mention whatsoever of the French spoken in Guiana in any French dictionary. Its phonetics and its grammar are, in fact, practically the same as those of Standard French. There are, however, a few idioms which are indigenous and, of course, a few regionalisms in the lexicon.

### 2.3.3. Bushinenge

#### 2.3.3.1. The people

Like the Creoles, the Bushinenge (Blacks of the forest in *sranan tongo*, the Creole of Surinam) are a product of the slave system. They were once called 'Refugee Blacks' but the generic name 'Bushinenge' is today their self-proclaimed designation. Also called Maroon Blacks, from the Spanish *Cimarron* (escaped), they are the descendants of runaway slaves, who escaped (from the last part of the seventeenth century). from the plantations of Dutch Guyana, which would later become Suriname. The different groups which can be found in French Guiana are the Ndjuka, the Paramaka, the Aluku and the Saramaka, although for the most part they live in fact on the border between Surinam and French Guiana. These peoples have created their own specific society where their African roots are apparent; as in the social organization of the clans, the succession lines, and the important part the maternal uncle plays in the children's education.

Tab. 214.2: Bushinenge in French Guiana in 1999

Name and Population	Locale	
	French bank of Maroni River	Atlantic Coast
Ndjuka/Paramaka: 9000	5500	3500
Aluku: 3500	2500	1000
Saramaka	–	2500

#### 2.3.3.2. The language

Although they come from Surinam, the Ndjuka, the Paramaka and the Aluku speak English-based Creoles, as the English were the first colonists of Dutch Guyana. The languages of these three peoples, because of their very similar and linked history, are mutually intelligible. The most remarkable aspect of these Creoles is the presence of tones. Tones can be found in these Creoles because the majority of the Bushinenge were first generation slaves, so it is likely that once free and far from their masters' influence the various groups of uprooted people who formed these new tribes had no trouble conserving this undeniable aspect of African heritage. In the same way, words for parts of the fauna and especially the flora which were felt to be similar to the African ones were transferred from African languages.

The Saramaka, originally slaves of Jewish Portuguese colonists in Pernambouc (later Brazil), speak a Portuguese based Creole. Because they were part of the baggage their masters brought with them to Surinam in 1654, their language also has an important number of borrowings from English to the point that the Portuguese base is very small now.

As their mutual contacts increased, these different groups, began to use a 'river language' (most of them live along the Mazoni River), a yet unfixed koine that Whites and Creoles call taki-taki, confusing it with the Surinam Creole any of the Bushinenge languages which they do not distinguish.

#### 2.3.4. The French Antilleans

The Antilleans were first drawn to Guiana during the first gold rush at the end of the nineteenth century and the eruption of the volcano, Mount Pelée in 1902 brought along a second exodus into Guiana. By and large, they are integrated with the Creole population of Guiana; although for a long time they were kept separate from the Guianese Creole bourgeoisie. They could be distinguished from this society, even by a mainlander, by their marked manner of speaking. The difference between the Guianese form *mo* and the Antillean form *moin* to say *I* or *me* is a classic example. Another example is the Antillean realization of French /r/ as [w] while the Standard French form is maintained and given prestige in Guianese Creole. These differences are fading away now.

#### 2.3.5. The Amerindians

##### 2.3.5.1. The peoples

Of the forty or so different tribes which populated Guiana in the fifteenth century, only six are still present at the beginning of

the twenty-first. Like other Native American tribes, they fell prey to the diseases imported from Europe; however, they did not suffer because of forced labour and slavery. The kings of France excluded them from servile work and gave them the status of free men. Nevertheless, Catholic missionaries tried to evangelise and civilise them by gathering them, in some cases, in 'mission houses of death' where ethnic groups were mixed; epidemics spread quickly and many indigenous cultural habits were forbidden.

The six remaining tribes are spread out in three of the main linguistic-cultural groups of the Amazon.

One of the most important characteristics of the Amerindian people in Guiana has to do with the colonial divisions of the borders; except for the Teko, who all live Guiana, the Amerindian groups live on the borders of countries which have been imposed on them by the colonists; France and Brazil for the Palikur and the Wayampi, Venezuela, Guyana, Suriname, France and Brazil for the Kali'na and so on. This, of course, makes maintaining tribal unity quite difficult.

Thought for a long time to be on the verge of physical extinction, the Amerindians have, during the past 50 years, grown quite spectacularly in terms of demographics.

##### 2.3.5.2. The languages

Obviously these six languages reflect their history; the migrations, the fact that their speakers were forced to live in missions and so on. The most visible aspect of this is in the vocabulary; kali'na now has tupi-guarani words from the time their people were mixed together in a mission house. Other languages preserve words from tribes which has since disappeared.

In French Guiana, the only one of these languages which is endangered is Arawak, with fewer than 10 speakers in Guiana and

Tab. 214.3: Amerindians in French Guiana in 1999

<i>Linguistic family</i>	<i>Name and population</i>	<i>Locale</i>
karib	2700 Kali'na (formerly Galibi)	coast
	780 Wayana (formerly Roucouyennes)	inland
arawak	950 Arawak (also called Lokono)	coast
	700 Palikur	coast
tupi-guarani	710 Wayampi (Wayâpi)	inland
	400 Teko (formerly Emerillon)	inland

even fewer in Suriname and Guyana. In the other groups, 90 to 100% of the people can speak their 'native' language, although most of them are no longer monolingual.

#### 2.3.6. The Hmong

A number of people fleeing the war in Laos in 1977 were sent to Guiana where they were not well received by the Creole population who saw in them a loss of their demographical superiority. At first they were left to the care of the State and the Catholic Church and lived primarily in one part of the country in an isolated community. Today most of the 2000 Hmong living in Guiana are French citizens and although their children go to the state schools they are also given the option of receiving language classes in their own language, a dialect called White Hmong of the Yao-Miao language family.

#### 2.3.7. The foreigners

Most of these foreigners are in fact illegal immigrants who have come to Guiana hoping to strike it rich, and because of the nature of their situation in Guiana, they do not really try to learn one of the languages there but go on using their own to the point that in parts of Guiana near the Brazilian border a Portuguese lingua franca is used.

### 2.4. The place of language

#### 2.4.1. In Education

Thirty years ago, French was considered the only language worth mentioning in the *département*; the indigenous languages were expected to die with the last Indians; the Bushinenge were all thought to speak takitaki (from talk-talk), a language of no interest in some people's eyes and Guianese Creole was merely thought to be a patois.

Thus, French, 'the language of the Republic' as it has been called in the French constitution since 1992, was the only one to have a place within the school system. However, this became a problem when, as obligatory schooling became more common, schools were filled with children whose mother tongue was not French and educational failures increased. With time however, a few classes were taught giving French the role of a second language and recently bilingual cultural mediators were put into the classrooms and the function of these bilinguals is to help the Francophone teachers

instruct the non-native speakers and also to allow the students to realise the linguistic and cultural value their own language. This second option is still at an experimental stage and is used only for a few Amerindian and Bushinenge languages, but the social demand for it is quite strong so it is likely that it will develop further in the years to come.

The situation of Guianese Creole is somewhat different, as for a long time the speakers themselves considered it to be a sub-language to the point that some families would not use it with their children but used French instead to give them a better possibility of success. Opinions have changed somewhat now to the point that in 1995 France created a university degree of regional cultures and languages.

#### 2.4.2. In the Media

For a long time the media were reserved for the official language, French. However, for Creole, at least, its use in the media preceded the acceptance of it in the schools. First used in single sheet papers, mostly from independent movements, Creole has become the language of politics and of social outcry. A number of leaders could not speak it any longer and so decided to relearn it, which is the reason why the Guianese television now broadcasts a few weekly classes in Creole.

French Creoles, including the Creole of Guadeloupe and Martinique, had been present on the state radio for a long time in music. Nowadays, radio presenters mix questions in Creole with those in French when interviewing and the interviewees answer in the same way making the radio openly bilingual. Free radio and television stations exist now and are for the most part broadcast in Creole.

As for the other languages in Guiana, no place is made for them either in the oral or the written media. However, radio and television waves have easily crossed over from Suriname and Brazil so that programmes in Dutch and Sranan Tongo on the one hand and Portuguese on the other are largely watched in Guiana.

A last point about the media in Guiana, the full range of French papers is available there and the evening news are transmitted directly from France which allows those who want it to live in Guiana without ever needing to open up to the other languages.

### 2.4.3. In Literature

Ninety-five percent of literary books to be found on the shelves of bookstores in Guiana are in French and the rest are in Creole. Some stores do offer books by Brazilian and South American authors but translated into French.

As for literature by Guianese Creole authors the situation is somewhat divided, in that some writers have written in Creole but many other have chosen French as their medium instead. Part of the problem stems from the transcription of Creole; phonetic spelling is blamed for making Creole too vernacular and marginalising it, whereas etymological spelling similar to French seems to undermine its autonomy; so that no standard has yet been decided upon. In any case the situation is troublesome for writers and readers alike.

### 2.5. Conclusion

Until very recently, Guianese Creole was the most important spoken language in Guiana. It was the mother tongue of the main part of its population and was used as a lingua franca all over, from the main town, Cayenne, to the deep forest. Foreigners, Bushinenge and Amerindians, who did business with some one from outside their own group, either used Creole themselves or used a Creole interpreter.

With the advance of obligatory schooling the basic French knowledge of the inhabitants of the *département* has grown greatly. The Creole elite has practically lost the use of rural Creole and the culture it represented. Moreover, two foreign languages, Sranan Tongo to the West and Portuguese to the East spread deeper and deeper within the borders every day. The river language used by the Bushinenge gives many signs of becoming a new alternative lingua franca as well. For all these reasons, Guianese Creole, as a lingua franca, has become very much less used to the point that someone from another group will only use it with a Creole person choosing one of the other languages instead as a lingua franca.

The loss of the use of Guianese Creole as a mother tongue is significant as well. Monolingual Creole speakers have all but disappeared and the French-Creole diglossia is growing with many conversations making use of code-switching because Creole was long thought to be unworthy by its own

speakers and because its spelling has not yet been standardised.

As for the other indigenous (Amerindian and Bushinenge) languages, only Arawak is, in the short term, at risk within French Guiana. The others must learn to juggle between two opposing changes; first of all the loss of knowledge (and accompanying vocabulary) of how to live in the forest and secondly the intrusion of new vocabulary which comes with living in the modern world. The situation of the other languages in Guiana is not bright either.

France, highly centralised and proud of the French language, has waited too long to reach a consensus on how to deal with its regional languages. Even if a consensus is finally reached, it will be too late for more than half the languages of Guiana.

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## 215. The Dutch-speaking Caribbean Die niederländischsprachige Karibik

1. Introduction
2. The sociolinguistic situation in the Netherlands Antilles and Aruba
3. The sociolinguistic situation in Suriname
4. Literature (selected)

### 1. Introduction

Dutch, the sole official language of “the Dutch-speaking Caribbean”, has a *de facto* minority status in the pertinent territories. In the Netherlands Antilles and Aruba, its native use is largely restricted to expatriate Dutch-speakers, the majority languages being Papiamentu (Pp) in the leeward ABC islands (Aruba, Bonaire, Curaçao) and English or English-lexifier Creole (EC) in the windward SSS group (Sint Maarten, Saba, Sint Eustatius). In Suriname, where a more substantial native Dutch-speaking population exists, a distinct Surinamese Dutch variety has emerged. It coexists with the various Creole languages which arose in Suriname, Surinamese varieties of Hindi and Javanese, Kejia, and several endangered indigenous Cariban and Arawakan languages. Despite their multilingual character, Dutch is still the only official language and the language of education in Suriname and Aruba. In Curaçao and Bonaire, Pp is the language of instruction in most Kindergartens and primary schools since August 2004, whereas English has been used in education in the SSS islands since 1983. 25 years of independence has not brought about an independent language policy in Suriname, where any discussion on language matters is made difficult by the ethnic status of the different languages.

Emigration from Suriname to the Netherlands, which peaked around independence in 1975, and slowed when Suriname entered a period of military rule (1980–1987), has resulted in a substantial minority group of roughly 250,000 Surinamese in the Netherlands. Migration from the Netherlands Antilles and Aruba to the Netherlands accelerated in the late 1980s and 1990s, resulting in an estimated Antillean/Aruban population there of appr. 70,000, and predictions are that this trend will continue into the 21<sup>st</sup> century. Some of the linguistic complexity of the so-called Dutch-speaking Caribbean has, in this way, been transplanted to the Netherlands.

### 2. The sociolinguistic situation in the Netherlands Antilles and Aruba

#### 2.1. The languages of the Netherlands Antilles and Aruba

The ABC islands are located near to the Latin-American mainland, off the coast of Venezuela. The smaller windward islands are located 900 km to the north-east in the Eastern Caribbean. Clearly, the six islands do not constitute a geographic unit. Nor were they ever linguistically or culturally uniform, despite their having been under a single administration since 1845. The 2001 census identifies the languages used in the islands’ households as in Table 215.1. Majority languages have been shaded. Apparently, no attempt was made by the census takers to distinguish between standard varieties of English and English-lexifier Creole.

Tab. 215.1: Home languages (in percentages of households)

	Papiamentu	Spanish	Dutch	English
Saba	0.5	4.4	2.0	89.0
Sint Eustatius	1.6	5.5	4.3	84.1
Sint Maarten	2.3	14.8	4.2	64.3
Bonaire	72.3	11.4	10.4	4.0
Curaçao	83.0	4.6	9.3	3.5
Aruba	69.4	13.2	6.1	8.1

Pp, a Spanish/Portuguese-lexifier Creole language, is spoken by most of the population of appr. 200,000 in the ABC islands, irrespective of racial appearance and socio-economic position. The opening of oil refineries in Curaçao and Aruba attracted expatriate labour to these islands in the 1920s–30s. Segregated employment- and housing policies resulted in enclave communities where EC varieties, Spanish, Anglo-American, and (Surinamese) Dutch were spoken. The recently booming hospitality industry has again attracted immigrant labour from Caribbean territories as well as from mainland South America, with Spanish varieties, Haitian, and EC varieties making (renewed) appearances.

The population of appr. 75,000 in the SSS islands consists predominantly of speakers of English/EC. To date, no attempt has been made to describe the varieties spoken in these islands, and their status as English or English Creole remains uncertain.

As seen in Table 215.1, the main languages spoken in the Netherlands Antilles are all well-represented in Sint Maarten, attesting to the degree to which its population has grown and continues to swell through immigration. In Saba and Sint Eustatius, immigration has been much less significant, overall. Due to the migration of Arubans and Curaçaoans to Sint Maarten, the influence of Pp has grown there, to the point where it has become a second language of common currency. Despite the absence of physical or other boundaries between the Dutch and French parts of the island, French does not constitute a significant presence in Dutch Sint Maarten; in fact, English/EC is considered to be the vernacular of French St. Martin, too.

## 2.2. Language and Education in the ABC Islands

The situation in the islands' schools is well-documented for Curaçao only. Reports on

the state of education in the island throughout the 19<sup>th</sup> century lament the poor results achieved by students, already identifying the gap between Pp, the home language of all social classes, and Dutch, the school language, as being at the root of the problems (cf. van Putte 1997). Despite punitive measures aimed at discouraging the use of Pp in the schools, it was never completely absent from the school grounds. Nor was the issue which should be the language of instruction in the islands' school easily resolved; various attempts to change the educational system have floundered on the question whether a new educational system should maintain Dutch as the official language of instruction (Prins 1975; Smeulders 1987; Prins-Winkel 1983; UNESCO 1976). Despite growing support for Pp and bilingual education, until recently, no steps were taken to achieve the introduction of Pp as language of instruction. More recently, a proposal for changes in the educational system was launched in the mid 1990s, but again, no agreement was reached on those aspects which concerned the language(s) of instruction. Marta Dijkhoff was Minister of Education in the government of the Netherlands Antilles during 1990–1994, and had ministerial responsibility for the preparation of the policy referred to here. The dispute became a legal issue when the Catholic schoolboard's request to be permitted to implement a different system of bilingual education than that proposed by the government, was rejected for public funding. The courts ruled in favour of the schoolboard, accepting the argument that freedom of language choice parallels freedom of religion (Dijkhoff 1998). With the educational partners still divided on the language issue, the educational policy was implemented in 2003. Most schools chose Pp as their language of instruction. At present, it is too early to evaluate the results.



In Aruba, too, the government and school-boards appear to be in favour of bilingual education. Yet, as in Curaçao, Dutch instructional material is used in the schools, while Pp functions as the language of oral instruction. However, plans are afoot to give Pp official status in primary education (Rutgers 1997). The first all-Pp school, the *Kolegio Erasmo* (Erasmus College) in Curaçao, which has offered primary education in Pp since 1987, is currently expanding its primary school offerings to include secondary-level education in Pp.

### 2.3. The current position and prospects of Papiamentu

Pp has coexisted with Dutch and Spanish throughout its existence. In modern times, students returning from the Netherlands after the pursuit of higher education there, are an important vehicle of Dutch influence, while Spanish enters homes daily through popular Venezuelan television and radio channels. Tourism brings a large part of the population in contact with native speakers of Anglo-American. In this long-standing situation of language contact and multilingualism, it is not surprising that for want of the pressure of a standardised variety, lexical variation as well as variation in the grammar of Pp has been noted (Muller 1982; Wood 1970; Andersen 1974; 1983). Some of this variation, however, points to an emerging distinction between formal and informal registers, testifying to the strength of Pp as an accepted language of communication in a wide range of social settings.

The importance of Pp as the vehicle for national sentiments grew in the post-Second World War period, as evidenced for instance by a 1958 ordinance which allowed for the use of both Dutch and Pp in the Council of the Netherlands Antilles. In the 1969 social disturbances in Curaçao, the use of Pp distinguished between those who were for and those who were against the just cause of the workers' protests. Although proficiency in Dutch is still seen as providing access to advanced study and better job opportunities, Dutch is barred from social manifestations that may be termed 'local' or 'national', and in the arts, the non-print media and local politics, its role is negligible. There is, on the other hand, still an important Dutch literary production.

With increasing written use of Pp in the post-Second World War period, the need for

an official orthography was widely felt. Unfortunately, political discussions on the future of the Antillean constellation coincided with discussions on the orthography of Pp. The political exit of Aruba from the Netherlands Antilles in 1986, when it acquired separate status within the Netherlands kingdom, was accompanied by a highly emotional discussion on orthography, condemning negotiations on this issue to failure. In the end, Aruba adopted a different spelling from Curaçao and Bonaire. After the separation of Aruba from the Netherlands Antilles, cooperation on language issues between the ABC islands has become almost impossible, with the activities of the Standardization Committee (1983–1990) a sad victim of this situation (Dijkhoff 1983a; b). Despite this, a considerable amount of standardisation has been done, and guidelines have been drawn up for vocabulary expansion in various technical areas (e.g., Dijkhoff 1990a; b). Curaçao and Aruba continue to operate with their own organisations for the promotion of Pp. A major milestone was the establishment of a Faculty of Arts at the University of the Netherlands Antilles in Curaçao in 2002. In 2005, the first group of students will receive their Master's in Education and Papiamentes.

There is, at present, a situation in which Pp competes with Dutch in the written media and where radio and TV broadcasts use Pp almost exclusively (Pereira 1994; Rutgers 1994), in which government business is conducted in Pp and government forms include Pp instructions, in which Pp serves as the language of instruction in several primary schools and even (unofficially) in secondary-level education, and private foundations such as the Pierre Lauffer Foundation in Curaçao have become prestigious promoters of the cultural heritage of which Pp is the vehicle. In short, Pp functions as the national language of the ABC islands. Standard orthographies and dictionaries have been produced and many aspects of Pp grammar are well described. Although there is still a serious shortage of instructional material in Pp and of supporting material such as children's fiction, there is a steadily growing body of authentic work in Pp as well as translations on a variety of topics (cf. Broek 1990; 1998; Eckkrammer 1996). Moreover, legal preparations have been made to officialise Pp alongside English and Dutch as national languages of the

Netherlands Antilles. Despite all this, the negotiation of its role in society continues.

#### 2.4. Language and education in the SSS islands

In describing the sociolinguistic situation in Sint Maarten, the larger and more prosperous of the SSS-group, Richardson (1983) pronounces Dutch a dead language in that island, with English the language in which even the administration of the island is conducted, although official and legal documents are still produced in Dutch. English is the language also of the local media and of a modest body of literary production (Rutgers 1994). The 2001 census shows that Dutch-speakers are a small minority (4.2%), compared to for example, Spanish-speaking households (14.8%).

In contrast with the situation in the ABC islands, Dutch colonial regulations in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century recommended that schools in the SSS islands validate English as the child's home language, while still endeavouring to teach Dutch. The current situation is that both English-language schools and Dutch-language schools exist in Sint Maarten, that Saba has English-language schools only, whereas Sint Eustatius has a bilingual system. The small size of the territories makes it difficult to support a full educational trajectory, but English-language secondary-level education is now also offered in Sint Maarten; students wishing to round off their secondary education are no longer obliged to go to Curaçao or Aruba for this purpose (Rutgers 1997).

The unrecognised differences between standard varieties of English and English-lexifier Creole languages are thought to be the cause of high failure rates in the educational systems of officially English-speaking Caribbean territories (cf. Devonish, this volume). As the English-lexifier Creole of the windward islands similarly goes unrecognised, it is possible that there too, English-language education will ultimately not be much more successful than Dutch education has been.

### 3. The sociolinguistic situation in Suriname

#### 3.1. The languages of Suriname

Much of the linguistic complexity of Suriname is a direct result of the ethnic complex-

ity of its population. All Suriname's languages except the official language, Dutch, can be safely called 'ethnic languages'. They can be divided into the endangered languages of the indigenous Amerindian groups, the various Atlantic Creoles which developed their current form in Suriname, and language varieties introduced to Suriname by indentured labourers and free immigrants from Asia, the Caribbean, etc., some of which developed features unique to Suriname.

Beginning in the 1970s, ethnic and linguistic diversity came to be viewed as potential barriers to the development of a unified nation-state, and during the last census in 1980, ethnic data were not systematically collected. Moreover, no single definition of ethnicity is used by all relevant agencies in Suriname. All current ethnicity data regarding Suriname are, therefore, inherently unreliable.

The majority of the roughly 420,000 Surinamese live in the coastal areas, particularly in the capital, Paramaribo, where Afro-Surinamese dominate, and the peri-urban areas, where the dominant ethnic groups are Hindustani and Javanese. Indigenous and Maroon tribal peoples, less than 10% of the population, live in the coastal districts and in the tropical rainforests that cover most of the country.

##### 3.1.1. Indigenous languages

Carlin (forthc.) thinks it unlikely that the eight remaining indigenous languages of Suriname will survive the twenty-first century. Although their ethnic numbers have increased slightly, and language is considered an important expression of their ethnic identity, economic necessity prevails, causing the numbers of speakers of these languages to be dwindling. Heavily dependent on urban society for provisions, health care and education, increasing numbers of the Lokono and Kariña, who live scattered in the coastal and lowland savanna areas and the urban areas, speak Sranantongo and/or Dutch. Today, fewer than half of appr. 2–2,500 ethnic Kariña are first language speakers of Kariña, a Cariban language. The number of fully competent Lokono (Arawakan) speakers is estimated at 700 mainly older speakers of an ethnic Lokono group of appr. 2,000 (Grimes 1996–99).

The other indigenous peoples of Suriname, although far removed from Suriname's urban centers and in free contact

with related indigenous peoples across the national borders, are also not safe from the forces which threaten their cultures and Cariban languages. Only an estimated 7 of an ethnic group of 50 speak Akuriyo, 10 of 50 speak Sikiyana, 10 of 50–80 speak Tunayana, 6 of 60 speak Mawayana (probably mixed Cariban/Arawakan) (Carlin 1998). Trio (800–1,200 speakers) and Wayana (450 speakers) (both Cariban), despite the larger numbers of speakers, are similarly under threat. Ceremonial dialogue registers, which are known to have existed in several of the indigenous languages, have already been abandoned. Final extinction is thus foreshadowed by register impoverishment.

### 3.1.2. Creole languages

Assuming that most of the coastal Afro-Surinamese population are native speakers of Sranantongo, there may be as many as 120,000 first language speakers of this Creole. It is most widespread, however, as the inter-ethnic medium of Suriname, in a *lingua franca* form which ranges from a stylistically simplified variety to a pidginized form. An archaic variety which originated in 19<sup>th</sup> century translations of Bible texts is still used in some of the churches (Voorhoeve 1971; Eersel 1997). Sranantongo is an English-lexifier Creole with a substantial Dutch overlay (Koefoed/Tarensken 1996).

Ndyuka is an English-lexifier Maroon Creole with a total of about 30,000 speakers in eastern Suriname, including closely-related varieties spoken by the Paramaccan, Aluku (located mostly on the French side of the Lawa River) and Kwinti tribes. Saramaccan is a mixed English/Portuguese-lexifier Maroon Creole, spoken by about 23,000 members of the Saramaccan Maroons in north/central Suriname. Another 2,000 Matawai speak a closely related variety. Although speakers of the various Maroon Creole languages are not isolated from one another, the existence of cohesive communities has ensured that dialectal variation is maintained. A vibrant cultural tradition, including a rich tradition of oral history (Price 1983), supports the existence of various registers in all Maroon languages. However, young Maroon people are forced to seek employment outside of their communities, a development which puts all this at risk. Additionally, as a result of the Insurrections which raged from 1986 to 1992, an unknown,

but substantial number have resettled in Paramaribo, where they are stigmatised and marginalised.

Work on the historical demographics of Suriname by Arends (1995) has established Kikongo, Gbe, and Twi as the predominant linguistic influences among the African slave population which created the Creole languages of Suriname. Reduced forms of these languages have survived as ritual languages among the Maroon populations, as well as in substantial lexical contributions to their Creole languages.

A pidgin which presumably emerged in trading contacts between speakers of indigenous languages (Kariña, Trio, Wayana) and Ndyuka is described in De Goeje (1908), and Huttar/Velantie (1997). Recently, its use was observed in (non-trading) contacts between elderly Trio and Ndyuka (Carlin p.c. 2000). It is now on the verge of extinction.

### 3.1.3. The languages of Asian immigrants

The languages spoken by the descendants of Asian indentured labourers in the urban and traditional agricultural areas, have survived in Suriname as vehicles of ethnic and cultural identity, considerably assisted by the fact that Dutch colonial authority in the post-emancipation period pursued a policy of ethnic segregation. Speakers of these languages are generally second language speakers of (the *lingua franca* variety of) Sranantongo. Depending on their level of assimilation into urban society, many will also speak Dutch.

Sarnami, which appropriately means ‘Surinamese language’, is the largest language, with about 150,000 speakers. Damsteegt (2002) characterises it as a *koiné*, developed and spoken by (descendants of) indentured labourers from the Bhojpur area in northeastern India who first arrived in Suriname in 1873. Hindi continues to be important within the East-Indian group as the language of religion and of Hindu learning (Damsteegt 1990). Although it is accorded higher status than Sarnami, most East-Indian Surinamese attain but limited proficiency in Hindi.

Surinamese Javanese is spoken by descendants of Javanese indentured labourers, who are now roughly one-fifth of the Surinamese population (cf. Wolfowitz 1991). While the rural areas near Paramaribo which they inhabit were originally relatively isolated, ur-

banisation and rapid development of peri-urban areas have caused a trend away from Surinamese Javanese in favour of Dutch and Sranantongo.

The first, relatively small group of indentured labourers in Suriname were ethnic Hakka Chinese, mainly Kejia speakers from the eastern Pearl River delta in southern China. Their ancestral dialect remained dominant up to the late 1980s. Since then an unknown but substantial number of highly visible immigrants from various locations in the People's Republic of China has increased the population of ethnic Chinese in Suriname. Because of the resulting linguistic diversity, Putonghua, the Mandarin-based standard language of the People's Republic of China, is slowly replacing Kejia as the Chinese intra-ethnic language in Suriname (Tjon Sie Fat 2002). The present number of first language Kejia speakers is probably half the number of ethnic Chinese, estimated at about 10,000.

#### 3.1.4. Recent immigrant languages

Recent immigrant languages include Guyanese Creole English (estimated 50,000), Brazilian Portuguese (virtually all gold-miners; estimated 40,000 – 50,000), Papiamentu and Haitian (several hundred speakers each), and a few dozen Lebanese-Syrian (colloquial) Arabic speakers (Ad de Bruin, p.c.). Guyanese Creole English and Haitian, both perceived as languages of poor migrant labourers, are not highly regarded, in contrast with the language of the Brazilian Portuguese, probably as a result of the affluence which their trade brings them.

#### 3.1.5. Dutch

As the official language of the Republic of Suriname, Dutch is in fact an urban language. It is the language of the educational system and the civil service, of all official information, and the main literary medium of Suriname. Written Dutch in Suriname is based on the language of the Dutch colonial bureaucracy and can seem very archaic to Dutch speakers from the Netherlands. Urban Surinamese often opt to raise their children in Dutch, as Dutch offers the possibility of social mobility. The number of first language Dutch speakers is therefore probably significantly higher than is generally assumed. We conservatively estimate it around 50,000. Among bilingual speakers, Dutch and Sranantongo may occur together in

elaborate stylistic code-mixing (cf. Carlin forthc.; Healy 1993).

The question of a local variety of Dutch has been the subject of emotional and heated debates ever since the first literature in Surinamese vernacular Dutch appeared in the 1950s. There is as yet no consensus on the nature of 'Surinamese Dutch', nor any official recognition of its existence (cf. de Bies 1994; Donselaar 1990; de Kleine 1999). Moreover, interest in this local variety of Dutch is overshadowed by nationalist ideas, which have Dutch stigmatised as the language of the ex-coloniser. Suriname has yet to become a member of the *Nederlandse Taalunie* (the Dutch Language Association), which has official advisory capacity on Dutch language matters in the Netherlands and Belgium.

#### 3.2. Language policy and education

Up to the third quarter of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, education for the non-white majority had largely been a matter of church initiative. Creole languages and indigenous languages were used in religious and formal instruction for (former) slaves and Amerindians. All this changed in 1876, when Dutch compulsory education was introduced, accompanied by the opening of public schools, enforcement of the new policy on church-operated schools, and suppression and stigmatisation of Sranantongo. Education became the main instrument of a policy aimed at Europeanisation. Dutch quickly became established as a marker of prestige and power, and seen as an avenue to success. The gap between Dutch and the home languages, and the often poor quality of teaching staff, however, made sufficient competence in Dutch hard to achieve, a situation which persists to this day. Short-lived experiments with native-language education for East-Indian children (ca. 1890–1900), and Javanese children (1933–44) were abandoned in favour of Dutch-language education (cf. Eersel 1997; Gobardhan-Rambocus 1997).

A 1949 survey showed that the majority of Surinamese children attain insufficient competence in Dutch (Hellinga 1955). After a 1980 report indicated that 35% of adult Surinamese were illiterate, *Alfa 84*, a nationwide Dutch literacy campaign was launched (Kenki Skoro 1999). The campaign was a failure. There are no reliable current literacy estimates for Suriname. A 1998 IDB Study

for the period 1983–1993 indicates that while 9 out of 10 children start pre-primary school, less than 4 in 1,000 finish senior secondary school 12 years later. The study concludes that high drop-out and repeat rates are indicators of low internal efficiency of the Surinamese educational system. Though the need for the use of local languages in education is recognised (CRC Country Report 1997), the issue has not been settled. Thus it is that the educational system still treats all students as Dutch mother tongue speakers. No attempts are made to teach Dutch as a second language, though other languages are used in pre-primary education on a very small scale (Cf. Eersel 1997; Gorbardhan-Rambocus 1997).

The missionary Summer Institute of Linguistics has developed primers in several of the languages of Suriname, and carried out native language literacy programs among Maroons and some of the indigenous communities, with limited success (Kenki Skoro 1999). There is a Chinese school where literary Chinese and Mandarin is taught, and opportunities to learn Hindi are offered within the East-Indian community, but these must be considered foreign languages in the Surinamese context.

### 3.3. Languages in the media

With the exception of newsletters published by Chinese associations in modern literary Chinese, Dutch is the only language of the print media. It has a strong presence also in radio and TV broadcasts, in particular among the larger stations (cf. Morroy et al. 1994). There is, however, a proliferation of regional and ethnic radio and TV stations which make use of other languages. Hindi and Sarnami are particularly well-represented in the media, with five TV stations and five radio stations as well as regular programs on other radio and TV stations targeting the East-Indian population. Javanese language media have increased over the years and include a number of Javanese-owned radio stations as well as Javanese programmes on other stations, though there are no Javanese-owned TV stations. News and cultural items from China Central Television are aired on television daily, and recently, a private Chinese-owned company added two daily broadcasts of popular Mandarin-language TV-series and music programmes from the People's Republic of China. Several radio stations air

programmes in Sranantongo and the Maroon languages, and there are currently some regular TV broadcasts in Sranantongo. There are a number of community-based radio-stations which broadcast exclusively in the Maroon languages. Carlin (forthc.) mentions a new, community-based radio station that broadcasts in Kariña. The presence of an affluent Brazilian Portuguese community makes itself felt in the media, in the form of a locally produced weekly Portuguese-language TV program and daily Brazilian TV broadcasts through a local station.

### 3.4. The national language problem and instruments of language policy

Despite the official status of Dutch and its dominant position in education, many Surinamese can get by without it in daily life. Sranantongo on the other hand, is an essential tool in daily social and economic life for the majority of Surinamese in coastal Suriname. Growing Surinamese nationalism in the 1950s resulted in its use in the media and in literary production, and the launch of an organisation for its promotion. However, a lobby to have Sranantongo recognised as the national language failed; racial and ethnic relations in Surinamese society were seen as too delicate to have one ethnic language appear to dominate any other. Its association with ethnicity, which developed after the introduction of Asian indentured labourers, when Sranantongo came to be viewed as the ethnic language of the coastal and urban Afro-Surinamese, has thus stood in the way of its becoming a national language. In the mean time, the role of Sranantongo in public life continues to grow, despite its low social status. As 'the language of the common people', it is the language *par excellence* of any political rally.

Despite rich oral literary traditions, and a written tradition in particular in the form of religious material but more recently also in literary production, the Creole languages of Suriname are treated exclusively as vernaculars, a situation which has not helped to raise their status. Standardisation of Sranantongo has not proceeded very far. The spelling proposed by the Sranantongo spelling committee in 1961 became official by a 1986 Resolution, but for failure to promote it systematically, it has not found general acceptance. The Asian communities can draw on non-local literary traditions, which

confer prestige, but also stand in the way of standardisation of and the promotion of literacy in the local varieties, which may differ considerably from the literary languages.

Although dominance of Dutch is now no longer promoted, there is still no official language policy. There is unofficial consensus that the ethnic languages must be used if information such as concerns public health, government and political information, is to be broadly disseminated, especially beyond the upper (Dutch-speaking) strata of society. Sranantongo is considered a minimal requirement for serious public information and grass-roots advocacy. The other major languages are rather haphazardly and inconsistently used for this purpose, usually reflecting anxieties with regard to the multi-ethnic society. The concept of 'minority languages' and related concepts of protection and education are not well developed in Suriname. It is not surprising, therefore, that the threatened languages of the indigenous peoples of Suriname are usually not considered, but recently, a decision was taken to prepare Trio and Wayana translations of public health information.

Predictions about the linguistic future of Suriname are inherently shaky due to the lack of reliable data and a dearth of sociolinguistic studies. It is likely that processes of assimilation and integration in multi-ethnic Surinamese society as well as regional integration and globalisation will reduce linguistic diversity. On the other hand, the position of the major languages of Suriname is not seriously challenged, and with linguistic variety helping to mask potentially serious religious and racial divisions, it needs to be cherished as an essential attribute of Surinamese society. Undoubtedly, the majority of the Surinamese population does not favour introduction of Sranantongo or any individual language spoken in Suriname as the official language of the Republic of Suriname (Buma 1994; Carew 1982; Deprez/de Bies 1985; Eersel 1971). Every now and again, ideas are floated to introduce English or Spanish as the official language, so as to promote integration of Suriname in the Caribbean or the Latin American region. Daunting financial and logistic consequences make serious pursuit of these options unrealistic, however. For now, Dutch is safely ensconced as the official language.

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## 216. Hispanophone South America/Hispanophones Südamerika

1. The geographical delimitation of the area
2. The sociolinguistic history of the area
3. The languages involved
4. National and regional multilingualism: Spanish in contact with other languages
5. Sociolinguistic topics and perspectives in HSA
6. Literature (selected)

### 1. The geographical delimitation of the area

Hispanophone South America (HSA) does not constitute a linguistic unit, but a combination of geographical and linguistic criteria. The major linguistic unit is Hispanic America, i.e. the ensemble of countries in the continent where Spanish is the official and national language. The H countries in SA (from north-west to south-east) are Colombia, Venezuela, Ecuador, Bolivia, Peru, Paraguay, Chile, Argentina, and Uruguay. All HSA countries except Uruguay preserve speakers of indigenous languages, and all of them have enclaves of immigrant language groups.

### 2. The sociolinguistic history of the area

Before the beginning of the Conquest in 1492 aboriginal peoples divided into major language groups and a series of isolated languages populated HSA. The beginning of Spanish colonialism marked a process of Spanish language spread and the loss of indigenous languages (Cerrón-Palomino 1993). The independence of the new states after 1810 increased indigenous language shift; during the 19th and 20th century important immigrant groups from Europe speaking other languages than Spanish arrived and established their communities, some of which maintain their languages till today. During the second half of the 20th century speakers of indigenous languages increased in absolute numbers in most countries. Between 1980 and 2000 important indigenous movements struggled for legal recognition and improvement in indigenous legislation, including linguistic rights. Bilingual education is spreading, which is more and more maintenance oriented. Today the main language conflict situation in most

countries exists between Spanish as the national language and the indigenous languages.

When Pizarro conquered Peru between 1532 and 1535, he established Lima as the capital of the territory that later became a Viceroyalty. In the next centuries, Lima and Cartagena were the two best communicated cities with Spain in Southern America. These facts had important linguistic consequences for the development of American Spanish. The main linguistic norm in America was that of Seville, probably the largest city in Spain in the late Middle Ages, and later became the center for all trade with America. Only in the American areas with more political contact with the central Spanish norm (first that of Toledo, then that of Madrid, capital of Spain from 1561) there was a significant increase in non-Sevillian linguistic features. In this way, characteristics of American settlement conditioned the linguistic history of the area, more Andalusian and, furthermore, less standardized, in the regions outside the main lines of communication (see Penny 2000, 144–147; Lipski 1994, 34–62; Rivarola 1990, 149–171; Rivarola 2004). At the moment of Spanish language spread in HSA, an extensive process of koineization had already begun. Contact between European Spanish dialects was operating from the first American years, as is documented through the presence of speakers of northern and southern Spanish dialects in the same places right from the start in HSA (for Nueva Granada and Buenos Aires, see Fontanella de Weinberg 1993, 42–54; in general, Martín Butragueño 2004). Colonial times saw an array of different situations in the establishment of Spanish that was predominant in the cities, but not in the rural areas. Main colonial centers produced important writers (i.e. the Inca Garcilaso, Mateo Rosas de Oquendo, among many others). The idea of distinctiveness was growing slowly, more so in the 18th century. Independence brought new feelings of nationalism, and American Spanish was an important tool in the construction of the new countries. In the 19th century, Andrés Bello's (author of probably the most important Spanish grammar, *Gramática de la lengua castellana destinada al uso de los americanos*, 1847) and Cuervo's

work (who began the *Diccionario de construcción y régimen de la lengua castellana*, completed one century later in the Instituto Caro y Cuervo, Bogotá) gave relevance to the subcontinent and established a scholarship tradition that lives today (Penny 2000, 194–220; Brumme 2004).

### 3. The languages involved

#### 3.1. Indigenous languages

Information about the pre-Colombian language situation in SA is still quite scarce, given the absence of written records except for Quechua, and the Spanish conquerors' destruction of written records. Another problem arises from divergent typologies and different principles of classification. The most complete and recognized typology, *The Ethnologue*, based on external description and mutual comprehension, is criticized by many Latin American linguists and anthropologists for its fragmentation of varieties into distinct languages which are felt by the speakers themselves to belong to the same language. More than 100 linguistic stocks and more than 1000 distinct languages have been identified for the whole of SA and the West Indies (Bright 1992; *Columbia Electronic Encyclopedia* 2000). The main indigenous language groups in HSA are considered to be Chibchan, Cariban, Quechua, Aymara, Araucanian, and Tupi-Guarani. The rating

of native language speakers today in HSA is extremely complicated due to the poor reliability of national censuses in many countries, and to the systematic underrating of indigenous language speakers in census data, which is in itself a relevant sociolinguistic topic (see table 216.1).

From a sociolinguistic perspective, today's indigenous population in HSA can be ordered into three main groupings, given their extreme diversity in numbers, demographic density, patterns of socioeconomic development, and degrees of assimilation. The first and most important comprises at least 80% of the indigenous population and is concentrated in the macro-ethnia of the ancient Inca empire in the Andes, from the south of Colombia to the north of Chile, including Ecuador, Peru, and Bolivia with Quechua and Aymara as the main languages. The second grouping is subdivided into more than 300 languages from the Caribbean coast of South America, the Amazonian basin, to the extreme south of the continent (Argentina and Chile). Different from the first, this ensemble of Amerindian micro-ethnias is characterized by low demographic density, high linguistic diversity, and a wide variety of stages on the continuum of socio-economic and cultural assimilation that range from still fairly isolated hunter and collector societies to almost fully assimilated groups. The third and relatively new grouping is growing fast at the expense of the other two. It

Tab. 216.1: Indigenous Languages and their Speakers in Hispanophone South America

Country	Year	Population (thousands)	total IL Speakers (thousands)	% of total	Number of IL spoken	Main IL
Argentina	1997	35700	350	1	25	Quechua, Araucanian (Mapuche), Wichi, Toba
Bolivia		5373	4177	77.7**		Aymara, Quechua, Guarani
Chile	1995	14237	440		4	Araucanian, Aymara
Colombia		34939	200		79 SIL	Guajiro, Paez, Embera
Ecuador	1995	12314	2300		22	Quechua, Shuar
Paraguay	1997	5100	76***	1.5	21 SIL	
Peru	1995	25123			19	Quechua, Aymara
Uruguay	1997	3200	–	–		–
Venezuela	1995	22213	145		40 SIL	Wayuu, Warao, Piaroa, Yanomame
** Albó (1995) calculus which enlarges the 1992 census *** excluding Guarani spoken by 93% of the population other sources: <i>The Ethnologue</i>						

comprises the urban indigenous population of several millions that share the living conditions of the urban sub-proletariat, dwelling in the huge shanty-towns that surround the big cities. Capitals like Lima, La Paz, or Quito bear the mark of an increasing Amerindian population that interferes decisively with recent urban processes and the forging of new multicultural societies.

### 3.2 South American Spanish: historical sociolinguistics and geolinguistics

The last decades have seen a special development in the field of historical sociolinguistics, even though Spanish American historical linguistics has always been sensitive to social factors (see Lapesa 1981, 535–602; Frago 1999 for a general perspective). As of 1980, Fontanella de Weinberg was directing an extensive project on diachronic development of Argentinean Spanish, from the 16th up to the 20th century, in its phonological, grammatical and lexical dimensions (see Fontanella 1987 for an overview), which has revealed downward and upward historical changes. A large standardization process has become critical in the linguistic development; nevertheless, some features have extended their radio to upper social classes, i. e. the use of 2nd sg. person: in the first half of 19th century, the usual forms among educated people in Buenos Aires were *vos cantas*, *vos tienes*, *vos eres*, but rural speakers used *vos cantás*, *vos tenés*, *vos sos* (*you sing, you have, you are*). In the second half of the century, the old rural forms spread to all social classes. Today, they are the only ones that survived (Fontanella de Weinberg 1996, 33). One of the most important and comprehensive projects about the history of American Spanish is ‘Proyecto Pizarro’ (see <http://pizarro.fll.urv.es/proyecto.htm>, and the special issue of *Lingüística* 9, 1997), developed over all HSA and other latitudes. Interest in historical and colonial data is now general (see *Romance Philology* 53, 1999–2000, and *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 149, 2001). Main linguistic features to characterize Spanish in HSA are *seseo*, *ustedeo*, *voseo*, *yeísmo*, weakening of syllable-final -s, neutralization of -r and -l, dorsalization of -n, r with sibilant quality, special past tense values, /h/ for f- (Penny 2000, ch. 5). Some of them are important to establish geolinguistic areas. *Seseo* is the reduction of the medieval sibilants to /s/ (northern and central Spain var-

ieties have also O); it appeared in Andalusia and it was carried to America. Today it is universal in SA. *Ustedeo* is also an Andalusian feature. SA Spanish does not distinguish between formal and informal second person plural address, and it uses only *ustedes son* ‘you are’ and not *vosotros sois* (the informal form is used in the main part of Spain; see Company 1997 regarding the syntactic consequences). *Voseo* competes with *tuteo* in some SA areas (i. e. *vos cantás/cantáis* ‘you sing’ vs. *tú cantas* for the second person singular familiar address). *Voseo* is used in the areas that were more peripheral in the colonial period, but today its sociolinguistic value is not the same everywhere. It is nearly generalized in Argentina, Uruguay, Paraguay and Bolivia. In Chile, its use has receded; in some parts of Ecuador and Colombia it competes with *tuteo*. *Yeísmo* is the merger of /k/ and /ʎ/; it is very general in HSA, but the distinction has been partially conserved in Andean Spanish, maybe due to the contact with Indoamerican languages with /k/. In some areas of Colombia, Ecuador, Perú, and specially in Argentina and Uruguay, one of the main results has been /z/, a process linked to many variable problems (among them, the voiceless result /ʃ/ in some areas; see Zamora Munné/Guitart 1988, 90–95). Weakening of -s is one of the more important variables in the linguistic variation of Spanish. In SA, in the Caribbean and Pacific coasts, and in the Southern Cone, the weakening of -s is common, whereas the weakening and neutralization of -r and -l is relatively restricted in SA Spanish, but it appears sometimes in popular speech, i. e., in Santiago de Chile, or in Venezuela (Bentivoglio 1998, 35–36) and Ecuador. Dorsalization of -n appears in HSA in the highlands of Ecuador and Peru, and also in the coasts of Colombia, Ecuador, Perú, and in the main part of Venezuela (Alvar 1996). The r with sibilant quality can be heard in some highlands of Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia, and in Chile, Paraguay and northern Argentina. Maybe more generalized in SA is the use of the preterit in some cases where predominant Peninsular Spanish would use the perfect tense. Examples of the retention of h- (from Latin f-, where Standard has /ø/) appear nearly everywhere in rural speech (see specially Penny 2000, 142–163, and also Zamora Munné/Guitart 1988, 89–197; Lipski 1994, 1–150; López Morales 1996).

The traditional geolinguistic and dialectological framework has continued dominating the descriptive scene in the last decades (perhaps Zamora Munné/Guitart 1988 is the best introduction to Spanish American dialectology; see also Alvar 1996). Besides some national or regional atlases (as the *Atlas Lingüístico y Etnográfico de Colombia* or the *Atlas Lingüístico y Etnográfico del Sur de Chile*), an extensive and ambitious project, the *Atlas Lingüístico de Hispanoamérica*, is covering all the Hispanic territories in the Americas. Fieldwork seems to have concluded in North and Central America, but the work in the Southern part of the continent is still in progress. Its findings will probably show for the first time the overall geographical face of Spanish in the Americas. One of the most important dialectological projects studies standard Spanish in the main cities since 1964 (the *Norma culta* project, see Lope Blanch 1986). Dozens of descriptive studies relate to the project, specially on syntactic and lexical problems. Nowadays, the *Norma culta* project has already produced a macro-corpus (Samper Padilla 1998).

#### 4. National and regional multilingualism: Spanish in contact with other languages

The relationship between Spanish as the national, dominant language and the indigenous, subordinate languages constitutes one of the most relevant sociolinguistic topics in the HSA countries with a sociologically significant aboriginal population. Different approaches have coined this relation as one of language contact (Muysken 1986; de Granda 1988; 1995), diglossia (Albó 1974; 1980) or diglossia as language conflict, following Catalan sociolinguistics (Cerrón-Palomino 1995; López 1990; Hamel/Sierra 1983). In general terms, structural conflict and dominance has marked this relationship since the Spanish conquest. Spanish language spread (Heath/Laprade 1982) produced language shift over time which displaced the indigenous languages in their geographical extension and functional use (domain shift), and affected their linguistic structure. About half of the indigenous languages have disappeared over the past 500 years, and the vast majority of the surviving languages are considered endangered today, and menaced with language death in

the course of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. On the other hand, significant processes of language maintenance, standardization and literacy spread, functional extension, and revitalization can be observed in a number of cases, especially in the Andean regions (Hornberger 1997; King 2000).

##### 4.1. The relationship between Spanish and the indigenous languages: Language policy, bilingual education, and language status

Since the Conquest, language policy in Latin America as a whole has always been understood as the policy of the dominant colonial powers concerning the imposition and spread of the colonial languages at the expense of the native languages. Especially since independence in the early 19th century, all HSA countries have developed a policy of building homogeneous, monolingual and monocultural nation states, shaped on the European model. Throughout colonial and independent history, two basic strategies to reach the proposed aims developed over time in the fields of language policy (cf. Escobar 1988; Albó 1988a; b; Plaza/Albó 1989) and education for the indigenous peoples (cf. Rodríguez et al. 1983; Zúñiga et al. 1987; López 1989; López/Moya 1990; Hamel 1994a; 2000). The first and generally dominant strategy considered the assimilation (i. e. dissolution) of indigenous peoples and the suppression of their languages as a prerequisite for building up a unified nation state. A second position favored the preservation of Indigenous languages and cultures in this process, without giving up the ultimate aim of uniting nation and state. The first strategy imposed direct Hispanicization (castellanización) through submersion programs: the national language was considered to be the only target and medium of instruction. Transitional programs reflected the second strategy; they applied diverse bilingual methods where the indigenous language played a subordinate, instrumental role as the language of instruction and for initial alphabetization. This alternative emerged in the 1930s and 1940s as experimental programs (Montoya 1983) because of the total sociopolitical and educational failure of the submersion programs. The indigenous languages were no longer considered to be an obstacle, but a useful tool for cultural transition. The principle established later in the 1952 UNESCO confer-

ence, that anyone learns better in his or her mother tongue was already becoming accepted at that time. However, no clear maintenance programs materialized or persisted in that period. Important changes have begun to rise since the 1970's. The emergence of indigenous movements throughout the continent, progressive nationalist governments in some countries, and a growing awareness of the multilingual and multiethnic nature of their states among the more critical sections of society – all these elements are contributing to the rise of alternative, genuinely bilingual, intercultural and pluralistic models of indigenous education. Such projects appeared as official policy or pilot projects in Peru in the 1970s, and in Argentina, Colombia, Ecuador, Bolivia, Paraguay, Venezuela, and Chile, in the 1980s and 1990s of the 20th century.

Clearly opposed to previous models, the new programs are based on a pluricultural conception of the state and the full respect for indigenous peoples and their ethnic rights. They claim as their target the maintenance or revitalization of Indigenous cultures and languages (Amadio 1987; Moya 1996; Hornberger 1997). The development of indigenous movements, alongside with political change in many HSA countries since the 1980s, have led to a significant

status change of indigenous languages and the recognition of language rights (von Gleich 1992; 1997; Hamel 1994b). Whereas previously no language (except Quechua in Peru for a short period) was granted legal status, today most countries acknowledge some kind of legal (mostly constitutional) status to indigenous languages and implement specific bilingual education (see table 216.2).

The most relevant research in this field has been carried out in the Andean region, including Bolivia, Peru, and Ecuador. Since the pioneering work by Albó (1974), Cerrón-Palomino (1972), Escobar (1972), Escobar et al. (1975), Wölck (1975), and Pozzi-Escot (1972), the field has grown significantly alongside the political development mentioned above (see the edited volumes López 1988; López/Moya 1990; López/Jung 1998). The most detailed sociolinguistic description of Bolivian multilingualism is Albó (1995). Only few detailed research monographs appeared in early Andean sociolinguistics (see however Escobar 1978); some of them are doctoral dissertations written by students from abroad (Myers 1973; von Gleich 1982; Hornberger 1988) that have been influential in the regional debate.

Given limited space, not all HSA countries can be covered here. We chose Para-

Tab. 216.2: Legal Status of Indigenous Languages and Indigenous Education in Hispanophone South America

Country	Legal status				Language of instruction, literacy in L1	Type of education EBI = bilingual intercultural education EIB = intercultural bilingual education
	official	co-official	National	Cultural heritage		
Argentina	no	no	no	yes	yes	Transitional bilingual (3 years) 1994
Bolivia	no	yes		yes	yes	Dual bilingual maintenance, EBI Law of Educational Reform 1994
Chile	no	no		yes	yes	Not specified, Indigenous law 1993 EIB
Colombia	no	yes		yes	yes	Etho-education, bilingual General Law of Education 1994,
Ecuador		yes		yes	yes	Bilingual maintenance, EBI
Paraguay	yes	no		yes	yes	Dual bilingual maintenance, Constitution 1992
Peru	no			yes	yes	Bilingual maintenance, General Law of Education 1992, EBI
Venezuela					yes	Not specified, Educational Law 1980, EIB

Sources: von Gleich (1997), updated and corrected from González Guerra (1999)

guay because of its unique sociolinguistic shape as the only American state with massive nationwide bilingualism that constitutes the axis of national identity (cf. Corvalán 1997). An urbanized indigenous language, Guaraní is spoken by more citizens than Spanish. To a certain degree, Paraguay was born out of a Jesuit state, with Guaraní as the “*lengua general*” of the mission, literacy and government (Barros 1993). During their existence and up until their expulsion in 1767 by papal edict, the Jesuit community developed a feverish activity of oral and written usage, as well as editing and publishing in Guaraní (Melià 1969; 1995; 1999). These historical roots of Guaraní as the merger of regional and functional varieties, constitute the basis for explaining its stability and unique extension. Therefore, the linguistic situation in Paraguay was taken by sociolinguistics as a paradigmatic case of massive social, but asymmetric, bilingualism from the very beginnings of the discipline (e.g. Garvin/Mathiot 1956; Rubin 1968). A comparison of the two censuses from 1950 and 1992 yields significant results: in 1950, 50% of the population was monolingual in Guaraní, while monolingual speakers of Spanish were limited to 4.7%. In 1992, Guaraní accounted for 37% of the monolingual speakers, while only 7% reported they were monolingual in Spanish, and 50% said they often spoke both languages (Corvalán 1997). These figures, absolutely unique in the Americas, show the great stability in the relationship between the languages and the degree of massive bilingualism encompassing all social strata. Notwithstanding the ample diffusion of Guaraní, education has worked exclusively through Spanish up until 1983. The new Constitution, promulgated in 1992 after decades of dictatorship, gave Guaraní the rank of an official language and placed it on the same level as Spanish. A kind of dual bilingual language education is being implemented since. Primary education is to be given in the mother tongue of each child (Spanish or Guaraní), and the teaching of both languages is obligatory in public education (Melià 1999; Penner 2003). This policy requires a significant “*Sprachausbau*” of Guaraní, not only in education and science, but in the domains of public administration and justice, where it had been absent so far, with the exception of oral tradition.

#### 4.2 Regional language policy in the Mercosur

Sociolinguistic research in Argentina and Uruguay has concentrated on Spanish variation and, in Uruguay, on the contact situation between Spanish and the northern Portuguese dialects. The creation of the Mercosur (the Common Market of the Southern Cone) including Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay, and Uruguay in 1991, has triggered off a process of regional integration with far-reaching consequences for the linguistic dynamics in the area. Contrary to the tradition of building homogeneous national states, the countries involved are starting to foster a policy of linguistic pluralism based on regional Spanish-Portuguese bilingualism promoted through the educational system of each country (Arnoux 1999; Axelrud 1999). At the same time, indigenous languages as well as Guaraní as co-official language in Paraguay (Corvalán 1997) play an increasing role alongside traditional immigrant heritage languages (Arnoux/Bein 1999). This new array has profoundly shaken traditional geolinguistic arrangements in each country’s policy of foreign language teaching, historically oriented towards the prestigious European languages such as French and Italian (Barrios 1995; 1999; Gabbiani 1999). At the same time, English language globalization has made its inroads, thus provoking competition between different linguistic orientations: a functionalist and “globalized” view that favors English as the sole priority; a regional, Latin American (and partially anti-US-American) perspective that privileges Spanish and Portuguese as the languages of regional integration; and a traditionalist and at the same time plurilingual view, allied with international “*Francofonie*”, which seeks to preserve relevant spaces for French and, to a minor degree, Italian (see Hamel 2003 for an overview). The richest publication on language policy, which integrates research on regional questions, indigenous and immigrant languages, as well as foreign language policy is at present Arnoux et al. (1999a; b).

#### 5. Sociolinguistic topics and perspectives in HSA

The field of language conflict and indigenous bilingual education has proven central for sociolinguistic research in HSA, since

it connected the macro field of language policy, shift, and maintenance with the more micro approaches in the ethnography of communication and applied (socio)linguistics (L1 and L2 acquisition, literacy), as well as the description of structural contact phenomena. It also reflects the political, social, and educational involvement of many researchers. US models have been dominant in the field of bilingualism since the foundational work by Weinreich, Fishman, Hymes, Gumperz, and others. In the 1980s a more critical approach introduced the Catalan framework of language conflict (López/Moya 1990; Cerrón-Palomino 1992), as well as Skutnabb-Kangas' and Cummins' models of bilingual maintenance education (for a critical review see Hamel/Muñoz 1988; Hamel 1993; King 2000). Theoretical debate and exchange have been particularly rich in relation with social and cultural anthropology, focused recently on the concept of intercultural education (Godenzzi Alegre 1996; Moya 1996; Albó 1999). And, over the past decade, South American researchers have extended their work to new theoretical approaches in language policy and planning (see Arnoux et al. 1999a; b).

The study of change and variation processes of Spanish in HSA has inherited many of the traditional dialectological premises, specially the descriptive purposes. Truly, it is absolutely necessary to have a great deal of information about the historical, geographical and sociolinguistic aspects of the distribution of Spanish in urban and rural settings. But, at the same time, it is also the time in which many researchers along the continent are waiting for something more, a more explanatory approach to the linguistic and sociolinguistic problems.

Main linguistic questions and levels studied are phonetic and phonological variables, lexical borrowings, variable syntax and syntactic contact, and discourse markers. As general problems, historical components of American Spanish, display of dialectal areas, contact with indigenous languages (i. e. in Andean Spanish) and, more recently, Spanish Creole languages (as Papiamentu in Aruba, Bonaire and Curaçao islands and Palenquero in Colombia; see Perl/Schweger 1998), and the sociolinguistic structure of the main cities (Lima, Buenos Aires, etc.), are the more characteristic aspects dealt with in Hispanic sociolinguistic studies in HSA (for critical reflections, see López

Morales 1994; Silva Corvalán 1994; Granda 1994; and for a slightly different point of view, Lastra/Martín Butragueño 2000). The most complete and relatively recent bibliographical resources can be found in the series about American Spanish directed by Humberto López Morales (see Montes Giraldo/Chumaceiro/Malaver 1999 for Colombia and Venezuela; Donni de Mirandé/Granda, Elizaincín/Coll 1994 for Argentina, Paraguay and Uruguay; and Valencia 1995 for Chile). The last three decades can be seen as a maturation process. The first works appeared in the beginning of the seventies, and they were mainly an adaptation of Labovian methodology to the specific circumstances, i. e., of the Buenos Aires Spanish in Argentina (see Fontanella de Weinberg 1973; 1974). Even though the innovative character of sociolinguistic research became evident, many of the problems were not different from the ones studied in the dialectological tradition. Three aspects have characterized work in the following years: First, the study of a specific array of problems, which broadens more and more. Second, the development of several sociolinguistic projects all over the continent (and really all over the Spanish world), collecting efforts of researchers from a number of countries. Third, the appearance of critical points of view about the sense of sociolinguistic research.

Interest in sociolinguistic problems has not been the same in all South American countries, given the very different research problems worked on in Argentina, Paraguay and Uruguay: descriptive urban sociolinguistics and immigration, Spanish-Guarani contact and Hispano-Luso contact on the Brazilian-Uruguayan border, respectively (see Elizaincín 1996 for a brief state of the art). Linguistic consequences of contact between Spanish and indigenous languages is one of the most productive fields (see Granda 1996 for a catalogue of syntactic interference and convergence between Spanish and Guarani in Paraguayan Spanish; see also Granda 1988). Urban research has characterized much of the work in Peru (Caravedo 1990; 1999), Chile and Venezuela (see the special issue of *Español Actual* 69, 1998). In Colombia, dialectological and sociolinguistic research are closely linked. Syntax and phonology are the levels more frequently studied. Research in lexical questions is very necessary nearly everywhere. The reliability of sociolinguistic information

in lexicographical work is often questionable (Zimmermann 1994), and materials from linguistic atlases are not enough to consider in detail the sociolinguistic problems. Discourse markers and conversation analysis are also being studied in the last years (e. g. Rojas Mayer 1998).

A number of general projects are being worked on now in HSA. Spanish in radio and TV is the object of the DIES-RTV project (see Ávila 1992, <http://wodka.colmex.mx/dies-m/inicio.aspx>); it is active in almost all HSA countries. One of the most interesting findings is the relative convergence in the mass media. VARILEX has as a main purpose the study of lexical variation in Spanish (see Ueda 1995; Ueda y Tinoco 2003 and <http://gamp.c.u-tokyo.ac.jp/~ueda/varilex.htm>). PRESEEA is the framework for sociolinguistic urban research in a number of cities in Spain and in the Americas. In SA work has begun (2005) in Colombia (Bogotá, Barranquilla, Pereira), Venezuela (Caracas) and Argentina (Cipolletti), but there are prospects to initiate fieldwork in other urban settings in the near future (see Moreno Fernández 1996; and also <http://www.linguas.net>).

Critical thinking has developed more thoroughly in terms of sociolinguistic topics (language conflict, bilingual education, social stratification, language and power, etc.) than in relation to sociolinguistic theory and method (see however Lavandera 1978; 1984). Foundational work by sociolinguists like Fontanella, de Granda, Lavandera, Albó, Cerrón-Palomino, Escobar, Melià, among others, laid the groundwork for future development. In some areas, the implicit reasoning seems to have been to solve urgent political, educational, or descriptive problems first, as a basis for more critical work in the future. As a general perspective, the growing field of sociolinguistics seems to be oriented towards enlarging/extending the solid descriptive and analytical tradition to a greater involvement in social and linguistic theory.

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## 217. Brazil/Brasilien

1. The geographical delimitation of the area and ethnic features
  2. The sociolinguistic history of the area
  3. Problems in delimitation of the language, genetic relationships and language families and issue connected with language maintenance and language death
  4. The sociolinguistic function of the different languages
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  6. Literature (selected)
1. The geographical delimitation of the area and ethnic features

Brazil covers an area of 8511965 km<sup>2</sup>, and occupies 48.33% of the total land mass of

South America. Its northern region covers 80% of the Amazon Forest and contains the greatest biodiversity on the planet. French Guyana, Surinam, Guyana, Venezuela, and Colombia form the northern border, while Peru and Bolivia are to the west, Paraguay and Argentina to the southeast, and, to the south, Uruguay. Brazil is divided into five regions, containing 26 states and the federal district. At the present time the population stands at about 170000000, distributed as follows among the regions: 43% in the Southeast, 29% in the Northeast, 15% in the South, 7% in the North, and 6% in the Center-West.

The present day population of Brazil is the result of the miscegenation of many

peoples, particularly Africans, Amerindians, and Portuguese. Ethnicity is not clear cut in contemporary Brazil. Most of the 170 million Brazilians have traces of ethnic multiplicity. According to the latest census, carried out in 1991 by the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística – IBGE), 52% of the inhabitants are white, 41% are *pardo* (colored), 5% are black, 0.4% are Asian, and 0.2% are Amerindian. For the Institute, the *pardo* category covers all persons of mixed race, including descendents of white with Amerindian (known as *caboclo* or *mameluco*), white with African (mulatto), African with Amerindian (*cafuzo*), white with Asian or African with Asian (no specific popular designation). From the genetic point of view, there are few Brazilians who are not of mixed origin; but it is skin color that is the most obvious criterion for the identification of Brazilians of mixed race: among the 52% of the population classified as white in the 1991 census, there are certainly a significant number of people of mixed race. According to this same census, racial population groups are concentrated in the following regions: whites in the Southeast (52%) and South (24%); blacks in the Southeast (50%) and Northeast (32%); Asians in the Southeast (75%); *pardos* in the Northeast (46%) and Southeast (30%); Amerindians in the North (42%).

## 2. The sociolinguistic history of the area

Invaded in 1500, when Europe occupied lands inhabited by peoples of diverse cultures during the so-called ‘great discoveries’, Brazil, the ancient dwelling place of millions of indigenous peoples (Heckenberger 1992, 62), exhibited a admirable degree of linguistic diversity. Many hundreds of languages were spoken. Reduced today to only about 190, the original languages of Brazil are unknown to the great majority of the current non-Amerindian population. According to historical records, at the time of European colonization, carried out mainly by Portuguese immigrants, two indigenous languages of the Tupi-Guarani family were spoken along the coast: Tupi de São Vicente – to the south – and Tupinambá – to the north. From contact with Tupi de São Vicente in the 16th century there evolved the so-called general language of

São Paulo – *a língua geral paulista* – spoken for about 250 years; from contact with Tupinambá in the 17th century there evolved the general language of the Amazon – *a língua geral amazônica* – spoken for more than 300 years. History recounts that these ‘general’ languages existed in a situation of bilingualism with Portuguese, learned in school by the children of Portuguese men and Amerindian women. They were so widely spoken as a first language (L1) or a second language (L2) by indigenous women, by their children fathered by Portuguese men, as well as by the Portuguese themselves, that the dominance of the Portuguese language was threatened. Around 1750, the Marquis of Pombal, who governed Portugal, issued a decree prohibiting the use of ‘general languages’ and instituting punishment for those who disobeyed. Many ‘general language’ speakers were massacred and use of Portuguese was imposed on all (Rodrigues 1983, 27–29, 33; A. D. Rodrigues 1994, 18–19, 99–109; 1996, 6–18; Mattos e Silva 1992, 76–77).

Although European Portuguese was the language of official events, the time of its establishment as the mother tongue is highly controversial, as is the way in which it spread among the population. Even the leading agents of the process are a matter of controversy. History does not provide any documentation of the existence of Amerindian based general languages in the central coastal area, where Salvador, the first seat of the colonial administration, was located. In this area, miscegenation was more limited; the general rule was genocide of the indigenous population. Thus, it would seem that from Rio de Janeiro to Piauí, Portuguese was imposed as L1 and L2 ever since the beginnings of the colony (Rodrigues 1996, 11–12; 2000, 8–10; Mattos e Silva 2000, 9–14). In addition to Portuguese colonizers, other Europeans were present during the official colonial era, from 1500 to 1822. Dutch, French, Spanish, and English colonizers participated actively in the process of exploitation of the invaded lands, without any evident linguistic consequences. Under slavery, many different African languages were brought to Brazil at different times. Although there was clear predominance of the Bantu family, especially in the 17th and 18th centuries, in the 18th and 19th centuries representation of the Kwa family increased. Beginning in the 17th century, other African

linguistic families became rarer (West Atlantic, Mande, Kru, and Gur) (Mussa 1991, 145; Castro 1998, 41–42). African general languages may well have been used among the black population during the colonial period but, if so, there is no historical documentation of their use by Amerindians, Portuguese, or their descendants (Mussa 1991, 151; Rodrigues 1983, 30–32). There is also evidence that the reconnaissance language, a pidgin Portuguese used for communication between Portuguese and Africans in Portugal and on the west coast of Africa, was brought to the newly discovered land of Brazil (Naro/Scherre 1993, 439). Despite polemics, Amerindian and African linguistic influence is unequivocally clear in the Brazilian Portuguese lexicon, which exhibits complete integration of lexical items of Amerindian and Bantu origin. Nonetheless, there is no clear evidence of any morphosyntactic influence of either Amerindian or African languages on Brazilian Portuguese.

During the colonial period, Brazil exhibited social conditions favorable to the birth of classical creole languages, especially general multilingualism among speakers without a common language in the context of asymmetric power relations. Furthermore, one of the most salient structural distinctions between spoken Brazilian Portuguese (BP) and spoken European Portuguese (EP) is found in the area of explicit plural agreement phenomena, highly variable in Brazil and almost categorical in Portugal. Since as early as 1882 (Coelho 1967, 43), this linguistic fact has given rise to the hypothesis that BP might have a creole origin, i. e., a historical phase with a Portuguese lexicon and African syntax. Although there are no documented records of this creole language, debate on the issue was revived in the 20th century, especially during the 90's. Today scholars maintain many conflicting positions on the origins of BP, among which we may cite the following: natural change (Naro 1981; Tarallo 1993); classical creolization (Jeroslow 1975; Guy 1989); semi-creolization or light creolization (Holm 1992; Ferreira 1994; Baxter/Lucchesi 1997); multiple causation and semi-creolization (Silva Neto 1986; Câmara Jr. 1975; Mattos e Silva 2000, 1–2); natural change and multiple causation (Naro/Scherre 1993; 2000); multiple causation with preference for less marked features and suppression of stigmatized features (Mussa 1991, 231).

Despite divergence of opinions, almost all approaches take into consideration the role of acquisition of Portuguese as L2 in the formation of BP. However, different emphasis is assigned to the role played by (a) wide spread usage of Amerindian general languages, inhibiting formation of creole languages and threatening the hegemony of Portuguese (Rodrigues 2000, 1; Naro/Scherre 1993, 441; 2000, 236); (b) acquisition of Portuguese as L2 by African slaves and their descendants (Mussa 1991, 151–164; Baxter/Lucchesi 1997, 75; Mattos e Silva 2000, 2); (c) direct influence of African languages (Guy 1989, 233; Holm 1992, 47–62); (d) influence of non-standard EP spoken by the Portuguese (Naro/Scherre 2000, 238–241). This debate is still current, especially in view of the fact that a recent history of Palmares, a Brazilian fugitive slave community known as a *quilombo*, states that the language that was spoken there is unknown. It is speculated that “the people of Palmares, consisting of Africans from different tribes, as well as Indians and Europeans, must have used some sort of common language, not necessarily with Bantu structure” (Reis/Gomes 1998, 49). The case of Cafundó – an isolated rural predominantly black community, tracing its origins to former *quilombos*, located some 150 km from the city of São Paulo – reinforces this possibility. This community possesses a special system of communication, using Bantu vocabulary, but with Portuguese grammatical structure (Vogt/Fry 1996, 127).

Substantive results of research projects in the 80's and 90's, together with dialectological work carried out in the first half of the 20th century, have contributed toward defining the character of BP as well as to the endless debate as to previous creolization. Research with data from both standard and non-standard BP has proliferated, in urban and *rururban* communities (Roberts/Kato 1993; Braga et al. 1991; Bortoni-Ricardo 1985). Isolated non-standard BP communities, of African and non-African origin, were also studied (Ferreira 1994; Baxter & Lucchesi 1997; Vogt/Fry 1996, 122–134; Callou 1998; Careno 1999), as was archaic Portuguese (Mattos e Silva 1991, 70–73; Naro/Scherre 2000, 242–248), non-standard EP recorded in traditional dialectology (Naro/Scherre 2000, 238–241), and contact Portuguese in Alto Xingu (Emmerich 1991).

### 3. Problems in delimitation of the languages, genetic relationships and languages families and issues connected with language maintenance and language death

The linguistic diversity of the colonial period underwent radical change as a result of the genocide of the indigenous population. Rodrigues (1994) lists a total of 159219 speakers and 166 native languages. Up to 26 August 2000, the site <http://www.sociambiental.org> had listed 228989 indigenous persons with knowledge of 168 native languages. Crossing the information given in Rodrigues (1994) with that of the site referred to above, we find 190 native languages grouped in 39 families with a population of 232979 persons. In the statistics that follow, we report the population of linguistic groups in terms of 'persons', rather than 'speakers', since not all ethnic Amerindians actually speak their ancestral languages.

Despite difficulties involved in setting up linguistic boundaries, it is possible to identify two great branches: Tupi, with nine families, 47 languages, and 60902 persons; and Macro-Jê, with 10 families, 35 languages, and 53879 persons. There are also 20 additional families not belonging to either trunk (seven with only one language), containing 108 languages and 118198 persons).

The largest family of the Tupi branch is the Tupi-Guarani family (30 languages; 49210 persons). The other 17 languages of this trunk possess 11692 persons and can be grouped into eight non Tupi-Guarani families. The largest family of Macro-Jê trunk is the Jê family (24 languages; 44903 persons). The other nine families make up a total of 11 languages and 8976 persons.

The five largest families of the twenty which have still not been related to any other trunk make up a total of 76 languages and 76089 persons. The five largest are: Karíb (22 languages; 22928 persons), Aruák (16 languages; 33358 persons), Páno (16 languages; 7963 persons), Tukáno (14 languages; 7408 persons) and Arawá (eight languages; 4432 persons). The other 15 families make up a total of 32 languages with 42109 persons.

Amerindian languages are concentrated in the northern and central western regions,

where we find 175 of the 190 languages. In the south and south-east there are only ten languages, while in the north-eastern region there are five. The state of Amazonas, in the northern region, has Tikúna – the most widely spoken family containing only one language – with 23000 documented persons in 1994. The language with the lowest documented population is Xetá (Tupi-Guarani) – according to data from the year 2000, there were only three speakers out of a total population of eight, in the southern and south-eastern regions. There are about 35000 people of Amerindian origin who speak only BP. They belong to 22 indigenous groups, 19 from the north-eastern region, two from the south-eastern region and one from the northern region.

Present-day distribution of Amerindian groups follows trails of genocide of natives that began in the colonial period. Although there are still serious conflicts at the present time, during the last two decades there has been a demographic increase in the indigenous population. However, this does not necessarily correspond to an increase in speakers, given the hegemonic position of Portuguese in Brazil.

### 4. The sociolinguistic function of the different languages

The official language of Brazil is Portuguese, now spoken by almost all of its 170 million inhabitants. BP today exhibits a large array of variants, from the language of isolated illiterate rural communities, on the one hand, to the Portuguese of educated urban communities on the other. Although maintaining similarities with EP, BP has taken its own course, sometimes conserving features that changed in Portugal, especially in phonology and prosody, while changing other features that remained stable in Portugal, notably in morphosyntax. In still other areas the two languages set out on divergent paths, as in syntax and, unquestionably, the lexicon. Spoken BP and EP are structured by two distinct grammars, although polemic on this point persists both within and outside the academic world (Silva Neto 1986, 606, 609, 595–596; Câmara Jr 1975, 78–87; Coelho 1967, 172–173; Tarallo 1993, 70–99). The feeling that there is only one language follows from the mutual intelligibility of technical and scientific writing of Brazil and Portugal, with unquestionable structural

similarities, as well as from the relative comprehensibility between spoken BP and EP, with equally unquestionable structural and pragmatic differences.

BP is the only language used in the mass media. Official schooling is generally in Portuguese, but at the present time Amerindian communities have the constitutional right to the use of their mother tongues and their own learning processes. BP also functions as a *lingua franca* and contact language in Alto Xingu, in the state of Mato Grosso, central western region. Amerindian groups who speak about nine distinct indigenous languages live together in this area, without any apparent predominance of one language over any of the others. Group identity is maintained through language despite a noticeable degree of cultural uniformity. Acquisition of BP by Amerindians of Alto Xingu has resulted in a continuum of degrees of fluency, from simple isolated words to a level of proficiency close to that of educated urban speakers (Emmerich 1991, 55/66).

Although multilingual since the European invasion, there is a strong feeling of monolingualism in Brazil. There are relatively few speakers who know any language other than BP. Multilingualism was cut at its roots by genocide of the original inhabitants of the land and by prohibition of use of any *lingua geral* based on indigenous languages. The *lingua geral amazônica*, also called *nheengatu*, is still spoken in the Amazon region as the mother tongue of the local (*caboclo*) population and is used for communication between Amerindians and non-Amerindians as well as among Amerindians who have no language in common (Rodrigues 1994, 102). Rodrigues (1994, 84–85) notes that along the River Uaupés in the northeastern part of the Amazon Basin, there is multilingualism on both individual and community levels, with three to five languages in general use and no obvious mixture of languages. In this area, practice of strict exogamy – marriage only with a woman from outside the man's native village – predominates and the couple's respective languages are deliberately and obligatorily maintained as fundamental identifying features of the indigenous groups involved.

Southern Brazil and São Paulo also exhibit multilingualism, although there are no exact official statistics. Five million Euro-

pean and Asian immigrants arrived in the area between Independence and 1960, predominantly of Portuguese, Italian, Spanish, German, and Japanese origin. The censuses of 1970, 1980, and 1990 report more than one million five hundred thousand immigrants from these five groups. The immigrants' languages, in varying degrees of proficiency, function to maintain links with their lands of origin. Areas of ethnic predominance include German, Slavic, Italian, and Japanese. The Japanese community, with about 400,000 speakers, is today the largest ethnic group with a native language other than BP. Beginning around 1970, there was an increase in immigration from Lebanon, Syria, Korea, and China. We may also note areas with strong EP Azorean influence (in the village of Ribeirão da Ilha in Florianópolis, Santa Catarina) and border areas with Spanish influence (in São Borja, Rio Grande do Sul), in addition to indigenous language areas mentioned above. Until 1930, elementary teaching in almost all of immigrant communities was carried out in their respective mother tongues. Beginning in 1930–1945, during the populist government of President Getúlio Vargas, Portuguese was established as the obligatory language of teaching and use of the immigrants' native languages was forbidden (Ribeiro 1996, 242; Vandresen 1998, 395–397; Rodrigues 2000, 10–11; Censo Demográfico 1970, 167–169; 1983, 52; 1991, 169–170).

##### 5. Issues connected with standardization

So-called *teaching of Portuguese*, paradoxically termed *teaching of the mother tongue*, is required in Brazil even for students who have BP as L1. Underlying this paradox is the fact that school grammars follow certain European Portuguese norms that are absent from even literary and technical texts in contemporary Brazil. Since EP constitutes a purely imaginary norm, many Brazilians hold their speech in low esteem, as is evident in the common feeling that “we don't know how to speak our own language”. The standard language has more to do with social class than with context. Even so, some non-standard features of BP are widely used in formal speech and writing, while some standard features never appear even in formal written texts. For this reason, there is a con-

siderable distance between the standard language on the one hand, and spoken and written practice on the other. In fact, normative BP grammars do not contain a realistic record of a series of features that diverge inexorably from EP. Whatever forces may have given rise to BP, one of the most robust facts about the contemporary Brazilian speech community is that structural boundaries between diverse linguistic varieties are not clearly marked, stereotypes notwithstanding. The boundaries have the shape of a ramp, forming a series of *continua*. Bortoni-Ricardo (1998, 101–104; 115–117) suggests that the best model for interpretation of linguistic diversity in BP is that of three continua: the rural/urban *continuum*, the stylistic monitoring *continuum*, and the educational *continuum*. To achieve a wider understanding of this natural diversity, at least one more *continuum* must be taken into consideration, namely, the geographic continuum.

Finally, the most irreversible fact of the contemporary Brazilian speech community is the appropriation of Portuguese as its mother tongue. This appropriation occurred in such a way that the creature became the creator. Although originating as a language imposed from without, BP, in its pluridialectal diversity, is today not only the official language of Brazil, but also constitutes the linguistic identity of the majority of its 170 million inhabitants.

The selection of the bibliography of this article was a hard task. I apologize to colleagues whose research and pertinent ideas were not included here: an editorial decision imposed a limit of 4000 words. Even so, I attempted to cover as much as possible of the sociolinguistic reality of Brazil. For a discussion of part of this diverse reality I refer the reader to the special volume of the journal DELTA published in vol. 15. I thank my friend and colleague Anthony Julius Naro for his confidence and for his translation into English of this article. I also wish to thank the Laboratório de Línguas Indígenas (LALI) – Laboratory for Indigenous Languages – of the Institute of Letters of the University of Brasília, and especially Professor Aryon Dall’Igna Rodrigues, for information, discussions, and access to unpublished materials; Antônio Augusto Souza Mello, for his valuable comments; and Walkíria Neiva Praça, for her invaluable support.

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## 218. English in the South Atlantic Ocean / Englisch im Süd-Atlantik

1. Introduction
2. St. Helena
3. Tristan da Cunha
4. The Falkland Islands
5. Literature (selected)

### 1. Introduction

With a population of just about 7500, the South Atlantic islands are some of the smallest and geographically most isolated communities in the English-speaking world. Even though English dialects here came into contact with other European, African and Asian languages, there are no other lan-

guages spoken natively on the islands of St. Helena, Tristan da Cunha and the Falklands, and the three communities are now entirely anglophone. For phonetic and grammatical reasons, the three varieties of South Atlantic English, namely St. Helenian English (SHE), Tristan English (TdCE) and Falkland Islands English (FIE), can be typologically distinguished between FIE on the one hand and SHE and TdCE on the other; the latter two dialects show considerable parallels (but also interesting differences) as a result of immigration from St. Helena to Tristan and enduring contact between the two communities.

Thus, the three varieties differ significantly for linguistic (different input varieties), sociolinguistic (stratification, density and multiplexity of networks) and sociohistorical (migration, settlement patterns, population demographics) reasons. The Falklands Islands, for instance, were almost exclusively colonised by settlers from Great Britain, whereas considerable numbers of African and Asian slaves were brought to St. Helena and several Danish and Dutch sailors settled on Tristan da Cunha. The Falkland Islands have been permanently settled only since 1833, but St. Helena was already colonised by 1658, making it the oldest nativised variety of Southern Hemisphere English.

## 2. St. Helena

The volcanic island of St. Helena is situated in the South Atlantic Ocean, 1930 km west of Angola. Its nearest neighbour is Ascension Island, approximately 1100 kilometres to the northwest. St. Helena covers 122 sq km, a large proportion of which consists of steep, relatively barren and rocky territory, unsuitable for cultivation. The island's capital and only town is Jamestown, although there are other smaller settlements such as Blue Hill, Sandy Bay and Longwood (home to Napoleon Bonaparte during his exile on the island from 1815 to his death in 1821). St. Helena's population of approximately 5000 (1998 census) is almost without exception of mixed European, African and Asian origin. English is the only language spoken on the island.

Originally uninhabited, St. Helena was discovered by the Portuguese in 1502, and was used by them and later by other European seafaring nations as a refreshment station and sick bay on their journeys to and from the East. Until claimed by the British East India Company in 1658, the island was never permanently or formally settled. From this date, a concerted policy of settlement was implemented, and Company employees (soldiers and servants) and 'planters' were recruited to St. Helena, along with slaves supplied on request by EIC ships. There are hardly any records revealing the exact origins of the British settlers but there is some evidence that most of them came from southern England. Even less is known about the origins of the non-white population, but various records show that slaves were imported from the Guinea Coast, the Indian

sub-continent and Madagascar, and to a lesser extent from the Cape, the West Indies, the Malay Peninsula and the Maldives. In 1789, the importation of slaves officially ended, but Chinese indentured labourers arrived on the island in the 1810s. However, it appears that very few, if any, stayed on permanently and slavery was finally abolished in 1832.

In 1815, the total population was 2871, comprising 776 whites, 1353 slaves, 447 free blacks, 280 Chinese and 15 Lascars (Oriental, esp. East Indian, sailors, employed on European ships.) (Gosse 1988). In 1834, St. Helena's administration was transferred from the East India Company to the British government, and St. Helena officially became a crown colony. By 1837, the population figures were noted as "2113 whites and 2864 coloureds", implying that miscegenation had already occurred to a large degree. In 1875, Melliss notes that about one-sixth of the population consists of "pure West Coast Africans", who were introduced after 1840 when St. Helena was used as base for rehabilitating slaves from captured slave ships. Some of them chose to stay while the majority were sent on to the West Indies or repatriated back to the African mainland. Further, St. Helena was host to some 500 Afrikaans-speaking Boer War prisoners in 1902, only very few of whom stayed behind upon their release, having little cultural and linguistic influence.

The increasing use of steam-driven ships and the opening of the Suez Canal voided the island's *raison d'être* as a refreshment station and as a strategic British possession. Left 'stranded' in the mid-Atlantic, St. Helena now relies heavily on financial support from the British government. With the exception of a short-lived flax industry (which ended in 1965 when the British postal service switched to cheaper synthetic fibre for tying mail bags), no industry has provided a viable means of sustaining the island. There is no airport, and a single government-subsidised ship plies between the United Kingdom, Ascension, St. Helena and Cape Town (with an annual run to Tristan da Cunha). Many St. Helenians (or 'Saints') undertake contract work on the military bases on Ascension and the Falkland Islands, and up until 1999, when the British Government conceded full citizenship rights to the islanders, they had limited access to work in the United Kingdom.

Given the historical demographics and socio-economic conditions of the island, it is unlikely that a fully developed creole was ever spoken on St. Helena. The relatively small and impoverished European population and the paucity of arable land meant that slave ownership was on a small scale, with tiny communities living in relative isolation from each other due to the volcanic geography of the island – deep valleys and steep hillsides which could only be traversed by narrow, winding donkey-paths. The slaves lived in a close but socially stratified relationship with their owners. By the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the population became further integrated as garrisoned soldiers married or entered into common-law relationships with free blacks. The social conditions on St. Helena did consequently not favour the development of a creole as access to English was generally close at hand. It is, however, very likely that, in a similar vein to the situation on the Cayman and Bay Islands in the Caribbean, Holm's (1989) "creole-influenced non-creole Englishes", there was African and Asian substratum influence on the developing and focusing form of English spoken on St. Helena.

Without any doubt, St. Helenian English (SHE) is the result of contacts between distinct regional varieties of Southern British English, most of them non-standard dialects, and a rudimentary form of pidginised English ('slave fort English') that at least some slaves spoke before arriving on the island. While SHE no doubt has developed into a unique variety of English, it bears evidence of retained archaisms due to its relatively stable and isolated population. Lexical items such as *a twelve month*, *yonder* and *saucy* are commonly used, although semantic shifts have occurred – 'yonder' may apply to even a short distance, such as across a room, and 'saucy' is used in reference to vicious dogs. Some SHE characteristics seem to originate in the British input varieties (e. g. the form *youse* as second person plural and pronoun exchange, in *us is goin' now*). Non-standard features which may arguably be termed 'creoloid', or alternatively have their origins in an English-based creole, are found as well, including uninflected verb forms (loss of tense markers, 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular zero), absence of subject-auxiliary inversion in WH questions (e. g. "Who that is?"), "is" and "was" regularisation for finite forms of *be*, perfec-

tive *done*, and copula absence. Phonologically, the most salient characteristics of basilectal SHE include prevocalic consonant cluster reduction, the V-W merger, and frequent TH fronting and stopping.

It is interesting to note that there is still some phonological variation between the various settlements on St. Helena, which can be explained by the individual communities' degree of mobility and education. Whereas particularly the younger generations have more access to standard English, for instance when moving to the UK for tertiary education, older Saints generally have received less formal education (some none at all) and are not as mobile as the younger generations. As a consequence, there is considerable variation in SHE, ranging from the basilectal, 'broad' variety of SHE (commonly referred to on the island as *Saintspeak*) to a fairly Standard British English at the acrolectal end. There is no evidence of dedialectalisation in SHE though: even though young speakers attend a centrally located high school, they show a clear tendency to use salient non-standard features, most likely as an act of *Saint* identity (Le Page/Tabouret-Keller 1985). A number of speakers have access to more than one variety, using 'careful' English when conversing with visitors ('splittin' the dick' in *Saintspeak*), but reverting to a more basilectal variety when among friends and family.

### 3. Tristan da Cunha

The Tristan archipelago (consisting of the five islands Tristan da Cunha, Inaccessible, Nightingale, Stoltenhoff and Alex Islands) is situated almost exactly half way between South Africa and Uruguay. Tristan da Cunha is both the smallest and the most geographically isolated of the permanently inhabited islands in the South Atlantic Ocean, and it is reputedly "the remotest inhabited island in the world" (1998 Guinness Book of Records). The island's geophysical isolation is extraordinary indeed, with Jamestown on St. Helena (the nearest inhabited settlement) about 2300 kilometres distant (Crabb 1980). There is no airport on Tristan da Cunha, and the island can only be reached by sea on fishing vessels or cruise ships that arrive from Cape Town or South America about six times per year.

Even though discovered and charted by Portuguese seafarers in 1506, the island was

not colonised until 1816, when the British Crown formally annexed it to prevent the French from using it as a base to rescue Napoleon from St. Helena. When the garrison was withdrawn the following year, three British soldiers, one of them with his wife and children, asked for and obtained permission to stay behind and settle permanently. In the 1820s shipwrecked sailors and castaways from all parts of the British Isles added to the population, and six women, some of whom apparently were freed non-white slaves, immigrated from St. Helena in 1827 (Munch 1971; Brander 1940), one of them with four daughters (Crawford 1945). The 1830s and 1840s were a period of stabilisation and growth: several US American whalers arrived, as well as three non-anglophone seamen, a Dutchman and two Danes. The population increased rapidly and by 1842 the island community consisted of 10 families with 75 people.

There were thus three influential groups in the community's founding and early formation periods. First, the British group, the colony's founders, consisting of soldiers, castaways and shipwrecked sailors from all parts of the British Isles; second, the women who arrived from St. Helena in 1827; and third, the US American whalers and European sailors who settled between 1833 and 1849.

From the 1850s on, the number of calling ships declined steadily, and the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century was marked by minimal contact with outsiders. Tristan's increasing isolation was mostly due to economic and political reasons, such as the decline of the whale trade, the increasing use of steamboats, and the opening of the Suez Canal. There was very little trade with passing ships in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and the influx of settlers declined drastically, the only newcomers being a weaver from Yorkshire in the 1860s, two stranded sailors from Italy who settled in 1892, and two Irish sisters who arrived in 1908 (Schreier/Lavarello-Schreier 2003).

The early twentieth century in general and the period during World War I in particular were marked by isolation *in extremis*, as the Tristanians received no mail for more than ten years (Crabb 1980). The isolation continued well into the 1930s (Munch 1946) but modernisation on Tristan began in April 1942 when, as a result of World War II, a naval garrison was stationed on the island to

establish and maintain a Royal Naval Radio and Meteorological station. Further massive changes were brought about when a shore-based fishing industry was established in 1949 and most of the local population was employed for manual work in the factory and in off-shore fishing.

From 1961–3, the entire community was forced to emigrate to England as a result of a volcanic eruption near the settlement, and for many Tristanians this was the first contact with Western modernisation. After their return, the formerly inward-looking and highly isolated community quickly opened up to the outside world. A private South African fishing company employed the local fishermen and many more Tristanians as workforce in the fish factory, guaranteeing full employment to the community. The 1960s and 1970s were consequently marked by economic progress and prosperity: electricity, running water and telecommunications became available, and mobility increased as Tristanians spent holidays in Cape Town or England, travelled to South Africa for medical treatment, or received further education on St. Helena and in the UK. Today Tristan da Cunha is a dependency of St. Helena and economically self-supporting. The local economy is based on the crayfish industry and revenues derived from philatelic and handicraft sales.

The geographic isolation and unique history of the community has socio-psychological and linguistic implications. Despite demographic changes and some social restructuring, the colony has remained remarkably small and stable, with dense and multiplex networks. At the moment the population is 284, living in one settlement on the north-western coast of Tristan da Cunha. Despite repeated language contact at various stages of the formation process, the present-day population is entirely anglophone.

The Tristan community, therefore, is a genuine linguistic *melting pot* where contact and koineisation processes occurred in a self-contained and non-stratified speech community. Sociohistorically, there were three types of contact: dialect contact between the British and American dialects spoken by the anglophone founders; language contact between English and the native tongues of the non-anglophone settlers (i. e. Dutch, Danish and Italian); and contact with a putatively English-based creole (or pidgin) spoken

by the women from St. Helena (Hancock 1991).

The local dialect evolved from distinct non-standard (and presumably working class) input varieties, and it is by no means the Southern Hemisphere equivalent of a single transplanted variety spoken in the British Isles or North America. Rather, TdCE is a hybrid of the various input varieties, an autonomous variety that has undergone mixing, levelling and simplification, and which over the last 180 years has evolved into a characteristic and autonomous post-colonial variety of Southern Hemisphere English (Schreier 2002). Tristan English is unusual both from a dialectological and from a sociolinguistic point of view. From a dialectological perspective, because it bypasses central problems in traditional dialectology (such as the dialect continuum and the dialect's status vis-à-vis an autonomous superposed standard variety); TdCE can consequently be regarded as a genuinely discrete variety (in the sense of Chambers/Trudgill 1998). The dialect is unusual from a sociolinguistic perspective because the community, consisting of just under 300 people living in the same village, is socially non-stratified and characterised by extraordinarily dense and multiplex networks between the individual members (Schreier 2003).

In its current form, TdCE shares grammatical and phonological characteristics with British and US American varieties as well as with SHE and English-based Atlantic creoles. The Tristan variety of English is non-rhotic and salient features of its grammar are double modals, negative concord in finite forms of *be* in present and past tense (*I's happier than other people is*), completive done, and 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular zero (Schreier 1999).

In some respects, certainly as a consequence of substantially limited contact with speakers of other varieties, the structural and phonological properties of basilectal TdCE are conservative and archaic as they have undergone comparatively minor changes (e. g. no L vocalisation, little H dropping, monophthongs in *home*, *name*, etc., see Zettersten 1969). However, independent features have developed and system-internally motivated changes have also occurred, such as past-tense infinitives (*I used to went*) and TH sibilisation (i. e. the dental fricatives /θ/ and /ð/ are realised as [s] respectively, Schreier 2003).

#### 4. The Falkland Islands

The Falkland Islands are a British archipelago of some 300 islands lying 300 miles (480 km) East of South America and 8000 miles (12 173 km) south of the UK. The total land mass is 4700 sq miles (7152 sq km), slightly larger than Jamaica and roughly half the size of Wales. There are two main islands, East and West Falkland. Of the other islands, less than a dozen are inhabited. Stanley, the only town, located on the east of East Falkland, is home to three-quarters of the 2000-strong population. The remainder live in small settlements around the islands, collectively known as Camp.

The islands have only been permanently settled since 1833, when they were colonised by the British. Prior to that, several smaller settlements had been established and abandoned in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries by the British, French and Spanish (cf. Sudbury 2000, 17–8). Importantly, there was no indigenous population in the islands when the Europeans arrived. The early colonists were overwhelmingly British, with a small number of Europeans, mainly Scandinavian sailors. Although in the early decades of the colony Spanish-speaking South American gauchos were brought to the islands to herd wild cattle (cf. Spruce 1996), the influence of Spanish on the developing Falklands dialect has been minimal, and restricted to a few place names and horse-riding terminology (cf. Sudbury 2000, 190–1).

The consequence of the islands' colonisation history is that not only is the English spoken in the Falkland Islands (henceforth Falkland Islands English or FIE) one of the youngest native speaker English varieties in the world, but also that the dialect is unusual in that it has developed out of a restricted number of British dialects, with minimal influence from other languages. In other words, it is a good example of relatively 'pure' dialect contact.

One of the most striking features about the Falklands dialect is the degree of variability which exists – both between speakers and for individuals. Such high levels of inter- and intra-speaker variation suggest that FIE is not yet a fully focused variety. That is, it appears to be in the middle stages of koineisation (Trudgill 1999, 197) which are characterised by considerable variability. At first sight the lack of focusing in FIE seems rather surprising, particularly if a compari-

son is drawn with NZE, which is approximately the same ‘age’ as the Falkland variety. Moreover, the smallness of the Falklands population, the relatively few number of dialects in contact and the geographical isolation of the islands lead to a hypothesis that a local variety would form in a short period of time. This is clearly not the case and a number of factors seem to have mitigated against focusing in the Falklands: the spread of people across the islands and restricted contact between settlements, particularly up to the 1950s, led to low levels of contact between speakers, discouraging focusing (cf. Kerswill/Williams 2000); the population of the islands has always been rather transient, despite their geographical remoteness, with their settlement history characterised by population movement; perhaps more importantly, unlike many (post-)colonial situations where new English varieties have developed, the Falkland Islands remain a British colony with islanders strongly identifying with Britain. Such allegiance towards the colonial power has reduced the need for islanders to assert their identity through a distinctive linguistic variety.

Phonemically FIE behaves like the three main southern hemisphere Englishes (NZE, AusE and SAfE), with more or less the same phonemic inventory as southern British English varieties. Phonetically, however, there are differences between these varieties. A full description of FIE phonetics and phonology is given in Sudbury (2000). Here, a couple of the most interesting Falkland features are summarised.

In FIE the front short vowels (in the lexical sets TRAP, DRESS and KIT) are not raised as is the case in the rest of the southern hemisphere, rather Falkland realisations correspond more or less exactly with southern British English.

Falkland diphthongs PRICE and MOUTH have Canadian Raising allophony (Chambers 1973), whereby the onsets of each diphthong are mid-close preceding voiceless consonants, and more open before other environments. The FIE allophony is less striking than in other dialects, as onsets of these diphthongs are rarely fully open. Nevertheless, the allophonic distribution is clear. Furthermore, these diphthongs have not undergone ‘Southern shift’ (Labov 1994) in FIE.

With regard to consonants, FIE closely resembles AusE and NZE. Overall FIE is

non-rhotic (although some speakers have variable rhoticity); /t/ flapping and /t/ glottaling are widely used, with the flapped variant favoured preceding vocalic segments and glottaling more common before consonants in word and morpheme final positions. Moreover, /t/ glottaling seems to be spreading rapidly in FIE at the expense of [t] variants (cf. Sudbury 2000, 316–53); both dark and light allophones of /l/ occur, although there is a tendency towards dark variants in all positions for some speakers. Amongst younger Falkland Islanders, /l/ vocalisation appears to be spreading. Many Falkland Island speakers use high rising terminal intonational contours at the end of statements, a feature strongly associated with the southern hemisphere (cf. Guy/Vonwiller 1984; 1989; Britain 1992; 1998).

As far as FIE grammar is concerned, no characteristic grammatical patterns stand out as distinctive to the Falklands. In fact, what non-standard grammatical variation does occur, is widely found in English varieties all over the world (cf. Sudbury 2000, 192–202; Bauer 1994, 399).

Lexically, the Falklands dialect also lacks the local vocabulary common to other extra-territorial Englishes. As noted above, a number of Falkland place names and horse-riding terminology derive from Spanish. However, such words have acquired distinctively Falkland pronunciations (cf. Sudbury 2000, 190–2). Such a lack of lexical diversity may be attributed, in part, to the absence of language contact in the islands.

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## X. Linguistic Change, Sociolinguistic Aspects Sprachwandel, soziolinguistische Aspekte

### 219. The Relationship between Linguistic and Social Change Das Verhältnis von sprachlichem und sozialem Wandel

1. Historical linguistics and language change
2. Language diversification and spread
3. Convergence, contact and loss
4. Contributions from ethnosemantics and ethnosyntax
5. Social differentiation and variant selection
6. Conclusion
7. Literature (selected)

#### 1. Historical linguistics and language change

The main subject matter of historical linguistics is the description and explanation of language change. Although system-internal or autonomous approaches to language change have played an important role in the history of the discipline, an interest in the social (or external) aspects of language evolution is reflected in the work of many linguists (e.g. Schuchardt, Schmidt, Whitney, Paul, Gauchat, Meillet, Van Ginneken, Jesspersen; cf. Lehmann 1981 and Mattheier 1987 for a discussion of early sociolinguistic thought). The belief that there exists a close relationship and interaction between linguistic and social (including cultural) change is based on a broadly functionalist understanding of society and social organization – in the words of the linguistic anthropologist Hoijer (1948, 338): “changes in the several departments of culture cannot be regarded as distinct and unrelated but must be viewed as different aspects of a single process. Changes in one aspect of a culture must inevitably result, sooner or later, in changes in all other aspects [...]. Given this conception of cultural change, it follows that changes in language, since language is an important part of the cultural pattern, must take place, in part at least, in response to cultural changes in general.” Or more accurately, linguistic structures change not in ‘response’ to social changes, but linguistic and social

change are mutually constitutive and the study of their relationship is a central concern of the field of ‘historical sociolinguistics’ (examples of research in this tradition include e.g. Romaine 1982; Burke and Porter 1987 and later publications; Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg 2003). Sociolinguistic research of present-day speech communities has contributed much to our understanding of the general mechanisms of language change and, in particular, the interaction of social and linguistic factors (cf. Weinreich/Labov/Herzog 1968; Labov 2001; see also section five of this article). However, the complexity, gradualness and very long time span of many field-defining linguistic changes (e.g. Grimm’s Law or the Great Vowel Shift) makes it difficult, if not impossible, to relate linguistic development with any degree of detail or precision (let alone causality) to socially-situated speaker choices, or to the concurrent trajectories of social evolution (motivated e.g. by changes in population demographics, discovery and invention, social disruptions, culture contact and diffusion). As a result, the interaction between linguistic and social change has typically been “painted in very rough strokes” (Kulick 1992, 8): there seems to be a general belief that the rate of language change can, at least in principle, be linked to rates of socio-cultural change, and that social and political upheavals accelerate the process of language change (cf. Hoijer 1948). As long-term and collective phenomena both social and linguistic change share various structural features (cf., for example, the ubiquity of the S-curve in the description of the diffusion of innovations, or notions of social, cultural and linguistic drift, i.e. the observation that changes are cumulative in a certain direction). Alternatively, studies have concentrated on well-defined and well-documented short-term changes



(e. g. Schönfeld/Schlobinski 1995 on social change and language use in Berlin after 1990). See in this context also Braudel's 1980 influential historiographic distinction between the *longue durée*, the long time span of historical change, and *l'histoire événementielle*, the short time span or history of events, "proportionate to individuals, to daily life, to our illusions, to our hasty awareness" (p. 28). This article will discuss both long-term as well as short-term linguistic changes, specific case studies as well as general social developments and their effects on language change. Sections two and three focus on migration and contact, which have shaped linguistic change (e. g. language diversification, spread, convergence and shift) at the level of long-term language history as well as at the level of the life span of individual speakers. Section four discusses work in ethno-semantics and ethno-grammar, a research area where the interaction between linguistic and socio-cultural factor is most explicitly articulated. Section five outlines the variationist approach to language change, and also considers issues of speaker intentionality and choice.

## 2. Language diversification and spread

Today, languages belonging to few large language families are spoken by the vast majority of the world's population (these families include Indo-European, Sino-Tibetan, Austronesian and Afro-Asiatic). This contrasts with the observation that between 35 and 50% of the world's languages are isolates or members of very small families, and are spoken by a minority of speakers (Nichols 1992). To explain the mechanisms behind the unequal geographical and demographic distribution is the task of language historians, or more precisely of linguistic palaeontologists, who bring together information from archaeology, anthropology, linguistics and genetics in order to explain the movement and settlement patterns of people (and their languages). The spread of large language groupings (or lineages) has been linked to the Neolithic invention of agriculture, which allowed denser settlements and led to population increases (Renfrew 1987; Bellwood 2001; cf. Campbell forthcoming for a critical review of the so-called 'language-farming dispersal' model). The gradual expansion of agricultural communities

created communicative discontinuities (as a consequence of geographical distance), and supported the spread of linguistic lineages as well as the gradual absorption or displacement of Mesolithic hunter-gatherer communities. Language diversification through migration is depicted in the *Stammbaum* or family tree model of language change. The development of agriculture also led (a) to the formation of more complex systems of social organization, including early jurisdiction to settle e.g. disputes about land, as well as social stratification as a result of differential access to livestock and land; and (b) to an increase of inter-group contact through the formation of exchange networks, especially in seasonally dry or cold areas where societies produced periodic surpluses, but were not able to cultivate crops throughout the year. Lexical elaboration and the development of social dialects as well as dialect levelling and language mixing are likely to have been the linguistic consequences of these social changes. While an explanation of language spread and diversification through agricultural migrations is generally accepted in the cases of e. g. the Bantu-branch of Niger-Congo and the Austronesian languages, the pre-history of Indo-European remains controversial. Gimbutas (e. g. 1970) has attributed the Indo-Europeanization of Europe to 'waves' of military invasions of the so-called Kurgan or Steppe people from approx. 4000 BC. The conquests and resulting migrations of the Kurgans were linked to a second, fundamental social transformation: the beginnings of metallurgy and the greatly expanded use of animals (in particular, the horse which was domesticated and used in transport and warfare). Gimbutas' conquest-oriented view of Indo-European migration was challenged by Renfrew (1987) who argued that Indo-Europeanization was the result of the gradual spread of the new cultural technique of farming from Anatolia (starting around 9000 BC). However, although genetic evidence indicates that Europe's gene pool continues Neolithic farming populations, the linguistic evidence does not appear to support Renfrew's hypothesis (cf. Hock/Joseph 1996, chapter eighteen, for a discussion and references). It is possible that farming was brought to Europe by speakers of other language groups, i. e. the first farmers (who contributed to Europe's gene pool) spoke older, now eradi-

cated languages (with Basque as the only survivor). These farming communities were later overrun by the Kurgans and their descendants (involving speakers of different daughter languages of Indo-European). Subsequent colonizations, in the aftermath of the early conquests, supported genetic and cultural hybridization with pre-existing agricultural societies as well as large-scale language shift. This later caveat is important since, as noted by Bellwood (1997), elite dominance alone would probably not account for the lasting geographical spread of a language family. The history of languages in Europe thus reflects both peaceful, incremental expansions of pre-Proto-European farming communities, as well as conquest and subsequent colonizations (which were equally incremental and took several millennia). Further examples of language spread through conquest and warfare include the Roman Empire whose geographical and political expansion led to the disappearance of a great many languages and cultures (including Etruscan, Oscan, Umbrian, etc.), the conquests of Genghis Khan which transformed the linguistic map of Asia, as well as the European colonization of South America, Asia and Africa.

### 3. Convergence, contact and loss

Migration movements not only supported language diversification through geographical expansion, but also convergence, that is, the levelling of marked distinctions between languages and the reduction of variants in language contact situations (i.e. *Sprachbund* and *koinéization* phenomena). Inter-group contact is not only a consequence of migration-related demographic change, but is also shaped by the ecological context in which a speech community exists. This has been illustrated by Nettle (1999, chapter four) through a comparison of the language situation in New Guinea and the West African Savannah. The former is a geographical area characterized by extensive linguistic diversity (over 13% of the world's languages are spoken in New Guinea by a population of under four million people); the latter area is linguistically relatively homogenous, i.e. Hausa is the dominant language and is used as a *lingua franca* by non-Hausa speaking communities. Nettle argues that the ecological conditions in New Guinea (continuous rainfall allowing for constant food produc-

tion) enabled language groups to maintain small-scale and relatively closed social networks. In other words, it was not necessary for any speech community to establish trade links with other groups to protect itself against seasonal food shortages. The ecological context in New Guinea thus supported the formation and maintenance of linguistic and cultural diversity. In the Savannah, the ecological conditions are less sanguine: seasonal weather patterns necessitate the development and maintenance of wide-spread support networks as households face shortfalls in food production at certain times of the year. The ecology of the Savannah thus necessitated the formation of spatially and socially extensive exchange networks which, in turn, supported the development of a relatively uniform language that could be used across a large territory (on social network theory and language history, see also Milroy and Milroy 1985). A focus on contact and convergence also informs Dixon's (1997) influential critique of the *Stammbaum* model of language change. Dixon draws attention to the fact that in many speech communities language features derive from multiple sources, reflecting the range of cultural and linguistic contacts of members of a speech community (an emphasis on inter-group contact also informed Schmidt's 1872 wave theory). Dixon proceeds from the assumption that both linguistic and social change is mostly slow and gradual. Long periods of 'equilibrium' (characterized by relative socio-economic stability and absence of major demographic changes, sweeping conquests or economic upheavals) support cultural and linguistic convergence among neighbouring groups. At irregular intervals the 'equilibrium' is 'punctuated' by cataclysmic social or ecological events. These support rapid demographic spread across large territories, leading to multiple population splits and divergences. Dixon's approach, which closely integrates social and linguistic history, has served as a heuristic framework for the description of long-term language change (e.g. Nettle 1999, 99–112). However, the application of the model is difficult, especially with regard to the identification of 'punctuations' in language history. Nettle (1999, 100), for example, identified the invention of farming and the industrial revolution as two major historic punctuations which affected the structure and distribu-

tion of linguistic diversity. However, he interprets European colonization after 1492 not as a punctuation, but as an ‘aftershock’ of the technological punctuation of the Neolithic age. Dixon (1997, 85), on the other hand, sees colonization and imperialism as punctuations. The model also does not account sufficiently for the historical evidence: diversification into language families can also take place during states of social equilibrium (Campbell 2003), and contact in an equilibrium situation does not necessarily support diffusion (as illustrated by Kroskrity’s 1993 work on Tewa which shows only minimal influence from the neighbouring Hopi community). In other words, the interaction between social context and language change is not straightforward and remains essentially unpredictable (although tendencies and probabilities can be formulated). The comparatively rapid formation of pidgin and creole languages as well as of mixed languages (such as Anglo-Romani or Michif) demonstrates language genesis in the context of culture contact (for an overview of the different types of contact languages see Thomason 2001). Pidgin and creole linguistics has always been strongly historically oriented and creolists have paid detailed attention to the socio-historical context of language formation (including population demographics, origin of substrate and superstrate populations, social organization of the colonial society; cf. Mufwene 2001; Chaudenson 2001). Thomason (2001, 66) identified two main ‘social predictors’ of the structural linguistic outcome of contact-induced language change: ‘intensity of contact’ (e.g. duration of contact, numbers of speakers, degree of interaction, prestige of languages), and “imperfect learning *vs.* its absence”. The first ‘predictor’ is a reflection of the social organization of inter-group contact, and allows language historians to assess the likelihood and degree of linguistic interference and borrowing across linguistic and cultural boundaries. The second “predictor” distinguishes between mixed languages, on the one hand, and pidgin and creole languages, on the other hand. An example of the former is Asia Minor Greek which has been described by Dawkins (1916). All members of the speech community in Asia Minor were native speakers of Greek and had sufficient knowledge of Turkish to understand the meaning and structures of borrowed fea-

tures. Imperfect learning played no significant role in the extreme borrowing process which gave rise to a type of mixed language. In pidgin and creole genesis, on the other hand, the normal, inter-generational transmission of language is interrupted and extensive interference from the native language is common. Imperfect second language acquisition plays an important role. Finally, inter-group contact as a motor of social and linguistic change has also led to the loss of languages. Kulick’s (1992) study of the shift from Taiap (a Papuan language) to Tok Pisin in Gapun (a village on the northern coast of Papua New Guinea) shows how language loss can occur even in contexts of minimal contact and community stability. Gapun is a traditional, isolated and economically self-supporting village with little out-migration and insignificant in-migration. Tok Pisin entered the village after World War I with the return of village men who had been employed as short-term contract workers “in far off places like Lae and New Ireland” (p. 18). This primary, if limited, context of language contact shaped the symbolic interpretation of languages in Gapun: Tok Pisin became tied to notions of modernity (in particular, knowledge of and access to the outside world) and also ‘maleness’. Use of Taiap, on the other hand, signalled a speaker’s identification with the traditional ways, in particular, the matrilineal clan structure. As a result of these processes of signification, Taiap became closely linked to female linguistic practices, including the ritualistic articulation of conflict and anger, which is almost invariably conducted by women. In Gapun, the socially disruptive and ego-centric nature of these conflict rituals is contrasted with local ideals of social sensitivity and collective solidarity. Speech genres expressing the latter ideals are traditionally associated with men, and Tok Pisin thus came to index not only ‘maleness’ as such, but also the values of social harmony and solidarity (while Taiap acquired negative values of stubbornness and anti-social behaviour). The process shows how unique local speech genres, value systems and the social meaning of language are shaped and transformed by language contact. Such symbolic developments can support language loss in the absence of any of the social changes typically associated with language shift (e.g. discrimination, exogamous marriage patterns, cultural disintegration, low

prestige of the minority language, migration and extensive inter-group contact, rapid economic change). The development is an example of what Keller (1994) has called the 'invisible hand' in language change: the actions of speakers in Gapun are cumulative in the direction of language shift, although the demise of Taiap and the general adoption of Tok Pisin is not the intention of any speaker (as all adult speakers value Taiap and would like their children to acquire it). Kulick's study illustrates the need for micro-level case studies (located broadly within the ethnography of speaking, cf. Hymes 1974) to trace the various (material as well as symbolic) interactions between language change, language attitudes (also referred to as 'folk linguistics' and 'language ideologies'; cf. Hoenigswald 1966; Woolard 1998), social meaning and language choice.

#### 4. Contributions from ethno-semantic and ethnosyntax

The idea that cultural values, knowledge and beliefs are encoded in a language's semantic and grammatical structures goes back to the nineteenth century work of Herder and Humboldt. It was reformulated and reassessed in early anthropological linguistics by Boas, Sapir and Whorf (see Palmer 1996 for an overview and references). A cultural approach to the explanation of language diversity has consequences for our understanding of language change: if language encodes cultural categories synchronically, then changes in these categories must be reflected in the diachronic development of languages. The existence of a close relationship between semantic change and social change is well-documented (cf. the seminal paper by Brown and Gilman 1960 on address systems). Cultural explanations of language change have also been extended to linguistic typology, e. g. Wurm's (1992) discussion of the loss of noun class systems in several Papuan languages as a consequence of modernization-linked intrusions and the adoption of metropolitan-based categorizations of the social and natural world; these replaced the traditional knowledge systems of indigenous life on which the grammatical distinctions were based. Burrige (2002) suggests in her study of Pennsylvania German (PG) that socio-cultural (in this case religious) values and principles can influence the path of structural change, and even support develop-

ments that "go against the usual pathways of grammatical change" (p. 208). The de-grammaticalization of PG *wotte* (originally a variant pronunciation of the preterite subjunctive form of *welle* 'to want to') from modal verb to full lexical verb ('to wish', replacing the existing lexical verb *winsche*) is one of the examples discussed by Burrige. The Anabaptist belief system of Pennsylvania German speakers "subordinates self-will and self-love to the will of God" (p. 221), that is, to openly articulate wishes and desires is inappropriate for members of the community and "in direct conflict with their faith" (ibid.). The replacement of the full lexical verb *winsche* with the past subjunctive of a grammaticalized modal verb (*wotte*) allowed the expression of wishes with the appropriate tentativeness. (Tentativeness is a characteristic feature of the German subjunctive.) In this case, it was not social change that drove language change, but the general socio-cultural context in which PG exists. That is, the change was motivated by socio-cultural factors, but did not necessarily interact with on-going social transformations. In the context of ethnosemantics, the role of taboo should also be mentioned. When cultural values and beliefs change, cultural taboos change as well and can support changes in language structure. Spalding (1973), for example, has argued that the egalitarian values of the enlightenment era and the French revolution created new and pervasive taboos of language use – ultimately leading to present-day debates of political correctness and the formation of new linguistic practices. A striking example of the interaction between taboo, language/culture contact and language change is discussed by Herbert (1995). In sub-equatorial Africa the sociolinguistic taboo practice of *hlonipha* is believed to have supported the borrowing of click consonants from Khoesan into the Bantu languages of southern Africa. *Hlonipha* is an avoidance custom (similar avoidance practices exist in Polynesian and Micronesian societies): married women may not pronounce any of the syllables that occur in the names of their husbands' relatives. For example, if a woman's father-in-law is called *Diko*, she will need to avoid the syllables *di* and *ko*. Thus, in a word such as Xhosa *intloko* ('head') the final syllable *-ko* will need to be avoided in order to conform to the practice of *hlonipha*. The names of other relatives will necessitate the

avoidance of other syllables and “the effect on each individual woman’s speech may be dramatic” (Herbert 1995, 58). Consonant deformation, ellipsis, synonymy, derivation, neologisms, archaisms and borrowing are used by speakers to conform to this practice. According to Herbert, the replacement of inherited Bantu-consonants by click consonants in some words – which has baffled language historians – can be explained as a consequence of such avoidance practices. That is, from about the seventeenth to the nineteenth century, when there was intensive contact (including intermarriage) between Khoesan and Bantu-speaking groups, the phonological inventory of Khoesan provided a ready-made source for innovative consonant substitutions in the context of *hlonipha*: “The substitution of a foreign element such as a click is perceptually salient and deforms the offending syllable acceptably [...] the use of non-Bantu consonants for this purpose precludes the possibility of the deformed word being homophonous with some other pre-existing word in the lexicon” (p. 59). The modified forms used by the mothers were then acquired (at least passively) by the children and, over time, some of these received wider currency in the community. The process of diffusion was supported by the fact that there was considerable overlap in taboo names (i. e. wives of brothers or cousins must have shared a great number of taboo names), and some names were generally taboo in the speech community (such as the name of Shaka, the great nineteenth century chief, among Zulu speakers). Herbert’s interpretation is supported by comparative evidence: those Bantu languages (namely Zulu and Xhosa) which show the most extensive restructuring of their sound system, are those languages in which the cultural practice of *hlonipha* is most deeply embedded.

##### 5. Social differentiation and variant selection

Variationist or selectionist models of language change have become influential in historical linguistics (cf. Labov 1972; 2001; also Nettle 1999; Croft 2000; Mufwene 2001). The fundamental idea which informs these models is straightforward: language change is the result of the differential replication of individual linguistic items (variants) and can be described in analogy with the prin-

ciples of Darwinian evolution. New variants (or forms of behaviour) arise by a process similar to the Darwinian ‘descent by modification’. However, unlike biological evolution, linguistic evolution is not random, but a function of the structure and limitations of e.g. articulatory mechanisms, memory and general cognitive strategies as well as socially-embedded interactional maxims (cf. Croft 2000, 74–78). Finally, the survival and spread of new variants is governed by principles of social and functional selection (the latter includes aspects such as ease of pronunciation and processing; cf. Cutler/Hawkins/Gillian 1985). The mechanisms of social selection have been documented admirably in Labov’s studies of Martha’s Vineyard and New York City (Labov 1972). Focusing on what Bloomfield (1933) has called “fluctuations in the frequency of forms”, Labov (1972; cf. also Weinreich/Labov/Herzog 1968) has shown that ‘structured heterogeneity’, that is, the existence of linguistic variability constrained by linguistic and social factors, is the normal state of any language. The general mechanism of language change, as described by Labov, can be summarized as follows: at any stage language is characterized by variation between competing forms (A, B, C, ...) of a linguistic variable and different forms often co-exist in the output of the same speaker. Under certain circumstances a linguistic variant A can become associated with membership in a social group, i. e. the variant acquires social meaning. At this stage the variant is characterized by a variable rule, that is, a rule whose application is constrained by both linguistic and social factors. Subsequently the rule is extended within the social group to new environments, new word classes or segments. As a result the overall frequency of variant A increases and the variant is now slowly adopted by other social groups, leading to a continuous redefinition of its scope to mark group membership. As long as there are no opposing social pressures, the variant will spread through the entire speech community (and the entire lexicon or grammar), thus gradually ousting the competing variants B and C. Work in this tradition has also focused on identifying the social location of those actors who, within specific social groups, initiate and lead linguistic changes (cf. Labov 2001 for a detailed discussion; also Milroy/Milroy 1985). Daniel Nettle (1999, chapter three)

used computer simulations to identify the relative importance of various system-external factors in language change. His simulations indicate that while imperfect speaker replication and geographical isolation give rise to increasing linguistic diversity, even minimal inter-group contact supports convergence and relative uniformity. However, speech diversifies and diverges at a high rate as soon as social selection is incorporated into the simulation as an additional variable. Social selection (i. e. the choices made by individual speakers in response to the social meaning of variation) thus appears to be the 'key amplifier' on the micro-level of language change. It should be noted that social selections are not necessarily oriented towards replicating the speech of the socially dominant group, but are also operative in the context of the formation of oppositional or sub-cultural speech styles and communities (cf. the Labovian distinction between overt and covert prestige; also Milroy 1992). Le Page's and Tabouret-Keller's (1985) 'Acts of Identity' model of language variation and change circumvents the notion of prestige and describes variant selection broadly as the result of the interpersonal negotiation of social identity in the context of linguistic diversity. In other words, individuals (speakers/writers) modify or change their linguistic behaviour in order to position themselves socially and to signal group affiliation to the in-group and out-group (in the context of pidgin and creole genesis an identity-oriented interpretation of contact-induced language change was suggested by Baker 2000; cf. also Ross 1997 on the creation of 'emblematic languages', and Mattheier 1987 for a Weberian perspective on language use as a form of 'social action'). The overtly strategic and intentional use and selection of linguistic resources has often been linked to particular historical periods (e.g. the invention of printing, nationalism), societal modernization and the development of standard languages (cf. Deutsch 1968; also Hock/Joseph 1996, 274–285). However, strategic linguistic selections are a general phenomenon and are also attested for more traditional, oral speech communities (cf. Laycock 1982 for a case study). An important challenge for historical linguistics is to establish the limits under which such intentional choices operate and to link these processes of more or less deliberate speaker actions to the more general fields of language

planning and language standardization, areas where the interaction of social change, speaker intentionality, and language change is most clearly visible (on the interaction of language change and social change in the context of language planning cf. Cooper 1989; cf. Deumert and Vandebussche 2003 for a collection of case studies in the area of language standardization). Although the adoption of new linguistic forms is motivated by their social significance, the actual speed and shape of the adoption process will depend on the structure of communication networks within a speech community. This is most explicitly formulated in Trudgill's (1974) 'gravity model' – a model of language diffusion which assumes interaction between geographical and demographic factors. According to Trudgill (following work by the geographer Torsten Hagerstrand), linguistic influence across geographical regions is a function of the distance between places as well as their relative population size. The model is based on the idea that places with larger populations show more interaction with each other than with smaller places, but this interaction decreases with distance. A change will therefore spread from the largest to the next largest city with influence diminishing the greater the distance between them. The spread of uvular /r/ in Western Europe, which appears to have 'jumped' from population centre to population centre, shows the close interaction of linguistic and social geography.

## 6. Conclusion

This article has discussed various aspects of language history (stability and change, divergence and convergence, language genesis and language loss, variant adoption and diffusion) which have commonly been explained by reference to social factors (or 'external causes', i. e. causes which are located outside of the language system itself). Attention has been drawn to the effects of migrations (and the socio-economic and political events or technologies which motivated them), to the importance of group formation and social selection, the role of speaker intentionality and choice, as well as to the connections between cognition, culture and language structure (as is reflected in work on ethnosemantics and ethnosyntax). The study of linguistic as well as social change needs to pay due attention to the existence

of multiple historical times to which Braudel (1980) has drawn our attention (see section one of this article). Ethnographic and variationist studies have illustrated situated choices, general principles and also limits of the interaction between social and linguistic change in short-term case studies (Braudel's *l'histoire événementielle*). With regard to long-term developments of language change (Braudel's *longue durée*), our understanding of the interaction of social and linguistic factors is much less detailed. However, the mechanisms and processes characteristic of the short-time span will also be at work here. In other words, the ongoing (socially motivated) selections of variants, the cultural engagement of speakers, their changing contacts and networks as well as their choices and beliefs about language and language use enter into the long-term reproductions and transformations of languages (and human societies; cf. Giddens' 1986 for a similar argument in the context of social theory).

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## 220. Der Übergang von Oralität zu Skribalität in soziolinguistischer Perspektive

### The Change from Oral to Written Communication from a Sociolinguistic Perspective

1. Begriffliche Vorklärungen
2. Schrift und Gesellschaft: der außer- (sprach-) wissenschaftliche Diskurs
3. Ethnographische Befunde: Die Unabhängigkeit der schriftkulturellen Dimensionen
4. Soziogenese der Schriftkultur
5. Die soziale Konstitution schriftkultureller Strukturen: Orthographie
6. Die Modellierung von Literalität: ein soziolinguistisches Modell
7. Literatur (in Auswahl)

#### 1. Begriffliche Vorklärungen

Der Übergang von der Oralität zur Literalität (von der Mündlichkeit in die Schriftlichkeit) spielt als Topos des gesellschaftlichen Wandels eine zentrale Rolle im außerwissenschaftlichen Diskurs, in dem er oft mit dem Eintritt in die Moderne gleichgesetzt wurde und wird. Aus der 'geschichtsphilosophischen' Spielart dieses Diskurses stammt die Rede von *schriftlosen Völkern*, mit der alle Formen des Kolonialismus artikuliert worden sind: der interne Kolonialismus bei der Durchsetzung der modernen Nationalstaaten, später dann die kolonialistischen Systeme in der Dritten Welt. Dieser Diskurs bestimmt weiterhin die Argumentation der international agierenden Bildungsorganisationen, die UNESCO nicht anders als Missionarsgesellschaften, wenn sie mit Alphabetisierungsaktivitäten den gesellschaftlichen Fortschritt auf den Weg bringen wollen. Für die sprachwissenschaftliche Beschäftigung mit diesem Gegenstand ist es zunächst erforderlich, die in diesem Diskurs genutzten holistischen Begriffe der *Oralität* und *Literalität* analytisch aufzulösen (s. z. B. Foster/Purves 1991; Hornberger 1994). Eine brauchbare Modellierung muss aber die verschiedenen Aspekte als Dimensionen wieder in das Modell integrieren: die sozialen Verhältnisse und ihre Entwicklung, die individuelle Entwicklung bzw. die entsprechenden Lernprozesse, die strukturellen Aspekte der jeweiligen Praxis wie ihres Resultats, bis hin zur Orthographie.

Der übergeordnete Begriff ist die *Schriftkultur*. Diese ist doppelt artikuliert:

- Sie ist offensichtlich an einen bestimmten Grad komplexer gesellschaftlicher Organisation gebunden: Sie findet sich nicht bei elementaren Formen der Vergesellschaftung in kleinen Verbänden, etwa bei Jägern und Sammlern in Australien oder im afrikanischen Busch; in Hinblick auf ihre Einbindung in die Formen der gesellschaftlichen Reproduktion lassen sich schriftkulturelle Praktiken *pragmatisch-funktional* bestimmen;
- sie ist üblicherweise mit bestimmten 'hochkulturellen' Tradierungen verbunden, die auch als *Schriftreligionen* angesprochen werden. In diesen erfährt die Schrift (und das schriftlich Fixierte) als Träger der Offenbarung und auch als Medium von daran ausgerichteten religiösen Praktiken eine gewisse Sakralisierung. Diese verliert zwar in säkularisierten Gesellschaften ihren religiösen Inhalt, die entsprechende *konnotative* Wertung schriftkultureller Praktiken bleibt aber erhalten, z. B. durch die Ausrichtung von Literalität auf ('schöngeistige') Literatur, die das moderne Bildungssystem bestimmt.

Die *funktionale* und die *konnotative* Dimension der Schriftkultur sind zu trennen. Ebenfalls ist zu unterscheiden zwischen ihrer materialen Seite, ihren *skribalen* Elementen, und der *strukturellen* Seite. *Skribale* Praktiken stehen im Gegensatz zu *oralen* (*mündlichen*); zu den skribalen Elementen gehört insbesondere das verwendete Schriftsystem, das von seiner (schrift-) kulturellen Nutzung zu unterscheiden ist. In struktureller Hinsicht ist, wie terminologisch in Art. 74 eingeführt, zu unterscheiden zwischen *literaten* (*literalen*) und *oraten* Praktiken. Literalität bezeichnet eine soziale Praxis. Sie setzt anders als 'privatsprachliche' Zeichensysteme, die z. B. als Gedächtnisstützen dienen können, ein sozial stabilisiertes graphisches System für *Leser* voraus, das anderen eine Interpretation der darin verfassten Texte erlaubt, die (anders als bei mnemotechnischen Praktiken) nicht an den Schreiber gebunden ist. Die funktionalen Strukturen

werden durch die Materialität des Skribalen ermöglicht, sind als solche aber nicht an diese, sondern an die soziale Praxis gebunden: Die Materialität schriftlicher Repräsentation entlastet den kognitiven 'Arbeitsspeicher', entbindet die Sprachverarbeitung von den strikt linearen Zwängen der Äußerungsorganisation und erlaubt so ein synoptisches Lesen. Daraus resultieren literale Praktiken, zu deren Optimierung die Standardisierung des Schriftsystems dient, die üblicherweise als *Orthographie* bezeichnet wird; bei dieser ist der funktionale Aspekt von dem der Normierung und evtl. sogar Kodifizierung zu trennen, die mit diesem Terminus meist verbunden werden (Art. 75).

Skribalität enthält literale Potentiale, erzwingt bzw. garantiert aber nicht ihre Realisierung: auch in einer hochentwickelten Schriftkultur werden skribale Techniken ohne Entfaltung literater Strukturen genutzt: fragmentarische Notizen, die nur für den Schreiber deutbar sind, kommen ebenso wie listenartige Aufstellungen im sozialen Verkehr ohne die literaten Strukturen der Sprache (und ihre orthographischen Repräsentationen) aus; phatische skribale Kommunikationsformen in Briefen oder in jüngster Zeit im Internet ('chat') setzen sich oft bewusst über Formen der (literaten) Standardisierung hinweg. Andererseits setzt eine skribale Praxis eine Art literaten Gestalt-schließungszwang frei: Verschriftung ist immer eine Bearbeitung der verschrifteten Sprache; sie ist abgestellt auf die mit ihr verbundenen (durch sie eröffneten) weiteren Horizonte gegenüber der mündlichen Sprache. Dass Schrift nicht lokal-situativ gebunden ist und die raum-zeitlich versetzte Kommunikation ermöglicht, ist eine Folge davon, ist aber nicht konstitutiv für sie (wie es in vielen Darstellungen angesetzt wird). Im folgenden werde ich in diesem Sinne von einer *erweiterten Literalität* sprechen, wenn mit den literaten Praktiken die weiteren schriftkulturellen Potentiale erschlossen werden. In den funktionalen Aspekten der Schriftkultur sind die *literaten* Strukturierungen begründet, die die Potentiale der gesprochenen Sprache (die oraten Strukturen) ausbauen, (vgl. Art. 74 mit dem Hinweis auf die Arbeiten von Biber, Miller/Weinert u. a. Zur Dimension *orat-literat* c. die kritische Diskussion in Eckert/Rickford 2001, S. 235–279 [Biber/Finegan, Milroy]). Die Betrachtung literater Strukturen als Ausbau sprachlicher Potentiale erlaubt eine Paralle-

lisierung von sozialer und individueller Sprachentwicklung, die suggestiv in der Argumentation eines Übergangs von Oralität in Literalität genutzt wird. Das gilt insbesondere dann, wenn die individuelle Sprachentwicklung i. S. der kognitiven Entwicklungspsychologie als fortschreitende *Dezentrierung* verstanden wird. In dieser Sicht wird der leibgebundene Erfahrungshorizont durch die Bindung an die primären Bezugspersonen (die Eltern) erweitert und so das intime Sprachregister entwickelt. Dieses wird abgelöst durch den Bezug auf die *peers*, in dem die Ansatzpunkte für das informelle Sprachregister liegen; und schließlich wird, unterstützt ggf. durch institutionelle Vorgaben wie insbesondere denen der Schule, ein dezentrierter (universeller) Bezugsrahmen von austauschbaren Rollen aufgebaut, der dem formellen Register entspricht, das sich von der situativ gesteuerten sprachlichen Form unter der Kontrolle des Gegenüber freimacht. Insofern Schrift auf einen Leser hin artikuliert ist, impliziert sie eine solche Dezentrierung – die literaten Potentiale der Schrift sind idealtypisch auf einen Leser kalibriert, der keine interpretativen Prämissen mit einem Schreiber teilt außer den formalen Prämissen des Rückgriffs auf die fundierenden sprachlichen (Wissens-) Strukturen. In entwicklungspsychologischer Sicht gibt es daher eine Schwelle für die Aneignung der Schrift im orthographischen (nicht nur im skribalen) Sinne, der in der einschlägigen Forschung als *kategoriale Einstellung zur Schrift* bezeichnet wird (s. Ferreiro/Teberosky 1979). Die Aneignung der Schrift selbst ist aber auf die literaten Strukturen orientiert, die in der gelernten jeweiligen gesprochenen Sprache fundierbar sind: Sie erfolgt wie Sprachentwicklung generell in Auseinandersetzung mit den sprachbauspezifischen Vorgaben der sozial sanktionierten Sprache, an der der Lerner zu partizipieren sucht. Mit der praktizierten Schriftkultur verbunden, aber analytisch von ihr zu trennen, ist ihre konzeptuelle Modellierung, die ihrerseits regulierende Funktionen in der sozialen Praxis haben kann. Zwar spielen sich auch die schriftkulturellen Praktiken 'hinter dem Rücken der Subjekte' (K. Marx) ein, aber die gesellschaftlichen Veranstaltungen, mit denen sie reguliert und u. U. auch etabliert werden, sind bestimmt von sprachpolitischen Programmen einer bestimmten Trägerschicht, die damit bestimmte Vorstellungen von den sprachlichen

Verhältnissen verbindet. Diese werden oft in der Forschung fortgeschrieben. So ist die Sozialgeschichte der Entwicklung der europäischen Schriftkultur z.T. immer noch an den religiös (später in säkularisierter Form: literarisch) ausgerichteten Bildungsprogrammen der Aufklärung ausgerichtet, die die Folie für die in Handbücher verbreiteten Vorstellungen von der Alphabetisierung (bzw. dem diagnostizierten Analphabetismus) geliefert haben. Erst die jüngere Forschung hat sich von dieser Konzeptualisierung gelöst und entdeckt als ihren Gegenstand die Spannung zwischen den pragmatisch ausgerichteten Bemühungen um einen Zugang 'von unten' zur Schriftkultur auf der einen Seite und der obrigkeitlich durchgesetzten Schule auf der anderen; in der älteren Forschung wurde demgegenüber die Schule, die bei dieser Alphabetisierung von unten oft vehement bekämpft wurde, fraglos als Träger der Volksalphabetisierung angesehen (s. Resnick 1983; Maas 2003). Derartige Vorstellungen, die sich gegenüber der Praxis verselbständigen, in dieser aber eine normative Gewalt entfalten können, können mit einem aus der Psychoanalyse entlehnten Begriff als *Imago* bezeichnet werden. Seine Anschaulichkeit erhält eine solche Imago meist durch ein als vorbildlich gesetztes fremdes Modell: diesem ähnliche Praktiken sind dadurch positiv *konnotiert*. Für die europäischen Entwicklungen fungierte so lange Zeit der Bezug auf die Antike (in Westeuropa: das Latein des römischen Altertums) als Modell, für die neuen Staaten der Dritten Welt war (ist) es charakteristisch, dass die bei der Entkolonisierung ins Werk gesetzten sprachpolitischen Programme, die auf die Herstellung 'moderner' schriftkultureller Verhältnisse zielten, auf die Imago der früheren Kolonialstaaten und ihre Nationalsprachen kalibriert waren und sind. Die Analyse von schriftkulturellen Entwicklungen fokussiert zumeist bestimmte Aspekte des so beschriebenen Spannungsfeldes, entweder ausgerichtet auf den Pol der genutzten *Skribalität* oder auf die sozialen Formen der *Literalität*. Entsprechend verschieden sind die forschungsleitenden Fragen:

- eine etablierte (institutionalisierte) Schriftsprache kann im Hinblick auf das Sprachsystem betrachtet werden, das die Verschriftung fundiert. Dabei kann ein Spannungsverhältnis bestehen, das eine schriftkulturelle Dynamik freisetzt:
  - das Schriftsystem kann geändert werden, um es besser an die Verschriftungsaufgabe zu adaptieren,
  - das fundierende Sprachsystem kann sich dadurch ändern, dass es unter schriftkulturellen Bedingungen praktiziert (erworben) wird;
- die soziale Dimension der Schriftpraxis kann fokussiert werden:
  - in Hinblick auf die mit ihr artikulierten Domänen; der *Ausbau* der Schriftpraxis ergibt sich durch die Erweiterung ihrer Domänen (die zunehmend weniger eingeschränkte Nutzung in verschiedenen Domänen),
  - in Hinblick auf den Grad ihrer Vergesellschaftung, der Partizipation an der Schriftkultur, für die ich im folgenden den Terminus der *Demotisierung* benutze (zu gr. *demos* 'Volk'; in der einschlägigen Literatur ist häufig von der *Demokratisierung* der Schrift die Rede, was wörtlich wenig Sinn macht, da es hier um die Aneignung der Schrift geht, nicht um die Herrschaft [gr. *kratein*] darüber).

Die Isolierung dieser Aspekte ist nur analytisch möglich, da zwischen ihnen Abhängigkeiten bestehen: Die Konsequenzen der Verschriftung sind bei demotisierten Schriftverhältnissen andere als bei einer sozial eingeschränkten (z.B. rein professionellen) Schriftlichkeit. Der herkömmliche Diskurs über die sprachlichen Verhältnisse ist durch das Modell der antiken Rhetorik artikuliert, das von einer dreistufigen Gliederung in Registervarietäten ausgeht:

Tab. 220.1: Gliederung der Registervarietäten

Register	Domänen
formell	universal
informell	öffentlich (Markt)
intim	Nahbereich (Familie ...)

Dabei wird die Schriftkultur dem formellen Register zugeordnet, was zunächst in den materiellen (medialen) Voraussetzungen der skribalen Praktiken begründet ist, die im Vergleich zu mündlichen eine Verzögerung bedingen und dadurch die Aufmerksamkeit auf der sprachlichen Form maximieren. Das traditionelle Modell der sprachlichen Verhältnisse kann entsprechend schematisch dargestellt werden (wobei die grauen Felder die aktivierten Bereiche repräsentieren):

REGISTER \ MEDIAL	ORAL	SKRIBAL
FORMELL	→	
INFORMELL		
INTIM		

Abb. 220.1: Das traditionelle (rhetorische) Modell der Schriftkultur

Der Pfeil auf der Ebene des formellen Registers symbolisiert die Fundierungsverhältnisse. Dabei geht das traditionelle Modell der sprachlichen Verhältnisse von einer hierarchischen Bewertung dieser Register aus und fasst die schriftkulturelle Artikulation des formellen Registers als *Hochsprache*: sprachliche Normen sind für diese definiert, in Hinblick auf die die anderen (mündlichen) Strukturen bewertet werden.

## 2. Schrift und Gesellschaft: der außer-(sprach-)wissenschaftliche Diskurs

Dieses traditionelle rhetorische Modell bestimmt auch den angesprochenen Diskurs vom Übergang von Oralität zur Literalität, der die gesellschaftliche Modernisierung an die Schriftkultur koppelt. Die jüngere Diskussion ist dabei vor allem durch ethnologische Arbeiten zu traditionellen Gesellschaften beeinflusst worden (vor allem Goody/Watt 1963; 1968). In den Geschichts- und Sozialwissenschaften korrespondiert dem die Alphabetisierungsforschung zur Modernisierung der 'alten' Gesellschaften. Seit dem frühen 19. Jh. wurden in den europäischen Nationalstaaten serielle Sozialdaten zugänglich (standesamtliche Register, Registraturen der Wehrpflichtigen, Volksschulregister u. dgl.), die es erlaubten, Alphabetisierungsstatistiken zu extrapolieren, die am Ende des Jhs. fester Bestandteil der großen Konversationslexika sind, wo sie ein Modernitäts-'Ranking' der Staaten im internationalen Vergleich begründen (z. B. Pierer 1888). Im kolonialen Diskurs begründete diese Vorstellung die Konstruktion einer *terra nullius* der 'schriftlosen Völkern', die die koloniale 'Landnahme' rechtfertigte, deren Folge sich auch heute da zeigen, wo 'schriftlose' Völker versuchen, ihre Rechtsansprüche geltend zu machen (z. B. in Australien aufgrund des dortigen Gesetzes über die Landansprüche der Aborigines). Die neuere pädagogisch-sozialwissenschaftliche wie historische Diskussion arbei-

tet sich immer noch an diesen Denkfiguren ab (s. Art. 74 mit Hinweisen auf die Debatte um 'the Great Divide', wie es in der englischsprachigen Diskussion heißt; Goody 1963; Olson 1994; Ong 1982 u. a., etwa Collins 1995 für eine Bibliographie).

Ein Bruch mit dieser Diskurstradition setzte zu Beginn der 80er Jahre ein, für den die Arbeiten von Graff zum 'Mythos der Schriftkultur' (z. B. 1979) repräsentativ sind. Die diskursive Wende hatte mehr Gründe. Der wichtigste war wohl die Neudefinition der für die moderne Industriegesellschaft erforderlichen Elementarqualifikationen in der Folge der ökonomischen Krise am Ende der 60er Jahre und der Preisgabe des bis dahin leitenden fordistischen Modells der industriellen Produktion, das auf die massenhafte Nutzung unqualifizierter (angelernter) Arbeitskräfte am Fließband setzte. In den großen Industriestaaten, vor allem den USA, und davon ausgehend dann systematisch in internationalen Organisationen wie der OECD, wurden in flächendeckenden Untersuchungen ein Qualifikationsdefizit bei den Arbeitskräften im Hinblick auf den anstehenden Wandel festgestellt, der zu einem komplexen Konzept von *literacy* führte, das nicht mehr auf skribale Fertigkeiten ausgerichtet war, sondern auf die Fähigkeit, symbolisch kodierte Aufgabenstellungen zu bearbeiten, wie sie auch am unqualifizierten Arbeitsplatz in den gegenwärtigen Industriegesellschaften die Regel sind (einschließlich des Umgangs z. B. mit tabellarischen Aufstellungen und Graphiken u. dgl.). Im Gegensatz zu dem älteren Diskurs, der seine Konzepte am Elementarunterricht der Volksschule abgelesen hatte, wurde so die Definition schriftkultureller Fertigkeiten dynamisiert: Das Grundkonzept ist das der *funktionalen* Alphabetisierung, die auf die jeweiligen gesellschaftlichen Anforderungen zu kalibrieren ist (s. OECD 1992), denen das traditionelle Schulsystem offensichtlich nicht mehr gerecht wird, wenn sich wie in den Folgeuntersuchungen der OECD zeigt, dass in allen modernen Staaten der Ersten Welt ein in diesem Sinne analphabeter Block von durchschnittlich 5–10% der Bevölkerung zu diagnostizieren ist. Das kritische Moment der Literalität wurde damit nicht mehr bei den skribalen Techniken gesehen, sondern bei ihrer schriftkulturellen Nutzung. Ein ähnlicher Umschwung setzte etwa gleichzeitig bei der Diskussion der Alphabetisierung in der Dritten Welt ein, nachdem

Evaluierungen des Erfolgs der durchgeführten Kampagnen bzw. der 'postalphabetisierten' schriftkulturellen Verhältnisse deren weitgehenden Misserfolg deutlich gemacht hatten, angefangen bei der UNESCO-eigenen Evaluierung der Kampagnen der 60er und frühen 70er Jahre (UNESCO 1976). Zur Differenzierung trug schließlich auch der zunehmend weniger voreingenommene Blick der Sozialgeschichte auf die Verhältnisse bei, unter denen sich die moderne Schriftkultur herausgebildet hat. Die neuere Forschung beschränkt sich nicht mehr auf die statistische Auswertung skribaler Indikatoren wie die Fähigkeit, eine Unterschrift zu leisten (so bei der Auswertung von Zivilstandsregister) oder vor dem Pfarrer eine Katechismuspassage nach dem Schriftbild zu reproduzieren (wie es z. B. in protestantischen Schweden am Ende des 18. Jh. für die Heiraterlaubnis gefordert war), sondern sie bemüht sich um die Extrapolation der schriftkulturellen Verhältnisse aus den Quellen (beispielhaft für die neuere Forschung noch: Bödeker/Hinrichs 1999; Chartier/Messerli 2000). Dabei ist insbesondere die Rolle der (Volks)-Schule problematisch geworden, die in den älteren Diskursen als Träger der Volksalphabetisierung unterstellt wurde, inzwischen zunehmend aber als Instrument der Durchsetzung moderner staatlicher Verhältnisse gesehen wird, deren Leistung für die Schriftkultur insofern auch nicht zufällig im Horizont der Diskussionen um 'funktionale Literalität' problematisch erscheint. Das Gewicht, das protestantische Staaten wie Schweden auf die Volksalphabetisierung legten, entspricht nicht der Zielsetzung von Literalität, sondern vielmehr dem, was Historiker *Sozialdisziplinierung* nennen, die gerade auch bei der Institutionalisierung der 'Volksschule' in den frühmodernen Staaten im Europa des 18. und 19. Jhs. im Vordergrund stand: die schriftliche Unterweisung (i. d. R. beschränkt auf den Leseunterricht) war hier das Medium, definierte nicht das Ziel. Dadurch erklären sich auch die Konflikte in diesem Bereich: die häufig dokumentierten Widerstände beim 'Landmann' gegen die Schule waren nicht gegen die Schriftkultur gerichtet sondern gegen die Sozialdisziplinierung und die befürchtete Entfremdung der Jugend von ländlichen Lebensformen. Das war nicht selten mit der Kritik an der ineffizienten Unterweisung in den von den Eltern für nötig gehaltenen Grundkenntnissen des Schreibens, Lesens

und Rechnens verbunden, der Ablehnung eines erbaulichen Leseunterrichts, auf den sich die 'Volksschule' oft beschränkte, die die pragmatischen Techniken des Schreibens und Rechnens nicht vermittelte – für die Menschen bei Bedarf auch auf dem Land informelle Lernstätten zu schaffen wussten (Resnick 1983 für instruktive Länderstudien). Diese Konstellation spiegelt sich auch bei den großen Alphabetisierungskampagnen, die oft in Verbindung mit revolutionären Umwälzungen in Gesellschaften der Dritten Welt lanciert wurden und werden: Sie garantieren den jeweiligen Regimes eine hohe Mobilisierung der Bevölkerung, die auf dem Weg über die ins Werk gesetzten Unterrichtsinhalte und die kollektive Organisationsform (bei der oft die jüngere Generation im Dorf als 'Lehrer' für die ältere Bevölkerung rekrutiert wird) in die staatlichen Prozesse eingebunden wird (Arnove/Graff 1987; Tabouret-Keller u. a. 1997). Auch da, wo derartige Kampagnen zunächst relativ erfolgreich verliefen, haben Folgeuntersuchungen meist gezeigt, dass nach einiger Zeit kaum nennenswerte schriftkulturelle Fähigkeiten bei größeren Bevölkerungsteilen abrufbar waren – in der Regel sind mit diesen Kampagnen meist auch keine Materialien für die 'Postalphabetisierung' vorgesehen gewesen. Jüngere Alphabetisierungsaktivitäten sind daher auch darauf abgestellt, über den Elementarunterricht hinaus ein literates Milieu zu schaffen, das 'postalphabetisierte' Praktiken der Schrift sinnvoll und attraktiv macht (Olson/Torrance 2001; für die Verhältnisse in Südamerika López/Jung 1998). Eine wichtige Rolle spielen dabei literarische Texte im Anschluss an die 'mündliche Literatur' der jeweiligen Gemeinschaften, die die Schaffung von Orthographien für die Edition entsprechend komplexer Texte voraussetzen, s. die darauf zielenden Aktivitäten der 'Foundation of Endangered Languages', die regelmäßige Konferenzen dazu abhält (etwa McKenna Brown 2002). Die Verschiebung der Blickrichtung bei der Literalität von den praktischen Fertigkeiten zu den Ressourcen für die Auseinandersetzung mit der gesellschaftlichen Umwelt drückte sich am deutlichsten in der UNESCO Weltkonferenz in Jomtien 1990 aus, die die Betrachtung der Schriftkultur programmatisch von ihrer Bindung an gesellschaftliche Entwicklungsfaktoren entkoppelte und auf das Menschenrecht zur Entfaltung der Persönlichkeit bezog (UNESCO 1990).

### 3. Ethnographische Befunde: Die Unabhängigkeit der schrift- kulturellen Dimensionen

Die Trennung der analytischen Dimensionen der Schriftkultur ist das Ergebnis vor allem von ethnographischen Studien zu schriftkulturellen Praktiken. Diese haben die Prämisse eines homogenen gesellschaftlichen Raums mit einer eindimensionalen Ausrichtung aufgegeben zugunsten eines Blicks auf die Vielheit sozialer Praktiken: Ausgehend von den Arbeiten von Street (z. B. 1995) ist es üblich, 'lokale Schriftkulturen' (*local literacies*) ethnographisch zu beschreiben. Bahnbrechend war in dieser Hinsicht Heath (1983). Derartige Arbeiten werden insbesondere in pädagogisch orientierten Sozialwissenschaften unternommen, für die inzwischen auch methodische Anleitungen vorliegen, z. B. Taylor/Dorsey-Gaines 1988. Grundkonzept sind hier die zu beschreibenden *literalen Ereignisse* (*literacy events*). Diese sind dadurch definiert, dass für sie *literate Praktiken* konstitutiv sind, die ihrerseits durch dabei reproduzierte literate Muster konstituiert werden. Wie auch sonst in der Soziolinguistik stehen sich auf diesem Feld agnostische Positionen, die deskriptiv die beobachtbaren situierten Praktiken nebeneinander stellen, vor allem pädagogisch orientierten Positionen gegenüber, die diese in Hinblick auf ihre Leistungsfähigkeit bzw. Chancen zur Partizipation an der gesellschaftlichen Geschäftsführung bewerten. Das letztere charakterisiert auch Heath (1983), die modellhaft Praktiken im gängigen Schichtenmodell (Unterschicht/Mittelschicht) verortete und dabei auch versuchte, die für die US-Gesellschaft spezifischen ethnischen Überformungen (schwarze/weiße Gemeinschaften) abzubilden. Bei vielen Arbeiten dominiert die Orientierung auf Skribales. Historisch orientierte Arbeiten sind oft fasziniert von Schrifterfindungen, die inzwischen zahlreich dokumentiert sind (eine frühe Studie ist Schmitt 1940). Schrifterfindungen geht aber die soziale Dimension der Schriftkultur ab, wenn sie nicht für andere lesbar sind. Schriftkulturelle ethnologische Analysen zielen auf die *Nutzung* von Schriftsystemen. Richtungsweisend war hier die Untersuchung von Scribner/Cole (1981) bei den Vai in Westafrika, durch die deutlich wurde, dass der Zugang zu skribalen Techniken nicht notwendig eine schriftkulturelle

Praxis im vollen Sinne (der erweiterten Literalität) nach sich zieht, dass diese vielmehr von den spezifischen gesellschaftlichen Randbedingungen der Praxis abhängt. Bei den Vai sind schriftkulturelle Praktiken weit verbreitet (sie sind in gewisser Weise demotiviert), ohne dass dem aber moderne gesellschaftliche Verhältnisse entsprächen und ohne dass sich bei den einzelnen Individuen die einer Schriftkultur zugeschriebenen kognitiven Haltungen und Fertigkeiten diagnostizieren ließen. Vor allem findet sich dort keine einheitliche Schriftkultur (mit einem integrierenden Ausgleich/Transfer der damit verbundenen kognitiven Haltungen), sondern mehrere, unverbunden nebeneinander stehende, die an jeweils bestimmte soziale Praktiken gebunden sind: Die für die moderne gesellschaftliche Geschäftsführung konstitutive stammt dort aus der staatlichen Schule und ist auf das Englische abgestellt; daneben bestehen einerseits eine traditionale religiöse Schriftkultur, die auf das Schriftarabische abgestellt ist, und schließlich eine lokale, die an kommunale Praktiken gebunden ist (insbes. auch Geheimpraktiken) in der spezifischen, an diese Gemeinschaft gebundene (und sie konnotierende) Praktiken der Vai-Schrift. Allen diesen schriftkulturellen Praktiken korrespondieren kognitive Fähigkeiten, die mit ihnen gelernt werden – und an sie gebunden sind, ohne dass sie integriert würden.

Eine solche segmentäre Zersplitterung der schriftkulturellen Praktiken (Goody spricht in seinen Arbeiten von 'beschränkten Schriftkulturen') charakterisiert offensichtlich die nicht-modernen Gesellschaften: skribale Praktiken können hier sogar bestimmend sein, ohne eine schriftkulturelle Entwicklung im entfaltenen Sinne freizusetzen. So sind muslimische Gesellschaften durch eine außerordentliche Wertschätzung des Geschriebenen bestimmt, die sich nicht zuletzt an dem verbreiteten kalligraphischen Wandschmuck in den Wohnungen auch bei Analphabeten zeigt. Aber auch alphabetisierte Bewohner behandeln ihn als ästhetisches Objekt, das, verstärkt durch die kalligraphische Verfremdung, für sie oft auch nicht entzifferbar ist. Schrift impliziert hier auch für die, die lesen können, keine implizite Aufforderung zum Erlesen. Zwar wissen sie bei einfachen Beispielen abstrakt, was 'abgebildet' ist (etwa bei der stereotypen *Basmala*, entsprechend der rituellen Anrufung *bi-smi-llahi* „im Namen Gottes“); bei

den häufigen komplexeren Textstücken ist aber noch nicht mal das der Fall, ohne dass es als störend empfunden würde. Das stimmt zu der traditionellen Unterweisung im Schriftunterricht, wie er heute noch in Koranschulen üblich ist, bei denen der Text strikt zu memorisieren ist und jede auf das Verständnis zielende Auseinandersetzung mit ihm als Profanierung gilt (die Textauslegung ist den islamisch 'Gebildeten' vorbehalten); dadurch sind den Schülern Fragen zum Text verboten. Das Schriftbild, seine Visualisierung, dient als mnemotechnische Hilfe: traditionell wird die auswendig zu lernende Passage vom Lehrer auf die Tafel des Schülers geschrieben, wo sie solange stehen bleibt, bis dieser sie auswendig hersagen kann; dann wird sie durch die folgende Passage ersetzt (Eickelman 1978 zu dieser spezifischen Form des Bildungssystem und seiner hybriden Verquickung von mündlichen und schriftlichen Elementen. Das Ergebnis davon ist, dass geschriebene Texte in dieser Tradition gewissermaßen im 'Bild-Modus' gespeichert und reproduziert werden, wie Owens (1996) es plastisch bezeichnet: der Leser/Schreiber hat keine Möglichkeit zum redaktionellen Eingriff – die Konsequenzen sind auch bei Studierenden mit diesem kulturellen Hintergrund noch zu merken. So sind die Verhältnisse in diesen Gesellschaften durch ein inhomogenes Konglomerat von skribalen, literalen und mündlichen (oraten) Praktiken bestimmt, weswegen sie sich einer einfachen Klassifikation nach Oralität/Literalität entziehen (vgl. am Beispiel Marokkos Wagner 1993). Dabei haben sich die bisher so beschriebenen Verhältnisse inzwischen durch das weitere Vordringen der mündlich nutzbaren elektronischen Medien noch weiter von dem Bild einer literaten Gesellschaft entfernt, ohne traditionale orale Verhältnisse zu reproduzieren: Kommunikative Praktiken sind hier in hybrider Weise re-oralisiert worden, seitdem das Telefon universal zugänglich ist und eine Tasteneingabe hat, die dem Bildgedächtnis von Analphabeten optimal entgegenkommt; Informationen, religiöse Texte wie z. B. der Quran nicht anders als politische Reden sind in Tonbandkassetten zugänglich (Recorder finden sich in jedem Haushalt, auch wo kein Elektrizitätsanschluss besteht). Schriftkenntnisse im literaten Sinne werden so zunehmend wieder außer für Spezialisten in bestimmten Berufen (vor allem der Verwaltung) entbehrlich. Vor diesem Hintergrund ist auch das Schei-

tern vieler Alphabetisierungskampagnen zu sehen. Ein viel diskutiertes Beispiel ist die Kampagne in Somalia, wo das vorher literat nicht genutzte Somali 1972 in einer massenhaften Mobilisierung (in latinisierter Verschriftung) auch 'aufs Land' gebracht wurde. Die gesellschaftliche Mobilisierung war in diesem Fall begleitet von der Schaffung eines schriftkulturellen Umfeldes, insbesondere durch Tageszeitungen, in denen sich auch der literate Ausbau des Somali etablierte (Biber/Hared 1992). Waren hier insofern relativ günstige Voraussetzungen für die Literalisierung gegeben, so standen dem die seitdem auch hier massenhaft verfügbaren elektronischen 'Verstärkungen' der oralen Kommunikationsformen entgegen. Die Folge davon war, dass nach einigen Jahren auch die Politik sich vorwiegend wieder in diesem Medium artikuliert, sodass allenfalls noch Spuren der Alphabetisierungskampagne im städtischen Milieu zu registrieren waren (s. Lewis 1993). Diese Beispiele zeigen recht drastisch, dass es nicht die Verfügbarkeit von schriftkulturellen Ressourcen ist, die eine Schriftkultur im vollen Sinne freisetzt: Die Aneignung und Nutzung der Schrift erfolgt unter dem Druck gesellschaftlicher Notwendigkeiten – und geht ggf. auch nur so weit, wie diese Notwendigkeiten gehen. In dieser Hinsicht sind die Entwicklungen aufschlußreich, die in den 'alten Gesellschaften' zu einer weniger eingeschränkten Schriftkultur geführt haben (vgl. Maas 2003 für einen Überblick und Literaturhinweise; jetzt auch Messerli/Chartier 2000). Die Alphabetisierung erfolgte hier phasenverschoben: im späten Mittelalter in den Städten, dann mit 'nationalem' Elan im Rahmen der religiös bestimmten Auseinandersetzungen seit dem 16. Jh. auch auf dem Land. Den Anschlag gaben überall ökonomische Zwänge, die mit der Durchsetzung der Geldwirtschaft eine Art Buchführung verlangten. Aber der Motor zur Entwicklung einer erweiterten Schriftkultur speiste sich offensichtlich aus moralischen Quellen, was auch die enge Koppelung an die religiösen Erneuerungsbewegungen erklärt: sie steht im Rahmen einer generellen Methodisierung des Lebens, die die Buchführung auf die gesamte Lebensführung ausweitete (wie es bei frühen bäuerlichen Tagebüchern, 'geistigen Testamenten' u. dgl. deutlich ist). Das Schreiben diente weniger einer 'Verdauerung' des Fixierten (worauf die Darstellungen meist abheben) als viel-

mehr der symbolischen Erweiterung des kognitiv zu Bewältigenden: der Bearbeitung des Erlebten, dessen Zusammenhänge nicht mehr unmittelbar durchschaubar waren, angefangen bei der Preisentwicklung, die sich hinter dem Rücken (auf dem überregionalen Markt) vollzog und den Warentausch ablöste, bis zu den Kriegsauswirkungen infolge von gesellschaftlichen Parteiungen, die nicht mehr in tradierten Vorgaben gelebt wurden. In diesen Entwicklungen sind Spannungen fassbar, die zu einer erweiterten Reproduktion der schriftkulturellen Verhältnisse führen, die ihre pragmatische Finalisierung, über die sie angestoßen wird, überwindet. Gegenüber fragmentierten schriftkulturellen Verhältnissen zeigen sie eine Dynamik, mit der die verschiedenen Praxisformen auf eine integrierte soziale Praxis ausgerichtet werden, die durch die verschiedenen Register (evtl. auch verschiedene literate Register) differenziert ist.

Hier wurden offensichtlich das dynamische Element literater Gestaltschließung freigesetzt, das die schriftkulturelle Entwicklung zu einer Integration der verschiedenen Nutzungsformen vorantrieb. In formaler Hinsicht bilden die Bearbeitungsprozesse beim Schreiben den Ansatzpunkt für eine solche Dynamik. In dieser Hinsicht sind die Erfahrungen von Ethnologen aufschlussreich, die versucht haben, ihre muttersprachlichen Gewährsleute dazu auszubilden, dass sie die Tonbandaufnahmen verschriften; diese bemühen sich meist, auch wenn sie vorher Analphabeten waren, spontan diese Aufnahmen zu edieren, wobei sie sich an dem formellen Register ihrer Sprache orientieren (Silverstein/Urban 1996). Im gleichen Sinne zeigt sich bei der Alphabetisierungsarbeit, dass die Verschriftung von aufgenommenen Texten als Lesetexte abgelehnt wird und bei diesen ein anderer 'literater' Stil erwartet wird (Duff 1973). Dazu stimmt, dass schulische Anfänger die man mit der Aufgabe konfrontiert, von ihnen selbst erzählte Geschichten vom Tonband abzuschreiben, in der gleichen Weise Anstrengungen unternehmen, um ihre Texte literat zu edieren – auch da, wo sie die kodifizierten literaten Strukturen (insbes. die Orthographie) noch lange nicht beherrschen (Maas/Mehlem i. E.). Die mediale Differenz ist keine Frage der materialen Randbedingungen: Verschriftung ist als Bearbeitung der verschrifteten Sprache abgestellt auf die mit ihr verbundenen (eröffneten) weiteren Horizonte gegen-

über der mündlichen Sprache, sie ist eine weiter getriebene Dezentrierung. Die Extrapolation einer solchen Entwicklungslinie markiert schriftkulturelle Potentiale – aus ihr folgt nicht, dass die empirisch beobachtbare Schriftpraxis in diesem Sinne orientiert bzw. integriert sein muss, wie die Beispiele fragmentierter Schriftkultur zeigen. Ausgehend von den zu beobachtenden literalen Ereignissen kann das schriftkulturelle Profil der einzelnen Subjekte als eine Familie von Praxen ermittelt werden, die durch die dabei ins Werk gesetzten literaten Ressourcen definiert sind: unterschiedlich bei Notizen, Entwürfen, Listen, Tagebüchern, Songtexten, Spielen, Graffiti, beim Umgang mit Produktbezeichnungen/Verpackungen usw. Die herkömmliche Ausrichtung von Literalität auf die hochkulturellen Erscheinungsformen von Literatur und Schriftreligionen gibt einen normativen Blick vor, der als Zensur fungiert und in dergleichen keine schriftkulturelle Praktiken hat sehen lassen. Dagegen richtet sich die jüngere schriftkulturelle Ethnographie, die von den Arbeiten von Heath 1983, Street u. a. angestoßen worden ist. Hier besteht allerdings die Gefahr, das Kind mit dem Bad auszuschütten, wenn mit der Kritik der Blick auf die Dynamik schriftkultureller Entwicklungen verloren geht. Die Registerdifferenzierung ist in den sprachlichen Verhältnissen primär gegenüber anderen Formen der Sprachverschiedenheit: in traditionellen Gesellschaften (etwa in Afrika), in denen die Menschen fast immer mehrsprachig sind, ist es die Regel, dass die Register durch verschiedene Sprachen artikuliert sind. Es ist eine Folge der nationalsprachlichen Homogenisierung in den westeuropäischen Gesellschaften, dass hier die sprachlichen Varietäten in den verschiedenen Registern als Varianten einer Sprache verstanden werden, wobei die Varietät des informellen Registers als weniger formelle Variante der Hochsprache angesehen wird. Dabei wird das traditionelle rhetorische Modell des sprachlichen Verhältnisses gewissermaßen ausgereizt, wenn die mündlichen Varietäten als *Aussprache* der Schriftsprache verstanden werden – mit der Konsequenz aus der normativen Vorstellung, dass die informellen Register als defektive 'Aussprache' stigmatisiert werden (mit einer Abstufung von der Umgangssprache bis zum 'tiefem' Dialekt). Folgt man dem traditionellen rhetorischen Modell, wird das intime Register gewissermaßen de-



initionsgemäß nicht verschriftet (das ist experimentellen Formen moderner Literatur vorbehalten). Das öffentliche informelle Register erscheint in dieser Hinsicht durchlässiger. Dem entspricht in den gegenwärtigen europäischen Gesellschaften (und nicht nur da) das Vordringen des Englischen auch als (zweiter) Schriftsprache. Die Dynamik der gesellschaftlichen Entwicklung zeigt sich in den modernen Gesellschaften in der tendenziellen Dissoziierung von Registerdifferenzierungen und den medialen Formen der Sprachpraxis. In dieser konzeptuellen Vorstellung bewegen sich auch viele Initiativen zur Neuverschriftung von Sprachen, die in der Etablierung einer Schriftsprache einen zentralen Faktor für den Spracherhalt sehen und sich daher darum bemühen, dass die zu verschriftende Sprache einen entsprechenden Rang auf der Registerdimension in den jeweiligen Sprachgemeinschaften einnimmt (vgl. etwa McKenna Brown 2002). Zu den in dieser Hinsicht komplexesten Fällen gehören australische Aborigine-Gemeinschaften, bei denen es gelungen ist, bei den Alten ein Bewusstsein dafür zu wecken, dass das bedrohte Wissen um die kulturellen Traditionen über die schriftliche Aufzeichnung (und d. h. eben die Verschriftung ihrer Sprachen) bewahrt werden kann. Unterstützend wirken hier externe Druckfaktoren, insbesondere die Konflikte um den *Land Act*, der eine (letztlich dann eben doch verschriftete) Form des Wissens voraussetzt. Auch hier kann die Verschriftung auf formelle Register zurückgreifen, die mit zeremoniellen Praktiken verbunden sind, in denen die konstitutiven mythischen Erzählungen aktualisiert werden (die Formdifferenz der Register ist hier allerdings nicht sehr dramatisch). Die Plausibilität des traditionellen Modells beruht darauf, dass es an anschaulichen Verhältnissen abgelesen ist. Das bringt die Gefahr mit sich, dass diese damit naturalisiert und so für die konstitutiven gesellschaftlichen Randbedingungen opak werden, die sie bedingen. Dieser Gefahr erliegen Modellierungen, die mündliche Register unmittelbar mit sozialer Nähe und schriftliche Register mit sozialer Distanz korrelieren (vgl. Art. 74 zu dem Modell von Koch/Oesterreicher). Die Nutzung der schriftlichen Ressourcen ist eine abhängige Variable der sozialen Praxis, sie ist nicht von ihrer Materialität bestimmt. Besnier (1995) hat die sprachlichen Verhältnisse auf einem Atoll im Pazifik beschrieben, dessen Bewohner die mit der Missio-

nierung importierte Schriftlichkeit gerade im intimen Register nutzen (im extensiven Briefeschreiben), um Ausdrucksformen für Emotionen zu schaffen, die im mündlichen Verkehr dort zensiert sind. Ohnehin lassen sich Briefe nicht eindeutig der traditionellen Registereinteilung zuordnen. In der arabischen Welt ist die förmliche Schriftsprache, die in der Schule gelernt wird (die *fosha*), von den regional gesprochenen neuarabischen Varietäten soweit entfernt, dass hier nicht von einer Überdachung gesprochen werden kann. In dieser förmlichen Sprache wird der offizielle Briefverkehr praktiziert – für die meisten Menschen so, dass sie dafür einen professionellen Schreiber in Anspruch nehmen (den man an jeder Straßenecke, im ländlichen Raum auch auf den Märkten findet). Das schließt aber aus, dass in dieser Form persönliche Briefe geschrieben werden. Soweit überhaupt Briefe geschrieben werden (und nicht telefoniert wird), sind diese abgesehen von den förmlichen Einleitungs- und Schlusspassagen in einer Sprache artikuliert, die an die informelle Varietät anschließt (in der einschlägigen Forschung oft als ‘mittleres’ Arabisch bezeichnet). In alle Formen des sprachlichen Ausbaus, die sozial sanktioniert werden, ist der Kampf um gesellschaftliche Macht eingeschrieben, ggf. im staatlichen Horizont. Bei vormodernen Gesellschaften ist das kein politischer Faktor, da die Schriftkultur hier eine professionelle Domäne ist. In modernen Staaten, die durch die Homogenisierung der sprachlichen Verhältnisse bestimmt sind, bei der die nationalsprachliche Überdachung das Fundament der (nationalen) Schriftsprache bildet, drückt sich das nicht zuletzt darin aus, dass eine Partizipation an dieser um den Preis der sozialen Stigmatisierung erforderlich ist. Die Gründung der europäischen Nationalstaaten erlaubte den Rekurs auf die sprachliche Homogenisierung nur als Projekt, das eine entsprechende Imago freisetzte (die im sprachpolitischen Diskurs der französischen Revolution eine modellhafte Form gewann). Dabei standen die nationalen Minoritäten (Sorben in Deutschland, die Basken, Bretonen u. a. in Frankreich usw.) quer zu dieser idealisierenden Homogenisierung; sie wurden um den Preis verfassungsrechtlicher Garantien in den Gründungsakt der bürgerlichen Nationalstaaten einbezogen. Dazu gehört (in vielen Verfassungen explizit geregelt, in jüngerer Zeit z. B. in der Europäischen Union durch eine entspre-

chende Charta festgeschrieben) u. U. sogar das Recht, prinzipiell auf allen Ebenen als Nationalsprache zu konkurrieren; in den meisten Fällen ist das allerdings (wie z. B. in Deutschland) nur auf informellen Ebenen der Fall, sodass faktisch eine 'arbeitsteilige' Domänendifferenzierung das Verhältnis regelt. Dadurch erfolgt der formale Ausbau der Minderheitensprachen auch nicht unter dem funktionalen Druck, den die Zwänge der Demotisierung bei der Nationalsprache ausüben. Schriftsprachliche Ausdrucksformen der Minderheitensprachen haben weitgehend nur noch eine emblematische Funktion, für die sich sogar arkane orthographische Regelungen als funktional erweisen können, wie es besonders drastisch beim Irischen der Fall ist, dessen ausgetüftelte Orthographie einem damit nicht Vertrauten noch nicht einmal eine Vorstellung von der Lautung der Formen vermittelt (ÓBaoill/ÓRiagáin 1990). Spiegelverkehrt stellt sich das Problem bei der Migration, über die sich zunehmend die Bevölkerung der Industriestaaten der Ersten Welt rekrutiert. Diese setzt keinen Rechtsschutz für ihre Sprachen, deren Ausübung allein durch die Toleranzgebote der modernen Verfassungen gedeckt ist. Das schließt eine pädagogische Förderung nicht aus, die aber dann eine kompensatorische Legitimation finden muss. Wo den Migrantensprachen ausgebauten Schriftsprachen (insbesondere Staatssprachen) entsprechen, kann bei entsprechenden kulturellen Aktivitäten auf diese zurückgegriffen werden. Wo das nicht der Fall ist, ergeben sich paradoxe Probleme: Im Sinne der im europäischen Bildungssystem dominanten Vorstellung (des rhetorischen Modells) setzt die sprachliche Förderung Verschriftung voraus, sodass es charakteristisch ist, dass z. B. auch schriftliche Unterrichtsmaterialien in einer Sprache erstellt werden, die für ihre Sprecher auf informelle Domänen beschränkt ist (z. B. das Berberische bei nordafrikanischen Immigranten). Die Grenzen derartiger Bemühungen (und ihrer Akzeptanz bei den Betroffenen) sind dadurch vorgezeichnet, dass außerhalb der Unterrichtsmaterialien keine weitere Lektüre vorhanden ist, die diese Verschriftung motivieren könnte. Daher ist es hier nötig, die Verschriftung einer Sprache als Form ihres Ausbaus von Bemühungen zu unterscheiden, Anfängern bei der elementaren Alphabetisierung dadurch zu unterstützen, dass man ihnen die Möglichkeit gibt, die Struk-

turen ihres muttersprachlich erworbenen Sprachwissens maximal zu nutzen, um beim Aufbau einer Haltung zur Schrift an den Strukturierungen der familialen Sprache anzusetzen. Der schulische Anfangsunterricht fördert das Lernen der Kinder, indem er sie durch spielerische Formen bestätigt, die ihre Funktionslust nutzen. Dazu gehört auch im Sinne der Dezentrierung der Entwicklung, dass so, wie frühes Lernen dort noch in einer engen persönlichen Bindung an die Lehrerin erfolgt, die zu nutzende Sprachform auf das intime Register zurückgreift, von dem aus das formelle Register (und damit die Schriftsprache) erschlossen werden soll, und d. h. eben nach Möglichkeit als Ausbau der Familiensprache der Lerner.

Auf diesem Argument bauen die Argumentationen für eine zweisprachige Erziehung auf, die von einem Transfer spezifischer literater Fertigkeiten von der einen Sprache auf die andere ausgehen. Der elementare Ausbau der sprachlichen Fähigkeiten ebenso wie die Überwindung der schriftkulturellen Schwelle und die Aneignung schriftsprachlicher Grundkenntnisse soll unter maximaler Nutzung des spontan im Mündlichen erworbenen (muttersprachlichen) Sprachwissens erfolgen. Da das vorrangige Ziel der Schule ist, die Partizipation an der schriftsprachlichen Kultur in dem gesellschaftlichen Raum zu ermöglichen, in dem auch die materiale Reproduktion definiert ist, kann sie nicht in diesem Horizont bleiben, sondern muss auf die offiziellen (Staats-) Sprachen hin orientiert werden. Wo die gesellschaftlichen Verhältnisse durch Mehrsprachigkeit bestimmt sind und diese sich als Artikulation verschiedener sprachlicher Register definieren, sind damit auch die Horizonte des Schriftspracherwerbs vorgegeben, abhängig von den gegebenen Verhältnissen u. U. sogar als Ausrichtung auf eine *mehrschriftige* Kultur. Empirische Erfahrungen mit derartigen Versuchen zeigen gerade auch bei Migrantenkinder erfolgreiche Fälle des geleisteten Transfers (s. Verhoeven 2003). Allerdings werden bei den Diskussionen um die zweisprachige Erziehung oft die großen gesellschaftlichen Unterschiede bei den diskutierten Erfahrungen übersehen. Unter schulischen Bedingungen wie sie z. B. in Deutschland vorherrschen, sind die Lernergruppen in der Regel sprachlich so heterogen, dass der Aufbau auf dem muttersprachlich erworbenen Wissen der Lerner im Unterricht eher ausgeschlossen

ist; hinzu kommt, dass u.U. die vorgeblich unterrichtete 'Muttersprache' die Staatsprache des Passes, aber nicht die beherrschte Sprache ist, sodass die vorgebliche Förderung die Lerner nur mit zusätzlichen verwirrenden Zumutungen belastet. Das in diesen Diskussionen viel zitierte Modell der mehrsprachigen Erziehung in Kanada zielt demgegenüber auf zwei in gleicher Weise als Schriftsprache ausgebauten und von der Regierung gleichgestellte Sprachen (Englisch und Französisch), die im Unterricht wie in der sozialen Umwelt in gleicher Weise präsent gehalten werden. Das ist nicht vergleichbar mit Fällen, in denen eine der Sprachen neu zu verschriften ist, die gesprochen nur im intimen Register praktiziert wird und in formelleren öffentlichen Kontexten nicht präsent ist. Insofern kann die muttersprachliche Schriftsprach-Erziehung nicht unabhängig von den sozialen Rahmenbedingungen postuliert werden. Grundsätzliche Kritik ist auf der Basis von pädagogischen Forschungen vorgebracht worden, die aber in Hinblick auf ihre sprachlichen Prämissen oft fraglich sind. So hat Wagner (1993) in einer Longitudinalstudie in Marokko zeigen können, dass muttersprachlich arabophone und berberophone Schüler am Ende der Grundschulzeit keine literaten Leistungsunterschiede aufweisen. Seine Schlussfolgerung, dass insofern hier die muttersprachliche gegenüber der fremdsprachlichen Alphabetisierung keine Vorteile aufweist, hängt aber an der äußerst fraglichen Prämisse, dass die arabophonen Schüler das Schriftarabische als formelles Register in einem integrierten Registerspektrum lernen (sodass es in ihrem gesprochenen marokkanischen Arabischen fundierbar ist). Viel spricht dafür, dass das nicht der Fall ist, sondern dass das Schriftarabische (die *Fusha*) für die arabophonen Kinder nicht weniger fremd ist als für die berberophonen (die registrierten Differenzen in beiden Gruppen zu Beginn der Schulkarriere können damit zusammenhängen, dass die untersuchte berberophone Gruppe erst im Laufe der Schuljahre zweisprachig wurde und erst dann dem Unterricht hinreichend folgen konnte). Bei derartigen Forschungen ist nicht nur die sprachliche Distanz der Schriftsprache sondern auch deren relative Position im Spektrum der Registerdifferenzierung zu überprüfen. Die Schriftsprache muss nicht in einem sprachlich integrierten Registerspektrum verankert sein – wie sie es in der frühen europäischen Gesell-

schaft (mit dem Latein der Schule) auch nicht war und mit dem Schriftarabischen (der *Fusha*) in den heutigen arabischen Gesellschaften wohl auch nicht ist. In derartigen Konstellationen werden u.U. sogar bestimmte Unsicherheitsfaktoren reduziert, die in der Abgrenzung des formellen vom informellen Register bei integrierten Verhältnissen eine große Rolle spielen (und in der hochsprachlichen Schulerziehung als Ausgrenzung 'umgangssprachlicher' Ausdrucksweisen eine wichtige Rolle spielen). Insofern ist die Fundierbarkeit der Schriftsprache im spontan erworbenen Sprachwissen der gesprochenen Sprache eine empirische Frage – die sich vermutlich bei den elementaren Aneignungsschritten anders stellt als bei einer entfalteten Praxis, die nach kongruenten Ausdrucksweisen für komplexe Erfahrungen sucht. Über die individuellen Lernprozesse hinaus ist dieser Aspekt aber in Bezug zu der Demotisierung der jeweiligen Schriftkultur zu setzen. Ein muttersprachlicher Elementarunterricht mit Texten in bisher nicht verschrifteten Sprachen stellt ggf. nur reduzierte Anforderungen an die Orthographie, weil es nicht um die Strukturierung von komplexen Texten für routinierte Leser geht, sondern um experimentelle Schreibungen, mit denen sich die Lerner die literaten Potentiale der Schriftsprache erschließen. Solche Graphien sind nicht im sozialen Raum der Sprachbewertungen plazierte. Als experimentelle Schreibungen sind sie zwar notwendig auf die Aneignung orthographischer Strukturen (der jeweiligen Modell-Schrift) orientiert, sie unterliegen aber nicht dem Filter sozialer Geltung von Orthographien (s. für ein Beispiel Maas/Mehlem i. E.). Bei der Erwachsenenalphabetisierung, die von vornherein auf den weiteren (pragmatisch definierten) Horizont ausgerichtet ist, können in dieser Hinsicht allerdings andere Bedingungen gegeben sein. Diese Probleme sind von dem Ausbau vernakulärer Varietäten zu unterscheiden, auf den ein erheblicher Teil der einschlägigen Diskussion zielt (s. z. B. Hornberger 1997). Über die pädagogische Arbeit hinaus, für die mit einer so geschaffenen Literatur ein größerer Horizont hergestellt wird, dienen sie politischen Zielen; im Hinblick auf die gesellschaftlichen Entwicklungen sind sie vor allem defensiv: so sehr sie sich auch bemühen, die Welt lebenswert zu erhalten, so können sie jedenfalls nicht unter den Topos der Schrift als Faktor der Mo-

dernisierung gestellt werden. Ein besonderer Fall stellen in dieser Hinsicht die europäischen Minderheitensprachen dar, die zunehmend weniger als Familiensprachen genutzt werden. Sie werden in der Schule gelernt, weil sie einen kulturellen Mehrwert auf dem regionalen Markt bieten, mit dem nicht zuletzt auch eine 'autochthone' Abgrenzung von der zugewanderten Bevölkerung möglich wird. Zur Inhomogenität der sprachlichen Verhältnisse in den modernen Gesellschaften gehören die Migrationsverhältnisse, die in der gleichen Weise durch die unterschiedlichen schriftkulturellen Nutzungsformen bestimmt sind. Die Migration führt zu einer 'Unterschichtung' der nationalsprachlich ausgerichteten Verhältnisse nicht nur im Bereich der Mündlichkeit, sondern gebunden an die Zwangsläufigkeit schriftkultureller Repräsentationsformen (Werbung, administrative Praktiken der Verwaltung ...) auch im schriftkulturellen Raum: Werbezeitschriften, Informationsbroschüren bis hin zu Graffiti in einer Vielfalt sprachlicher Ausdrucksformen. Die Migrantensprachen finden hier ihren Platz neben der wachsenden Funktion des Englischen, das zwar nicht mit der Hochsprache im formellen Register konkurriert, aber auch nicht einfach dem informellen Register zugeordnet werden kann, da es zunehmend im wissenschaftlichen Verkehr (wie malträtiert auch immer) als geschriebene Sprache genutzt wird. Generell zeigt sich so, dass das Festschreiben einer Korrelation von Schriftlichkeit mit dem förmlichsten Register nicht mit der Dynamik der modernen Industriegesellschaften kompatibel ist: Gerade auch in informellen Registern (mit entsprechend geringer Ausrichtung an der Norm der Hochsprache/-Schrift) werden schriftsprachliche Praktiken üblich, die Elemente anderer Sprachen nutzen – bis hin zu hybriden Praktiken im Chat-Raum des Internets. Das bestätigt nur die grundsätzlich nötige Trennung der Dimensionen, die auch schon oben im Hinblick auf die verfängliche Korrelation mit Nähe und Distanz angesprochen wurde: Bei gegebenen sozialen Randbedingungen können skribale Ressourcen auch in traditionellen Gesellschaften genutzt werden, um die Intimität sozialer Räume zu artikulieren, wenn z.B. die mündliche Praxis durch Tabuisierungen zensiert ist (Besnier 1995). Kulturelle Differenzen liegen nicht in Verfügbarkeit skribaler Praktiken, sondern in der Habitualisierung der für die erweiter

Schriftpraxis erforderlichen analytischen Haltungen, in der Fluchtlinie der Demotisierung der Schriftkultur.

#### 4. Soziogenese der Schriftkultur

Vor diesem Hintergrund hat die jüngere Forschung auch die Genese der schriftkulturellen Verhältnisse neu aufgerollt, gegen die vereinfachende Vorstellung eines kumulativen Prozesses, der die älteren Handbuchdarstellungen bestimmt. Die Frühzeit schriftkultureller Verhältnisse war bestimmt durch eine professionelle Schriftlichkeit: Die genutzten Schriftsysteme waren hochkomplex, oft auch nicht sprechsprachlich fundiert, wie es z.B. beim Sumerischen als Verwaltungssprache im babylonischen Reich der Fall war. Entsprechende Verhältnisse finden sich auch heute noch da, wo die Statistiken hohe Analphabetenraten registrieren, wie z.B. in großen Teilen der arabischen Welt, deren große Distanz von sprechsprachlichen und schriftsprachlichen Sprachformen als Modell für *Diglossie* gilt. Die Überwindung solcher Verhältnisse mit dem Grenzwert einer universalen schriftkulturellen Form ist es, was oben mit ihrer *Demotisierung* angesprochen wurde: die größere Erreichbarkeit der Schrift durch ihre Fundierung im allgemein verfügbaren Sprachwissen. Eine solche Fundierung in sprachstrukturellen Voraussetzungen ist eine notwendige, aber keinesfalls hinreichende Bedingung für den demotisierten Ausbau der Sprachkultur. Das zeigt sich auch in der Antike, in der in Griechenland eine Schriftkultur mit dem Ausbau einer griechischen (hellenischen) Schriftsprache entwickelt worden ist, deren Grundlage die hier 'erfundene' Alphabetschrift war (im Gegensatz zu der in der Frühzeit der griechischen Überlieferung genutzten mediterranen Silbenschrift, dem sog. *Linear B*, s. Havelock 1976). Aber auch wenn in der klassischen hellenistischen Gesellschaft die sprachstrukturellen Voraussetzungen zu einer 'Volksalphabetisierung' gegeben waren – es fehlten offensichtlich die sozialen Bedingungen, um von ihnen entsprechenden Gebrauch zu machen. So hatte das antike Griechenland zwar ein hohes Niveau der Schriftkultur, aber diese war nicht demotisiert, sondern wurde nur eingeschränkt praktiziert (Thomas 2001). Schriftkulturelle Entwicklungen, insbesondere ihre Demotisierung sind kein linearer, kumulativer Prozess. Ohnehin können externe Faktoren

z.T. dramatisch in ihn hineinwirken. Am Anfang der schriftkulturellen Entwicklungen in Westeuropa stand das römische Reich mit einer weit entfalteten und vermutlich sogar relativ weit demotisierten Schriftkultur, die durch den Einfall der germanischen Barbaren auf einige Reservate und einen weitgehend wieder professionalisierten Gebrauch zurückgedrängt wurde (s. dazu Wendehorst 1986), mit der Folge einer Re-Oralisierung der Verhältnisse, die später vor allem die Oberschicht (der Adel) in einer gewissen Selbststilisierung behielt, indem er paraskribale Praxen nutzte, um sich mit Formen des schriftlichen Verkehrs zu arrangieren (Sigel, Autentifizierung von Urkunden durch Zerreißen, woher der engl. Terminus *indenture* stammt). Trotzdem waren im europäischen Mittelalter die schriftkulturellen Ressourcen vorhanden: über die Fortführung der lateinischen Tradition hinaus durch die Verschriftung der 'Volkssprachen' in der Folge der Organisation der 'regionalen Reiche' seit dem 7.–8. Jh., ob nun als Hilfestellungen für den Lateinunterricht, als Fertigung von juristischen Dokumenten für des Lateinischen nicht Mächtige, oder als literarische Praxis – aber daraus folgte keine demotisierte Praxis. Die Durchsetzung einer demotisierten Schriftkultur erfolgte erst später unter ökonomischem Druck – und zwar weitgehend von unten, gegen die obrigkeitlich (religiös) kontrollierten Veranstaltungen, die auf die Sozialdisziplinierung der aufrührerischen Massen und auch mit der Katechismusschule auf die Kontrolle der 'wilden Alphabetisierung' zielte. Zu den externen Faktoren, die die schriftkulturelle Entwicklung steuern, gehört die Bindung an die religiösen Vorgaben, die insbesondere ein Charakteristikum der großen Schriftreligionen als *Offenbarungsreligionen* ist; diese fehlt in den Verhältnissen der Antike, sowohl im 'heidnischen' Rom oder Griechenland wie vorher im Vorderen Orient mit seiner professionell beschränkten Schriftkultur (bei den Sumerern, Akkadern nicht anders als in Ägypten oder auch in China). Die Offenbarung erfolgte in einer bestimmten Sprache, und ihre schriftliche Fixierung ist konstitutiv für den religiösen Stiftungsakt (im Judentum mit den mosaischen Gesetzen, deren dramatische Umstände der schriftlichen Fixierung im Deuteronomium episch breit dargestellt werden; im Islam in einer bemerkenswerten Verschiebung, bei der der Prophet (als vorübergehlicher Analphabet) die schriftliche Fixie-

rung nicht selbst vornimmt. Im Christentum ist der Gründungsakt des 'Neuen Bundes' mit seiner Niederschrift durch die Evangelisten verbunden, die in der verbreiteten Ikonographie denn auch schreibend dargestellt werden. Diese Religionen sind an die Sprachform der Offenbarung gebunden (am eindeutigsten so im Islam mit der explizitesten Bindung an das Arabische) und durch deren Niederschrift an eine spezifische Schrift, die im religiös kontrollierten Bildungssystem tradiert wird: im Judentum die hebräische, im Christentum die griechische (später nach Schisma: auch die lateinische), im Islam die arabische. Dadurch stellt sich hier das Problem der schriftkulturellen *Imago*: Jede Art sprachlicher Praxis, vor allem aber die schriftsprachliche Praxis, ist in einem konnotativen Feld durch den Bezug auf diese sakrale Tradition bewertet – diese repräsentiert die eigentliche Schrift(-sprache). Wie schwer es ist, sich von dieser *Imago* freizumachen, zeigt heute insbesondere die arabisch-muslimische Welt: Sprachformen, die nicht dem Modell des Klassischen (im Kern: quranischen) Arabischen entsprechen, gelten als degeneriertes Arabisch, das nicht geschrieben werden kann. Wo im europäischen Raum die humanistische Bewegung zur 'Reinigung' des Lateins die Folge hatte, dass das reine Latein definitiv zur toten Schriftsprache wurde und die pragmatischen Formen des 'Neulateins' jetzt befreit von dieser *Imago* als moderne Nationalsprachen in der Romania ausgebaut werden konnten, hatte die entsprechend arabische Renaissance im 19. Jh. (arab. *nahḍah*) die Konsequenz, die Zensurinstanz der klassischen *Imago*, die arab. *foshah* (wörtlich die 'reine' [Sprache]), umso mehr zu stärken, die von dem religiösen Selbstverständnis der Muslime nicht zu trennen ist. Allein da, wo eine Varietät des Arabischen im nicht-muslimischen gesellschaftlichen Kontext praktiziert wird, im christlichen Malta, ist ein Schriftsystem (orthographisch und in lateinschriftlicher Form) verfügbar, das in der gesprochenen (Umgangs-) Sprache fundiert ist. Die Durchbrechung dieser Zensur des Traditionsanzers der (jüdischen) Offenbarungstradition gelang zuerst dem hellenisierten Judentum in Ägypten mit der Septuaginta (-3./-2. Jh.), die den kanonischen Text in eine sprechsprachlich fundierte Version (hebr. *targum*) brachte: ins Griechische. Die Basis dafür bildete die praktische Missionsarbeit, die wie wohl zwangsläufig in der

Sprache der (potentiellen) Gemeinden erfolgen musste (derartiges kennt selbstverständlich auch der Islam). Aber das ist etwas anderes, als auch die heiligen Texte in einer solchen Sprache zu verschriften. Dazu waren nicht nur die Widerstände der hochsprachlichen Imago zu überwinden, damit wurde auch ein kultureller Prozess freigesetzt, der zumeist in Replik auf das tradierte hochsprachliche Modell eine neue Schriftsprache schaffen musste (eine solche hatten die hellenisierten Juden in Ägypten für ihre Septuaginta ja schon vorgefunden). Die entsprechenden Entwicklungen stehen anscheinend historisch alle in einem engen Zusammenhang: Sie bildeten sich seit dem 4. Jh. offensichtlich im Einflussbereich der syrischen Kirche aus, in Verbindung mit zahlreichen Sektenbewegungen. Begleitet waren sie von einer Umwertung in der Sicht von Sprachverschiedenheit überhaupt: Statt diese, wie es in der jüdisch-christlichen Tradition ansonsten bis heute üblich ist, als Folge einer göttlichen Straffaktion (in Reaktion auf den Turmbau zu Babel) zu sehen, wurde hier daraus ein Gnadengeschenk Gottes, das der Mensch entsprechend zu pflegen hatte (Boeder 1994 für diese Zusammenhänge). Hier wurden denn auch eigene Schriftsysteme 'erfunden', die vor allem auch in ihrer Form die emblematische Abgrenzung vom griechischen Modell deutlich machen: im 4. Jh. bei den Goten (damals an der Schwarzmeerküste), Anfang des 5. Jhs. bei den Armeniern, etwas später bei den Georgiern (dazu Art. 74).

Bei den arabischen Traditionszusammenhängen ist der Vergleich mit den sprachlich eng verwandten neusyrischen (aramäischen) Entwicklungen aufschlussreich: Diese konnten an den modernen Entwicklungen im 19. Jh. partizipieren, sodass hier moderne Volksbildungsbestrebungen in Verbindung mit einem neuen Frömmigkeitsverständnis auch zur Etablierung moderner Schriftsprachen führten, die eine Harmonisierung mit der Tradition des altsyrischen Schriftkanons versuchen, indem sie die etymologische Transparenz der etablierten Orthographie maximierten (vgl. H. Murre-van den Berg 1999). Im Judentum selbst bildete das hebräische Schriftmonopol eine Barriere, die mit der Kanonisierung der Schriftlesweise im 8./9. Jh. in ihrem Status als Imago gefestigt wurde. Versuche, andere Sprachformen mit den in den jüdischen religiösen Institutionen vermittelten schriftsprachlichen Res-

ourcen zu verschriften, etwa im deutschsprachigen Raum das Jiddische, wurden entsprechend stigmatisiert: Dieses galt als 'Weibersprache', die allenfalls noch für säkulare Geschäfte nutzbar war (die moderne positive Besetzung des Jiddischen ist jung, eine Folge der romantischen Bewegungen bei der europäischen Intelligenz im 19. Jh., vgl. Simon 1993). Im Christentum waren außerhalb der frühen östlichen Entwicklungen die Widerstände ebenfalls groß: Erst unter dem Druck der gesellschaftlichen Verhältnisse im Mittelalter begann die systematische Verschriftung der 'Volksprachen', nach lateinischem Modell im Westen (germanische, romanische und westslavische Sprachen), nach griechischem Modell im Osten (ost- und südslavische Sprachen). Derartige Umstellungen auf eine sprechsprachlich fundierte Schriftsprache waren zwangsläufig mit einer Regionalisierung der Schriftkultur erkaufte. Die Universalität der lateinischen Schriftsprache wurde in Europa von den Nationalsprachen abgelöst, die aber ihrerseits auf ihrem gesellschaftlichen Territorium im kleineren Maßstab eben dieses universale Modell einer dezentrierten Schriftsprache replizierten, in einem Kampf gegen die Entstehung einer Vielfalt von regionalen Schriftsprachen, der auch heute noch nicht abgeschlossen ist. Eine genauere Analyse der Etablierung der modernen Nationalsprachen im ausgehenden Mittelalter zeigt, dass diese sich nur teilweise aus der pragmatisch-funktionalen Zielsetzung einer überregional brauchbaren Verkehrssprache erklären (in traditionellen Gesellschaften ist die Verständigung in unterschiedlichen Varietäten selbstverständlich); dieser Prozess war vielmehr ausgerichtet an dem Modell einer gewissermaßen definitionsgemäß einheitlichen 'Hochsprache', die auf den Horizont der neuen Markt- bzw. Staatsstrukturen kalibriert wurde. Die 'Hochsprache' konnte als Nationalsprache definitionsgemäß keine lokale Sprache sein. Die entsprechende Imago zeigt sich in der zeitgenössischen Literatur in den dort reich überlieferten Spuren von Sprachspott über abweichendes Verhalten – lange bevor durch die Anstrengung der Grammatiker die hochsprachliche Norm kodifiziert worden ist. Gerade auch das Problem der 'Minderheiten' macht die Wirkung der Imago deutlich: Diese werden der 'universalen' Hochsprache subsumiert, obwohl ihre Sprachen nicht wie die anderen regionalen Varietäten durch eine Familienbezie-

hung zur Hochsprache 'überdacht' werden. Andererseits macht das aber auch ihren Ausnahmestatus aus: Sie fallen aus der Homogenisierung der gesellschaftlichen Verhältnisse heraus, wenn es nicht gelingt, sie eben doch als eine der sprechsprachlichen Varietäten wahrnehmen zu lassen, in denen die Schriftsprache fundierbar ist (wie es in Deutschland z. B. mit dem Niederdeutschen seit dem 18. Jh. der Fall ist, dessen Varietäten heute als Dialekte des [Hoch-] Deutschen wahrgenommen werden – im Gegensatz zu den niederfränkischen Varietäten in den Niederlanden). Ein extremer Fall ist in dieser Hinsicht die muslimische Welt, durch die Bindung an das (Klassische) Arabische als der Sprache der Offenbarung. Insoweit die Gläubigen sich selbst auch als Sprecher dieser Sprache empfinden (allerdings in einer vorgeblich 'korrupten' Form davon), verweigern sie sich in der Regel der Vorstellung einer Ausdifferenzierung des schriftspracharabischen Raumes in eine Vielfalt von 'Nationalsprachen': Die nationalen Verfassungen deklarieren vielmehr die einheitliche arabische Schriftsprache der *Umma* (arab. für die Gemeinschaft aller Gläubigen/arabisch Sprechenden) zugleich als jeweilige Nationalsprache.

##### 5. Die soziale Konstitution schriftkultureller Strukturen: Orthographie

Die Ablösung von dem normativen traditionellen Modell schriftkultureller Verhältnisse erfordert es, auch ihre formellen Aspekte sozial zu rekonstruieren. Das gilt insbesondere für die Orthographien, wenn diese nicht als willkürliche Setzungen, letztlich als individuelle Einfälle betrachtet werden (was so nur für Schrifterfindungen und Reformvorschläge gelten kann), sondern als sozial sanktionierte Muster, die unter den Bedingungen ihrer Lernbarkeit stehen: Das traditionale Modell ist abgelesen an einer segmentalen Schichtung der sprachlichen Praxis, die das formelle Register, zumindest in seiner skribalen Umsetzung, an eine professionelle Schicht bindet, die ein kastenartiges Interesse daran hat, die literaten Strukturen schwer zugänglich zu machen. Die Demotisierung der Schriftkultur ist insofern daran gebunden, dass die Strukturen der Orthographie optimal lernbar sind, indem sie maximal in dem sprachlichen Wissen fundiert sind, das mit der gesprochenen Sprache 'spontan' erworben worden ist. Die Demo-

tisierung der Schriftkultur ist daher ein gesellschaftlicher Prozess, der immer auch mit dem Umbau der ins Werk gesetzten orthographischen Strukturen verbunden ist (für Überblicke s. Fodor/Hagège 1991/1994; Fishman 1988; auch Daniels/Bright 1996). Insofern spiegeln Orthographien aber auch die gesellschaftliche Verfasstheit der jeweiligen Schriftkultur wider. In den modernen Nationalstaaten beruhen die Orthographien auf der Durchlässigkeit der Registervariation, in denen die Schriftkultur fundiert, bei der die gesprochenen Varietäten von der Hochsprache überdacht werden. Wo diese Überdachung nicht gegeben ist, ist mit der Sprachverschiedenheit die Möglichkeit einer Pluralität von Schriftsprachen gegeben. Ein besonderes Problem ergibt sich dabei, wenn neben der Hochsprache *vernakuläre* Sprachen verschriftet werden (*vernakulär*: zu lat. *verna* 'im Haus geboren [von Sklaven]'), die die informellen Register artikulieren und nicht in anderen gesellschaftlichen Horizonten ihrerseits als Schriftsprachen ausgebaut sind.

In den Diskussionen um solche Verschriftungen zeigen sich charakteristische Verkürzungen gerade auch da, wo sie in enger Anbindung an die moderne deskriptive Sprachwissenschaft geführt werden, wie es bei dem in dieser Hinsicht mit seinen Missionsaktivitäten weltweit operierenden *Summer Institute of Linguistics* (SIL) der Fall ist. Bei diesem wird die Verschriftung i. S. des für das SIL richtungsweisende methodische Handbuchs von Pike (1947) vorwiegend phonographisch verstanden. Dem entspricht dort die praktische Zielsetzung, dass die Schüler in den Missionsschulen die religiösen Texte auch laut vorlesen können. Die UNESCO hat sich diese Zielsetzung in ihrem Manifest von 1953 ausdrücklich zu eigen gemacht, wenn sie als Kriterium für die Schaffung eines Schriftsystems bzw. einer Orthographie verlangt: 'Agreement with phonemes of the language' (S. 62). Die vorrangige Umsetzung dieses Programms ist in den Alphabetisierungskampagnen auf die Schaffung von Materialien für den Elementarunterricht gerichtet, mit der Zielsetzung, dass die Texte vorgelesen werden können. Das entspricht in den mehrsprachigen Gesellschaften allerdings auch der Tatsache, dass der weiterführende Unterricht (und der Umgang mit komplexeren Texten) dort, (wenn überhaupt) dann in einer anderen Sprache erfolgt, für die allein sich die Frage

einer Orthographie in vollem Sinne stellt (vgl. dazu Smalley 1963). Das schließt nicht aus, dass derartige methodischen Fragen gerade auch beim SIL im Rahmen des dort vorgegebenen zyklisch aufgebauten Ebenenmodells der Analysen ('Tagmemik') systematisch reflektiert worden sind. Gudschinsky (1967) präsentiert die Orthographie ausdrücklich als grammatisch strukturiertes Zeichensystem, dessen produktive Muster von Anfang an den Elementarunterricht bestimmen müssen, wenn dieser nicht im sinnlosen Reproduzieren von Textfragmenten bestehen soll. Der Aufbau orthographischer Kompetenz bei den Lernern entspricht so dem Ausbau der jeweiligen Sprache für eine literate Praxis. Grundstrukturen sind entsprechend die wörtliche (Aus-) Gliederung, die im Hinblick auf die phonographische Repräsentation sekundär ist, und bei komplexeren Textstrukturen deren syntaktische Gliederung (die 'Interpunktion'). Gerade in den Arbeiten des SIL, das in der Tradition von Sapir die strukturelle Analyse an ihre operationale Bewährung in Sprecherreaktionen bindet, ist daher die soziale Akzeptanz orthographischer Umsetzungen ein methodisch zwangsläufiger Schritt (s. Gudschinsky 1974 für einen Überblick). Methodische Fragen der Wortausgliederung auf den verschiedenen Analyseebenen haben hier einen Fluchtpunkt: Tests mit Gewährsleuten, die zum Schreiben in ihrer Muttersprache angelernt wurden, ebenso wie Erfahrungen mit entsprechend verschrifteten Fibeln zeigen, dass das orthographische Wort in der Regel nicht die phonetische Variation im Satzzusammenhang (den 'externen Sandhi') repräsentieren soll, andererseits aber auch nicht ohne weiteres mit dem hypostasierten lexikalischen Wort gleichzusetzen ist, sondern das phonologische Wort (ggf. mit Klitika u. dgl.) repräsentieren muss. Hier sind sprachbauspezifische Regelungen erforderlich, ggf. auch Wortbinnengliederungen durch Bindestriche, Apostrophe u. dgl. (s. z. B. Gudschinsky u. a. 1970 für ein komplexes Beispiel mit epenthetischen Syllabierungen, die orthographisch zu 'überlesen' sind).

Dabei zeigt sich dann, dass strukturelle Analysen nur einen Faktor bei der Akzeptanz von Verschriftungsprojekten isolieren. Da die Verschriftung von vernakulären Sprachen (i. S. der UNESCO-Definition von 1953 solchen, die weder im jeweiligen Staatsgebiet noch in anderen Territorien einen offiziellen Status haben) i. d. R. in mehrspra-

chigen Gesellschaften erfolgt, stehen alle orthographischen Vorschläge im Horizont der Orthographie der jeweils dominanten Sprache(n), für die die Lerner oft auch schon rudimentäre (skribale) Kenntnisse mitbringen, die sie i. d. R. aber auch beherrschen lernen wollen. Diese fungieren so zwangsläufig als Modell, u. U. auch als normative Imago. Das kann zu Konflikten vor allem da führen, wo es keine unmittelbare Replikationsmöglichkeit für orthographische Lösungen gibt, wie z. B. bei der Verschriftung von Tonsystemen in Alphabetschriften (lateinisch, kyrillisch u. a.). Das Ergebnis sind oft unterdifferenzierte Verschriftungsvorschläge, die die Töne nicht markieren, wobei unterstellt wird, dass die Sprecher die zu lesenden Wortformen (wieder-) erkennen und dann richtig aussprechen können. Modellhaft deutlich sind diese Probleme bei der langen Geschichte der 'Latinisierung' der chinesischen Schreibungen: Konkurrierende Versuche, darunter auch solche, bei denen die Tonnotierung ganz unterlassen wurden, gibt es seit Anfang des 20. Jhs. Ein ingenüoses System, die Töne ohne diakritische Zeichen, durch eine Kombinatorik von regulären lateinischen Buchstaben zu notieren, die die phonotaktischen Restriktionen des chinesischen Silbenbaus ausnutzt, gibt es seit den 20er Jahren (von Y. R. Chao erfunden); es konnte sich nicht durchsetzen, weil es für den Elementarunterricht das Handicap einer nicht monoton definierten phonographischen Zuordnung der Buchstaben hatte. Das heute auch im Elementarunterricht in China genutzte System des *Pinyin* hat diakritische Tonzeichen – wie das bereits 400 Jahre früher als Abkehr von der Notation mit den traditionellen chinesischen Schriftzeichen für das Vietnamesische entwickelte Schriftsystem (für Einzelheiten s. Daniels/Bright 1996). In solchen Fällen überlagern sich funktionale und konnotative Zwänge. Bei mittelamerikanischen Indianersprachen, deren Tonkonturen isolier- und fokussierbar sind, da sie auch als 'Pfeifsprache' extrahiert werden, bereitet ihre orthographische Repräsentation keine Probleme (s. z. B. Gudschinsky 1958), während in westafrikanischen Sprachgemeinschaften, deren Verhältnis zum Schreiben durch die kolonialen Schulsysteme geprägt ist, ihre Notation, so nötig sie aus strukturellen Gründen auch erscheinen mag, bei den Sprechern Befremden auslöst (Bird 2000). Gerade auch die für alle Ortho-



graphien grundlegende Wortausgliederung ist ein solches überdeterminiertes Feld. Nicht-demotisierte Schriftkulturen kennen oft die *scriptio continua*, wie sie in Europa bis weit ins Mittelalter üblich war. Wortausgrenzungen erfolgen oft sekundär, z. B. durch interpungierende Worttrenner, die sich gelegentlich schon in frühen Keilschrifttexten finden. Die westeuropäische Regelung einer konstanten Trennung durch Wortzwischenräume konnte sich beim Druck mit beweglichen Lettern durchsetzen. Andere orthographische Traditionen haben hier andere Lösungen der Ausgliederung gefunden: ostasiatische Schriften nutzen oft bestimmte Zeichenkombinationen, im Japanischen z. B. die konstante Mischung verschiedener Schriften (s. Daniels/Bright 1996). Hier spielen Sprachbaudifferenzen eine zentrale Rolle. Ein Beispiel kann die Probleme verdeutlichen. Die westeuropäischen Sprachen sind in ihrer Morphologie primär suffigierend, so dass die Worterkennung hier am linken Wortrand ausgerichtet ist, der den lexikalischen Kern des Wortes zeigt. Entsprechend sind die Wörterbücher dieser Sprachen alphabetisch nach dem linken Wortrand geordnet. Bei Sprachen, die den linken Wortrand in grammatischen Funktionen variieren, ist dieses orthographische Prinzip weniger robust. Das gilt z. B. für die semitischen Sprachen, deren traditionelle Wörterbücher entsprechend nach der internen Wortstruktur geordnet sind. Die lexikalische Identifizierung korrespondiert hier also nicht mit dem Wortrand, der z. B. in der arabischen Orthographie mehr oder weniger kongruent mit dem phonologischen Wort markiert wird. Neuarabische Varietäten bewahren in der Morphologie zwar das ererbte präfigierende Muster, weisen aber in anderer Hinsicht einen erheblichen Umbau auf, der zu Problemen führt, wenn sie nach dem Modell der *fosha* verschriftet werden sollen. So kennt z. B. das marokkanische Arabische eine Erweiterung der präfigierenden Verbalflexion (Imperfektiv) um ein indikatives Präfix *ka-* (*ka-n-mfi* 'ich bin dabei zu gehen', *mfi* ist der Verbstamm, vgl. *mfi-t* 'ich bin gegangen'). In 'naiven' Verschriftungen, die sich in Marokko finden (angeführte wörtliche Rede, Alltagstexte z. B. für die Vorbereitung der Führerscheinprüfung u. dgl.) werden solche Formen in arabischer Schrift verbunden geschrieben. Latinisierte Verschriftungen trennen die Formen dagegen: *kan mshi*, *ka nemchi* u. dgl. (abhän-

gig von der orthographischen Modellorientierung). Philologisch geschulte Schreiber trennen das *ka* ab, da sie in ihm ein etymologisches Relikt eines periphrastisch genutzten 'Hilfsverbs' sehen (hocharabisch *ka:na* 'sein'), und zwar auch, wenn sie die Formen in arabischer Schrift reproduzieren (auf diese Weise ist auch das aus der hoch-arabischen Schriftsprache vorgegebene Wortbild der Präfixkonjugation *nmfi:* zu reproduzieren: *ka: nmfi*). In der französischen Kolonialzeit waren einige Pädagogen schon einen Schritt weiter, indem sie das phonologische Wort des marokkanischen Arabischen graphisch repräsentierten, aber den Bindestrich für die morphologische Binnengliederung nutzen (*ka-nmši*). Das Beispiel zeigt, wie sich bei solchen Regelungen verschiedene Horizonte überlagern (zu den verschiedenen Möglichkeiten der Verschriftung des marokkanischen Arabischen und ihren Nutzungen, s. Maas/Mehlem i. E.). Ein instruktives Bild für die wenig genutzten orthographischen Möglichkeiten zur Wort(binnen)gliederung bietet die Anthologie von Bibelauszügen in The British and Foreign Bible Society (1965). Das sind nicht nur Probleme bei Neuverschriftungen. Die heute als Modellschriften dienenden europäischen Schriftsprachen zeigen ihrerseits die Spuren eines entsprechenden Kampfes um die Repräsentation von Strukturen in ihrer Frühzeit, die den zeitgenössischen Modellsprachen nicht kongruent waren. Sie sind überwiegend die Leistung der frühmodernen Drucker, die für den Markt effiziente Markierungen geschaffen haben: Dehnungs- und Schärfungsmarkierungen im Hinblick auf die prosodische Steuerung bei akzentprominenten Sprachen wie dem Deutschen; die satzinterne grammatische Majuskel im Hinblick auf die relativ freie Wortstellung und den Satzrahmen mit der möglichen Tmesis des Prädikatsausdrucks; die grammatisch geregelte Interpunktion (Kommatierung) zur Gliederung komplexer Sätze, insbesondere bei satzwertig ausgebauten Konstituenten u. dgl. Auch derartige Regelungen stehen in einer Übergangszone zu emblematischen Fragen. Die Alternative der Einführung von Sonderzeichen gegenüber Plurigraphien war in der Frühzeit der europäischen Schriftsysteme nicht anders als bei heutigen Neuverschriftungen nicht nur eine ästhetische Frage: die Zielsetzung eines 'unauffälligen' Schriftbildes ist immer im Hinblick auf eine Prestigeschrift definiert (hinzu kommen praktische

Fragen, wie die Möglichkeit, die vorgegebenen technischen Ressourcen mit 'internationalen' Standards zu nutzen (zunehmend kalibriert auf das Schriftsystem des Englischen): Schreibmaschinen, Telegrammübermittlung u.dgl. (dieser technische Faktor verliert allerdings angesichts der Flexibilität der Computer-Fonts seinen Stellenwert). Die genutzten Schriftzeichen markieren die skribale Seite der Schriftkultur. Sie konnotieren in der Regel sprachunabhängig kulturelle Räume, die zumeist an religiöse Areale, nicht an Sprachverwandtschaften gebunden sind: die Nagari-Schrift im Buddhismus/Hinduismus, die arabische Schrift im Islam, die lateinische Schrift im katholisch-protestantischen Christentum, die griechische (bzw. davon abgeleitet: die kyrillische) Schrift im orthodoxen Christentum usw. Die Verhältnisse sind heute i. d. R. aber komplexer, oft auch mit einer Mehrschriftigkeit, die nur teilweise einer Domänenaufteilung nach religiösen und pragmatischen Bereichen folgt. In Indien schreiben auch christliche Gemeinschaften in Nagari (unabhängig von der Sprache: auch Sprecher von Mundasprachen schreiben so ihre Muttersprache – auf der Basis einer verbreiteten Mehrsprachigkeit), ggf. neben dem Englischen (in lateinischer Schrift). Ähnlich wird in den meisten arabischen Ländern neben der arabischen auch die lateinische Schrift in Verbindung mit der jeweils zweiten Verkehrssprache (Französisch bzw. Englisch) genutzt. In Grenzfällen spiegelt die Mehrschriftigkeit direkt Registerdifferenzen. So wird in muslimischen Ländern am Südrand der Sahara traditionell in arabischer Schrift (dem *Ajami*) geschrieben, auch bei nicht-arabischen Sprachen wie z. B. beim Hausa. Durch das Kolonialsystem, verbunden z. T. mit der christlichen Missionierung, ist daneben auch die lateinische Schrift präsent: In christlichen Gemeinschaften wird z. B. auch Hausa so verschriftet. Wo eine Berbervarietät gesprochen wird (bei den Tuareg) wird diese z. T. auch heute noch in der traditionellen Schrift der *Tifinagh* geschrieben. Entsprechend dem Register gelten diese z. B. in Mali als informelle Schrift: so schreiben vor allem Frauen Briefe, früher wurden sie auch für geschäftliche Aufzeichnungen 'im Unreinen' genutzt, die bei der Reinschrift dann in arabische Schrift übertragen wurden (s. Galand 1989). Diese Kombination von pragmatisch-funktionalen und konnotativen Ausrichtungen im Schriftgebrauch, wie sie sich in

Ländern wie Mali findet, ist von den Diskussionen um die Standardverschriftung des Berber zu unterscheiden, die ausgehend von der berberischen Intelligenz in der europäischen Diaspora (vor allem in Frankreich) jetzt auch in den nordafrikanischen Ländern, vor allem in Marokko virulent wird: Hier werden die emblematischen Tifinagh gegenüber dem Arabischen präferiert, das als Repräsentant für nationale Unterdrückung gilt; die berberische Akademie in Marokko sieht sie inzwischen sogar für den künftigen Schulgebrauch vor. Bei den Auseinandersetzungen um Schriftsysteme können skribale Elemente (mit ihren Konnotationen) dominant werden. Ein dramatisches Beispiel dafür bietet die Verschriftung der Turksprachen. Diese ist zunächst im Rahmen der Islamisierung erfolgt, also mit einer (nach persischem Modell) mehr oder weniger abgewandelten Form der arabischen Schrift. Seit dem 19. Jh. gibt es einen virulenten Kampf dagegen, im russischen Zarenreich durch die erzwungene Umstellung auf die Kyrilliza. Nationale Bewegungen suchten eine Emanzipation von dem russischen Kolonialsystem durch die Latinisierung der Schrift, oft verbunden mit dem Versuch, phonetisch 'feinere' Schriftsysteme zu schaffen, die eine wechselseitige Abgrenzung der Nationalitäten symbolisierten. In der Frühzeit der revolutionären Sowjetunion wurden diese Bestrebungen unterstützt, wobei die Latinisierung emblematisch für die revolutionären Umwälzungen stand. Die repressive Politik der 30er Jahre stoppte diesen Prozess und oktroyierte erneut die Kyrilliza, wobei der Kampf gegen separatistische Tendenzen durch die Umstellung auf die lateinische Schrift in der Türkei 1928 als zusätzliches Moment wirkte (als Gefahr einer so symbolisierten großtürkischen Bewegung, s. Baldauf 1993). Die sprach- und orthographiereformerischen Bestrebungen in den neuen turksprachigen Staaten der ehemaligen Sowjetunion setzen diese Auseinandersetzungen fort. Rein skribale Abgrenzungen stehen in einem Kontinuum zu orthographischen, wobei anzunehmen ist, dass die Dominanz rein skribaler Emblematis mit einem geringen Grad an literaler Verfasstheit der Gesellschaft korreliert (dem Vorkommen bildlichen und magischen Umgangs mit Schriftlichem u.dgl.). Die emblematische Funktion spielt in allen nationalen Bewegungen eine Rolle, überdeckt oft die sozioökonomischen Kräfte, z. B. bei der Formie-

rung der katalanischen Gesellschaft (s. Neu-Altenheimer 1989; zu den orthographischen Optionen s. Meisenburg 1996). Spiegelverkehrt zu der Funktion bei der gesellschaftlichen Abgrenzung ist die Funktion zur gesellschaftlichen Integration, wenn etymologisch ausgerichtete Orthographien es erlauben, mit der Schrift einen dialektal differenzierten Raum zu 'überdachen', was auch eines der Probleme für die Schaffung von vernakulären Orthographien ist (und so z. B. auch schon in den Beiträgen in Smalley 1963 diskutiert wird). Ein Sonderproblem dabei ist die Repräsentation von 'Fremdwörtern', deren radikale graphische (und in Verbindung damit auch phonologische) Adaptierung auch ein Mittel zur Abgrenzung von der in dieser Hinsicht konservativen dominanten Schriftsprache bietet (weshalb derartige Reformen bei den großen Schriftsprachen weniger Erfolgsaussichten haben; instruktiv zu den Turksprachen, s. Johanson 1986). Daher können in dieser Hinsicht Minderheiten am weitesten gehen, deren Verschriftung zu einem Anliegen einer kleinen intellektuellen Schicht geworden ist und nicht mehr den Bedingungen der Demotizierbarkeit unterliegt; ein Beispiel ist das Irische, dessen ausgetüfteltes System von morphologischer Konstantanschreibung relativ zu einer extremen Variabilität der Wortformen (insbesondere auch der 'Lenisierung' der stamminitialen Konsonanten) die Graphien zwar für Schreibungen des Altirischen transparent sein läßt, einen damit nicht Vertrauten aber noch nicht einmal eine Vorstellung von der Lautung der Formen vermittelt (ÓBaoill/ÓRiagáin 1990).

6. Die Modellierung von Literalität: ein soziolinguistisches Modell

Aus den vorausgehenden Überlegungen folgt, dass Literalität als dynamisches Konzept zu modellieren ist, das die jeweiligen sprachlichen Verhältnisse charakterisiert. Die Pole einer entsprechenden Entwicklungsdynamik können in der eingeführten Begrifflichkeit als traditionale, professionell beschränkte Schriftlichkeit gegenüber einer modernen, demotisierten gefasst werden und idealtypisch in den Dimensionen der Registervariation und der genutzten medialen Techniken charakterisiert werden. Bei traditionellen segmentalen Strukturen sind orale und skribale Praxen disjunkt, die Dynamik besteht darin, dass formale mündliche

Praktiken zunehmend durch skribale Praktiken mit entsprechend literaten Strukturen beeinflusst werden: der Duktus der schriftlich fixierten Texte, ob im Verwaltungs- oder im religiös-zeremonialen Bereich, findet sich nicht nur in vorgelesenen Texten, sondern dient in dieser Domäne auch als Modell für mündliche Praktiken (wie z. B. die lateinische Syntax in den westeuropäischen Sprachen als Modell für den Ausbau der Syntax der germanischen Sprachen diente).

	MEDIAL	ORAL	SKRIBAL
REGISTER			
FORMELL			←
INFORMELL			
INTIM			

Abb. 220.2: Dynamik der traditionellen, professionell beschränkten Schriftlichkeit

Die Dynamik der modernen Gesellschaften ist in dieser Hinsicht durch eine tendenzielle Homogenisierung bestimmt, bei der orale und skribale Techniken zunehmend als Optionen in allen Registern erscheinen, was zu den notorischen Abgrenzungsproblemen der Diskussion um Mündlichkeit und Schriftlichkeit führt: informelle und auch intime sprechsprachliche Formen werden in der modernen Literatur genauso wie in Formen des elektronischen 'Chats' skribal repräsentiert. Voraussetzung dafür ist allerdings eine sprachliche Integration i. S. der Überdachung durch die Schriftsprache: Wo in den nicht-förmlichen Registern nicht-verbundene sprachliche Varietäten genutzt werden, tendieren diese dazu, zunehmend nur noch oral praktiziert zu werden, wie es auch bei 'altverschrifteten' Minoritätensprachen (trotz der ihnen zukommenden Förderung) der Fall ist, erst recht bei den unterschichtenden Migrantensprachen.

	MEDIAL	ORAL	SKRIBAL
REGISTER			
FORMELL			↓
INFORMELL			
INTIM			

Abb. 220.3: Dynamik der modernen, demotisierten Schriftlichkeit

Die Verschiebungen in den so charakterisierten Polen korrelieren mit anderen

Aspekten der sprachlichen Verhältnisse. Der segmentalen Struktur traditionaler Verhältnisse entspricht die Überlagerung der Differenzierungen durch die große Distanz der genutzten sprachlichen Varietäten, für die die häufige Vielsprachigkeit der Bevölkerung in 'vormodernen' Gesellschaften steht, insbesondere aber auch die skribale Nutzung einer Schriftsprache, die mit der gesprochenen Umgangssprache (im informellen Register) keine Verwandtschaft zeigt. Demgegenüber sind die modernen Verhältnisse von einer tendenziellen Integration der genutzten sprachlichen Varietäten bestimmt, bei der die verschiedenen Registervarietäten als Varietäten ('Dialekte') der überdachten Hochsprache angesehen werden, bestimmt durch die schriftsprachliche Ausrichtung der Volksschule auch als *Aussprache*varietäten der Schriftsprache. Die segmentale Struktur traditionaler Verhältnisse ist vor allem eine Beschränkung der gesellschaftlichen Partizipationsmöglichkeiten: Der Zugang zu skribalen Techniken ist professionell abgeschottet, und auch informelle Kommunikationsformen erlauben nur einen regional beschränkten Verkehr (der nur durch Mehrsprachigkeit überwunden werden kann). Eine literale Gesellschaft kann allen ihren Mitgliedern den Zugang zur Schriftkultur nur sichern, wenn sie diesen über eine optimale Nutzung der spontan verfügbaren sprachlichen Kompetenzen möglich macht: d. h. über eine maximale Durchlässigkeit zwischen den verschiedenen Registern in Hinblick auf die fundierenden Sprachstrukturen der Schriftkultur. Mit der Diffusion skribaler Kenntnisse ist es nicht getan, wie die funktionalen Analphabeten der modernen Industriegesellschaften, die ihre Schulpflicht absolviert haben, genauso zeigen wie deren verbreitete Nutzung im 'Bildmodus' in semiliteraten Gesellschaften. Von daher bestimmen sich auch die Anforderungen an orthographische Systeme für demotisierte Schriftkulturen, die in einem jahrhundertelangen Adaptierungsprozess vorgegebener Schriftsysteme (die zumeist aus traditionellen Verhältnissen überliefert sind) an eine demotisierte Praxis adaptiert sind, um sie maximal im Sprachwissen aller Nutzer zu fundieren. Aus diesen Bestimmungen folgt, dass die Zuschreibung der Attribute *litterat* und *orator* nicht holistisch für eine ganze Gesellschaft erfolgen kann: Sie bezeichnen zunächst bestimmte Praktiken, die i. S. der Ethnographie als *litterate* und

*orator Ereignisse* zu beschreiben sind, die als solche in den verschiedenen Gesellschaften gleichzeitig vorkommen. Sie grenzen Teilbereiche der gesellschaftlichen Praxis aus: nicht nur gibt es in allen, auch den modernen Gesellschaften weiterhin *orator Ereignisse*, sondern *orator* Praktiken sind überwiegend auch zur Situierung literater Praktiken konstitutiv: in ihnen fundieren die 'Kontextualisierungen' (Gumperz), die 'reguläre Ausdrücke' verankern und damit interpretierbar machen. Die gegenteilige Vorstellung, die Autonomisierung der Schriftsprache, die den normativen Diskurs charakterisiert, ist Ausdruck der hochsprachlichen Imago im rhetorischen Modell (vgl. Tab. 220.1; s. Hornberger (2003) für den Versuch einer differenzierten Modellierung.) Abhängig davon, wieweit die gesellschaftliche Reproduktion durch literate Praktiken bestimmt ist, ändert sich das Verhältnis der einzelnen zur Schriftkultur. In den modernen europäischen Gesellschaften lässt sich das in dem langen Prozess ihrer Genese nachzeichnen, der von den spätmittelalterlichen Städten bis zur Gegenwart führt und in dem die Kategorie des *Analphabeten* konstituiert wurde. Im 16. Jh. finden sich die ersten Regelungen, die den Sonderstatus von nicht literaten Teilnehmern an der gesellschaftlichen Geschäftsführung regeln (z. B. von nicht literaten Zeugen in Gerichtsverfahren), während diese vorher nicht auffällig waren. Nachdem seit dem Ende des 19. Jh. aus der Schulpflicht die vollständige Literalität der europäischen Gesellschaften abgeleitet wurde, gelten nicht literate erwachsene Personen als *Analphabeten*, d. h. als quasi pathologische Fälle. Die heute nach anderen Kriterien diagnostizierte 'funktionale Illiteralität' macht den nicht-abgeschlossenen Prozess der distributiven Partizipation an der Literalität deutlich. Schematisierte Argumentationen wie diese hier haben vor allem eine heuristische Funktion als Anleitung zur weiteren Forschung, die die besonderen Faktoren der jeweils zu untersuchenden Verhältnisse zu bestimmen hat. Das gilt insbesondere für die Bestimmung des Horizontes, in dem die festzustellende Dynamik definiert ist. Die Dynamik der schriftkulturellen Entwicklung ist notwendigerweise eine der Dezentrierung gegenüber der vorgegebenen Ausrichtung der primär entwickelten (und dabei zu nutzen) sprachlichen Ressourcen. Eine solche Entwicklung verläuft *autozentriert*, wenn

der Ausbau der verfügbaren Strukturen unter der Vorgabe funktionaler Erfordernisse erfolgt. Die Annahme rein autozentrierter (endogener) Prozesse ist aber offensichtlich kontrafaktisch: Kulturelle Entwicklungen sind wohl immer kontaktbestimmt. Schriftsprachliche Entwicklungen werden durch Entlehnungen angestoßen, angefangen bei dem genutzten Schriftsystem. Fraglich ist aber der Grad der *Heterozentrierung* der damit freigesetzten Entwicklungen. Der religiöse Horizont, in dem viele dieser Prozesse abgelaufen sind, gibt gewissermaßen zwangsläufig eine solche Heterozentrierung vor, bestimmt durch die Sprache und Schrift der oktroyierten Schriftkultur. Die Adaptierung an die sprachlichen Ressourcen der zu Missionierenden ist zunächst wohl immer nur im förmlichen Register ein Hilfsmittel für den angemessenen Vortrag der (fremdsprachlichen) religiösen Texte, wie etwa bei den dazu entwickelten 'phonetisierenden' Hilfszeichen der arabischen Orthographie (*taschkil*). Auch da, wo (wie bei den christlichen Missionaren) die Übersetzung zentraler Texte als Teil der Mission begriffen wurde, waren und sind die dazu entwickelten Orthographien in erster Linie als Vorgaben für einen mündlichen Vortrag (also i. S. einer vereinfachten Transkription) verstanden, und nicht als Entwicklung einer Orthographie als Ressource für eine demotisierte Schriftkultur (mit dem Vorrang grammatischer Strukturen literater Texte). In einem umfassenderen Sinne gehören diese Fragen in den Bereich der leitenden schriftkulturellen Konzeptualisierung, also der Schrift-*Imago*, die als Zensurinstanz für die Praxis fungiert. In diesem Zusammenhang kommt den emblematischen Funktionen skribaler Elemente eine große Bedeutung zu, die funktionale Optimierungen der Schriftsysteme oft blockieren.

In Fortführung des eingangs angesprochenen älteren Diskurses wird Literalität auch in der jüngeren Literatur oft als autonomer Entwicklungsfaktor bzw. sogar als Motor der Entwicklung angesprochen. Die neuere Forschung stellt das infrage (s. Tabouret-Keller u. a. 1997). Der funktionalen Analphabetisierung in den westlichen Industrieländern entspricht die überall zu diagnostizierende postalphabetisierte Illiteralität, wo die Menschen die Erfahrung machen, dass die literaten Kenntnisse ihnen keine ökonomischen Vorteile bringen; die Virulenz der sozialen Spannungen in vielen

Gesellschaften der Dritten Welt resultiert nicht zuletzt daraus, dass einem mit enormen Anstrengungen in den letzten Jahren ausgebauten Bildungssystem keine entsprechenden Arbeitsmarktchancen für die Verwertung der so erworbenen formalen Qualifikationen entspricht. Die Analyse der europäischen Entwicklungen zu modernen literaten Gesellschaften zeigt, dass diese zwar über die ökonomischen Zwänge angesprochen wurde, in denen sich die Menschen der skribalen und literaten Grundfertigkeiten versicherten, dass diese aber nicht der Motor der Entwicklung war: Der Impuls zum Ausbau der erworbenen Grundfertigkeiten im literaten Sinne lag darin, dass die Menschen danach trachteten, im vollen Sinne zum Subjekt der immer undurchsichtigeren Verhältnisse zu werden, wozu ihnen deren symbolische Bearbeitung in der Schrift verhalf. In den derzeitigen Verhältnissen, nicht nur in der Dritten Welt, ist ein ähnliches subjektives Moment bei frauenbewegten Alphabetisierungsgruppen auszumachen (s. Olson/Torrance 2001 für Beispiele). In dieser Linie liegt auch die oben schon erwähnte Redefinition von Literalität auf der Konferenz von Jomtien (UNESCO 1990). In dieser Hinsicht liegt denn vermutlich auch der größte Unterschied zwischen schulischen Veranstaltungen zur Alphabetisierung und solchen der Erwachsenenbildung: Kinder sind grundsätzlich bereit, sich auf alle kulturellen Anforderungen einzulassen, denen sie sich konfrontiert sehen – sie meistern sie, wenn sie die Möglichkeit bekommen, ihre Funktionslust dabei auszuleben. Erwachsene (wobei die Altergrenze durch die Zwänge der ökonomischen Reproduktion definiert ist) relativieren solche Bemühungen im Hinblick auf das übergeordnete Ziel der materiellen Reproduktion – sie begnügen sich in der Regel mit pragmatisch reduzierten Formen, die den kommunikativen Zwängen des Alltags genügen. Auf diesem Feld liegen noch viel zu wenig gesicherte Forschungsergebnisse vor (s. Edwards/Corson 1997). Deutlich ist aber, dass Veranstaltungen mit dem Ziel der Literalität zu kurz greifen, wenn sie allein auf pragmatische Zwänge des Alltags setzen und damit die Perspektive auf die erweiterte Literalität versperren. Schriftkultur im umfassenden Sinne muss hier den Horizont bilden, den sich Kinder als Gestaltschließung ihrer literaten Bearbeitungsversuche erschließen können, wenn sie dabei die entsprechende Unterstützung erfahren.

Die Möglichkeit, dass pragmatisch ansetzende Maßnahmen bei Erwachsenen als Weiterbildung am Arbeitsplatz greifen, ist offensichtlich problematisch: Die symbolisch gesteuerten Abläufe der Produktion und Distribution operieren zunehmend mit bildlichen Kodierungen (*icons*), wie sie jetzt auch am Computerbildschirm üblich sind, die zwar eine abstrakte Dekodierung verlangen (und so gelernt werden müssen), bei denen aber fraglich ist, ob ihre kognitive Verarbeitung Entsprechungen zu den literaten Strukturen der Schriftsprache aufweist und insofern den schriftkulturellen Horizont eröffnet. Dadurch stellt sich die beunruhigende Frage, ob mit dieser medialen Entwicklung nicht das Modell der Demotisierung der Schriftkultur der westlichen Gesellschaften grundlegend infrage gestellt wird und ob sich nicht die Schere der gesellschaftlichen Partizipationschancen immer weiter öffnet zwischen den Nicht-Literaten und denen, die Zugang zu den kognitiven Entschlüsselungen haben, die auf dem Weg der Schriftsprache lernbar werden. Empirische Forschungen, die Voraussetzungen bieten, nach Antworten auf solche Fragen zu suchen, stehen noch weitgehend aus (s. Levine 1997). Offensichtlich verknüpft eine solche Fragestellung Strukturen der gesellschaftlichen und der individuellen Entwicklung. Sie geht davon aus, dass die mit der praktizierten Literalität (in welcher Sprache auch immer) entfaltenen intellektuellen Ressourcen Potentiale für soziale Entwicklung bieten, die in einer rein oraten Praxis nicht verfügbar sind (s. Olson 1994, auch für eine Auseinandersetzung mit Kritiken daran). Die Auseinandersetzungen um diese Position zielen auf die Gefahr, mit ihr eine spezifische kulturelle Ausprägung von Schriftkultur zu naturalisieren (s. o. zu Street u. a.). Daher sind empirische Forschungen nötig, die zeigen, in welcher Weise schriftsprachliche Strukturen in kulturelle Kontexte eingebunden sind – es ist offensichtlich, dass die in der abendländischen Tradition für selbstverständlich gesetzten Idealkonzepte eines maximal literaten Textes nicht universal angesetzt werden können und insbesondere auch nicht direkt pädagogischen Programmen unterlegt werden können: sie können vielmehr durchaus in Konflikt mit lokalen kulturellen Werten stehen, z. B. dem Respekt vor dem anderen, der eine maximal explizite Artikulation verbietet, wie es Scollon/Scollon (1981) für nordamerikanische Indianer-

gemeinschaften gezeigt haben. Es ist deutlich, dass in diesem Bereich vor allem Forschungsdefizite bestehen. Aber diese erhalten ihre Bedeutung durch die Grundprämisse dieser Argumentation: Schrift ist eine kulturelle Ressource – und der Zugang zu ihr, ihre Praktizierung hat Konsequenzen für das Individuum, das sich diese Ressourcen verfügbar macht, und Konsequenzen für die Gemeinschaft, die in diesem Sinne durch schriftkulturelle Praktiken bestimmt ist. Auch wenn noch ungeklärt ist, wieviel von dem, was in der gesellschaftlichen Anschauung mit dieser Ressource bewerkstelligt wird, auch ohne sie möglich ist, steht die besondere Qualität der erweiterten schriftkulturellen Praxis nicht infrage. Nicht infrage steht, dass sich bewundernswerte ästhetische Leistungen auch in der oralen Literatur finden – und dass die fortgeschrittene ökonomische Produktion zumindest am unteren Ende der Fertigungsprozesse zunehmend auch ohne literate Kenntnisse auskommt. Die Aufgabe der (Sozio-)Linguistik ist es aber nicht, derartige große Fragen zu beantworten – ihre Aufgabe ist es, zu beschreiben, wie Menschen unter bestimmten gesellschaftlichen Bedingungen mit der Ressource Schrift umgehen.

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## 221. Alphabetisierung von Sprachgemeinschaften The Alphabetization of Speech Communities

1. Alphabetisierung und verwandte Begriffe
2. Literalität in Geschichte und Gegenwart
3. Forschungsperspektiven
4. Literatur (in Auswahl)

### 1. Alphabetisierung und verwandte Begriffe

#### 1.1. (An)alphabet, (il)literate

Eine Durchsicht der deutschsprachigen Enzyklopädien – als Dokumentation sedimentierten Wissens und allgemein eingeführter Begrifflichkeit – fördert den *Analphabeten* erst gegen Ende des 19. Jhs. zu Tage. Weder in der Germania noch Romania gibt es einen terminus proprius, der nicht aus gr. *alphabe-*

*tos* oder lat. *littera* abgeleitet wäre, ein Hinweis auf den historischen Zusammenhang von Literalität und klassischen Sprachen. Begriffs- und sozialgeschichtlich aufschlussreich ist, dass im 18. Jh. allenthalben die Notwendigkeit verbesserten Lese- und Schreibunterrichts gefordert wurde, es aber noch keinen Begriff der sozialen Ausgrenzung gab: Literalität war eine besondere Qualifikation, ihr Fehlen aber noch kein soziales Stigma.

#### 1.2. Vorgeschichte:

litteratus – illiteratus

Zur historischen Rekonstruktion der Begrifflichkeit ist es wichtig, die soziale Bedeu-



tung von Lesen und Schreiben bzw. *Nicht*-lesen und -schreiben zu ermitteln – denn dies ist nicht gleichzusetzen mit der individuellen Fähigkeit zur Schriftlichkeit überhaupt. Gerade im europäischen Mittelalter hat das Begriffspaar eine auf die vorhandene Mehrsprachigkeit (Latein vs. Vernakulare) und die ständische Gliederung bezogene Bedeutung. In der Forschungsliteratur werden die Äquivalenzen *litteratus* = *clericus* = ‘der des Schriftlateins Kundige’ und *illiteratus* = *laicus* = ‘volkssprachlich-mündlich’ diskutiert (Grundmann 1958; Riché 1962; 1981; Bäuml 1980; Petrucci/Romeo 1992). Im Gegensatz zu modernen Begrifflichkeiten handelte es sich hier nicht um einen polaren Gegensatz, sondern um unterschiedliche Formen sprachlicher Praxis, die als ‘Hören und Lesen’ zueinander in Wechselwirkung stehen (Bäuml 1968; 1993; Green 1990). Seit dem späten 11. Jh. begann die zunehmende Konkurrenz von Latein und verschriftetem Vernakular die funktionale und sozial distinktive Verteilung von Schriftsprachlichkeit zu überlagern. Begriffsverschiebungen, -verengungen und Rückverweisungen auf ältere Bedeutungen hängen mit dem Entwicklungsgrad von Schriftkultur zusammen, die begrifflichen Dichotomien verraten die soziale Verteilung und Geltung schriftsprachlicher Praxis und Fähigkeiten – und regeln sie auch. Im späten 18. und dann im 19. Jh. verschränkte sich der Kulturbegriff mit einer besonderen Form von Schriftlichkeit, der schriftsprachlich und klassisch ‘Gebildete’ hatte recht eigentlich *die* Gesellschaft zu bilden.

### 1.3. Systematische Begriffe

Wenn nicht die politische Funktion der traditionellen dichotomischen Begrifflichkeit verlängert werden soll, bedarf es zur Beschreibung historischer und aktueller allgemeingesellschaftlicher wie biographischer Schriftsprachlichkeit eines differenzierteren Instrumentariums. Es sollten vor allem die systematischen Zwischenstufen zwischen dem völligen Fehlen jeder Schriftkultur/-beherrschung und der vollständigen Ausbildung aller Formen von Schriftkultur bzw. deren Aneignung, gleichwohl auch Entwicklung, Zunahme und Abbau von Schriftsprachlichkeit, erfasst werden. ‘Alphabetisierung’ kann sich unter sprachpolitischen Aspekten zumindest auf drei grundsätzlich verschiedene Situationen beziehen:

- Aufhebung mangelhafter Lese- und Schreibfähigkeiten eines kleineren Bevölkerungsteils in einem schriftkulturell geprägten Land wie z.B. der Bundesrepublik Deutschland
- Vermittlung schriftsprachlicher Fähigkeiten an die große Mehrheit der Bevölkerung (hier vor allem in vielen Staaten Afrikas und Südasiens)
- Einführung einer geschriebenen Standardsprache in mehrsprachigen Ländern

An den Definitionen von Analphabetismus, die von der UNESCO bis in die 80er Jahre des 20. Jhs. verwendet wurden, lassen sich mangelnde Differenzierungen wie schriftzentrierte Perspektiven erkennen. So ist die funktionale Bestimmung der UNESCO, “a person is literate when he has acquired the essential knowledge and skills which enable him to engage in all those activities in which literacy is required for effective functioning in his group and community [...]” (nach Harman 1970, 226), nur auf Gesellschaften anwendbar, die schon schriftkulturell geprägt sind. (Zu den damit verbundenen Problemen von Mehrsprachigkeit und sprachlichen Minderheiten vgl. Ferguson 1978; Coulmas 1984; zur begrenzten Tauglichkeit derartiger Definitionen zur Klassifikation von Literalität vgl. Verhoeven 1994; zur sozialen Dimension von Schriftlichkeit Stubbs 1980.) Auch erforderte der politische, technologische und mediale Wandel in den letzten Jahrzehnten eine Neujustierung dessen, was unter ‘funktionaler Literalität’ (functional literacy) verstanden werden sollte (vgl. 2.4.1.). In biographischer Perspektive ist zwischen teilweisem und vollständigem Erwerb schriftsprachlicher Fähigkeiten und deren Abbau durch mangelnde schriftsprachliche Praxis (= sekundärer Analphabetismus) zu unterscheiden; schließlich findet sich überall dort, wo Schrifterwerb an kanonische, formelhafte Texte gebunden ist, häufig ein ausgeprägter Scheinalphabetismus, der sich in vorgetäuschten Lesen tatsächlich memorierter, vorwiegend religiöser Textvorlagen äußert. Begriffsgeschichte wie kritische Betrachtung der in der Alphabetismusforschung und Alphabetisierungspolitik bis in die 80er Jahre des 20. Jhs. anzutreffenden Begrifflichkeiten lassen erkennen, dass häufig weder zwischen individueller und gesellschaftlicher Schriftsprachlichkeit noch zwischen Mündlichkeit und Schriftlichkeit als unterschiedene For-

men sprachlicher Praxis genügend differenziert wurde. Ein 'illiterater' Sprecher einer entwickelten Schriftkultur ist etwas anderes als der 'orale Literat' in einer schriftlosen Gesellschaft, der schriftsprachlich Gebildete in einer teilliteralisierten Gesellschaft darf nicht mit dem in einer voll entwickelten Schriftkultur gleichgesetzt werden. Defizitäre und komplementäre Mündlichkeit sind zwei verschiedene Dinge. Die durchgängige Charakterisierung des Analphabeten als Mängelwesen ist einer schriftzentrierten Perspektive geschuldet, die von vornherein von der notwendigen Entwicklung hin zur Schriftkultur wie von deren Überlegenheit überzeugt ist.

## 2. Literalität in Geschichte und Gegenwart

Neben der Ethnographie des Sprechens und Schreibens (Basso 1974; Baumann/Sherzer 1974; Hymes 1974; Bynum 1978; Heath 1981; vgl. auch Art. 137) hat sich vor allem die kulturanthropologische (Assmann/Assmann/Hardtmeier 1983; Assmann 1999) und sozialgeschichtliche Forschung um die Entwicklung brauchbarer Kategorien und Methoden bemüht. Ihre Resultate haben auch die linguistische Diskussion von Oralität und Schriftlichkeit beeinflusst. Neben den Arbeiten von Ong (1967; 1977; 1981; 1982; 1986) und Havelock (1963; 1973; 1976; 1978; 1990; 1992) waren es vor allem die Untersuchungen von Goody (Goody/Watt 1962/63; Goody 1968; 1976; 1977; 1982; 1990), die in einer historisch und ethnisch weiträumigen Perspektive die verschiedenen systematischen und funktionalen Aspekte schriftsprachlicher Praxis verschiedener Kulturen aufdeckten und, im Gegensatz zur Schriftgeschichte, auch die kognitiven Implikationen von Transformationsprozessen thematisierten. Die forschungsstrategisch sicherlich legitime Betonung der kognitiven Differenz von Oralität und Literalität blieb freilich nicht ohne Widerspruch. So verwiesen Clanchy (1979/1993) auf die Adaptation schriftlicher Texte an orale Praktiken und Graff (1987/1995) auf die Einbettung von Schriftlichkeit in Formen mündlicher Rezeption und Instruktion und nahmen damit Übergangsformen und Vermittlungsprozesse in den Blick. Neuere Arbeiten zur Mediengeschichte wie auch zur mittelalterlichen Performanzkultur gehen von der Koexistenz von Formen oraler und literaler Kultur aus (vgl. dazu auch 3.).

Frühe Gesellschaften mit nur auf eine dünne Schicht beschränktem Schriftgebrauch werden bei Goody/Watt 1962/63 als 'oligoliterat' oder 'protoliterat' bezeichnet, also die sumerischen, ägyptischen, hethitischen und chinesischen Kulturen mit ihren vor-alphabetischen Schriftsystemen. Den entscheidenden qualitativen Sprung sehen die Autoren in der Einführung der Alphabetschrift in Griechenland: "The rise of Greek civilization, then, is the prime historical example of the transition to a really literate society" (Goody/Watt 1962/63, 319). Neben der alphabetischen Schrift ist die Erfindung des Buchdrucks das zweite, entscheidende Datum in der Entwicklung der Schriftkultur in Europa, nach Eisenstein (1968; 1979; 1997) wird damit die quantitative Ausweitung vor allem des Lesens erst möglich und die Entwicklung zur gesamtgesellschaftlichen Schriftlichkeit eingeleitet (vgl. auch McLuhan 1962; Settekorn 1986; Giesecke 1991; 1992; Wenzel 1994; Messerli/Chartier 2000). Gleichzeitig beginnt auch die Ausdifferenzierung schriftsprachlicher Fähigkeiten, also bloßer Lesefähigkeit gegenüber allgemeiner Lese- und Schreibfähigkeit. Altick (1963) und im Anschluss Eisenstein (1968) schlagen deshalb vor, zwischen 'literacy' und 'habitual book reading' zu unterscheiden (zu den damit zusammenhängenden methodischen Problemen vgl. 2.5.). Zweifelsohne gehören bei den genannten qualitativen Untersuchungen die kognitiven Aspekte von Entwicklungen zur Schriftkultur zu den reizvollsten Fragen, Eisenstein geht hier vor allem auf erweiterte Proliferations- und Rezeptionsmöglichkeiten von Wissen ein, Bartlett (1932), Goody/Watt, Ong und Havelock auf kognitive Voraussetzungen und Folgen des Übergangs von der oralen zur skripturalen Kultur. Insbesondere die Leseforschung hat mit den Arbeiten von Schön (1987/1993; 2001) und Chartier (1987; 1990) Aufschluss über die zivilisatorische Funktion von Literalität und die habituelle Umstrukturierung des Lesepublikums in der Neuzeit geben können.

### 2.1. Mündlichkeit und Schriftlichkeit in Griechenland

Am Beispiel Griechenlands können einige der wesentlichen Momente der Entwicklung zur Schriftkultur wie auch die wesentlichen Unterschiede zwischen Oralität und Schriftlichkeit gezeigt werden. Die hier in der his-

torischen Rekonstruktion entwickelten Kategorien werden in ethnographischen Beschreibungen gegenwärtiger Kulturen kritisch aufgegriffen. Platons scheinbar widersprüchliche Äußerungen zur Schriftlichkeit geben eine gute Möglichkeit, die Verhältnisse im hellenistischen Griechenland knapp zu charakterisieren. Im 'Staat' polemisierte Platon gegen die Dichtung als eine 'Vernichtung des klaren Denkens aller ihrer Hörer', denn von Homer an seien sämtliche Dichter nur 'Nachahmer von Schattenbildern der Jugend'. Sie sollten von der Erziehung der Jugend ausgeschlossen werden. Havelock (1963) beschreibt Platon als Zeuge eines Transformationsprozesses, seit Homer habe nicht nur die Form der Wissensbewahrung und -weitergabe, sondern auch ihre konzeptuelle Gestaltung und die verwendete Sprache sich zu verändern begonnen. Seit dem letzten Drittel des 5. Jhs. v. Chr. ist Leseunterricht an den Schulen bezeugt, das Alphabet war längst eingeführt. Es ist zu vermuten, dass ausschließlich mündliche Erfahrungs- und Wissensvermittlung durch die *moderne* Praxis der Schriftlichkeit schon zur *alten* geworden war. Platon vertrat hier offensichtlich den modernen Standpunkt gegen die Rhapsoden. Die Polemik erklärt Havelock aus einer Ungleichzeitigkeit von technischer Entwicklung und einem 'oral state of mind', der sich an den Formen der Vergegenständlichung intersubjektiver Tradierung festmacht. Dies war, wie sich denken lässt, nicht die uns geläufige Prosa, "the only possible verbal technology available to guarantee the preservation and fixity of transmission was that of the rhythmic word organized cunningly in verbal and metrical patterns [...]" (Havelock 1963, 42 f).

Insofern war die Dichtkunst tragendes Element der Vermittlung von historischem Wissen und ethischer Werte. Goody und andere haben versucht, Merkmale dieser 'Gedächtniskultur' genauer zu fassen; die in der kulturhistorischen Rekonstruktion eingelagerten Prämissen (vor allem hinsichtlich kognitiver Aspekte) konnten allerdings bei experimentellen psycholinguistischen und kognitionspsychologischen Überprüfungen nicht ohne weiteres verifiziert werden (Scribner/Cole 1981a, b). In Gedächtniskulturen vollzieht sich nach verbreiteter Auffassung die Weitergabe gesellschaftlichen Wissens und gesellschaftlicher Praxen in der Face-to-face-Kommunikation, kontrolliert durch die Verantwortlichkeit des Tradenten gegen-

über den Handlungserfordernissen der Gegenwart, ein Verfahren, das Goody/Watt in Analogie zur Organisation des Körpers das 'homöostatische Prinzip' der Gedächtniskultur genannt haben. Vergangenheit wird in Begriffen der Gegenwart erlebt und Sprache ist hier sicherlich die zentrale Vermittlungsinstanz. Für eine Schriftkultur lässt sich – pointiert gesprochen – diese Beziehung nahezu umkehren: Gegenwart wird in Begriffen der aufgeschriebenen Vergangenheit gefasst, die Erzählung wird durch Annalen und Chroniken teilweise ersetzt. Der Mechanismus der Homöostase in Gedächtniskulturen wird durch ein kognitives Verfahren realisiert, das Goody/Watt in Anlehnung an Barnes (1947) als 'strukturelle Amnesie' bezeichnen. Die Schrifttradition bedarf zu ihrer jeweiligen Anpassung an die Erfordernisse der Gegenwart der strukturellen Revision, muss einem expliziten Prozess der Modernisierung unterworfen werden, will sie nicht veralten oder obsolet werden. Am Beispiel einer anhand von Genealogien organisierten Repräsentation von Vergangenheit in einigen oralen Kulturen Afrikas kann gezeigt werden, wie durch selektives 'Vergessen' die Flexibilität der Tradition gesichert wird. Bei Einführung der Drucktechnik werden die Gegensätze zwischen den unterschiedlichen Verfahrensweisen der Vermittlung historischen Wissens in mündlichen und verschrifteten Kulturen verschärft sichtbar. Der progressiven Tendenz der quantitativen Ausweitung von Schriftlichkeit steht ein retardierendes Moment entgegen: Schriftsprachliche Tradition hat sich stets selbst zu überwinden, weil in ihrer gesellschaftlichen Praxis in eine feste sprachliche Form gegossen ist.

"In non-literate society [...] the cultural tradition functions as a series of interlocking face-to-face conversations in which the very conditions of the transmission operate to favour consistency between past and present [...]. In literate society, these interlocking conversations go on; but they are no longer man's only dialogue; and in so far as writing provides an alternative source for the transmission of cultural orientations it favours awareness of inconsistency. One aspect of this is a sense of change and of cultural lag: another is the notion that the cultural inheritance as a whole is composed of two very different kinds of material: fiction, error and superstition on the one hand; and, on the other, elements of truth which can provide the basis for some reliable and coherent explanation of the Gods, the human past and the physical world" (Goody/Watt 1962/63, 325 f).

Der Konflikt zwischen ‘Fiktion’ und ‘Wahrheit’ ist für Platon keineswegs ausgestanden, er findet sich in der Übergangsphase zur entwickelten Schriftkultur. In der mündlichen Tradition befangen, sucht er in den Erzählungen der Dichter Wahrheit, sein Wahrheitsbegriff aber ist schon der moderne, philosophische. Erst Aristoteles weist dem Rhapsoden und dem Historiographen verschiedene Wahrheiten zu (vgl. Rösler 1981). Historische Sensibilität, die auch den Zweifel an der ‘Wahrheit’ der erzählten Geschichte enthält, bedarf einer Distanz zwischen Wort und Referenten, einer von den Besonderheiten des Erzählers und seinen Umständen ungebundenen Darstellung, wie sie nur Schriftlichkeit etabliert. Aber gerade diese Eigenschaften sind es, die Platon in der Theut-Parabel (‘Phaidros’) kritisiert:

„Denn sie [die Schrift] wird Vergessenheit in den Seelen derer schaffen, die sie lernen, durch Vernachlässigung des Gedächtnisses, – aus Vertrauen auf die Schrift werden sie von außen durch fremde Gebilde, nicht von innen aus Eigenem sich erinnern lassen. [...] Und jedes Wort, das einmal geschrieben ist, treibt sich in der Welt herum [...]“ (Phaidros 274c ff).

Mündliche Überlieferung durch die Dichter verrate die philosophische Wahrheit, hieß es im ‘Staat’, hier verrät Schriftlichkeit die Verantwortlichkeit für das Geäußerte, die ethische Bindung des Tradenten wird aufgehoben durch die Technik des Aufbewahrens. Das Wort, einmal fixiert, überlebt um den Preis seiner beliebigen Verwertbarkeit. Die Janusköpfigkeit der Übergangsphase zur Schriftkultur tritt in den beiden von Platon vorgetragenen Positionen deutlich zu Tage: Die alten Praktiken werden im Lichte der neuen Schriftlichkeit suspekt, diese aber lässt die Tugenden vermissen, die an das gesprochene Wort gebunden waren. Mit der durch Schriftlichkeit freigesetzten, aber zugleich auch fixierten Wahrheit werden in der weiteren Entwicklung die gesellschaftliche Verteilung des Zugangs zur Schriftlichkeit und die Institutionalisierung ihres Erwerbs entscheidend, die Ausdifferenzierung der Schriftkundigen begründet funktionale und soziale Dissoziationen. Goody/Watt sehen hierin sogar “one of the most important axes of social differentiation in modern societies [...]” (Goody/Watt 1962/63, 335).

## 2.2. Memorialkultur

Diese ‘Achse’, um die sich verschiedene Teile einer Gesellschaft gruppieren, ist keineswegs

allein durch den Parameter ‘Schriftbeherrschung’ definiert (vgl. 1.), sondern gleichermaßen durch die Verfügungsgewalt über Schriftlichkeit, soweit sie relevante Religions-, Rechts- und Verwaltungspraxen durchgesetzt hat. Es ist ja nicht so, dass Schriftlichkeit Mündlichkeit vollkommen verdrängte, vielmehr vollziehen sich im gesellschaftlichen Modernisierungsprozess charakteristische Verschiebungen in den Domänen beider Modi. Was sich auf gesamtgesellschaftlicher Ebene abstrakt als funktionale Ausdifferenzierung darstellt, realisiert sich jedoch für die Menschen als – wenn auch ungleiche – soziale Teilhabe oder als Segregation. Seit der Neuzeit kristallisiert sich der Prozess fortschreitender Schriftkultur in Institutionen, von denen die Schule, vor allem die Elementar- oder Primarschule, wie in einem Brennglas die individuellen und allgemeinen Probleme der Koexistenz von Schriftlichkeit und Mündlichkeit sammelt, ihre psychosozialen und linguistischen wie auch ihre ideologischen und machtpolitischen Aspekte deutlich werden lässt (vgl. 2.3.). Wenn der Zugang zur Schriftlichkeit als eines der Mittel zur Stabilisierung der sozialen Hierarchie verwandt wird, dann können orale und literale Traditionen zu Antinomien geraten. So ist der zunächst begrenzte (ideologische) Erfolg der allgemeinen Schulpflicht u. a. auf eine ihr gegenläufige, nicht nur vorschulische Mündlichkeit, auf eine andersartig organisierte sprachliche Praxis in den hier zur Integration befohlenen Unterklassen zurückzuführen. Von daher lassen sich auch der nicht quantifizierbare, aber indirekt erschließbare hohe Anteil der Sekundäranalphabeten oder Teilalphabetisierten (nur rezeptive, aber keine produktive Schriftbeherrschung) und die jahrhundertlang gepflegten Methoden des stark von der Mündlichkeit geprägten Schriftspracherwerbs (laut buchstabieren, im Chor memorieren, formelhafte Texte wie Lieder, Reime etc. aufschreiben und vorlesen) erklären. Besondere Beachtung verdient unter diesem Gesichtspunkt die über Jahrhunderte verfeinerte, klassische Kunst des Memorierens, die ‘ars memorativa’ (Yates 1966; Haferkamp/Lachmann 1991) als ein zunehmend schriftsprachlich überformtes Residuum ursprünglich schriftunabhängiger Techniken des Bewahrens von Informationen. Wie weit die ars memorativa selbst in den Kernbereich von Schriftkultur, nämlich in ihre Aneignung hineinreichte,

wird nicht nur an verschiedenen didaktischen Elementen, sondern an der gedächtniskulturell inspirierten Umdeutung der Schrift, genauer, der Buchstaben, deutlich. So werden sie z. B. als Tiere dargestellt, deren Gestalt als visuelle Merkhilfe, ihr Name hingegen als Index verwendet wird; oder sie verweisen über ihre Formähnlichkeit auf verschiedene Werkzeuge wie bei Johannes Romberch (*Congestorium Artificiose Memoriae*, 1533). Frei illustrierte Fabelfragmente zu den einzelnen Buchstaben verbinden in ABC-Büchern der Aufklärungszeit Schrift-erwerb, sittliche Belehrung und visualisierte Gedächtnishilfen auf angenehme Art, wie z. B. im 'Bilder-ABEZE' von J. H. Campe [1803], 1975). Die Transformation traditioneller in moderne Gesellschaften mit entwickelter Schriftkultur stellt sich auf dieser Ebene als ein langer Akkulturationsprozess dar (Riché 1979; Glück 1987; Graff 1987), der sich in vielfacher Hinsicht von dem unterscheidet, was sich gegenwärtig im Zusammenhang mit Alphabetisierungskampagnen in Ländern der Dritten Welt vollzieht. Die implizite und explizite Kritik (Scribner/Cole 1978 bzw. Freire 1970) an traditionellen, schulbezogenen Alphabetisierungsunternehmungen (z. B. Gudschinsky 1976) mit den sie kennzeichnenden starken Entfremdungspotentialen reflektieren diesen Unterschied. Es ist deshalb nützlich, die neuzeitliche Entwicklung in Westeuropa anhand sozialgeschichtlicher Befunde genauer zu verfolgen, denn erst sie erzeugt den 'Analphabeten' als sozial benachteiligten, zunehmend an den Rand gedrängten Menschen.

### 2.3. Die Herausbildung des 'Analphabeten' in der Neuzeit

#### 2.3.1. Methoden sozialgeschichtlicher Forschung

Die im Folgenden ausgewerteten Untersuchungen von Webb (1950) und Stone (1969) für England, Furet/Sachs (1974) sowie Furet/Ozouf (1977) anhand des Dossiers von Maggiolo für Frankreich, sowie die Studien für England (Clanchy 1979; Spufford 1979; Cressy 1977; 1980; Vincent 1989), Italien (Petrucci 1987), Deutschland (Knoop 1994), Schweden (Johansson 1977), Nordamerika (Lockridge 1974; 1981; Soltow/Stevens 1981) und allgemein für Westeuropa und Nordamerika (Cipolla 1969; Graff 1979; 1987; Giese 1994 sowie Graff 1981b mit einem (Wieder-)Abdruck zahlreicher der hier

aufgeführten Einzeldarstellungen) gründen sich im Gegensatz zu den bisher diskutierten kulturanthropologischen Arbeiten auf die Auswertung sozioökonomischer und bildungsgeschichtlicher Daten. Diese methodische Veränderung liegt unter anderem in der zunehmenden Reichhaltigkeit des historischen Materials selbst, das nun Aussagen über den Umfang der Lese- und Schreibkenntnisse in einer Gesellschaft, ihre soziale Bewertung und den Anteil verschrifteter Vorgänge an gesamtgesellschaftlichen Austauschprozessen zulässt. (Eine Übersicht über die Verfügbarkeit, zeitliche Einordnung und Art des Quellenmaterials für Europa und Nordamerika gibt Graff (1987/1995, 7–9).) Vor allem aber ist es die zunehmende institutionelle Bindung der Schriftsprachlichkeit – hinsichtlich ihres Erwerbs gleichermaßen wie der täglichen Praxis –, die sie für die sozialgeschichtliche Forschung in anderer Weise wahrnehmbar macht: Konsequenzen fehlender schriftsprachlicher Fähigkeiten, Schwierigkeiten beim Lese- und Schreibunterricht, Mutmaßungen über die individuellen und gesamtgesellschaftlichen Folgen ausgedehnter Schriftsprachlichkeit werden aktenkundig – allerdings um den Preis einer vorgegebenen staatsförmigen Perspektive. Typischerweise werden hier einschlägige Probleme in Arbeiten zur Geschichte des muttersprachlichen Unterrichts behandelt. Schriftsprachlichkeit wird so unter dem Aspekt der Herrschaftssicherung, der sozialen Abgrenzung und der Qualifikation der Arbeitskraft als Teil des gesellschaftlichen Reproduktionsprozesses untersucht. Die Gefahr einer solchen Betrachtungsweise liegt im Blick 'von oben', der nicht-institutionalisierte, gegenläufige Tendenzen schriftsprachlicher Praxis leicht übersieht – z. B. protestantische oder katholische Protestbewegungen (Ginsburg 1976), selbstorganisierte Aneignung von Schriftsprache deutscher Handwerker im 17. Jh. (Giesecke 1979; 1980), konkurrierende Bildungsbemühungen der puritanischen Kirche in England (Hill 1964), Lesekultur und Schreibkultur der Unterklassen und der Landbevölkerung im 18. und 19. Jh. (Thompson 1963; 1980; Webb 1955; Schenda 1970; 1976; Hinrichs 1982; Siegert 1994; Gessinger 1994; 1995; Maas 1995). Komplementär zu den zeitlich weitgespannten quantitativen Untersuchungen zur Schriftsprachlichkeit sind exemplarische Analysen der ökonomischen, kulturellen und ideologischen Aspekte

te des Lebens in kleineren Gemeinschaften oder in Unterklassen eine dritte Form methodischen Zugriffs, die ich als 'historische Mikroanalyse des Literalisierungsprozesses' bezeichnen möchte. Lesen- und Schreibenlernen werden hier in ihren körperlichen und psychischen Aspekten als Teil der Ein- und Unterordnungsvorgänge beschrieben, denen Individuen in Klassengesellschaften ausgesetzt sind. Rutschky (1977) gibt eine reichhaltige Quellensammlung für Deutschland im 18. Jh., allerdings nicht allein auf den hier anstehenden Fall des Schriftspracherwerbs, sondern auf die Vielfalt der Formen bezogen, in denen sich Prozesse der Transformation des Menschen „aus der Rohigkeit eines bloß thierischen Geschöpfes [...] in den Stand der Freiheit“ (Kant) vollziehen. In Ariès (1960) findet sich eine instruktive Darstellung des elementaren Sprachunterrichts in den 'Petites Ecoles' Frankreichs, in Gessinger (1980) Details zum Lese- und Schreibunterricht an preußischen Elementarschulen. Für die Schweiz verbindet die Studie von Messerli (2002) historische Mikroanalysen der Schriftspracherwerbsprozesse, Lektüre- und Schreibpraktiken mit der Auswertung sozial- und bildungsgeschichtlicher Faktoren sowie literarischer und biographischer Repräsentationen von Leseakten ('Lektürebiographien') und exemplarischen quantitativen Analysen (mit Rückgriff auf die Erhebungen von Wartburg-Ambühl 1981). So entsteht eine dichte, für die sozialen und kulturräumlichen Ungleichzeitigkeiten transparente Darstellung des für die Alphabetisierung in Westeuropa zentralen Zeitraums der gesellschaftlichen Modernisierung vom Ende des 17. Jhs. bis Anfang des 20. Jhs.

### 2.3.2. Die Entwicklung in England seit dem 17. Jh.

Die Besonderheit des englischen Schulsystems, bis ins 20. Jh. hinein die Klassenstrukturen aufrecht und in Funktion zu halten, verleiht zwar dem sozialpolitischen Effekt der Schulausbildung deutliche Konturen, musste aber nicht unbedingt negative Auswirkungen auf den Umfang der Lese- und Schreibkenntnisse in den unteren Klassen haben. Die rigide Abgrenzungspolitik der herrschenden Klassen in England kollidierte zeitweise mit christlichen Auffassungen von der Gleichheit der Menschen – daraus erwachsen, wie Stone zeigt, verstärkte Bildungsanstrengungen im puritanischen

Milieu – und musste später auf den Widerspruch sozial-reformerischer Bewegungen und des politisch organisierten Proletariats stoßen. Nach Stone (1969) ist mit dem ausgehenden 16. Jh. in Europa eine deutliche Spezialisierung und graduelle Abstufung von Literalität anzunehmen. Er setzt mindestens fünf verschiedene Niveaus schriftsprachlicher Erziehung an, wobei er sich ausschließlich auf Formen der institutionalisierten Unterweisung konzentriert und innerfamiliären Lese- und Schreibunterricht (wie auch den Ausbau von Literalität im Beruf) als Randphänomene unberücksichtigt lässt.

“The first [...] provided the most elementary form of literacy, namely the capacity to read a little and to sign one's name, which was the most that the poor could aspire to. The second, which was fairly distinct, was designed for the lower middle classes and was taught at different schools, included lengthier and more intensive training in reading, writing and the use of numbers. Above this, at the secondary level, there was on the one hand education in accountkeeping etc., as a preparation for the lower ranks of the professions and for business, and education in the classics as preparation for the University and for elite positions on the other. At the fifth and highest level there were the Universities and the Inns of Court, designed originally for the professional training of future professionals, but which in England between the mid-sixteenth and the late seventeenth century also catered for large numbers of non-specialist amateurs, drawn from the ranks of the landed classes” (Stone 1969, 69 f).

Stone geht es in seiner Untersuchung um den erstgenannten, niedrigsten Grad schriftsprachlicher Fähigkeiten. Anderes gibt das verfügbare statistische Material auch kaum her. Für England besteht es im Wesentlichen aus den lückenhaften Rückläufen des 'Protestation Oath of Loyalty to Parliament' von 1642, aus Heiratsregistern, die seit Lord Hardwicke's Marriage Act (1754) geführt wurden, den Kriminalstatistiken des Home Office seit 1835 und vor allem aus dem Registrar General of Births, Deaths and Marriages (seit 1839). Die in diesen Quellen enthaltenen Unterschriften lassen sich mit anderen, qualitativen Daten kombinieren und spiegeln vor allem Entwicklungstendenzen (zu den methodischen Einwänden gegen dieses Material vgl. 2.5.). Der Education Act von 1870 gilt als das Datum, von dem an sich Schriftsprachlichkeit mit erheblich wachsender Geschwindigkeit ausbreitete, doch sind hier ähnliche Vorbehalte anzu-

melden wie gegen die Auffassung, mit dem Preußischen Landrecht 1792 sei die allgemeine Schulpflicht in diesem Lande verwirklicht worden. Die Erfindung des Buchdrucks und der Protestantismus sind nach Stone und Eisenstein die entscheidenden Faktoren für die beschleunigte Ausbreitung der Schriftkultur in Europa, gegen die 'Bilderkultur' des Katholizismus setzten die Protestanten das 'Wort'. Allerdings stieß die protestantische Forderung nach Bibellektüre bei den Gläubigen auf die Tradition einer vorwiegend mündlichen Reproduktion memorierter lateinischer Texte. Luthers 'Kleiner Katechismus' half diesem Übelstand schnell ab, er versorgte seine Anhänger mit dem Notwendigsten der christlichen Lehre in einer Form, die auf bekannte Muster gedächtniskultureller Rezeption zurückgriff (vgl. 2.2.). Im 17. Jh. nahmen die Erziehungsbemühungen der puritanischen Kirche in England, Schottland, Wales und Neu-England einen starken Aufschwung, man versuchte, ein vollausgebautes Schulsystem zu errichten. Der Anteil an Lesekundigen in Gebieten, in denen protestantische Sekten Einfluss hatten, war (z. B. im presbyterianischen Schottland) vergleichsweise hoch. Ein weiterer Stimulus war der postreformatorische Pluralismus, der das Erziehungswesen mehr als alles andere anregte. Beispielsweise war das anglikanische Kirchenestablishment zunächst gegen die Armenerziehung, musste jedoch später nachziehen. Vor dem englischen Bürgerkrieg geben allein die Unterschriften in den Akten des 'Protestation Oath' von 1642 einen Hinweis auf rudimentäre Schreibfähigkeiten von etwa 9000 in der Regel über 18 Jahre alten Männern. Danach schwankt die Zahl derjenigen, die mit ihrem Namenszug unterschrieben, zwischen 17% in Cornwall und 58% in Chester. Stone bewertet die Zahlen mit aller Vorsicht folgendermaßen:

"On the basis of this evidence, one may tentatively conclude that the average male literacy rate on the eve of the Civil War was probably not less than 30 per cent, varying from 15 to 20 per cent in the rural north and west up to 40 per cent in the countryside near London; and that the rate in some of the larger towns of the south was as high as 60 per cent. In terms of ability to read easily or write fluently, the geographical differences were greater than the figures suggest, for it is noticeable that a higher proportion of the signatures in the backwoods areas than in the home counties, in the countryside than in the towns, are written in a painfully clumsy hand" (Stone 1969, 101).

Nach der Restauration wurde das Argument stärker, man solle die Unterklassen um der Ruhe im Lande willen doch lieber in ihrem Zustand der Ignoranz belassen. Das puritanische Argument, es sei mit dem christlichen Gewissen nicht zu vereinbaren, Menschen von den Wohltaten der Bibellektüre auszuschließen und das Böse sei die Frucht von Unwissenheit, verlor zunächst an Gewicht, bis es in säkularisierter Form in der Aufklärung wieder auftauchte. Neben diesen ideologischen Argumenten gab es eine Reihe handfester ökonomischer und bevölkerungspolitischer Gründe für eine Verbesserung der Bildung der Unterklassen: Die Armenrate könne reduziert, die zu rasche Zunahme der Bevölkerung gesenkt werden, denn Bildung fördere sexuelle Abstinenz. Für die Zeit von 1642–1840 liegen Auswertungen der Heiratsregister vor, die seit 1754, wie in Lord Harwicke's Marriage Act vorgeschrieben, die Unterschriften der Brautleute tragen sollten. Nach den 1969 vorliegenden Teilergebnissen hatte sich der höhere Erziehungsstandard des ländlichen Südens und der Midlands gegenüber früher nicht gehalten; East Riding etwa übertraf mit einer Unterschriftsrate von 64% die West Midlands (48%). Der Vorsprung der Städte gegenüber dem Land blieb weiter bestehen. Er sollte sich erst im Zusammenhang mit der Industrialisierung und den damit verbundenen Bevölkerungsbewegungen verändern. Eines der schlagendsten Argumente für eine bessere Erziehung der Unterklassen betraf die soziale Kontrolle – es ist noch heute aktuell. Adam Smith brachte es auf die knappe Formulierung: "The more they are instructed, the less liable they are to the delusions of enthusiasm and superstition, which, among the ignorant nations, frequently occasion the most dreadful disorders" (Smith [1776] 1904, II, 272 f).

Der Vorteil, den die herrschende Klasse aus einer verbesserten Massenbildung zog, war aber nicht nur ideologischer und ökonomischer Natur. Die psychosoziale Umstrukturierung der Kinder in der Schule (vor allem in der Symbiose von Industriearbeit, Industrieschule und/oder Sonntagsschule als Weiterentwicklung der Verquickung von Unterricht und Handarbeit im 18. Jh.) im Verein mit körperlicher Disziplinierung dürfte eine ganz wesentliche Konsequenz regelmäßigen Schulbesuchs gewesen sein, auch wenn dies vielleicht von den Zeitgenossen nicht immer klar erkannt wurde.

### 2.3.3. Alphabetisierung und Sozialdisziplinierung

Ohne die 'Schule' unmittelbar in die strukturelle Kontinuität der totalen Institutionen vom Kloster bis zum Industriebetrieb des 19. Jhs. stellen zu wollen, sind Ähnlichkeiten jedoch nicht zu übersehen. Die Segmentierung von Sprache im Alphabet, das von den Schülern oft rhythmisch vorgetragen werden musste, verweist nicht nur auf die alten Praktiken der Gedächtniskultur, sondern auch auf die anstehende Zergliederung des Menschen im industriellen Produktionsprozess. Der Rahmen (Zeit und Raum) der Schule ist, und das gilt für traditionelle wie reformorientierte Erziehungskonzepte im 18. Jh. gleichermaßen, wie ein Ausschnitt aus dem „Bausatz an Techniken, die eine 'methodische Lebensführung' garantieren und mit deren Hilfe 'Begehrungen oder Affekte der religiös nicht bearbeiteten rohen Menschennatur' überwunden werden sollen“ (Treiber/Steinert 1980, 65; in Anlehnung an Max Weber). Die Aufklärungspädagogik des späten 18. Jhs. versuchte sich jedoch nicht nur in der Offenlegung der kindlichen Psyche, auch der Körper wurde in seine Bestandteile zerlegt und in die Schreibbewegung wieder zusammengefügt.

„1. Die zur Herstellung von Buchstaben und Wörtern erforderlichen Bewegungen sind in den Fingergelenken, bzw. im Handgelenk durchzuführen. 2. Bei der zur Weiterführung der Zeilen notwendigen Bewegung des Vorderarms hat sich derselbe um den in möglichst unveränderter Lage bleibenden Unterstützungspunkt derartig zu drehen, daß er (als Radius angenommen) auf der Tischplatte einen Kreisbogen durchläuft. Eigentlich müßte die geschriebene Zeile demnach einen Bogen bilden; die Schriftzeilen aber sollen gerade sein. Um dies zu ermöglichen, muß die Schriftzeile in gerader Richtung die beiden Endpunkte des Kreisbogens vereinigen, was teils durch eine kleine Einbiegung in den Hand- und den Fingergelenken, teils durch ein Zurückziehen des Oberarms zu bewirken ist. Der *Vorderarm* besorgt das zur Herstellung der geradlinigen Zeile notwendige Fortschreiten nach rechts [...]“ (H. Eulenberg/F. Bach, 'Regeln über die Körperhaltung beim Schreibakte', 1891, zit. in Rutschky 1977, 240).

Der Zerlegung des Schreibakts entspricht seine Zusammensetzung im Schreibtakt.

„Gesetz und Ordnung durchdringen alle, auch die unscheinbarsten Verrichtungen beim Taktschreiben. Alles geht nach dem Takt, das Zurechtsetzen, das Greifen nach dem Stift, das Ansetzen, die Produktion der Schreibformen, das Pausieren, das Absetzen, das Weglegen des Stiftes, die Reini-

gung der Tafel usw. Das schulmäßige Sitzen tut auf der einen Seite Zwang an, gibt aber auf der anderen eine gute Haltung und erhöht die Leichtigkeit im Schreiben, Auge, Ohr, Hand, Arm, der ganze Körper mit samt dem Geist wird in die Zucht genommen. Ordnung ist die Losung, weil ohne sie teils die einzelne, teils die gesamte Schreibmaschine ins Stocken kommen und große Störungen anrichten würde“ (J. H. Schöne, Vorträge der Taktschreibmethode, 1855, zit. in Rutschky 1977, 241).

Zu den Anforderungen der physischen und kognitiven Umstrukturierung traten allgemeine linguistische Probleme. Die Sprachverhältnisse besonders in England und Deutschland waren durch die komplexe Laut-Schrift-Relation gekennzeichnet, zudem noch überlagert durch die unterschiedlichen gesprochenen regionalen Varietäten, die mehr oder weniger von der geschriebenen Standardsprache abwichen. Im (Recht-)Schreibunterricht bündelten sich also nicht nur die strukturellen Inkonsistenzen mündlicher und schriftlicher Repräsentationsformen, sondern Standardisierungsprozesse, deren Uneinheitlichkeit durch so widerstreitende Maximen wie 'Schreib, wie du richtig sprichst' und 'Sprich, wie die besten Schriftsteller schreiben' illustriert wird.

### 2.3.4. Literalität, Ökonomie und Herrschaft

Quantitative Untersuchungen blenden die hier diskutierten Fragen systematisch aus. Vor allem aber wird erst bei genauerer sozialgeschichtlicher Forschung das politische Spannungsfeld deutlich, in dem der schriftsprachliche Unterricht für die unteren Klassen stand. Die aufgeklärt-permissive Position ist oben im Argument A. Smiths angeklungen: Bildung schütze vor Verführung, Aberglauben und Umsturz. Das Gegenargument, zuviel Lektüre bringe die Massen auf falsche Ideen, welche die Ordnung gefährdeten, war sicher zum Teil den sozialen Abgrenzungsbemühungen bürgerlicher und adeliger Schichten geschuldet. Es gründete sich aber auch auf konkrete Erfahrungen der zunehmenden Politisierung und Radikalisierung innerhalb der Unterklassen, die nicht zuletzt aus der Aneignung fortschrittlicher Theorien, der Weitergabe gesellschaftspolitisch relevanter Informationen und der beginnenden Internationalisierung des Kampfes gegen die *ancien régimes* ihren Nutzen zogen. In England wurde wie in den anderen europäischen Ländern gegen Ende



des 18. Jhs. zunehmend vor den politischen Gefahren einer zu sehr verbreiteten Lesefähigkeit gewarnt, die radikalen politischen Bewegungen Vorschub leiste, ein Argument, das schon in Inquisitionszeiten die tatsächlichen Beweggründe für soziale Unruhen verdecken sollte. Neben der Zensur, die unliebsame Schriften an den Landesgrenzen zurückhalten, ihr Erscheinen im Lande nach Möglichkeit verhindern wollte, wurde der sozial differenzierte Zugang zur Lektüre – als wenn es ihn nicht schon durch die materiellen Verhältnisse der Unterklassen gegeben hätte – gefordert. Wie sehr der bis heute nicht aufgegebene Verdacht, (geschriebene) Literatur und Subversion gingen Hand in Hand, sich angesichts der realen Organisations- und Äußerungsformen politischer Bewegungen als (polemische) Fehldeutung erweist, hat Schlieben-Lange (1983) offengelegt: Die Tendenz der gesellschaftlichen Durchsetzung von Schriftlichkeit, wie sie das 18. Jh. kennzeichnet, und die Aktivierung von 'Netzwerken oraler Kommunikation' trugen gemeinsam zu jener 'brisanten Mischung' bei, die als Französische Revolution die Verhältnisse in Westeuropa umstürzte. Bisher wissen wir viel zu wenig davon, wie in traditionell sich schriftlos austauschenden und organisierenden Gesellschaftsformationen die Aneignung von Schriftkultur in den Handlungszusammenhang politischer Bewegungen eingebettet war, immerhin gibt es aber einige deutliche Hinweise darauf, wie dieser Prozess vorstatten ging.

Steinitz ([1955/1962] 1979) zeigt an seinem Material, wie Volkslieder durch neue Texte auf die alte, bekannte Melodie aktualisiert, wie Texte parodiert oder gegen den Strich verändert wurden. Thompson gibt in 'The Making of the English Working Class' (1963) einen anderen Beleg, das 'Bad Alphabet for the use of the Children of Female Reformers', das nicht allein als Parodie zu den mit artigen Wohlverhaltensformeln gespickten Merkhilfen üblicher ABC-Bücher gewertet werden kann, sondern die historische Erfahrung der engen Verknüpfung von Schriftlichkeit und drückender Herrschaft unmittelbar ausspricht. „B was for Bible, Bishop, and Bigotry; K for King, King's evil, Knave and Kidnapper; W for Whig, Weakness, Wavering, and Wicked“ (Thompson 1963, 788). In dem instrumentellen Verhältnis zur Schriftlichkeit, zu Texten insgesamt, die als 'Rohmaterial' bearbeitet werden, bleibt jene Distanz bewahrt, die die Unter-

schichten zu einer Schrift- oder Textkultur, einer Kultur also, die nicht mit flüssigen, sondern fixierten sprachlichen Produkten hantiert, solange haben mussten, wie der Akkulturationsprozess nicht ausgestanden war. Im 19. Jh. ist hier die Rolle der Arbeiterbildung gerade unter den Bedingungen der Proletarisierung genauer zu untersuchen (vgl. Eisenberg 1983, zum 19. Jh. insgesamt Graff 1987, Kap. 7). Zu dieser Zeit führten die starken demographischen Veränderungen im Zusammenhang mit der Industrialisierung zunächst zu einem starken Mangel an Bildungseinrichtungen in den neuen Zentren. Das hier statistisch sichtbar werdende zeitweilige Absinken des Anteils von Lese- und Schreibkundigen (in dem oben beschriebenen begrenzten Verständnis) an der jeweiligen Gesamtbevölkerung zeigt eine Veränderung der bestimmenden Parameter an. Während z.B. der vergleichsweise hohe Anteil von Alphabetisierten in Schottland kirchlichen Bemühungen zu verdanken war und der Vorrang Preußens vor den süddeutschen Ländern als Folge der relativ frühen Teilsubsumption des unter protestantischer Obhut stehenden Schulwesens eher staatspolitisch motiviert war, traten jetzt zunehmend ökonomische Faktoren hervor. Doch lässt sich die von Stone (1969) für das frühe viktorianische England behauptete Barriere zwischen dem gebildeten und dem illiteraten Teil des Proletariats nicht erklären, ohne die Eigendynamik proletarischer Kultur in Rechnung zu stellen. Hier helfen allein qualitative Untersuchungen weiter und gerade für England hat Stone mit dem Hinweis auf Visitationsberichte den Blick auf die unterschiedliche soziale Wirklichkeit, auf Einstellungen, die sich hinter den Zahlen verbergen, gerichtet. Vor allem die Haltung der Eltern gegenüber einer verbesserten Ausbildung der Kinder dürfte neben den institutionellen und materiellen Bedingungen entscheidend für den Umfang und Grad von Lese- und Schreibkenntnissen gewesen sein. Nicht selten kam es dabei zu einer positiven Umwertung vermeintlicher Eigenschaften, wie sie von den hegemonialen schriftkulturell gebildeten Schichten des Adels und der Bourgeoisie den Unterklassen zugeschrieben worden waren. Deren 'natürliche Bestimmung' sollte – dem inneren Frieden allemal zuträglich – in der Beschränkung intellektueller und kultureller Aktivität bestehen. Im Gegenzug signalisiert der Stolz auf die eigene manuelle Arbeit gegenüber

‘leerer Büchergelehrtheit’ und ‘brotlosen Künsten’ wie auch die Besinnung auf das eigene Herkommen sich ausbildendes Klassenbewusstsein. Es gab erhebliche Vorbehalte, die eigenen Kinder einer fremden Kontrolle zu überstellen, sei es die Kinderarbeit im frühen Fabrikssystem, sei es die Schulzucht. Es ist zu kurz gegriffen, allein der Institution ‘Schule’ die Verantwortung für die soziale Umstrukturierung und z.T. bildungsfeindliche Haltung von Arbeitern in der zweiten Hälfte des 19. Jhs. zuzuschreiben, wie es z.B. radikale Mitglieder englischer Arbeitervereine taten, als sie die Ursachen für das geringe Interesse der Mitglieder an politischen und bildenden Elementen des Vereinslebens ergründen wollten (vgl. Jones 1979, 350). Die enge Verzahnung von Literalität, Ökonomie und Herrschaft war nicht nur die zentrale Fragestellung der sozialhistorischen Forschung. Sie bestimmte auch die aktuellen Alphabetisierungsbemühungen in der zweiten Hälfte des 20. Jhs. und zeigte sich etwa an der von der UNESCO in den 60er Jahren verwendeten Definition von ‘funktionaler Literalität’ als “process and content of learning to read and write to the preparation for work and vocational training, as well as a means of increasing the productivity of the individual” (zit. nach Verhoeven 1994, 771).

#### 2.4. Zur Literalität in Industrie- und Entwicklungsländern an der Schwelle zum 21. Jh.

##### 2.4.1. UNESCO und Alphabetisierungsprogramme

Als Reaktion auf die Kritik an der vorrangig ökonomisch und sozialtechnologisch bestimmten Auffassung von Literalität und entsprechenden Kampagnen der 80er Jahre wurde im Internationalen Alphabetisierungsjahr 1990 auf der ‘World Conference Education For All’ (WCEFA) die Bereitstellung von ‘basic education’ als ein verändertes politisches Ziel formuliert, das die Einlösung des Menschenrechts auf Bildung und Lernen forderte (vgl. Limage 1994 und die Übersicht bei Fordham 1994). Als ‘basic learning needs’ nennt der WCEFA-Abschlussbericht “essential learning tools (such as literacy, oral expression, numeracy, and problem solving) and the basic learning content (such as knowledge, skills, values, and attitudes) required by human beings to be able to survive, to develop their full capacities, to live

and work in dignity, to participate fully in development, to improve the quality of their lives, to make informed decisions, and to continue learning” (UNDP et. al. 1990, 43). Dieses Konzept wurde vom ‘World Education Forum’ (WEF) 2000 bekräftigt. Angesichts der Tatsache, dass mehr als 113 Mio. Kinder keinen Zugang zu elementarer Bildung hätten und rd. 880 Mio. Erwachsene als illiterat gelten müssten, dürften die Ziele der WCEFA-Konferenz nicht länger hinausgeschoben werden: “The basic learning needs of all can and must be met as a matter of urgency” (UNESCO 2000, 36). Die UN-Generalversammlung beschloss daher als weltweite Initiative zur Propagierung allgemeiner Literalität den Zeitraum 2003 bis 2012 als ‘Weltalphabetisierungsdekade’ (United Nations Literacy Decade) auszurufen. Bis 2015 sollte nach den Vorstellungen des WEF die Zahl der erwachsenen Analphabeten halbiert und allen Kindern der Zugang zu kostenfreier Grundschulausbildung ermöglicht werden. Dabei sollten die strukturellen Bedingungen von Analphabetismus, insbesondere die Armut, auf lokaler, nationaler und globaler Ebene bekämpft werden (UNESCO 2000, 31). Im Rahmen der ‘United Nations Literacy Decade’ wird Lesen und Schreiben nun nicht mehr nur als Kulturtechnik aufgefasst, Literalität vielmehr als Menschenrecht und globale Herausforderung definiert. Unter dem Motto ‘literacy as freedom’ ist die Definition funktionaler Literalität erweitert und an die globalen Veränderungen durch Neue Medien angepasst worden:

“Literacy is about more than reading and writing – it is about how we communicate in society. It is about social practices and relationships, about knowledge, language and culture. Literacy – the use of written communication – finds its place in our lives alongside other ways of communicating. Indeed, literacy itself takes many forms: on paper, on the computer screen, on TV, on posters and signs. Those who use literacy take it for granted – but those who cannot use it are excluded from much communication in today’s world” (UNESCO 2003).

##### 2.4.2. Entwicklungstrends weltweit und in Deutschland

Für das Jahr 2000 gibt das ‘UNESCO Institute for Statistics’ (UIS) weltweit eine Anzahl von 862 Mio. Menschen über 15 Jahren an, die als Analphabeten (‘illiterate population’) zu gelten haben; fast zwei Drittel da-

von sind Frauen (UNESCO 2002). Obwohl die Alphabetisierungsrate unter den Erwachsenen zwischen 1970 und dem Ende des 20. Jhs. von 48% auf 72% anstieg, liegt die absolute Zahl der Analphabeten durch das hohe Bevölkerungswachstum weltweit höher als je zuvor. Dreiviertel aller Analphabeten leben in den bevölkerungsreichsten Entwicklungsländern, besonders Südasien und Afrika weisen einen Zuwachs von 124 Mio. bzw. 74 Mio. Analphabeten aus (vgl. Atlas der Globalisierung 2003, 66). Auch wenn die für die Bundesrepublik Deutschland erhobenen Zahlen auf den ersten Blick deutlich niedriger ausfallen und sich auf Menschen mit vorhandener, wenn auch geringer Lesekompetenz beziehen, so deuten sie doch angesichts einer fast durchweg verfügbaren Grundbildung auf erhebliche Defizite im schulischen Schriftspracherwerb (vgl. schon für die 80er Jahre Giese/Gläß 1983/84). In der OECD-Studie 'International Adult Literacy Survey' (IALS), an der insgesamt 20 OECD-Mitgliedstaaten teilnahmen, wurde für die Jahre 1994–1998 die Lesekompetenz und der Umgang mit quantitativen Größen auf Grundlage einer repräsentativen Stichprobe von Erwachsenen untersucht. Im Ergebnis erreichten 14,4% der Erwachsenen über 15 Jahren, d. h. 7,7 Millionen Menschen, trotz jahrelangen Schulbesuchs lediglich das niedrigste Niveau der Lesekompetenz. Sie waren beispielsweise nicht in der Lage, Fahrpläne, Fernsehprogramme oder Beipackzettel von Medikamenten zu verstehen (vgl. OECD 2000). Vier Millionen Erwachsene in Deutschland sind nach Schätzungen des Bundesverbandes Alphabetisierung funktionale Analphabeten mit unzureichender Grundbildung. Es muss sich zeigen, ob nationale und internationale Alphabetisierungskampagnen dem hochgesteckten Ziel, das mit dem erweiterten Verständnis von 'funktionaler Literalität' und einer allgemeinen Sicherung des Anspruchs auf Grundbildung formuliert worden ist, entsprechen können (zur Evaluation des Managements von Alphabetisierungsprogrammen vor allem in Asien, Afrika, Lateinamerika und Europa vgl. Arnove/Malone 1998.). Rückblickend vergleichen Graff 1987/1995 und Arnove/Malone protestantisch motivierte Kampagnen im 16. Jh. (Schottland, Schweden und Deutschland) mit Unternehmungen in Russland nach der Oktoberrevolution. "In all the [...] cases, literacy is almost never itself an isolated or

absolute goal. It is rather one part of a larger process and a vehicle for that process. [...] Learning to read, possibly to write, involves the acquisition or conferral of a new status [...]. The attainment of literacy per se operates as a badge, a sign of initiation into a select group and/or a larger community" (Graff 1987/1995, 275). Die Kampagnen in Kuba, Nicaragua, Tanzania und Guinea-Bissau in den letzten Jahrzehnten des 20. Jhs. waren hingegen von der Überzeugung getragen, dass Literalität Entwicklungspotentiale der Menschen freisetze und die Grundlagen zur Ausbildung kritischen Bewusstseins und eines auf die Veränderung der Verhältnisse gerichteten Handelns lege. In beiden Fällen ist es ausgesprochen schwierig, die Wirkung der Kampagnen aufzuzeigen, da zunehmende Literalität sich nicht unmittelbar in ökonomischem Wachstum oder einem Rückgang sozialer Konflikte abbildet und sich die veränderte Qualität kommunikativer Fähigkeiten von Individuen oder Gruppen nicht einfach aus der quantitativen Verteilung von Literalität ableiten lässt.

## 2.5. Methodenkritik

Das der sozialhistorischen Forschung gewöhnlich zugängliche Quellenmaterial (Heirats- und Rekrutenlisten, Unterschriften unter Testamenten, Unterschriftensammlungen anlässlich politischer Konflikte, Notariatsakten, statistische Erhebungen zum Bücherbesitz bis zu rezenten Erhebungen zur Literalität von Gesellschaften oder Teilpopulationen) ist durch seine Heterogenität kaum dazu geeignet, verlässliche Zahlen für vergleichende historische Analysen zu liefern, wie sie etwa in Johansson 1977 vorgenommen werden (zur Kritik vgl. Giere 1994; Graff 1987/1995). So repräsentiert z. B. das für das neuzeitliche England ausgewertete Material weder die jeweilige soziale Struktur der Gesamtbevölkerung noch erweisen sich die aktenkundigen Populationen auf längere Sicht als konstant: Unter der Hand wandeln sich soziale Profile bei gleichbleibender Standes- oder Berufsbezeichnung. Webb (1950) fasst seine Bedenken gegen die Aussagekraft der Heiratsregister so zusammen:

"The figures taken from the marriage registers have their chief value as indices to the educational growth of the country. They cannot be accepted even as an accurate reflexion of the number of persons who could write; signing a name is not necessarily indicative of ability to write; while refusals to sign so impressive a document for fear doing it cru-

dely or to avoid embarrassing an illiterate partner have been estimated at from ten to twenty-five per cent, of the total number of persons using marks. They are even less accurate as a guide to ability to read. The discrepancy apparent in the criminal figures re-appears with surprising consistency. R. W. Rawson, a leading figure in the London Statistical Society, using figures for 1839, when 33 per cent. of the men and 49 per cent. of the women signed with marks, assumed one-third as the portion of that group able to read well enough to be placed at least in the 'imperfect' class, which would leave 25 per cent. of the men unable to read; whereas criminal figures for that year listed 34.4 per cent. as total illiterates" (Webb 1950, 336).

Es ist bekannt, dass Schreibunterricht in den Schulen vor Beginn des 19. Jhs. kaum oder nur als gesondert zu bezahlende Leistung angeboten wurde. Lesen war also die primäre Qualifikation und passte sich als rezeptive Tätigkeit gut in das allgemeine Konzept von Erziehung ein. Furet/Sachs (1974) gehen deshalb von der Hierarchie 'Lesen, Unterschreiben, Schreiben' aus; daraus folgt, dass die dokumentierte Fähigkeit des Unterschreibens weniger ein Hinweis auf Schreibkenntnisse als auf Lesefähigkeit sein könnte und verweisen in diesem Zusammenhang auf die Überlegungen Schofields:

"If therefore, a measure of a minimum standard of reading is required, then the measure based on ability to sign will be low, and will need inflating by almost 50 per cent. But if a measure of ability to read fluently is required, the evidence of the surveys would seem to corroborate the opinion of an educational inspector of the time that since ability to sign was roughly equivalent to being able to read fluently, a measure of the former provides a good indication of the latter.

For the early nineteenth century, therefore, a measure based on the ability to sign probably overestimates the number able to write, underestimates the number able to read at an elementary level, and gives a fair indication of the number to read fluently" (Schofield 1968, 524).

Zusätzliche Hinweise lassen sich aus der jeweiligen graphischen Beschaffenheit der Unterschriften – flüssig oder ungenau, gewählte Schriftart (kursive Schreibschriften oder Druckschriften) – ziehen, allerdings dürfte diese Form der Evaluierung für quantitative Untersuchungen zu aufwendig sein. Eine andere Möglichkeit, zumindest indirekt Schlüsse auf die Entwicklung der Lesefähigkeit in einer Gesellschaft ziehen zu können, stellen quantitative Untersuchungen zur Buchproduktion, zum Bücherverkauf und Bücherbesitz dar. Dabei fällt zu-

nächst auf, dass die rasche Steigerung der Buchproduktion in keinem Verhältnis zum langsamen Anwachsen des Anteils der Lesefähigen an der Bevölkerung steht. Engelsing (1973; 1974) und andere sehen hier den Übergang von der intensiven zur extensiven Lektüre, teilweise ist so der reißende Absatz an Trivilliteratur zu erklären, den Schenda (1970; 1976) beschreibt. Detaillierte Untersuchungen deuten allerdings darauf hin, dass es starke regionale und vor allem soziale Unterschiede im Entwicklungstempo gibt. Solange statistische Untersuchungen nicht mit genauen qualitativen Bestimmungen des samples gekoppelt werden (und hier mangelt es oft an geeignetem Quellenmaterial) und ergänzt werden durch exemplarische Beschreibungen individueller Aneignung von Lese- und Schreibkenntnissen, von Lesegewohnheiten, Schreibenanlässen, materiellen Bedingungen wie zureichende Beleuchtung für die Abendstunden, ausreichend Geld für den Buchkauf, Einstellung der Familie und der weiteren sozialen Umgebung zum Lesen und Schreiben etc., solange also die konkreten Formen schriftsprachlicher Praxis nicht hinreichend rekonstruiert sind, geben die angebotenen Zahlen bestenfalls Hinweise auf allgemeine Langzeittrends oder gelten nur für regional, sozial und situativ begrenzte Ausschnitte.

### 3. Forschungsperspektiven

Die historischen Forschungen zum Alphabetismus, vor allem jene, die in kulturhistorischer Perspektive auch Aufschluss über die kognitiven Umstrukturierungen geben, haben weniger die konkrete Gestaltung der aktuellen Alphabetisierungsarbeit, dafür aber um so mehr psycholinguistische und ethnographische Forschungen zur Mündlichkeit und Schriftlichkeit und ihrem Erwerb beeinflusst. Das kulturhistorisch zentrale Thema des 'Übergangs' (transition) von der oralen zur literalen Kultur wurde ontogenetisch gewendet (vgl. Cook-Gumperz/Gumperz 1981; Gumperz/Kaltmann/O'Connor 1984); Gedanken von Wygotski ([1928], 1978) zur 'Vorgeschichte' (préhistoire) des Schreibens in entwicklungsgeschichtlicher Umdeutung wurden wieder aufgegriffen (vgl. Weigl 1978; Heath 1982). In Feldstudien wurden die Prämissen der historischen Rekonstruktionen überprüft, insbesondere die zentrale These der kognitiven Umstrukturierung (Ong, Goody, zuletzt

Bernardo 1998) durch die Einführung der Alphabetschrift (Scribner 1968; Greenfield 1972; Scribner/Cole 1973; 1981a; Cole/Scribner 1974). Zwar ist die linguistische Bearbeitung des Themas in den letzten drei Jahrzehnten durch die schärfer konturierte Eigenständigkeit von Mündlichkeit und Schriftlichkeit als Forschungsgegenstand etabliert worden, doch werden Oralität und Literalität nicht als jeweils autonome oder dichotomische Praxen, sondern im Rahmen von kommunikations- und medienhistorischen Studien als komplementäre, medien- und textsortengebundene Modi sprachlichen Handelns mit historisch spezifischen Formen des Übergangs aufgefasst (vgl. Graff 1987; Goetsch 1991; Oesterreicher 1993; Wenzel/Seipel/Wunberg 2001). Die von Koch/Oesterreicher (1985) vorgelegte Differenzierung von medialen und kognitiven Aspekten in mündlicher und schriftlicher Kommunikation hat sich als ausgesprochen fruchtbar erwiesen (vgl. auch entsprechende Beiträge in Günther/Ludwig 1994/1996). Die neu entstandenen Forschungsfelder umfassen insbesondere kulturanthropologische Forschungen zur Frühgeschichte der Kommunikation (vgl. Leroi-Gourhan 1988; List 1990; Sauvet/Sacco 1998), zur Medialität, hier vor allem zur Performanzkultur des Mittelalters (Müller 1996; 2001; Wenzel 1995) sowie zu Schriftlichkeit, Mündlichkeit und Semioralität (vgl. Zumthor 1984; Raible 1995; 1998; Schaefer 2001; Jäger 2001 mit einem Überblick über die Forschungsentwicklung). Zugleich wird in Untersuchungen zum frühen Mittelalter und zum Hochmittelalter die zeitliche Lücke zwischen klassischer und volkssprachlicher Literalität in Westeuropa zunehmend geschlossen (vgl. Stock 1983; Schaefer 1992; 1993; Petrucci/Romeo 1992; Green 2001). Erwerb, Funktion und Form von Schriftlichkeit sind auch zentrale Fragestellungen einer sozialgeschichtlich und pragmatisch orientierten Sprachgeschichtsforschung (Schlieben-Lange/Gessinger 1982; Linke 1996; Elspaß 2002). Systematische bzw. vergleichende Aspekte von Mündlichkeit und Schriftlichkeit werden im Rahmen von Diskursanalyse, Erzählforschung und Interkulturalität bearbeitet (Sanches/Blount 1975; Scollon/Scollon 1981; Whiteman 1981; Tannen 1982; 1984; Coulmas/Ehlich 1983; Ehlich 1994; 1996).

*Alphabetismus* hat sich so in linguistischer, kultur- und medienhistorischer, eth-

nographischer und kognitions- bzw. lernpsychologischer Perspektive zu einer besonderen Ausprägung des Verhältnisses von *Oralität* und *Literalität* gewandelt und ist damit Teil eines fachübergreifenden Forschungsgebiets geworden. Der rezente technologische Wandel und die massenhafte Nutzung elektronischer Medien setzt dieses Spannungsfeld nicht außer Kraft – weder durch das vermeintliche Verschwinden von Schriftlichkeit noch durch die notorisch beschworene Erosion kultureller Standards. Die Chance für die Zukunft könnte, so zumindest die Vertreter der ‘Third Culture’ (Brockman 1995 mit Verweis auf Snow 1964), aus einer neuartigen Rollenverteilung bei der Generierung und Vermittlung von Wissen erwachsen. Eingebettet in eine ‘peerage culture’ sollen leistungsfähige Informations- und Netzwerktechnologien die unmittelbare Kommunikation zwischen Wissenschaftlern und Laien ermöglichen (vgl. Nadin 1997; Shaffer 1997; Hobart/Schiffman 1998). Zwar lassen die so entstehenden Formen der Popularisierung von Wissen und Wissenschaft die traditionellen Verfahren wissenschaftlicher Forschung und die Beschränkungen im Zugriff auf ihre Resultate obsolet erscheinen. Die Selbstinszenierung der ‘new public intellectuals’ und die Affinität von ‘Third Culture’ zur technologisch basierten Spiel- und Konsumkultur in den hochentwickelten Industrieländern lässt allerdings fragen, ob der erneute Versuch, ‘litterati’ und Laien – nun im säkularen Raum naturwissenschaftlichen Denkens – zusammenzuführen, angesichts des für einen größeren Teil der Weltbevölkerung nach wie vor uneingelösten Rechts auf Grundbildung mehr als nur ein Epiphänomen zeitgenössischer Popkultur sein wird.

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## 222. Konvergenz und Divergenz regionaler Varietäten Convergence and Divergence of Regional Varieties

1. Wissenschaftsgeschichtliche Bewertung
2. Einführung neuer Kategorien
3. Beschreibungsmodelle
4. Teilprozesse und Gesamtentwicklung:  
Unsichere Prognosen
5. Literatur (in Auswahl)

### 1. Wissenschaftsgeschichtliche Bewertung

Konvergenz und Divergenz als bestimmbare Tendenzen im inneren Varietätenwandel stellen bereits traditionell genuine Themen der Soziolinguistik und ihrer Verflechtung mit der Dialektologie (Auer/Di Luzio 1988) bzw. mit der Sprachgeschichtsschreibung (z. B. Lodge 1999 für das Französische) dar. Die soziolinguistische Forschung hat indessen den ausführlichen wissenschaftsgeschichtlichen Vorlauf ab dem 19. Jh. nicht wahrgenommen: Gilliéron 1880, II–VI, beschreibt in seiner Einleitung Adaptations- und Differenzierungsprozesse des *patois* von Vionnaz aufgrund der unterschiedlichen Präsenz des Französischen im Aufnahmegebiet, und Ettmayer 1924, 10–11, greift für Frankreich die Erscheinung der Dialektanpassung genauso nachhaltig auf. Die Dialektologen wussten stets um die Verkürzung des monomorphen Modells des Basisdialekts, das Sprachwandelprozesse nicht adäquat erfassen kann, wie Jaberg 1936, 20, für den *ATS* durchscheinen lässt: „Nous n’avons pu faire tout ce que nous aurions voulu pour satisfaire les sociologues“. Mit dem vorrangigen Dokumentationswillen für den austerbenden Basisdialekt rückt eine stabile Dialektvarietät in den Vordergrund, die die Labilität der Variation in die Vorworte der Studien verbannt. Diese Tendenz charakterisiert die Lage der europäischen Dialektologie insgesamt: Die klassische Dialektologie befasst sich jeweils mit einem Dialekt und geht nicht auf die Kontaktsituation von Varietäten als dialektologische Aufgabe ein (mit Ausnahme von Benvenuto Terracini, vgl. Sobrero 1989). Auch die Sprachhistoriker beschränken die Konvergenz-Divergenz-Thematik, indem sie unter der Monopolisierung der Normvarietät Literatursprache bzw. Nationalsprache den weiten Bereich des Substandards ausklammern. Allenfalls Nationen ohne abgeschlossene Standardi-

sierung wie im Falle des spät geeinten Italien lassen eine programmatische Sensibilität erkennen, die die Konvergenz im Rahmen der Standardisierung als *unità della lingua* integriert (Ascoli 1873).

Die streng soziolinguistische Behandlung von Konvergenz und Divergenz auf der Grundlage von Varietätenspannung und innerer Variationsdynamik wird erst möglich dank der Skizzierungen von Diglossie (Ferguson 1959) und Kontaktphänomenen (Weinreich 1953). Diese wissenschaftshistorischen Voraussetzungen für die Konvergenz-Divergenz-Beschreibungsmuster erörtern bezeichnenderweise nicht die US-amerikanische Situation, die erst mit der verfeinerten variationslinguistischen Technik von Labov (1963) thematisiert wird. In der Phase der zentralen Bestimmung von Konvergenz und Divergenz seit den 80er Jahren des letzten Jhs. geraten zunehmend die Varietäten europäischer Sprachlandschaften in den Blickpunkt der Forschung, indem die Dynamik räumlicher Varietäten sowohl einer internen als auch externen Sprachwandelklärung bedarf. Beispielhaft wären etwa in der Germanistik die Beschreibungsansätze von Auer 1990 und Besch/Mattheier 1985 zu nennen, die aus der engeren Stadt- bzw. Ortssprachendialektologie in eine Analyse der Varietätenarchitektur in einem spezifischen Areal führen. Man kann ferner davon ausgehen, dass sich in den letzten fünfzehn Jahren ein qualitativer Sprung und eine Zunahme der Studien vollzogen haben, die offensichtlich in Europa mit einer generellen Destandardisierungswelle zahlreicher Nationalsprachen einhergehen, die die Variationslinguistik mit dem Zurückweichen der monodimensionalen Dialektologie vor eine neue Herausforderung gestellt hat (Mattheier/Radtke 1997). Dabei kommt der aktuellen Frage nach der Ausbildung neuer regionaler Dimensionen in der ‘klassischen’ Varietätenarchitektur besondere Bedeutung zu. Insgesamt zeigt sich seit dem Erscheinen des Forschungsberichtes Radtke 1988 ein verstärktes europäisches Engagement, die sich abzeichnende Neuordnung des Status regionaler Varietäten vor allem in den Gegenwartsstufen der Nationalsprachen zu bestimmen. Dieser jüngste Entwicklungssprung soll auch im Vordergrund der Aktualisierung seit Radtke 1988 stehen.

## 2. Einführung neuer Kategorien

Obwohl *Konvergenz* und *Divergenz* als soziolinguistische Termini seit längerem etabliert sind (Labov 1972, 118 f), sind sie in den einschlägigen Handbüchern wie Chambers 1995 oder Berruto 1995 ausgespart worden. Im Zusammenhang mit regionalen Varietäten bezeichnen die Antonyme den Sprachwandelprozess der Annäherung bzw. des Sich-Entfernens von zwei Varietäten auf der Grundlage von Einzelvariationen. Der *Konvergenz* entspricht in vielen englischsprachigen Veröffentlichungen der Vorgang des *levelling* (etwa Cheshire/Edwards/Whittle 1989) oder der *accommodation* (Trudgill 1986, 1–38). Die inhaltliche Fassung ist etwas unscharf gehalten, weil die synoptische Interpretation von Variationsprozessen nur indirekt empirisch gebunden ist. Da die Varietät selbst noch nicht einmal eine streng operationalisierbare Einheit verkörpert, sondern sich lediglich als eine intuitive Zuweisung von exklusiven Variationsbündeln seitens der Sprecher versteht, handelt es sich des öfteren um Hypothesen, die einen Entwicklungsgang der Varietäten interpretieren. *Konvergenz* und *Divergenz* hängen also mit Sprachwandelprozessen zusammen, die keineswegs abgeschlossen sind. Um *Konvergenz* und *Divergenz* zuweisen zu können, sind mindestens zwei Varietäten in einer Kontaktsituation vonnöten. Damit vereinzelte Variationsprozesse in einem übergeordneten Varietätenwandel interpretiert werden können, sind weitere Voraussetzungen zu bestimmen. Ob eine Varietät in sich selbst verharrt oder ihre Gestalt bzw. ihren Stellenwert im Gesamtgefüge aller Varietäten einer historischen Einzelsprache ändert, hängt von der sog. *Varietätendynamik* ab.

„Eine historische Sprache weist immer interne Varietäten auf“ (Coseriu 1988, 280). Die Anordnung der Varietäten folgt keinem starren Ordnungsschema, sondern kann von Sprache zu Sprache differieren. Coseriu (1973, 34) prägt nach Flydal den Begriff der *Architektur der Sprache* als „Gesamtheit der Beziehungen, die die Vielfalt der koexistierenden ‘Techniken der Rede’ einer historischen Sprache in sich birgt“, wobei der Terminus lediglich eine Annäherung an ein nicht notwendigerweise geordnetes Varietätengemenge bedeutet. Die Varietäten selbst können über höchst unterschiedliche Dimensionen wie *kleinräumig* vs. *großräumig* verfügen. Der Begriff *Architektur der Spra-*

*che* sagt lediglich aus, dass eine Vielzahl von Varietäten sich innerhalb einer historischen Einzelsprache ausbildet und dass die einzelnen Varietäten sich in ihrem gegenseitigen Verhältnis zueinander bzw. zur Gesamtheit der historischen Einzelsprache bestimmen. Die Varietätenlinguistik übernimmt dabei die Aufgabe, dieses innere Wechselverhältnis der Varietäten zueinander und zur historischen Einzelsprache in ihrer Gesamtheit zu bestimmen. Unter *Architektur der Sprache* ist also nichts anderes als ein historisch ausgebildetes Varietätengefüge zu verstehen, das sowohl lose Verbindungen als auch feste Fugen aufweisen kann. Da Varietäten über Variationsbündel wahrgenommen werden, die naturgemäß einen Sprachwandelprozess abbilden, schließt die Existenz von Varietäten eine entsprechende Dynamik ein. Varietäten verändern sich sowohl in ihrem inneren Aufbau als auch nach außen in ihrer Positionierung zu anderen Varietäten. Im räumlichen Bereich signalisiert der Begriff der *Dialektalität* eine solche Instabilität. Varietäten können in ihrem wechselseitigen Verhältnis untereinander historisch zu einer Statik mit eingeschränktem Sprachwandel oder zu einer Dynamik mit akzeleriertem Sprachwandel neigen. Das Varietätengefüge unterliegt in dem Maße Veränderungen, wie akzelerierter Wandel sich auf der Variationssebene vollzieht. Für die Beschreibung von Varietätendynamik ist zudem relevant, von der Durchlässigkeit der Varietätendimensionen auszugehen: So zeichnet sich etwa die Tendenz ab, den Abbau kleinräumiger Dialektvarietäten mit der Ausbildung verstärkter diaphasischer Markierung durch die Jugendsprache oder den Argot zu kompensieren. Im Grunde wird damit die diatopische Qualität durch eine potenzierte Diaphasik ersetzt (Radtke 1993, 228). Damit sind auch entsprechende Instrumentarien gegeben, die unterschiedliche Bedeutung der regionalen Varietäten in verschiedenen Nationalsprachen zu erklären. Bislang steht in der Forschung aber noch ein Modell aus, das die komplexen Varietäten einer Einzelsprache in ihrer Gesamtheit als *Varietätengefüge* zuordnet und deren Dynamik in einer übergreifenden Gesamtwirkung erhellt. Mattheier/Radtke 1997 liefern diesen Gesamtrahmen in verschiedenen Skizzierungen, Lenz/Radtke/Zwickl 2004 bieten Ansätze für die Dynamik regionaler Varietäten. Konvergenz und Divergenz sind nur in einem *kontaktlinguistischen Zusammenhang* be-

schreibbar. Die Prozesse um Vereinheitlichung und Diversifikation von Varietäten setzen einen mechanistischen Entwicklungsgang von sich aufeinander zu- oder wegbegehenden *Kontaktvarietäten* voraus, wie ihn das Modell von Lütke 1999 vorsieht: Zwei ursprünglich getrennte Varietäten A und B (z. B. Dialekt und Hochsprache) (Abb. 222.1) werden in einer ersten Phase getrennt gesprochen (Abb. 222.2). Sprecher von A erlernen im Folgenden B und umgekehrt, wobei mittlere Varietäten zwischen A und B entstehen können (Regionalvarietäten, dialektalisierte gemeinsprachliche Varietäten) (Abb. 222.3). Oftmals wird dabei nur eine intermediäre Varietät angenommen (Abb. 222.4 und 222.5). A' und B' resultieren dabei als die neuen Kontaktvarietäten (Abb. 222.6). Im Folgenden besteht dann die Möglichkeit, dass eine Grundvarietät abgebaut wird (Abb. 222.7). Später kann auch eine der beiden intermediären Varietäten abgebaut werden (Abb. 222.8), und schließlich vermag dann auch eine der beiden verbleibenden Varietäten aufgelöst zu werden (Abb. 222.9).

Dieses Modell deckt die Grundbedingungen sowohl für den Varietätenkontakt in einer historischen Einzelsprache als auch für zwei ursprünglich nicht genetisch verbundene Varietätenkomplexe von historischen Einzelsprachen ab. Die Anwendung des Modells richtet sich in der Regionalsprachenforschung in besonderem Maße auf den sog. mittleren Bereich (Bellmann 1983; Radtke 1998), d. h. die Dialektologie wird um eine kontaktlinguistische Dimension bereichert. Des weiteren dokumentiert die Substandardforschung im allgemeinen diesen Zwischenbereich. Vorrangig bleibt dabei die detaillierte Erfassung der Variationsprozesse (etwa Auer 1990), auch wenn mitunter eine geradezu eklektische Etikettenbestimmung von Varietäten in die Forschung Einzug gehalten hat (etwa Stehl 1993). Diese Prozesse der neuen Variationsausbildung laufen zum einen auf eine Assimilation von Basisdialekten an die Gemeinsprache hinaus, bei denen sich Regionalismen nur noch als Spurenelemente halten (etwa für den französischen Wortschatz mit der Dokumentation Rézeau 2001). In entgegengesetzter Richtung ist zum anderen ein Absinken von Elementen der Standardsprache ohne Absorbierung von Dialektelementen erkennbar: So bilden sich unterhalb der Hochsprache räumlich begrenzt atopische diaphasische Markierungen



Abb. 222.1

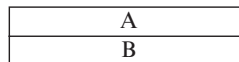


Abb. 222.2

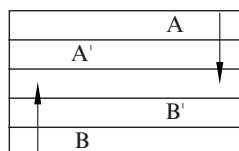


Abb. 222.3

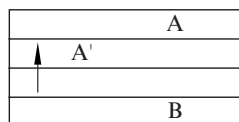


Abb. 222.4

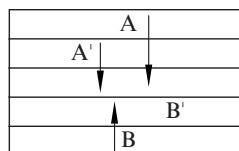


Abb. 222.5

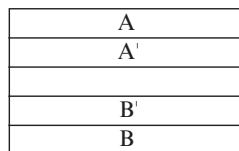


Abb. 222.6

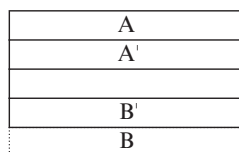


Abb. 222.7

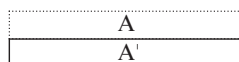


Abb. 222.8



Abb. 222.9

(Abb. 222.1–9 nach Lütke 1999)

gen heraus. Ein solcher Fall liegt etwa mit dem sog. Ruhrdeutsch oder teilweise im *Estuary English* vor. Diese neue diatopische Eingrenzung ohne Rückgriff auf bereits vorhandene regionale Subvarietäten kennzeichnet die sog. *sekundäre Diatopik*, wenn etwa im Italienischen neue, adialektale Grußformeln mit *buona giornata*, *buon pomeriggio* regional konzentriert auftreten. Auch die 'neue' Diaphasik der französischen Sprechsprache mit der *De-Argotisierung* verfolgt ein ähnliches Ziel, um die normative diaphasische Spannung von Schrift- und Sprechsprache zu überwinden, nachdem die Dialekte nach ihrer starken Regressionsphase daran nicht mehr mitwirken können. Anstelle der traditionellen Lesart

fr. commun *médecin* „Arzt“ vs. argot *toubib* „Arzt“

zeichnet sich über eine regionale Ausdehnung von Süden nach Norden eine Registerverschiebung dieser Art ab:

fr. écrit *médecin* „Arzt“ vs. fr. parlé *toubib* „Arzt“.

Diese aktuelle Normverschiebung, die weite Teile des französischen Wortschatzes betrifft, ist als neue Konvergenz nur über die kontaktlinguistische Ausgangsstellung transparent zu gestalten. Die Argotisierung arbeitet in diesem Sinne auf ein überregionales Französisch hin, indem ehemals diastatische und diatopische Züge nur noch diaphasisch markiert werden (vgl. auch Schmitt 1990, 294–295).

Bei den Konvergenz- und Divergenzprozessen regionaler Varietäten ist die Frage der Normsetzung bzw. der Standardisierung nicht auszublenden: Wenn die Prozesshaftigkeit eines Sprachwandels von der Existenz von mindestens zwei Varianten abhängt, ist die Entwicklung der Polymorphiebewahrung oder -überwindung an die Normierung gekoppelt. Selbst dialektale Varietäten bilden ein eigenes Normgefüge aus und können damit Divergenz oder Konvergenz steuern. Das Oszillieren von Polymorphien führt zu sog. 'wilden' Dialektnormen (Radtke 2002, 26), die auch in eine Konvergenz münden können (etwa im Fall der Koronalisierung im südwestdeutschen Sprachraum, vgl. Herrgen 1986, oder der Palatalisierungsschwankungen von haupttonigen a zwischen [a, æ, ɛ] in süditalienischen Teilarealen, vgl. Radtke 2002). Hinsichtlich der Dialektnormen ist die Konvergenz bislang unzulänglich untersucht worden, da nichtstandardisierte Varietäten mitunter Normen

durchsetzen, die nicht prestigegebunden sind. So dehnt sich in den letzten fünfzig Jahren die Lenisierung von anlautenden oder intervokalischen Okklusiva im Substandard weiter aus von Rom bis nunmehr über Neapel hinaus (z.B. *cane* „Hund“ [ˈgane] bzw. [ˈkane]). Oder Bellmann/Herrgen/Schmitt (2002, IX, mit Verweis auf die entsprechenden Karten) beobachten für den *Mittelrheinischen Sprachatlas* eine statistisch relevante Normierung der Stimmhaftigkeit von intervokalischem s in *reißen* unter Aufgabe der phonologischen Opposition (*reisen* vs. *reißen*). Offensichtlich besteht eine Tendenz, im mittleren Bereich neue Normfestsetzungen zu etablieren, die weder dem Standard noch dem Dialekt zuzurechnen sind. Konvergenz und Divergenz sind in zahlreichen Fällen nur über die Einbeziehung einer standardisierten Varietät auszumachen. Solange neue Normen sich nur kleinräumig behaupten, stehen sie im Gegensatz zur Standardvarietät. Mit dem Ausgreifen auf größere Areale wie im Fall des *Estuary English* (Altendorf 2003) kann sich eine Tendenz zur Veränderung der standard-sprachlichen Gültigkeit vollziehen, die konvergierende Substandardvarietät kann damit in Konkurrenz zum Standard treten, wie dies in den Fällen der *New Englishes*, des *néo-français* oder des *neoitagliano* (Berruto 1987) geschieht. Konvergenz kann damit im Grunde auch eine Restandardisierungsphase einer historischen Einzelsprache vorbereiten.

### 3. Beschreibungsmodelle

Die Forschung der letzten fünfzehn Jahre hat Konvergenz und Divergenz vor allem im Hinblick auf die Geolinguistik und die Sprachgeschichte entwickelt. Sie trägt damit der Beschreibung von Varietäten im Raum Rechnung, die akuten Sprachwandelschüben ausgesetzt sind oder waren. Anhand von drei einschlägigen Fallstudien sollen Entwicklungstendenzen herausgearbeitet werden, die für Konvergenz und Divergenz repräsentativ sind und das Potential der Dynamik von Varietätengefügen illustrieren.

#### 3.1 Der Innovationsschub des *Estuary English*

Der Begriff *Estuary English* wurde erstmals 1984 verwendet (Rosewarne 1984) und bezeichnet allein auf der Grundlage von neuen Aussprachetendenzen eine eigene Varietät,

die das britische Standardisierungsmodell seitdem immer mehr zur Disposition stellt (Coogole 1993). Das *Estuary English* stellt die Aussprachenorm der *Received Pronunciation* zunehmend in Frage, wobei die Durchsetzung des neuen Aussprachestandards sowohl vom Südosten her räumlich ausgreift und auch diastratisch eine schichtenspezifische Aussprache emanzipiert: Der Kern des neuen Standards wird von der Londoner *middle class* geprägt (Altendorf 2003, 160). Neben den auf London konzentrierten Varianten *face* ['fʌis] oder *goat* ['gʌu?] kommen auch dialektal oder sozial nicht dokumentierbare Neuerungen auf wie *goose* ['gy:z]. In diesem Trend zeichnet sich eine Konvergenz dahingehend ab, dass der *south-eastern non-standard accent* in weiten Teilen unterschiedlicher gesellschaftlicher Schichten an Akzeptanz gewonnen hat und er die Spannung zu dem, was in London und der Großregion London gesprochen wird, abgebaut hat. Dieser neue Aussprachestandard hat in kurzer Zeit an Prestige gewonnen trotz der deutlichen Basis als Substandardvarietät. Das positive Image des *Estuary English* ist nicht zuletzt der Aufmerksamkeit der Presse zu verdanken und seiner Verwendung unter Politikern in der Öffentlichkeit (Blair, Livingstone). Im Variationsinventar konkurrieren derzeit noch Cockney-nahe Merkmale mit RP-nahen Varianten. Die ins Feld geführte Cockneyisierung von RP (Wells 1994) ist jedenfalls als eine regional voranschreitende Restandardisierungstendenz zu bewerten.

### 3.2 Konvergenz und Divergenz nach der deutschen Wiedervereinigung

Wenngleich die Wiedervereinigung in Deutschland zwar zahlreiche Untersuchungen zum sprachlichen Wandel (fast ausschließlich in den Neuen Bundesländern) hervorgebracht hat (vgl. vor allem den einleitenden Forschungsbericht in Auer/Hausendorf 2000), liegen zu Konvergenz und Divergenz zweier ehemals räumlich getrennter Varietäten sehr wenige Untersuchungen vor. Allenthalben steht auch hier die Forschung eher unter einer Erwartungshaltung zugunsten der Konvergenz: Auer/Barden/Großkopf 1993 beobachten den Dialektwandel und die sprachliche Anpassung von 'Übersiedlern' aus Sachsen. Dittmar 2000 weist den rezenten prestigebesetzten Gebrauch von *halt* in Ostberlin als Westberliner Import nach, was als eine Konvergenzentwicklung zu definie-

ren ist. Offensichtlich werden Divergenzmuster entweder von der Forschung vernachlässigt oder sind nicht nachzuweisen. Die Studien deuten auf eine starke Konvergenzleistung im Sprachwandel. Sprachliche Divergenzprozesse müssten an regional begrenzte Identitätsausprägungen in der Mentalität gebunden sein, für die in der deutschen Soziolinguistik aber augenblicklich keine relevanten Anhaltspunkte aufspürbar zu sein scheinen.

### 3.3 Ein Fall von Divergenz: das Sannio

In der Diskussion um die Ausbreitung der sog. mittleren Substandardvarietäten im Sannio im Zusammenhang mit der Italianisierungsphase sind in dieser kampanischen Region etliche Züge zu beobachten, die als Divergenzstreben zu interpretieren sind. In der Auswertung eines sprechsprachlichen Korpus kann Maturi 2002 zahlreiche regionale Verschiedenheiten auch geolinguistisch belegen. So fasst die periphrastische *sto facendo* „ich tue gerade“ in Sant'Agata nicht Fuß, stattdessen kontrastiert sie mit *sto a fare* (Maturi 2002, 239f). Das Sannio bewahrt eine konkurrierende Polymorphie, die regional differenziert ist. Auch die Realisierung des Nexus *s* + {*k*, *p*, *t*} zeigt eine Dreiteilung auf, die einer Konvergenz zuwiderläuft (Maturi 2002, 92–95). Entgegen dem Standard *sk*, *sp*, *st* und dem neapolitanischen *fk*, *fp*, *st* (*scuola*, *spalla*, *stare*) behaupten sich hier drei Areale, die regionale Kleiräume begrenzen. Der südöstlichen *fp* / *fk* / *st*-Zone stehen die homogenisierten Areale *fp* / *fk* / *ft* und *sp* / *sk* / *st* gegenüber. Mit der Regression der Dialekte baut der sprachliche Substandard ein Gefüge auf, das sich geographisch in weiteren Zügen stark differenziert. Offensichtlich strebt im Gesprochenen die Italianisierungsphase keine Vereinheitlichung des Italienischen im mittleren Bereich an.

## 4. Teilprozesse und Gesamtentwicklung: Unsichere Prognosen

Insgesamt belegen die drei Fallstudien in 3., dass die traditionelle dialektologische Forschung ein Defizit im Beschreiben der Varietätendynamik aufweist, obwohl frühzeitig die Vielschichtigkeit der dialektologischen Ausweitung erkannt und konzeptionell mit der Forderung nach einer Neudefinition der Disziplin umgesetzt wurde:

„Synchronic study of dynamic linguistic processes, combined with the functional and structural approach, should enable linguistics to revert to inquiries into linguistic evolution with a better chance of solving many such problems as held our predecessors in check“.

(Martinet 1954–55, 11)

Dabei hat in der Soziolinguistik die Konvergenzproblematik auf der Dialektebene (Varietät B' bei Lüdtke 1999) zunächst im Vordergrund gestanden, indem man den Prozess des Dialektwandels, d. h. vor allem des Dialektabbaus und später dann des -umbaus, beschreiben wollte (vgl. etwa Mattheier 1986; 1987 oder Bauer 2003) – unter Einbeziehung der Standardisierung, der in Großbritannien eine entsprechend große Zahl von Untersuchungen zum sog. *levelling* gegenübersteht (vgl. Trudgill 1986). Das aufzuarbeitende Desiderat betrifft nunmehr eher die Ausformung unterhalb des Standards, die bei Lüdtke 1999 als A' figuriert. Sie ist näher an die Standardvarietät im europäischen Kontext gekoppelt und belegt die gegenwärtige De- oder Restandardisierungsphase. Die entsprechenden Gesellschaften sind sich der Bedeutung der A'-Ausformung sehr wohl bewusst, auch wenn die inhaltliche Fassung Probleme bereitet (Fusco 2000, 63–82; Bombi 2000, 23–29). Die Bedeutung des Eindringens der Standardvarietät in die Alltagsvarietät ist im Einzelfall soziolinguistisch als Sprachwandelprozess gut erfassbar wie im Fall der (b)-Variablen für die Erp-Untersuchung (Mattheier 1995), wobei Divergenzfaktoren zunehmend als Stilmarker fungieren. Während Städte in der Forschungstradition vorrangig als Faktoren für Konvergenzbildung im Raum angesehen werden, scheint sich für Metropolen eine deutliche Divergenzkontur dort auszuprägen, wo die peripher gelegenen Subpole entgegen der sprachlichen Assimilation an das Zentrum eigene, neue Randvariationen ausbilden, die mit ihrer eigenen Dynamik die Assimilationen an den alten Stadtdialekt und an die Standardsprache unterbinden. Dieser divergierende Gegenprozess zu einer neuen Großraumbildung gilt etwa für Neapel (Radtke 2002) und für die Metropolenbildung in Lateinamerika (Mexico City, São Paulo oder Rio de Janeiro, vgl. Lope Blanch 1986; Teixeira de Castilho 1986 und Bartoni-Ricardo 1985). Auch die italienische Linguistik durchläuft derzeit eine Phase der Neubestimmung der regionalen A'-Varietäten, indem für die Definition des *italiano*

*regionale* immer weniger der Dialekt als Bezugsgröße interessiert als vielmehr die 'neueren', dialektunabhängigen Ausprägungen einer großräumigen Regionalvarietät (vgl. zuletzt Fusco/Marcato 2001). Diese neue Optik für eine altbekannte Varietät geht sogar so weit, dass Dialektologiehandbücher wie Marcato 2002 den Dialekt vornehmlich in den nicht-dialektalen Subvarietäten des Standards wie in der Jugendsprache erfassen.

Im Wechsel von Konvergenz und Divergenz von regionalen Varietäten lässt sich kein valider Vergleich anstellen: Die oftmals lokal bedingten historischen Traditionen des Sprechens erlauben keine synoptische Interpretation. Der Einzelfall schafft jeweils partikuläre Gegebenheiten, die sich nicht in einen Gesamtrahmen eingliedern lassen. Allenfalls kann man im Rahmen der Idee einer europäischen Sprachgeschichtsschreibung Standardisierungsverschiebungen im supranationalen Rahmen attestieren, die das sprachliche Informalitätspotential ausbauen, um einen Abbau des historischen Formalitätsanspruchs im Standard zu bewirken. Für die regionalen Varietäten bedeutet dies, dass vor allem *saliency markers* von Großräumen sich konsolidieren wie die unterbliebene Palatalisierung der Sibilanten vor *t*, *p* in „Spiel“, „Stadt“ im Deutschen, die Ausspracheliste des *Estuary English*, die Bewahrung des *e indistinct* im südfranzösischen Sprachraum oder die Palatalisierung der Sibilanten *p*, *k* bei *spalla*, *scuola* in Neapel. Diese Schibbolethformen schaffen eine großräumige Identifizierung oberhalb der Dialektebene, und Konvergenz wäre demnach das Bestreben, kleinräumige Markierungen zugunsten großräumiger *saliency markers* aufzugeben. Damit wäre eine neue räumliche Varietätenarchitektur in verschiedenen Nationalsprachen im Aufbau begriffen. Somit wird die Rolle der sog. *regional standard varieties* (Auer/Hinskens 1996, 12) auf Kosten des Verlustes des Basisdialektes gestärkt, wobei die Auflösung über die Konvergenz von Basisdialekten erfolgt (Mattheier 1996, 33–35). Die Gesamtproblematik erlaubt insgesamt keine verwertbaren Prognosen der Entwicklungstendenzen, weil neben der vom Standard her gesehenen Konvergenz auch gegenläufige Bewegungen auszumachen sind, die unter der Divergenz zu subsumieren sind: Wenn in Neapel neue Dialektvarietäten an der Peripherie der Metropole sich konsolidieren, ist dies als klein-



räumige Manifestation im Gegensatz zum Schaffen einer Ausgleichssprache (*levelling*) zu verstehen. Ortspunkte lassen auch neue diatopische Variation entstehen, die als Identifikationselemente fungieren (Mattheier 1996, 35; Lenz 2003). Der Begriff der Dynamik lässt erkennen, dass die diatopischen Markierungen in einem Spannungsfeld von Konvergenz und Divergenz beide Richtungen – wenn auch unterschiedlich – ausschöpfen. Erst in der sprachhistorischen Rückschau (wie etwa Lodge 1997 für das mittelalterliche Frankreich) wird die Rekonstruktion dieser Schübe in einer *historischen Soziolinguistik* vom Ergebnis her eindeutig bestimmbar.

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## 223. Herausbildung und Reform von Standardsprachen und Destandardisierung

### Development and Reform of Standard Languages and Destandardization

1. Das Wesen der Standardsprachen und ihre Typologie
2. Herausbildung und Entwicklung von Standardsprachen und Destandardisierung
3. Verfestigungs- und Regelungsprozesse und Reformverfahren für standardsprachliche Norm
4. Literatur (in Auswahl)

#### 1. Das Wesen der Standardsprachen und ihre Typologie

1.1. Die Menge einzelner Erscheinungen, auf die die Bezeichnung *Standardsprache* bezogen wird oder werden kann, erscheint gewissermaßen heterogen und demzufolge nicht leicht definitorisch erfaßbar. Diese relative Mannigfaltigkeit spiegelt sich auch in den Termini wider, die in verschiedenen nationalen Wissenschaftstraditionen verwendet werden: Schriftsprache, Literatursprache, Kultursprache, Hochsprache, Buchsprache, Gemeinsprache, Einheitssprache. Die Bezeichnung *Standardsprache*, die nach dem englischen Vorbild in den letzten Jahren von Linguisten in manchen Ländern verwendet wird, hat vielleicht den Vorteil, daß sie als relativ neutral erscheint (wie es schon Bloomfield bemerkte) – es bleibt jedoch unklar, ob der Standard im Sinne einer allgemein anerkannten obligatorischen Norm, oder im bewertenden Sinne einer hohen Vorzüglichkeitsstufe zu verstehen ist. Jede von den angeführten beschreibenden Benennungen spiegelt dieses oder jenes Merkmal (Eigenschaft oder Funktion) des betreffenden Objekts wider. Das ist jedoch nicht zufällig: wie Guchman ([1970] 1975, 413) bemerkte, erklärt sich dieser Tatbestand größtenteils aus der Natur des Gegenstandes selbst, und zwar nicht nur aus seiner Vielseitigkeit, sondern auch aus seiner historischen und sozial-kulturellen Veränderlichkeit. Bei der Bestimmung der Standardsprache werden von einzelnen Forschern ihre verschiedenen Eigenschaften und Funktionen erwähnt, wobei, wie es schon die Prager Linguistenschule nachdrücklich betonte, die funktionale Bestimmung als maßgebend erscheint (vgl. z. B. Havránek [1929] 1963, 13). Es ist jedoch Guchman ([1970] 1975, 414f) zuzustimmen,

da die Gesamtheit von Eigenschaften und Funktionen keineswegs in jeder Standardsprache und im gleichen Maß vertreten sein muß, „weil sich die einzelnen Wesenszüge in der Geschichte der Sprachen erst allmählich und dazu nicht in den gleichen Zeitabschnitten herausbilden. Außerdem [...] verläuft die Ausbildung ihrer einzelnen Merkmale ungleichmäßig“. Nicht alle Standardsprachen erscheinen voll oder gleichmäßig funktional entfaltet bzw. ihre funktionale Tragweite ändert sich in ihrer historischen Entwicklung, und nicht immer in einer positiven Richtung. Die Standardsprache kann nicht nur neue Funktionen erwerben, sondern einige bisherige verlieren.

(Z. B. war die deutsche Sprache Ende des 17. und Anfang des 18. Jhs. multifunktional, jedoch ohne eine einheitlichen Norm, im arabischen Sprachgebiet werden im alltäglichen Verkehr statt der Standardsprache die regionale Koines gebraucht;) (vgl. 2.1.)

Mit den Eigenschaften und Funktionen jeder Standardsprache sind auch *Einstellungen*, die die Sprachgemeinschaft zu ihrer Sprache einnimmt, eng verbunden. Darauf wurde schon in der Prager Schule hingewiesen, später hat Daneš ([1968] 1982) die wichtige Rolle des widerspruchsvollen Systems der Einstellungen in der Entwicklung der (slawischen) Sprachen systematisch analysiert und Gallardo (1984, 4–54) hat (unter Garvins Einfluß) wieder das komplexe Netz der dynamischen Wechselbeziehungen von Einstellungen, Eigenschaften und Funktionen im Sprachleben erforscht; vgl. 2.2. Es stellt sich also heraus, daß das Phänomen (und der Begriff) der Standardsprache unscharfe (fuzzy) Grenzen aufweist, da es ein relativ festes Zentrum (Kern) und eine diffuse Peripherie, die sich mit der Peripherie benachbarter Phänomene (Begriffe) überschneidet, enthält. Als Kernmerkmale der Standardsprache und zugleich als Hauptmotive und Faktoren ihrer Herausbildung kann man folgende zwei funktionale Momente betrachten: (1) ein Instrument für die gesamtgesellschaftliche (überregionale) Kommunikation, (2) ein Kommunikationsmittel für höhere kulturelle und Zivilisationsbedürfnisse. Merkmal (1) unterscheidet die

Standardsprache von lokalen oder sozialen Varietäten oder von regionalen Koinen (Interdialekten), Merkmal (2) zieht die (schwache) Grenze zwischen der Standardsprache und der Umgangssprache (der überregionalen, gesamtgesellschaftlichen Koine). Die anderen Funktionen und Eigenschaften ergeben sich aus dieser Grundlage. (Eine Anzahl potentieller Definitionsmerkmale des Begriffs 'standardsprachlich' hat Ammon 1986, 17–54 diskutiert.)

1.2. Es sind einige Vorschläge der Typologie von Standardsprache eingebracht worden. (Sie wurden von Jedlička 1982, 55f. übersichtlich zusammengestellt.) Der relativ umfassendste Versuch stammt von Guchman ([1970] 1975, 452f.). Im Prinzip handelt es sich um eine dreidimensionale Typologie. Da sich die gewählten drei klassifikatorischen Dimensionen überschneiden, benötigt jede Standardsprache drei Klassenetikette, wenn sie typologisch vollständig charakterisiert werden soll. Die erste Dimension ist der Funktionsumfang, die zweite Dimension betrifft den Charakter der Einheitlichkeit und den Stand des Standardisierungsprozesses und die dritte Dimension stellt das Verhältnis der Standardsprachen zu den umgangssprachlichen Formen dar. Jedlička (1975, 118f.) geht von den Komponenten seines Konzepts der Sprachsituation aus, begrenzt sich aber auf die gegenwärtige Standardsprache. Er etabliert vier jeweils in Oppositionspaaren gegliederte Haupttypen. Es wird mit folgenden Merkmalen operiert: (1) das Verhältnis der Standardsprache zu anderen Varietäten der gegebenen Sprache, (2) die Zahl und Hierarchie der funktionalen Stile, (3) das Verhältnis der Sprachgemeinschaft zur Standardsprache, (4) das Vorhandensein spezieller Kontaktbedingungen und Kontaktvarianten.

Diese zwei sowie andere bisherige Vorschläge stellen leider im Grunde nur taxonomische Aufgliederungen von Dimensionen und Merkmalen dar und können als eine Vorstufe zur eigentlichen Typologie betrachtet werden.

## 2. Herausbildung und Entwicklung der Standardsprachen und Destandardisierung

2.1. Für die Entstehung oder Herausbildung einer *Standardsprache* erscheinen die zwei in 1.1. erwähnten funktionalen Momente als Motive oder Beweggründe entscheidend. Im Allgemeinen gibt es zwei

Möglichkeiten diese Bedürfnisse zu befriedigen: meistens wird eine neue Standardsprache auf der muttersprachlichen Grundlage herausgebildet, in selteneren Fällen wird zu diesem Zweck eine existierende fremde Standardsprache benutzt. Die beiden Möglichkeiten kommen in verschiedenen Varianten vor, die von der Sprachsituation (im breiten soziologischen Sinn) abhängig sind. Was die erste Möglichkeit betrifft, handelt es sich entweder um Entstehung einer Standardsprache durch eine spontane allmähliche Entwicklung und Konstituierung (vgl. z. B. das Altschechische), oder um eine bewußte, absichtliche Herausbildung (vgl. z. B. das norwegische Landsmål), wobei es zwischen beiden Prozessen eine breite Übergangszone gibt. Das typische Beispiel einer fremden Standardsprache bietet Latein im mittelalterlichen Westeuropa, Kirchenslawisch in mehreren slawischen Ländern oder heutzutage eine der Kolonialsprachen in manchen neuen Staaten Asiens und Afrikas (über mögliche damit verbundene Schwierigkeiten oder Konflikte vgl. Kelman 1971). Die große Mannigfaltigkeit und Komplexität der sprachlichen und sozial-historischen Bedingungen, unter denen die Standardsprachen herausgebildet werden, kann man ganz grob in folgende Bereiche (Typen) von Sprachsituationen untergliedern: altertümliche Kulturen, feudalistische Formationen (die vornationale Periode), Bereich der neuzeitlichen Nationalsprachen, Bereich der neuen nachkolonialen Staatsformationen und anderer Entwicklungsländer oder ethnischer Gruppen. Schematisch könnte man sich zwei unterschiedliche Ausgangspositionen für die Herausbildung der Standardsprache vorstellen: (1) Eine Gemeinschaft ohne Standardsprache gelangt in ihrer Gesamtentwicklung in das Stadium, in dem sich das Bedürfnis einer Standardsprache herausstellt. Eine Variante solcher Sprachsituation stellt die dar, in der sich eine dünne Gesellschaftsschicht für bestimmte Kommunikationszwecke einer fremden Standardsprache bediente. Die große Kompliziertheit solcher Situationen zeigen die neuen Staaten Ostafrikas und Ostasiens (vgl. Whitley 1971; Fisham 1971; Gallardo 1984; 11; 46; Jernud 2000; 2001). (2) Die gegebene Gemeinschaft ist allseitig vollentwickelt, jedoch ihre (wohlausgebildete) Standardsprache wird von ihr als (aus verschiedenen Gründen) ungenügend, unpassend oder unerwünscht betrachtet. Es han-

delt sich entweder um eine fremde Sprache (die wieder wirklich fremd – wie z. B. Latein im mittelalterlichen Westeuropa, oder historisch verwandt – wie das Kirchenslawische in slawischen Ländern, oder das dänisch-norwegische Riksmål, sein kann) oder es geht um eine alte einheimische Schriftsprache (wie das z. B. in China, Japan und zum Teil in den Ländern des arabischen Orients der Fall war). Faktoren, die diese Prozesse hervorrufen oder steuern, sind sehr verschiedenartig und komplex, und die Entwicklungsprozesse sind nicht immer einfach, geradlinig und ohne Peripetien, und in einzelnen Ländern und Zeitabschnitten weisen sie unterschiedliche, eigentümliche Züge auf.

Die Verschiedenheit der Ursachen und einige Hauptaspekte sprachlicher Prozesse im Umbruch vom Mittelalter zur Neuzeit in Europa hat Haarmann (1999, 107) angedeutet: „Das aufkeimende Bewußtsein sprachlichen Eigenprofils und sprachgebundener Identität bei den Europäern ist in einigen Regionen an das internationale politische Geschehen gebunden wie in Spanien oder Rußland, in anderen an Bewegungen kultureller Innovationen wie in Italien oder Frankreich, oder es artikuliert sich im konfessionellen Sprachenstreit über das Medium der Heiligen Schrift wie in Mitteleuropa.“

Die *Standardsprachen* bilden sich meistens aus Varietäten einer ethnischen bzw. nationalen Sprache heraus. Die Varietäten sind entweder regional ((Inter)dialekte, Koines), oder funktional (kulturelle Koines, Literatursprachen, Sakralsprachen, Verwaltungssprachen, Kanzleisprachen, beschränkte Standardsprachen), wobei es zwischen beiden Typen Beziehungen gibt. Die Entwicklung der einzelnen europäischen Standardsprachen wurde in einigen Sammelbänden gründlich behandelt (siehe Ammon/Mattheier/Nelde, eds., 1988 und 1992; Mattheier/Radtke 1997; Cherubim/Mattheier 1989).

In Wirklichkeit stellt eine Mehrheit von Standardsprachen in ihren Anfangsetappen eine solche oder andere Funktionssprache dar. Es gibt zwar die Tendenz zur Multifunktionalität jeder Standardsprache, jedoch ist sie in einzelnen Sprachen unter verschiedenen historischen Bedingungen nicht in gleicher Weise entfaltet (vgl. 1.1.). Im 12. und 13. Jh. entwickelten sich z. B. Französisch, Deutsch, Spanisch als bedeutende Standardsprachen, jedoch nicht als Sprachen der Wissenschaft und Bildung. Auch die modernen nichtföderalen Standardsprachen sind mehr oder weniger funktional beschränkt. Übrigens erscheint das Kriterium einer funktionalen Vollständigkeit seiner Natur nach ziemlich relativ.

Im Allgemeinen gilt, daß im ersten Fall die Standardsprache entweder auf der Basis einer (über)regionalen Varietät gebildet wird, oder daß sie eine systemhafte Auswahl aus mehreren Varietäten darstellt. Manchmal handelt es sich um eine Kombination beider Prozesse. Dabei spielt eine funktionale Adaptation die wichtige Rolle. Oft wird die Varietät eben des Territoriums gewählt, in dem sich das kulturelle / politische / ökonomische / religiöse Zentrum befindet und auf dem die städtische Koine auch größtenteils basiert (das gilt z. B. für Französisch, Englisch, Tschechisch). Wie Guchman ([1970] 1975, 435f.) bemerkte, war die Herausbildung der Standardsprache oft mit den Koines, besonders mit den städtischen verbunden. Die Koines nehmen eine Zwischenstellung zwischen Dialekten und Standardsprachen ein. Die strukturellen wie auch funktionalen Grenzen zwischen umgangssprachlichen Koines und den mündlichen Stilen der Standardsprachen sind fließend und ihr wechselseitiges Verhältnis ändert sich im Zusammenhang mit sozialen Veränderungen (vgl. z. B. das Französische im 19. Jh. und heutzutage, oder den russischen Sprachprozeß nach der Oktoberrevolution). In heutigen hochentwickelten nationalen Standardsprachen wird oft im mündlichen nichtoffiziellen Verkehr die gesprochene Form der Standardsprache und die Umgangssprache nebeneinander verwendet (auch im Deutschen, im Tschechischen wird die Existenz einer standardsprachlichen Konversation sogar bezweifelt). Im Grunde handelt es sich um Situationen, in denen die kodifizierte traditionelle Standardsprache (die manchmal ursprünglich aus der umgangssprachlichen Basis gebildet worden ist) in einen kritischen Abstand von dem aktuellen Usus geraten ist und praktisch nur als schriftliches Kommunikationsmittel angewandt wird, so daß dann die umgangssprachliche Koine nicht nur die mündliche Konversationsform der Standardsprache ersetzt (oder unterstützt), sondern zugleich die relativ veraltete Standardsprache beeinflusst (in Richtung einer ‘Modernisierung’ oder ‘Demokratisierung’/‘Demotisierung’).

2.2. Das geschah nicht nur z. B. in der vor-nationalen Epoche in China und Japan. Es handelt sich mehr um eine sozialpsychologische und sprachliche Konstante. Diesen Prozeß beobachtet man ganz offensichtlich auch in den gegenwärtigen Standardspra-

chen und er wird neuerdings unter dem Stichwort Destandardisierung behandelt (vgl. Mattheier/Radtke 1997). Man spricht auch über Substandardisierung, wobei man unter *Substandard* eine Zwischenform (oder Zwischenformen) zwischen Dialekt und Standardsprache versteht (vgl. Mattheier 1990), also umgangssprachliche Varietäten im Sinne „Sprache, wie sie im täglichen Umgang verwendet wird: zwischen Hochsprache und Mundarten stehende, von regionalen, soziologischen, gruppenspezifischen Gegebenheiten beeinflusste Sprachschicht“ (Duden 1999), oder nach Collins Coubold (1992) s. v. colloquial: „it is used to describe expressions of language that are informal and specially used in conversation rather than in writing“. Wenn man Destandardisierung (im eigentlichen Sinn) in der Toleranz in Fragen der sprachlichen Norm sieht, dann möchte man den ganzen Prozess als Destandardisierung durch Substandardisierung, d. h. durch die Dynamik der Substandardvarietäten, auffassen. Schon im Jahre 1973 führte M. Guchman als Charakteristikum vieler europäischer Sprachen eine durchgehende Liberalisierung der standardsprachlichen Normen unter dem Einfluß der Umgangssprachen. Und einige Jahre früher hat Daneš ([1968] 1982) diesen Prozeß im Tschechischen diagnostiziert und interpretiert als ein soziolinguistisches Phänomen (vgl. auch Sperber/von Polenz 1966). In verschiedenen Sprachen verläuft dieser Prozeß unterschiedlich je nach konkreten spezifischen Bedingungen und wurde von manchen Forschern beschrieben und diskutiert (vgl. besonders Mattheier/Radtke 1997, Ammon/Mattheier/Nolde 1988, 1992; Reiter et al. 1994, Panzer 2001). Die Dynamik des Destandardisierungsvorgangs kommt markant zum Vorschein in der Feststellung, daß er sogar in dem konservativen englischen Standard vorgeht. Görlach (1988) charakterisiert ihn trefflich als eine deutliche Öffnung der bisher homogenen und fest kodifizierten Norm in Richtung auf regional-umgangssprachliche Formen. Zwar wird die klassische Norm nicht verdrängt, aber die Variationsbreite nimmt kontinuierlich zu. So spricht man heutzutage von New Englishes (vgl. Pride 1982), *néo-français*, *neo-italiano* (vgl. Berutto 1987) usw., d. h. bislang stigmatisierte Varietäten einer Einzelsprache werden für eine größere Sprachgemeinschaft akzeptabel. Den soziolinguistischen Hintergrund der heutigen De-

standardisierungsprozesse hat Daneš ([1968] 1982) (aufgrund einer Analyse der tschechischen Sprachsituation) durch folgende relevante Momente charakterisiert: Abnehmen des Wissens um die standardsprachliche Norm (besonders unter der jüngeren und jungen Generation). Schwindendes Prestige der Standardsprache im Allgemeinen sowie Nachlassen des Respekts- und Autoritätsbewußtseins überhaupt. Für die Standardsprache selbst ist der Ausgleich mit der gesprochenen (Umgangs-)Sprache kennzeichnend. Man kann also die Prognose wagen, daß das zurückgehende Wissen um ihre Normen und veränderte Bewertungsstäbe (Werteskala) zu ihrer allmählichen Umgestaltung, d. h. Umstandardisierung und folglich zu einem neuen (oder reformierten) Standard führen möchte. (In den Sprachsituationen, in denen der Abstand zwischen traditionellem (schriftlichem) Standard und der Umgangssprache den Charakter einer Diglossie hat, könnte man über Entdiglossierung sprechen (vgl. Auer 1997, 129f). Dieses potentielle Ergebnis des Destandardisierungsvorgangs (das Mattheier (1997, 8 ‘Usus-orientierte Reaktion der Sprachgemeinschaft’ nennt) stellt eine mögliche Endetappe des Prozesses dar, aus der jedoch eine Voretappe hervorgeht, die Mattheier als ‘Kodex-orientierte Reaktion’ bezeichnet und in der die Standardnormabweichungen als Sprachfehler bewertet und sanktioniert werden. Diese zwei unterschiedlichen, im Grunde kontroverse Typen von Reaktionen oder Einstellungen existieren in der Gemeinschaft für gewisse Zeit nebeneinander, bzw. gegeneinander, so daß die Sprachsituation bestimmte Spannungen aufweist, so lange bis die Gemeinschaft (als ein Ganzes, jedoch nicht alle ihre Angehörige) sich an die neuentwickelte Norm anpaßt. Destandardisierung (als eher spontan, willkürlich und zufällig verlaufende Umänderungen) und Standardisierung (als mehr zielgerichtete, planmäßige, äußerlich bedingte regulatorische Tätigkeit) stellen zwei Stadien der standardsprachlichen Entwicklung dar, die sich wie in einem Zirkel abwechseln. Man findet hier zwei sozialpsychologische und kulturanthropologische Konstanten in Aktion: Einerseits vor allem den menschlichen Trieb zur Vereinfachung und die Lust zum freien Bewegen und Umwandeln, andererseits wieder das Bewußtsein der Notwendigkeit, sozioökonomische Zwänge zu respektieren und Regulative zu entwi-

ckeln, die die Interessen der Gemeinschaft auf Kosten des Freiraums des Individuums fördern (vgl. Haarmann 1988).

2.3. Eine Typologie des Herausbildungs- und Entwicklungsprozesses hat Havránek (1963, 90f, 340) skizziert: (1) Die Entwicklung geht (a) aus einem einzigen Zentrum aus (z.B. Tschechisch) oder (b) aus mehreren parallelen Zentren (z.B. Serbokroatisch). (2) Das Zentrum ist (a) lokal fixiert (z.B. Tschechisch), oder (b) lokal veränderlich (z.B. Polnisch). Diese Typologie kann mutatis mutandis auch für nichtslawische Sprachen gelten (vgl. z.B. Deutsch und Italienisch gegenüber Französisch, Russisch oder Englisch. Vgl. dazu neuerlich Mattheier 1997.) Die Bildung einer Standardsprache erfolgt aber nicht immer im Prozeß der Unifizierung, sondern sie ist manchmal (auch) mit Differenzierung, Absonderung verbunden (wenn z.B. auf einem Dialektkontinuum mehrere Standardsprachen ausgebaut werden (vgl. zur Ausbausprache, Kloss 1952 und Art. 26). Einen Spezialfall stellen die sogenannten Varietäten einer nationalen (Standards-)Sprache dar, d.h. die als Mutter- oder Zweitsprache vorkommenden landes- oder regionspezifischen Varietäten. Diese Varietäten werden in der Regel verstanden als Standardvarietäten, aber man könnte auch die Nonstandardvarietäten einbeziehen (vgl. Ammon 1997). Man spricht auch über zwei (drei, ...) standardisierte Normen. Diese Erscheinung ist typisch vor allem für anglophone Länder (das britische, amerikanische, kanadische, australische Englisch, vgl. Görlach 1988; Hansen et al. 1996; Schneider 1997; Hansen 1999; Trudgill/Hannah 1994) und frankophone Länder (vgl. Valdman 1983; Beaucpain/Reboulet 1976; Valdman 1979), aber auch für das Spanische (vgl. de la Semptra Española Stepanow 1979; Actas del Congreso ... 1994; Strosetzki/Tietz 1989; Holtus et al. 1992), Deutsche (vgl. Polenz 1990; Ammon 1997) und Portugiesische. Neben den rein sprachlichen Distinktionen spielen hier soziologische und politische Momente eine entscheidende Rolle (vgl. Gallardo 1984; Kachru 1983). An dieser Stelle soll auch die eigentümliche Situation erwähnt werden, wenn in einem Staat zwei nationale Standardsprachen, deren Entwicklungszentren außerhalb des Staates liegen, nebeneinanderstehen (z.B. in Belgien oder Kanada, vgl. Arbeiten des Conseil de la langue française in Qué-

bec). Die Standardsprache wirkt also nicht nur als eine unifizierende, sondern auch als Trennungskraft und Quelle von potentiellen sprachlichen und kultur-politischen Konflikten. Dieser Tatbestand hängt auch damit zusammen, daß die Sprache für ihre Gemeinschaft nicht nur instrumentale (manipulative) sondern auch sentimentale und deklarative Werte repräsentiert (vgl. 2.4. und Lewis 1947; Daneš [1968] 1982).

Wie die übliche Benennung Schriftsprache merken läßt, ist die Schrift (vgl. Art. 220 und Garvin 1954) (und später auch Druck) eine Erfindung und Institution, die für die Herausbildung und Entwicklung der Standardsprache von der höchsten Wichtigkeit ist. (Ferguson 1968 unterscheidet z.B. drei Hauptkomponenten der Sprachentwicklung: graphization, standardization, modernization.) Vachek (1973; vgl. auch 1989) bestimmt die geschriebene Sprache (oder Norm) als „ein System der graphisch realisierbaren Sprachelemente, deren Funktion ist, auf einen gegebenen Impuls [...] auf eine bewahrbare und leicht überschaubare Weise zu reagieren [...]“. Gallardo (1984, 36, 40) stellt fest, daß alle Standardsprachen geschriebene Sprachen sind (und manchmal ihre Anfangsform die geschriebene war) und daß Schreiben nicht nur ein Mittel zur Repräsentation der Sprache ist, sondern dass es auch eine soziale, vor allem kulturelle Institution darstellt. (Der hohe Kulturwert der Schrift ist z.B. daraus ersichtlich, daß die riesige Bedeutung der klassischen griechischen Kultur auf der Tatsache beruhte, daß hier zum erstenmal ein wesentlicher Teil der Bevölkerung schrieb und las.) Schreiben beeinflußt die strukturalen Eigenschaften der Standardsprache und steuert die Standardisierung (Stabilisierung, Vereinheitlichung, Intellektualisierung). Es trägt zur gesellschaftlichen Verbreitung der Standardsprache bei und ermöglicht Speicherung von Informationen sowie linguistische Behandlung der Sprache. Besonders im sprachlichen Leben unserer Zeit hat Schrift (und Papier) eine beherrschende Bedeutung gewonnen. Schrift wird von der Sprachgemeinschaft als ein tief eingebürgertes nationales Kulturgut betrachtet. Damit erklärt sich teilweise auch die allgemeine Abneigung gegen Schrift- und Orthographiereformen (vgl. 3.2. und Art. 75). (Über Probleme der Orthographiebildung für sich neu konstituierende Standardsprachen vgl. Garvin 1954; Berry 1968.) Vacheks Interpretation

der Distinktion 'geschrieben/gesprochen' entspricht jedoch den heutigen technischen und kulturellen Bedingungen und Erfordernissen nicht mehr. Die zwei grundlegenden 'Existenzmodi der Sprachtexte' (Daneš 1994) sind tief und reichlich differenziert, und es entstehen ganz neue technische Modifikationen und Kombinationen sowie wechselseitige Transformationen von ihnen, besonders im Zusammenhang mit den elektronischen Medien (wobei die von Vachek vorausgesetzten unterschiedlichen Eigenschaften anders distribuiert werden und sich auch teilweise überlappen können).

„Durch das Aufkommen der elektronischen Medien ist die Welt der Kommunikation in eine z. T. neue Entwicklung geraten. Vernetzte Formen der Wissensverarbeitung haben zu einer Explosion gleichzeitig verfügbarer Informationen geführt. Freilich setzt der Umgang mit der neuen Technologie in besonderem Maße die geübte Sprachkompetenz der Benutzer voraus. [...] Auf einem neuen, den ganzen Menschen erfassenden Niveau ist es erforderlich, den der Sprache inhärenten Freiheitsspielraum zu erhalten und seine Transformation in die Ebene der Wort-Bild-Kommunikation zu sichern.“

(siehe Bickes/Trabold 1994; vgl. dazu besonders Čmejrková/Daneš/Havlová 1994; Eisenstein 1997 und besonders Baron 1999)

2.4. Die Herausbildung der Standardsprache unterliegt spezifischen Entwicklungsgesetzmäßigkeiten, die vor allem durch ihre Stellung und Funktionen bedingt sind. Im Entwicklungsprozeß ändern sich Bereiche, in denen die Standardsprache wirkt, wie auch der Umfang und die inhaltliche Struktur ihrer funktionalen Belastung. Es ändert sich auch die soziale Zugehörigkeit ihrer Träger und ihre soziale Tragfähigkeit und Tragweite, und schließlich ändert sich auch ihre geographische Ausbreitung und Möglichkeiten ihrer Expansion. Dabei stellt die Entwicklung entweder einen relativ gleichmäßigen Aufstieg dar, oder ihr Verlauf ist ungleichmäßig und/oder unterbrochen (vgl. Havránek 1936, 1). Diese Veränderungen müssen natürlich nicht immer eine positive, fortschreitende Richtung aufweisen. Die eigentliche sprachliche Entwicklung ist vor allem von mehreren antinomischen Tendenzen beherrscht (vgl. Daneš [1968] 1982; Havránek [1932] 1976a). Erstens handelt es sich um die Antinomie Stabilität – Wandel. Sie kann mit den psychologischen Faktoren der Resistenz und Akzeptanz in Verbindung

gebracht werden. Der natürliche Zustand jeder Sprache ist der des Wandels. Die Standardsprache muß für ihr erfolgreiches soziales Funktionieren einerseits eine ausreichende Stabilität besitzen, andererseits aber auch fähig sein, auf äußere und innere Impulse zu reagieren, sich anzupassen, sich zu wandeln und zu innovieren. Der gegenseitige Ausgleich dieser gegensätzlichen Faktoren schafft jenen Zustand, den Mathesius ([1932] 1976, 89) prägnant als elastische Stabilität charakterisierte (vgl. auch das kybernetische Konzept des relativen, temporären, dynamischen Gleichgewichts). Absolute Stabilität ist für die Sprache genauso unannehmbar wie eine nichtregulierte Willkürlichkeit des Wandels. Wie jede soziale Institution, ringt auch die Sprache um die Erhaltung ihrer Identität. Daß eine Varietät einer Sprache als (nationale) Standardsprache anerkannt wird, ist eine vorwiegend gesellschaftliche Tatsache (bei der selbstverständlich die sprachliche Materie auch ihre Rolle spielt). So sind z. B. das moderne Englisch und das Altenglische aus rein linguistischer Sicht derart unterschiedliche Sprachen, daß die Kontinuität des 'Englischen' nicht mit rein sprachlichen Begriffen definiert werden kann. Das Prinzip des Wandlungsmechanismus hat Havránek treffend formuliert, wenn er sagte, daß durch die Entwicklung nicht nur das alte System zerstört, sondern auch das neue System geschaffen wird, und daß sich das System der Sprache umgestaltet und die Regelmäßigkeit der heutigen Norm zu erkennen gibt (1936, 138). Aus dem ausdrücklichen Bedürfnis nach einem hohen Grad von Stabilität (und Einheitlichkeit) der Standardsprache folgt die Neigung der standardsprachlichen Norm zum Konservatismus. In dieser widerspruchsvollen Situation der Standardsprache spielt das Verfahren der Standardisierung (vgl. 3.1. und Art. 240) eine wichtige Rolle, vor allem die Kodifikation, die als ein unentbehrliches und effektives Instrument der planmäßigen und perspektivischen Beeinflussung der Weiterentwicklung zu begreifen ist. Eine verwandte Antinomie stellt der Gegensatz Isolationismus (Geschlossenheit) – Universalismus (Offenheit) dar. Im Sinne der Prager Schule sieht Garvin (1993) Integration und Isolation als zwei wichtige Funktionen der Standardsprache. Daraus ergibt sich, daß das Streben nach Abgrenzung der nationalrepräsentativen Standardsprache gegenüber anderen Sprachen zu



den elementaren Entwicklungstendenzen gehört. Die entgegengesetzte Tendenz, Offenheit, ergibt sich aus der Existenz und Notwendigkeit der Sprachkontakte und dem praktischen Bedürfnis nach Sprachbereicherung. Die Stärke beider Tendenzen ist in verschiedenen Sprachsituationen unterschiedlich. So tendieren vor allem kleinere Sprachen, die in ihrer Existenz bedroht erscheinen, weitaus stärker zum Isolationismus als große und/oder nicht gefährdete Sprachen. Dieser Isolationstyp unterscheidet sich jedoch von dem eigentlichen Purismus (der oft ideologisch motiviert wird): Die Verteidigungstendenzen richten sich gegen die Stelle, von der die Bedrohung ausgeht (z. B. gegen Deutsch im Falle des Tschechischen in der österreichischen Monarchie, oder gegen Englisch in dem frankophonen Teil des heutigen Kanada – vgl. Garvin 1983, 151).

In einer spezifischen Situation befinden sich die Ausbausprachen, deren selbständige Existenz nebst anderem durch einen bestimmten Grad strukturaler Differenziertheit gegenüber den benachbarten verwandten Sprachen bedingt ist.

Die genannte Antinomie löst gegensätzliche Tendenzen der Nationalisierung und Internationalisierung aus, wobei die letztgenannte oft zum Purismus führt, der heutzutage besonders die Sprachpolitik vieler asiatischer Länder beeinflusst (z. B. Sanskritisation von Hindi, analogisches Bestreben in der Türkei, vgl. Fishman 1971, 15; Gallagher 1971, 161), vgl. auch Fishmans Feststellung einer dialektischen Spannung zwischen Modernisierung und national(istisch)er Authentifizierung (Art. 224). Trotz der objektiv wirkenden umfangreichen internationalen Kontakte existieren heute deutliche Bemühungen um Stärkung der Eigenart und Selbständigkeit einiger Standardsprachen, sprachautonome Kämpfe und Herausbildung von neuen Standardsprachen. Der dialektische Widerspruch Uniformität (oft mit Nivellierung verbunden) gegenüber synchronischer Variabilität (Varianz) ist mit der Antinomie Stabilität versus Wandel verwandt, jedoch von ihr unabhängig. Die Lösung dieses Widerspruchs kann man in einer strukturierten, funktional regulierten Differenzierung der Ausdrucksmittel sehen. Eine derartige semantische und stilistische Differenzierung stellt eine der wichtigsten qualitativen Bereicherungsweisen in der Entwicklung der Standardsprachen dar (vgl.

Jedlička 1982, 64–67). Verständlichkeit verträgt sich mit einem gewissen Maß an Sprachvariabilität, deren Umfang jedoch auf den verschiedenen Sprachebenen unterschiedlich ausgeprägt sein wird (vgl. z. B. die sehr einheitliche Orthographie und die relativ hohe Varianz in der Aussprachenorm). Die formale (vor allem morphologische) Varianz (mit der Ausnahme der Orthographie) erscheint weniger störend als die funktional-semantische Uneinheitlichkeit (vgl. das Interesse auf der Normalisation der Fachterminologie, vgl. Art. 25 und 225). Letztlich stellt sich die Tendenz zur (sozialen oder fachlichen) Exklusivität (d. h. zur Distanzierung von der Volks- bzw. Alltagssprache) der Forderung nach Allgemeinverständlichkeit und Zugänglichkeit der Standardsprache entgegen. Im zweiten Fall spricht man auch von Demokratisierung/Demotisierung (der Struktur) und Sozialisierung (Ausbreitung auf weitere soziale Schichten, so daß die Standardsprache als ein öffentliches Eigentum der ganzen Bevölkerung zur Verfügung steht). Dabei weiß man, daß je dünner und exklusiver die sozialen Schichten waren, die einer Standardsprache bedurften, umso größer das Ausdehnungsgebiet der Standardsprache und deren Gegensatz zur Volkssprache sein konnte (vgl. mittelalterliches Latein, Kirchenslawisch, später Französisch, die arabische Sprache und die chinesische Schrift). Sobald sich jedoch die (wenigstens passive) Kenntnis der Standardsprache auf immer weitere Schichten ausbreitet, schränkt dieser Zustand, zusammen mit dem Bewußtsein vom ethnischen (nationalen) Charakter der Standardsprache, deren Ausdehnungsumfang mehr ein und bringt sie der volkstümlichen Sprache näher (vgl. Havránek 1976b, 145f). In modernen Standardsprachen kommt dazu noch das Oppositions-paar Spezialisierung (im Wortschatz, aber auch in der Grammatik und im Textaufbau) versus Entspezialisierung (auch Homogenisierung; vgl. Art. 25 und 225 über Fachsprachen).

Alle erwähnten gegenläufig wirkenden Tendenzen kommen unter verschiedenen historischen, sozialen und sprachlichen Bedingungen stärker oder schwächer zur Geltung. Z. B. die klassengebundene Exklusivität der französischen Standardsprache wurde im 17. Jh. bewußt durch eine Kodifizierung des Sprachgebrauchs bei Hofe unterstützt, und für ihre Entwicklung sollte die Akademie sorgen. Dagegen wurde in der ersten Hälfte des 19. Jhs. unter dem Einfluß der Roman-

tik als standardsprachliche Norm für das Serbokroatische die zeitgenössische Volkssprache gewählt. In der Reformationszeit führte das Bestreben nach der Erweiterung des Instruments einer bestimmten Propaganda zur Schaffung neuer Standardsprachen bzw. ihrer Umwandlung (vgl. auch den positiven Einfluß von Pietismus und Aufklärung auf die Herausbildung der deutschen standardsprachlichen Norm; vgl. dazu Haarmann 1999). Ein und derselbe Faktor kann sich jedoch in verschiedenen Sprachen verschiedenartig auswirken. (Den Wirkungsmechanismus von externen und internen Faktoren hat Vachek 1962 funktional erörtert, vgl. auch Kubrjakowa [1970] 1975.)

Es sei noch bemerkt, daß die ganze Menge von erwähnten Tendenzen auf das aktuell existierende System von Einstellungen (Art. 49) zur Standardsprache in der Sprachgemeinschaft zurückgeht, in dem man üblicherweise zwei gegensätzliche Orientierungen feststellen kann: die rationale (mit instrumentalen und ethnischen Einstellungen) und nichtrationale (mit affektiven und gewohnheitsmäßigen Einstellungen) Struktur und innere Hierarchie der Einstellungssysteme sind in verschiedenen Gemeinschaften und Zeitabschnitten ihrer Entwicklung verschieden und nicht einmal in einer Gemeinschaft völlig einheitlich (wobei eine von den Systemhierarchien dominiert; vgl. z. B. Daneš 1976).

### 3. Verfestigungs- und Regelungsprozesse und Reformverfahren für standardsprachliche Norm

3.1. Die standardsprachliche Norm (Art. 48) ist eine sprach-soziale Kategorie, die objektiv der Sprachstruktur und dem Sprachgebrauch innewohnt und historisch veränderlich ist. Von den Normen der anderen Sprachvarietäten (denn auch die besitzen ihre eigenen Normen) unterscheidet sie sich quantitativ, dem Grad nach, und durch eine viel größere funktionale und stilistische Differenzierung (Schichtung), durch ein erhöhtes Normbewußtsein und eine gesteigerte Verbindlichkeit (die mit einer deutlichen Stabilitätstendenz verbunden ist; vgl. Havránek 1976b; 143f). Die standardsprachliche Norm entsteht, stabilisiert sich und entwickelt sich spontan durch die Funktionsweise der Sprache selbst, aber zugleich auch unter bewußten, zielgerichteten, organisierten Einwirkungen und Eingreifen von seiten der Linguisten und gesellschaftlichen

Regelungsinstitutionen (besonders in der nationalen Periode. Vgl. Semenjuk 1975, 476). Ich nenne den Komplex des Regelungsverfahrens Standardisierung (mit der Kodifikation als seinem Kern), weil die Bezeichnung Normierung mit unserem Auffassen der Norm kollidiert (vgl. Daneš 1976; Ray 1963 und Art. 240). Standardisierung entspricht im Grunde Haugens häufig benutzter Sprachplanung (vgl. Art. 241), die bei ihm die Normalisation (Wahl und Kodifikation von Formen) und Kultivierung involviert (vgl. auch die übliche Termini Sprachkultur, Sprachpflege, Art. 246). Neustupný (1978, 37) spricht von language treatment mit drei Komponenten: policy, cultivation, planning.

Die Stufe der bewußten Standardisierungsaktivität steht in direkter Abhängigkeit zur Stufe der Kompliziertheit der historischen Bedingungen. Typisch komplizierte Sprachsituationen sind folgende: Standardsprachen mit heterogener Ausgangsbasis (z. B. Niederländisch und Deutsch), Standardsprachen mit mehreren Varianten der Norm (z. B. in Albanien oder Norwegen), Standardsprachen mit großem Unterschied zwischen der Schreibsprache und Sprechsprache, Herausbildung neuer nationaler Standardsprachen (z. B. in der ehemaligen UdSSR, oder jetzt in Entwicklungsländern), Wiederbelebung einer Standardsprache (in der nationalen Wiedergeburt, vgl. Art. 245), 'Modernisierung' einer alten Standardsprache, die vom aktuellen Usus ziemlich divergiert. In den früheren Etappen der nationalen Standardsprache zielen die Veränderungen in der Norm vor allem auf eine höhere Einheitlichkeit und Stabilität, d. h. auf die Beseitigung oder Einschränkung von Schwankungen und Variabilität. In der späteren Periode wird dagegen die nötige funktionalbedingte Variabilität und Flexibilität gefördert und die stilistische Differenzierung ausgearbeitet. Diese Prozesse hängen auch mit Verschiebungen im Verhältnis verschiedener Typen und Arten der standardsprachlichen Normen zusammen, die auf der Wechselwirkung zwischen der Standardsprache und den Substandardvarietäten, auf dem wechselseitigen Einfluß der geschriebenen und der mündlichen Form und auf den territorialen Unterschieden beruhen (vgl. Semenjuk 1975, 475–481). Die Standardisierung besteht nicht nur in Vereinheitlichung durch Einschränkungen, sondern auch in produktiven Prozessen. Die Umgestaltung

der Norm geschieht durch die Schaffung neuer Sprachmittel oder ihrer neuartigen Anwendung, besonders durch eine lexikalische und grammatische Intellektualisierung und durch eine Automatisierung sowie auch Aktualisierung (auch auf der Textbauebene) (vgl. Havránek 1976a, 107, 115–125 und Art. 246). In verschiedenen Sprachsituationen können im Zentrum der Standardisierung bestimmte Sektionen der Norm stehen.

So war es für das Deutsche im 17.–19. Jh. die Orthographie und Morphologie. Die Standardisierung des Wortschatzes sowie der Syntax erstreckte sich von der zweiten Hälfte des 18. Jhs. bis zum 20. Jh. und die Aussprache wurde erst Ende des 19., Anfang des 20. Jhs. kodifiziert (vgl. z. B. von Polenz 1978; Mattheier 1981; Gessinger/Glück 1983).

Havránek (1976b, 146) hat darauf hingewiesen, daß die Norm niemals definitiv sein kann. Das Standardisierungsverfahren endet nicht mit der Ausbildung der Standardsprache, und die Gesellschaft steht periodisch immer vor der Aufgabe einer neuen Kodifikation von bestimmten Teilnormen. Typisch ist das für Orthographie und in modernen Zeiten für Fachterminologie (nun auch im internationalen Maßstab). Neuerdings gibt es auch Ansätze, die fachsprachliche Kommunikation so zu standardisieren, daß die Texte den Bedürfnissen der Eindeutigkeit, Einfachheit, Lesefreundlichkeit und Einheitlichkeit im erhöhten Maß entsprechen (es handelt sich auch um Typisation der Textstruktur u. ä.; vgl. Art. 25 und 225).

3.2. Im Zusammenhang mit Standardisierungsbemühungen kommt relativ häufig der Terminus *Reform* vor (vgl. Fodor/Hagège 1983–1984), jedoch ohne erforderliche Begriffsbestimmung. Als Reform sollte man nur eine gründlichere, grundsätzliche und systemhafte, bewußte Umgestaltung einer relativ ausgebildeten und funktionierenden gesellschaftlichen Institution verstehen, mit dem Ziel sie in einen besseren Zustand zu bringen. Das Objekt der Sprachreform kann die ganze Standardsprache sein, öfters aber nur eine wohldefinierte Teilnorm. Die Reform involviert eine Reihe von Komponenten. Sie hat einen Indikator (eine Person, Gruppe, Institution oder eine spontane Mehrheit einer Sprachgemeinschaft), ihre Anhänger und oft auch Gegner (es gibt auch Neutrale). Es existiert jemand (eine Person,

Gruppe, Institution), der den Inhalt der Reform konkret verarbeitet, und oft auch eine Institution (Autorität), die die vorgeschlagene Reform approbiert. Die Reform braucht auch einen Durchsetzer, der sie in die Tat umsetzt (wobei die Schule und Massenmedien die entscheidende Rolle spielen). Eine Reform kann entweder von der Sprachgemeinschaft akzeptiert und in der Sprachpraxis allmählich realisiert werden, aber eine Reformbemühung kann auch scheitern (von der Gemeinschaft abgelehnt werden, vgl. z. B. Keller 1991), oder nur von einem Teil der Bevölkerung angenommen werden (dann kommt es zu einem Sprachkonflikt und zur sprachlichen Spaltung der Gemeinschaft – vgl. Norwegen). Nicht selten bleiben die Reformbemühungen auf halben Wege stehen. Eine andere Konfliktsituation entsteht, wenn zwei oder mehrere konkurrierende Reformpläne vorgeschlagen werden. (Mutatis mutandis besteht eine ähnliche Situation bei jedem Standardisierungsakt.) Wenn die Reform die Standardsprache als ein Ganzes betrifft, handelt es sich oft um eine radikale Umgestaltung einer bisherigen nicht befriedigend funktionierenden Norm, um eine Umstandardisierung.

Ein Musterbeispiel bietet das Türkische an, mit seiner relativ schnellen und gründlichen Sprachreform im Rahmen einer gesamtgesellschaftlichen Modernisierung, die auf Initiative und mit der Unterstützung der Regierung realisiert wird (vgl. Fishman 1971, 11f; Gallagher 1971).

Ziel und Inhalt solcher Reformen werden bezeichnet als: Modernisierung, Urbanisierung, Säkularisierung, Enttraditionalisierung, Purifikation, Liberalisierung, Internationalisierung, Nationalisierung (Authentifizierung). Der sprachliche Inhalt solcher (eher soziologischen) Termini scheint jedoch relativ vage zu sein. In seltenen Fällen stellt der Reforminhalt die Ersetzung einer standardsprachlichen Norm durch eine andere, obgleich verwandte dar. (Ein klassisches Beispiel bietet die von Haugen (1966) gründlich interpretierte norwegische Sprachsituation). Sehr oft kommt eine Orthographiereform vor – in der Vergangenheit wie auch heutzutage – und auch in manchen wohlausgebildeten und reichlich funktionierenden europäischen Kultursprachen (vgl. eine kritische historische Übersicht der Reformansätze für das Englische in Vachek 1976, 280–290, oder mehrere Aufsätze in Garbe 1978; Küpers 1982; Eroms/Munske 1997; Nerijs/

Scharnhorst 1980 für das Deutsche und Keller 1991 für das Französische). Man könnte mehrere Typen der Rechtschreibreform unterscheiden, je nach dem Charakter der geplanten Veränderungen. Erstens kann es sich um Ersetzen eines graphischen Kodierungsprinzips durch ein anderes handeln (im Chinesischen oder Japanischen geht es dabei um parallele Verwendung beider Prinzipien). Den zweiten Grundtyp stellt Ersetzen eines Schrifttyps durch einen anderen (z.B. die kyrillische oder Frakturschrift durch die lateinische) dar. Zum dritten, häufigsten Typ gehören verschiedene Reformen im Rahmen eines Schrifttyps (der jedoch in vielen Orthographievarietäten vorkommt). Man könnte dabei wenigstens zwei Arten unterscheiden, nämlich mit Veränderungen im Repertoire von Graphemen und ohne solche Veränderungen (es ändern sich nur Regel- und Schreibformen einzelner Wörter). Vom Standpunkt möglicher Entsprechungen zwischen der geschriebenen und gesprochenen Sprache unterscheidet man das phonematische, morphematische und lexematische (logographische) Prinzip. Einzelne Orthographienormen stellen immer eine gewisse Kombination von diesen Prinzipien dar, und die Reformen betreffen oft eben Veränderungen in der Kombination. Die existierenden Orthographienormen erscheinen vom rein theoretischen Standpunkt aus nicht befriedigend: sie sind uneinheitlich, unsystematisch, mit vielen traditionellen Ausnahmen, was sich auch negativ in der Praxis auswirkt. Einer radikalen Rationalisierung stehen aber schwierige Hindernisse im Wege. Erstens ist es keine leichte Aufgabe festzusetzen, wie die optimale Orthographie für gegebene Standardsprache beschaffen sein sollte (die auch teilweise kollidierende Bedürfnisse des Schreibenden und des Lesenden versöhnen müßte). Zweitens sind mit solcher Reform unvermeidliche ökonomische und technische Probleme, sowie auch bestimmte kulturelle Folgen verbunden (besonders die Tatsache, daß bisherige gedruckte Literatur für die neuen Leser schwerer rezipierbar sein würde). Und drittens weist die traditionelle konservative Rechtschreibung ein hohes Maß an 'Eingebürgertheit' auf und wird von der Sprachgemeinschaft als ein wertvolles kulturelles Gut angesehen (und beinahe mit der Standardsprache selbst identifiziert). Neben diesen konservativen und affektiven Einstellungen sind auch einige natürliche menschliche Ei-

genschaften im Spiel, wie Bequemlichkeit und Indolenz, oder Abneigung gegen Neuerungen: „Einmal erworbenes Wissen darf durch eine Neuregelung nicht leichtfertig außer Kraft gesetzt werden“ (Nerius/Scharnhorst 1981, 18; vgl. Ergebnisse einer soziologischen Untersuchung der öffentlichen Meinung über eine mögliche Orthographie-reform im Tschechischen bei Tejnor und Koll. 1984.) Man kann jedoch nicht ausschließen, daß die neuen technischen Bedingungen uns doch nachdrücklich zwingen werden, eine mehr rationale Schreibweise einzuführen (oder sollte man vielleicht mit der Möglichkeit von zwei funktional differenzierten Orthographienormen rechnen?). Jedenfalls gibt es heutzutage mehrere seriöse, linguistisch begründete Reformpläne und die betreffende Problematik wird fachlich diskutiert.

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## 224. Sociolinguistic Aspects of Social Modernization

### Soziolinguistische Aspekte gesellschaftlicher Modernisierung

1. Modernity and language
2. Three types of modernity
3. Modernization: for whom?
4. Literature (selected)

#### 1. Modernity and language

##### 1.1. Modernity-related processes

The topic of modernization is central to our understanding of society and language. Modernization of language refers to the most important project in the recent history of human communication: the establishment of new modes of communication, adequate to changes that took place in the world of the 18<sup>th</sup>, 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. And modernization of language must be seen in that historical context. It cannot be equated with *any* change that results in a new state of language (cf. Cooper 1989, 149). Modernization is not confined to changes that ‘improve’ language. Admittedly, the term has been used in this way. However, with the benefit of hindsight we can observe that modernity has had many negative consequences. Neither Modern (nor Postmodern, for that matter) mean ‘good’ or ‘per-

fect’. Further, it is necessary to emphasize that modernization is not Westernization. There are many ways of Modern development, and the Western way is only one of them. It is useful to consider the issue of the Modern in language within the framework of three types of *modernity-related processes*:

- A. Processes that historically establish the Modern (*modernity-formation processes*, common in the *Early Modern Period*),
- B. Processes that aim at the maintenance of the Modern as it becomes prevalent (*modernity-maintenance processes*, appearing in the *Modern Period*), and
- C. Processes through which the Modern has been substantially altered since the 1960s (*modernity-expansion processes*, current in the *Post-Modern Period*).

The dates for each of these processes vary between the 18<sup>th</sup> century and the present, depending on the society concerned. But in each case the processes are interrelated through shared principles, such as industrialization or an emphasis on social equality. Details may differ: the range of equalization is obviously different in each of the three

types. The term modernization has mainly been applied to the modernity-forming ‘developing’ societies – with occasional references to the past of the First World. However, little attention has been directed in the modernization debate to modernity-maintenance processes, such as displayed in the interwar period in Europe or the USA. The identification of modernity-expansion, principally an achievement of the 1970s and 1980s, has revealed that in those societies where it occurred the Modern was being radically rebuilt through avenues unknown to modernity-maintenance systems. The discussions have substantially advanced our understanding of modernization. Jürgen Habermas is known for defending modernity in the face of pre- and post-modernism (Habermas 1981). His argument was a plea for the positive features of the Modern and a reminder that the three types of modernity fall within a single category. Some researchers have applied different terms for the postmodernity phase, such as ‘late-modernity’ or ‘late capitalism’ (cf. Harvey 1989, 63). Whatever the label may be, it is obvious that in the modernity-expansion processes we face a new subdivision of mankind’s recent history.

### 1.2. Modernity-related processes and language management

Language is reactive to other socioeconomic phenomena and is thus continuously adapting to changes in other spheres. Modernity-related processes adjust language to the major developments of recent history connected with industrialization. Thus as societies establish modernity, aim to retain and subsequently search for ways to expand it, speakers feel that language becomes inadequate to the new situation and try to change it. The modernity-related processes that operate on language are examples of ‘language management’ processes (Jernudd/Neustupný 1987; Neustupný 1988; Jernudd 1993). The term language management covers what has often been referred to as language planning but its boundaries are wider. It comprises all behaviour that has language as its target, including language policy, the cultivation of language, language teaching and language acquisition, interpreting/translation, speakers’ correction of language in discourse and speech therapy. One could also say *metalinguistic* behaviour, especially as linguistics is also one of the genres of language management (Neustupný 2002).

In the following discussion I use the terms *discourse management* to refer to management of individual problems in discourse, and ‘organized management’ for management that uses conscious strategies within complex networks. Modernity-related processes proceed through discourse management or through forms of management, organized in various degrees. Discourse management, where no ‘language policy’ or ‘language planning’ can be discerned, is the basic process. Language problems basically originate in discourse (interaction acts) from where they can be (but not necessarily are) transferred to organized language management. The final solution depends on another transfer, back to discourse (interaction) acts, which is the only site for the change of each individual’s language. Management within society-wide networks, such as ‘language policy’, is one of the organized management systems. However, among the organized management systems an important role is performed by systems other than ‘language policy’, with language education playing a particularly prominent part (Neustupný/Nekvapil 2003).

### 1.3. A typology of modernity-related processes

Language management is neither totally universal nor totally particular. Individual systems of language management belong to one of a relatively small number of types. The typological model used in this article assumes sociocultural phenomena are organized in clusters of interrelated features linked by common association with broad general principles (Neustupný 1989). Others have called this kind of patterning ‘correlational typology’. The clusters of interrelated features are *types*. Examples of types are the Early Modern, Modern or Postmodern. According to this typological model types do not represent observer’s imposed constructs but are actually operational in the societies under consideration. The typology that is most relevant for the understanding of modernization is a developmental typology. The initial developmental typology of what we now call language management was mostly concerned with the management of language conducted on behalf of whole societies (also called *language treatment*) and worked with only two types called the *policy approach* and the *cultivation approach*



(Neustupný 1972). The former in fact referred to management for modernity-formation, the latter for modernity-maintenance. Later the 'contemporary approach' was added, to cater for newly perceived modernity-expansion processes, and finally, using Khubchandani's theory of 'grass-roots pluralism' (Khubchandani 1983), Neustupný (1984) suggested that this typology be extended to explore a number of premodern approaches. However, the terminology using 'policy' and 'cultivation' was misleading. While Neustupný (1972) used the words simply as labels to cover clusters of features, readers assumed that policy or cultivation were the only (or the main) characteristics of the types and correctly pointed out that policy and cultivation often occurred side by side. Therefore, in this article the types will be called Early Modern (rather than 'policy'), Modern (rather than 'cultivation'), Postmodern (rather than 'contemporary') and Premodern. However, the Premodern type, placed before the commencement of modernization, is not discussed here.

We can assume that each type is characterized by a number of related rules, for example a number of general premises, maxims, strategies, ordinary rules and listing rules (Neustupný 1989a, 358ff). The most general principle underlying all of these rules in the case of modernization seems to be the principle of the industrial mode of production. However, the question of the hierarchy is not important. Crucial is the fact that all these rules form mutually supporting systems: the Early Modern, Modern and Postmodern. In the first, industrialization is not yet the dominant mode of production; in the second, the classical industrial mode has achieved prevalence and this prevalence is being maintained; in the third, the character of industrialization has further radically expanded into what has variously been called post-industrial, information-oriented or consumer society. There is no doubt that further modernity-related types will follow; this seems almost certain on the analogy of the large number of types that resulted, in the past, from the agriculturalization of human society. I now turn to consider separately how each of the three types of modernity develops. In the discussion, the terminology 'type', 'period' and occasionally 'paradigm' will be used interchangeably.

## 2. Three types of modernity

### 2.1. Early modern processes of language management

In Europe and the US the beginnings of the Early Modern type coincide with the emergence of the first processes of industrialization (Gerschenkron 1962; Cypher/Dietz 1997). The beginning of the new mode of production has traditionally been placed in mid-18<sup>th</sup> century, but there is a view among economic historians that this boundary must be pushed further back (Sylla/Toniolo 1991, 8). In industrially advanced European societies the type lost vitality before World War I, but it continues being operative in countries where industrialization commenced later or was, for various reasons, impeded.

Early Modern language management is associated with the following *general premises* of modernity-formation:

- A. Machine-assisted production has commenced but has not become the dominant mode of production; technological development is supported by economic, social and political structures that gradually grow more complex; urbanization proceeds; and the period witnesses the appearance of the modern State, based on ethnicity.
- B. The emergence of the new social structures overcomes premodern socioeconomic fragmentation.
- C. Autonomous modern national societies begin to divide the world among themselves.
- D. The power of aristocracy is radically limited; relative equalization of access by all citizens to the labour market occurs and social mobility develops.
- E. The secular modern ideology of nationalism is born; some other new ideological values are individualism and universalism, although they do not reach their peak until the Modern period.

Not all five premises are necessarily present in each historical context. This is true in the case of principles employed within any typology (Neustupný 1989a, 361f). The fact results in processes of limited modernization that have attracted particular attention in the case of Japan and some other Asian countries. However, similar limitations on modernity can easily be found in European societies of the modernity-formation period.

There are various degrees of modernity in different systems. Modernity types cannot be reduced to closed categories with hard and fast lines that divide them from each other. Annamalai (1995) has correctly recognized that “modernization is defined by a bundle of features from different components and any of them can be considered individually neither necessary nor sufficient”.

In the case of language, the general direction of management can be formulated in the following five *maxims*, which derive directly from the above principles:

- A. Language must be adequate to the industrializing economy, society and culture.
- B. Language must contribute to internal unity.
- C. The national language is independent of other languages. (However, alliance may be struck with other modernizing languages, or languages that precede on the path of modernization.)
- D. Relatively equal access to language for all participants is essential.
- E. Language is an important symbol of ethnic communities (nations).

A considerable number of *strategies* of modernity-formation management exist; they define in what way the maxims are satisfied in language management. Most of the strategies listed below also occur in non-modernization environments. For example, neither development, nor standardization or literacy teaching are specific to modernization. What makes them modernization strategies is their co-occurrence and close relationship with the modernity-related premises and maxims. These strategies become modernization strategies only when they serve modernization. The relationship between the premises, maxims and strategies, in other words the incorporation of the strategies in extensive sociocultural clusters (types), is a crucial element of modernization.

#### A. Development strategies

Development takes place in many societies. Modern development (modernization) differs from earlier kinds of development in being a form of language management that is guided by the premises and maxims stated above. In order to develop language to serve industrial society, a considerable sophistication of language is required. This is true not only of language directly needed for machine-assisted production but for all aspects of so-

cial life (including science) and culture (thought, literature, etc.). Annamalai (1995/2001, 105ff) provides an excellent account how sensitive and extensive the process of adjustment has been in Tamil. The aim of development is also sometimes referred to as the requirement of ‘efficiency’ – structuring language to be maximally suited to its aims.

In considering various language situations we must distinguish at least three types. Languages which appear in the first type can be called *Innovation Languages*. Most communities enter the Early Modern period without a variety of language that could be directly used as the base of further development. This happens for example because no variety was widely used in a multiplicity of functions (Japanese), because the development of the language was interrupted prior to industrialization (Czech), or because a foreign or native but distant ‘canon’ language was employed. In these cases the selection and/or creation of a new variety is required. Large-scale *elaboration* occurs, affecting rules of spelling and morphology, the lexicon (“rules of coining technical terms”: Asmah Haji Omar 1979, 102) and syntax. Such processes ultimately commence in discourse management but often cannot be completed without a good deal of organized language management, conducted in networks that represent the whole society (actually the top active layers of the society). However, in many cases this remains a largely unconscious discourse management process, as when terms of reference modernize (e.g. kinship terms for non-kinship relations are abandoned). Development affects the lexicon, but also whole ‘functional varieties’ (registers) of language, such as the language of science, in which new lexicon is matched with a number of new grammatical, stylistic and sociolinguistic rules. The Early Modern management type allows for relatively large-scale ‘revolutionary’ language development and reforms in corpus planning (reforms of spelling, morphology, large-scale changes in the lexicon). Secondly, there is a type that can be called ‘Tradition Languages’. For example, some societies in Europe, after ridding themselves of Latin, developed on the basis of previous build up a highly sophisticated and uniform language used in the late premodern period. This was, for example, the situation with French or English. In these cases the late premodern

language was selected as the base of the Early Modern development. All that was needed was elaboration in vocabulary and polishing syntax and spelling. The adjustment needed was significant but not as extensive as in the case of the Innovating Languages. In some countries, such as Britain, most of these processes relied on unorganized management in discourse – written or spoken. Thirdly, societies that reach the Early Modern period later than others, can adopt a pre-packed Modern language that has developed elsewhere (Adoption Language). This procedure only works to a certain extent, because many other varieties remain within the system. Singapore is one example. Another example is Tamilnad. As Annamalai (1995) notes the presence of English holds back modernization of language in some respects (I believe this is the case of various functional styles, development of the lexicon, etc.). However, some other features of contemporary Tamil that belong to the Early Modern type are clearly connected with existing sociocultural premises and cannot be explained as an outcome of the presence of English, although it may be possible to charge them to the influence of colonialism.

#### B. Variation strategies

Attitudes to internal variation are of two kinds. On one hand linguistic variation is considered dangerous by the dominant groups because it can (and often does) provide support for separatist claims against the newly established state and can lead to the fragmentation of markets; on the other hand, variation is strong and as such undeniable, and cannot simply be ignored. In accordance with the premises and maxims of the Early Modern type, attitudes to language variation are negative.

A very common strategy in the case of Innovative Languages is *standardization* of language. Standardization takes place at various stages of history, but what I have in mind here is Modern standardization. It is connected with the modernization premises and maxims and means uniformation of language, selection of features that do not imply regional variation, elaboration, and codification of such features. Standardization is a process to which both development strategies and variation strategies contribute. However, its core is uniformation which is highly valued: Asmah Haji Omar placed it

before efficiency (development) in the title of her book on the modernization of Malay (1979). The neutral forms are commonly features of language of the most powerful area, the capital area of the state, but this feature is not universal (cf. Daneš 1988a, 1509). Under the conditions of modernization, language is developed and codified exclusively in its standard form. Dialects normally remain unaffected. The Standard of the most powerful community within a state becomes the official national language, unless it has to share the status with other languages. In this period the Standard is primarily used only as the written language; consistent standardization of the spoken language (pronunciation, etc.) normally commences in the Modern period and this is probably not only because models are technically difficult to provide. The national Standard also assumes the function of the language of education. However, Early Modern standardization does not fulfil only the uniformation function (Daneš 1988a, 1507); it is inevitable for a language which takes on the role of a language of science, where attention must be on content rather than form; it is also necessary for a language that is used as the vehicle of literature, where the esthetic function cannot be assigned except when a fixed norm exists. The language of literature is the laboratory where much of the processes of standardization takes place and this fact accounts for the great prestige of literature. In some languages the Standard is called the Literary Language (*Literatursprache*, *spisovný jazyk*) or receives one of a number of other names: for German alone, Daneš (1988a, 1506) lists *Schriftsprache*, *Kultursprache*, *Buchsprache*, *Gemeinsprache* and *Einheitssprache*. Languages of *ethnic communities* that are not organized and strong enough to fend for themselves follow the fate of dialects of the National language: they are suppressed and often virtually eliminated. (For example, Lusatian in Germany, Ainu in Japan, many Aboriginal languages in Australia.) Groups which have not achieved a high level of organization offer no resistance. But many non-dominant communities (*minorities*) fight for their survival, establishing separate Standards, elaborating them, having them accepted as languages of education, and finally achieving full range of their functional use (Hroch 1998). The Early Modern type provides a possibility of parallel claims for political in-

dependence. Old *canon languages* (Latin in Europe, Sanskrit in India, Classical Chinese in the Far East, etc., cf. Wienold 1987) are fatally weakened as carriers of premodern ideologies, but not always totally removed, because they serve as the source of lexical development and sometimes as symbols of religious or ethnic identity. *Diglossia* (Ferguson 1959) weakens gradually but its symbolic sources and consequences vary and the process is not uniform. In Japan a new system of diglossia was introduced in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century when two Standards (*bungo* and *kogo*) were developed in parallel. This diglossia was gradually removed, but the final stages had to wait until the end of World War II. Czech diglossia (Standard and Common language) is still alive today and unlikely to easily depart even though it has repeatedly been the subject of discussion (cf. Neustupný/Nekvapil 2003). As standardization proceeds, so does the application of the strategy of *hierarchization* of varieties: so-called status planning. Some varieties (such as the National or the Official language or languages) appear on the top of the hierarchy while other varieties whether of the same language or other languages, being in fact (or both in fact and theory) less important, are condemned to slow death, or actively targeted by official policies and directly annihilated. The strategy actually employed depends on the vitality of individual varieties and many other conditions. The adoption by India of so many languages after 1949 was probably acceptable because of the fact that, at the same time, a strict hierarchy was imposed, and possibly also because of the surviving spirit of what Khubchandani (1983, 25) called the *grass-roots multilingualism*, which has not been completely forgotten. Language reforms, successful or less successful, are a feature of this period. Innovative Languages pass through a series of reforms that establish their norms. The Tradition Languages show less activity in this regard. However, attempts such as Basic English, although originating in the 1920s, ideologically rely on the Early Modern type. Basic English connects with the tradition of artificial languages such as Esperanto, which all imply a large-scale change of the existing language situation.

#### C. External variation strategies

An important feature of this period is *colonialism*. Some languages of colonially domi-

nated societies previously reached a high degree of sophistication but due to colonization remained underdeveloped as Modern Standards. The presence of the language of the metropolis bars their further development, even after colonialism has been superseded politically. External variation is well noticed and language management establishes strategies which lead to the acquisition of those varieties that are important for the society through active *language teaching*, frequently including *classical* languages, which are necessary as sources of terminology and sometimes as symbols of identity (e.g. Arabic). However, more characteristic is the teaching of 'modern' languages, i.e. languages that provide a bridge to other modernizing, or modernized societies. On the other hand, the purging of the influence of outside varieties that are unwelcome can take place (purism, cf. Jernudd and Shapiro 1989). A similar process is the establishment of authenticity (Fishman 1989, 86ff), an attempt to identify a community's 'true' identity through language. Purism, however, can fulfill other functions and is compatible with types other than the Early Modern. The strategy of *translation* plays an important role in the system. Translation is important to establish alliance with the developed world, but it also serves the development strategy because it is practiced as a means of elaborating the lexicon, grammar and style (Asmah Haji Omar 1987, 22ff). The role of translation cannot be overemphasized. It weakens in the Modern period but is reinforced again under the conditions of post-modernization. Standardization of language creates unity but it can also contribute to linguistic division (Daneš 1988a, 1509). For example, the Standardization of American English in the 19<sup>th</sup> century divided the language; in the 20<sup>th</sup> century Hindustani was standardized and codified under two different forms that carry different identities: Hindi and Urdu. In this way an internal variety is turned into external one.

#### D. Equalization strategies

Increasing access to language is an important prerequisite for economic development. Since a reasonably well-educated labour force is needed, access to written language is provided through *literacy teaching*, formerly subject to considerable limitations. Literacy level is raised to what I have previously called *restricted literacy* (Neustupný 1984a,

118). The figures available for various European nations and for Japan show that at the very end of the Early Modern period sometimes over 20% of the population were still illiterate. While it is true that literacy is not just a device for modernization, modernization certainly requires literacy, though not *perfect literacy*. Not all members of society are intended to be linguistically equal. Among specific areas of language it is especially the *politeness sector* which is affected by equalization strategies: the weight of status (power) decreases while the role of intimacy (solidarity) increases. The theories of Brown and Gilman (1960) come to mind. However, the removal of hierarchical networks also takes place in many other areas of language use. Of course, equalization of access is only relative and does not attend to the needs of various minority groups. We can speak of language elites (Fishman 1989, 119) which include the upper class and the upper middle class of the majority community, and which in fact 'own' the language.

#### E. Symbolic strategies

Language management strategies are applied to establish the image of usually one variety of language (the Standard) as "our beloved national language", i. e. as a powerful symbol of ethnicity. The role of linguistics as a means of establishing authenticity is prominent in those communities where establishment of identity is on the agenda of the day. Philology and the study of language in general is highly regarded. Understandably, this is not only a symbolic fact: when Jernudd (1981) claimed that students from Third World countries who study at Western universities need training in particular branches of linguistics that helps them solve language problems in their home countries, he had in mind a modernity-formation situation, where the understanding of a wide range of language problems is an important asset. The Early Modern type was characteristic not only for 19<sup>th</sup> century European languages but survived in Japan until after World War II and has held sway in many Asian and African societies of the postwar period.

#### 2.2. Modern processes of language management

Modernity-formation in Western, Northern and some Central European societies was more or less completed around World War I.

The classical industrial mode (classical in contrast to later *postindustrial* developments) had achieved prevalence – where prevalence means relative establishment, not complete domination – and stability. In the case of language, too, the Modern type of language management took over from the Early Modern type as the prevalent type within these societies. However, the achievement was often overestimated. Seen from our experience today the subsequent modernity-maintenance period, which lasted in the most 'modern' societies till the 1950s or 1960s (and in other societies, such as Japan, still longer) only represented a relatively uneventful period at a relatively low level of modernity before a further course of modernization took place. Furthermore, the term Modern suggests teleology, development towards a particular goal; in fact, there is no goal in any of the modernity-related processes, just initial conditions that accumulate and impel the process forward. Nevertheless, the name has been given, and it is difficult to take it away. At the level of *general premises* which govern the whole society, the following principles of this modernity-maintenance type stand out.

- A. A period of internal extension and micro-adjustments to the already achieved industrial and social development. The whole society is now integrated into a single network.
- B. Internal stratification (ethnic, class, or similar) remains unattended to; society consists of individuals. On the other hand, conflict and protest arising from internal stratification are abundant.
- C. Modern societies are relatively isolated from each other – they further develop within themselves. No major changes in external relations take place, including the relationship between dominating and dominated societies.
- D. Improved access to the national product by a wide range of population, including at least the middle class. However, full-scale equality is not the aim.
- E. The ideology of nationalism recedes to the background, and emphasis on democracy (equal access for everyone) and individualism comes to the fore. Understandably, this ideology is unrelated to the degree of actually achieving equality or individual's rights. Class, ethnic and other variation are intentionally ignored.

*Maxims* generated by these general premises create the type of Modern languages. Such languages:

- A. Contain at least one fully developed variety.
- B. The central variety (normally the Standard) stands for language as such. This variety is conceived as stable.
- C. Externally, relations with other languages are of little importance.
- D. A large percentage of the population has access to the central variety of language; however, the variety remains the 'property' of the middle class.
- E. Emotional commitment of the community to its language is diminished.

It is not surprising that on the basis of these maxims only a very modest system of language management *strategies* develops.

#### A. Development strategies

This is the period of the strategy expressed by the slogan "leave your language alone" (Hall 1950). Relatively small changes are allowed, but reforms are excluded. When deliberate adjustments to language are needed, they are achieved through elaboration processes that can be called *language cultivation*. In the words of the pre-war Prague School, language must be kept adequate to its functions (Havránek 1932 in Garvin 1964; Daneš 1988b, 1698). This requires, additions and changes in the inventory of language (for example, in its lexicon), and also changes in the use of language. The Prague School, which proposed the most elaborate Modern theory of language management, viewed the needs of the novel use as the consequence of intellectualisation and automatization of language (Havránek [1932] 1964, 6 ff). Small adjustments in the lexicon and style are introduced, and work on orthoepy proceeds. Most European societies of the interwar period, practised relatively active varieties of language cultivation. English-speaking societies show a more passive approach, where the State rarely intervenes. Japan also displays a pattern in the 1960s to 1980s in which passive attitudes dominate. It should not surprise, that even when the Modern type is prevalent, the Early Modern type still can survive. In the 1930s the Prague School linguists, standing firm in their Modern positions, launched an attack on surviving Czech purists (cf. Havránek/Weingart 1932) and eradicated their influence. In many other countries purism sur-

vived much longer, either because the Modern type was weak or because it fulfilled other functions (Neustupný 1989b, *passim*).

#### B. Variation strategies

Attention of language management concentrates on the National language (the Standard) and the existence of other varieties is *ignored*. Although phenomena such as minority ethnic languages or class variation in language survive, they are not attended to at the more complex (organized) levels of language management. In mid-1960s, the official Modern picture of Australia was one of a middle class Anglo-Celtic society. At the time, wide range stratification, including many immigrant groups, existed but the official perception was still Modern. The prestige of the Standard National language is paramount and at the level of simple discourse correction by individuals we can witness adjustment towards this prestigious variety, not only in writing but in speaking as well. Dialectal features in speech are negatively evaluated and removed in the speech of those who wish to climb the social ladder. Overall, regional and social dialects survive. The spoken language is accorded considerable attention because semiformal situations using the spoken language substantially increase. This is the time of (semiformal) parties, the telephone starts to be widely used, radio broadcasting commences and public speaking at meetings descends to the level of the common educated citizen. The *stability of language* over time is of importance. Except for changes necessary to keep them "adequate to their function", Standard languages seem to stop changing. The norm is fixed and although small adaptations occur, larger changes that would affect the norm, are banned. While in the Early Modern period reforms of language occurred frequently, the modernity-maintenance type does not allow for incursions into language. In Japan the last far-reaching language reforms occurred at the end of the 1940s, still under the modernity-formation type; since then there have been only small adaptations to actual usage. For the Modern period the idea of changing language artificially is ridiculous: artificial languages, such as Esperanto or Basic English, elicit no more than a smile. One difficult question for Modern societies to solve are *personal names*. Names incongruous with norms of the National Language remain as a residue after

minority languages are de facto removed, or after reforms of the Early Modern period are completed. The trend, already present under the Early Modern type to assimilate foreign names into the majority system and regulate indigenous ones (when they appear in some way deviant) continues in the Modern type. Jernudd (1995) has collected examples from six countries. In his examples strict assimilation tends to dominate the approach to the problem in the Early Modern systems while in pre-war Sweden assimilation to the (majority) norm was only indirectly guided. The same can be said about the process through which immigrants Anglicized their names in English-speaking countries.

#### C. External variation strategies

*Colonialism* is further developed and stabilized, even though anti-colonial movements are imminent, and many vernaculars are preparing to become national standards. Outside varieties are not considered a major issue. *Purism* next to disappears. Classical languages tend to vanish from schools although they may be retained thanks to the survival of some strategies of the Early Modern type. Modern foreign *language teaching* finds itself at the periphery and is largely left in the realm of the grammar translation method. Only partially does it apply the direct method or the audio-lingual method of teaching, which are Modern approaches; they have contributed to the teaching of spoken language, but have not really showed sufficient strength necessary to achieve improved acquisition. *Translation* is well but does not succeed in retaining the unique position it formerly occupied.

#### D. Equalization strategies

Equal access to language is supposed to have already been achieved. In fact, however, only the middle classes have fully succeeded. *Literacy* is frequently reported to be in the vicinity of 99 per cent, but wide-spread functional illiteracy, around 10–20% of the population, persists (Neustupný 1984a, 119). This is the time with regard to which Graff (1994) could not state “I cannot recall a time when literacy was not in a crisis” (p.38): there was no feeling that anything would be going wrong. In the 1960s Goody wondered why so little interest in literacy was shown by social scientists who in ‘advanced’ societies were taking the existence of writing for granted (Goody

1968). Goody’s own interest was the mark of an incipient new paradigm.

#### E. Symbolic strategies

The passive attitude to language management is reflected in various theories of language management, such as the Prague School theory of language cultivation. It is of interest to note that the Prague School only acknowledged the need for weak cultivation of language and did not touch on the issue of language policy, notwithstanding that the Czechoslovak state comprised large and active ethnic minorities (Neustupný/Nekvapil 2003). An interest in language policy was simply outside the horizon of the Modern Paradigm. Modern attitudes still survive within more recent approaches both in Europe and elsewhere. Although the overall paradigm has changed, individual old features have made their entry into the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

#### 2.3. Postmodern processes of language management

In the USA, Canada, Australia and gradually in Western, Northern and some Central European languages (and in Asia in Japanese), modernity-expansion (postmodernization) strategies started emerging from the 1960s onwards. The character of industrial production has further changed, now encompassing, within a hierarchical world order, all members of society. The way of thinking and speaking about this far-reaching change has been altered. The term *post-modern* started being used with regard to individual areas of culture (Bertens 1995, 3ff) and it was only later that the awareness of the encompassing character of the change was acknowledged and *postmodern* started being employed in reference to social and economic facts as well.

In the case of the Postmodern type, the following characteristics appear at the level of *general premises*.

A. The economy undergoes a new *post-industrial* development and this provides conditions under which variation and conflict in society are no longer potentially lethal. Not only production and trade, but also services and consumption are radically expanded. The role of science and technology greatly increases and provides the base for a social system informed by human knowledge. At the same time concern about the environment becomes very strong.

- B. Through international movement of population societies grow more complicated ethnically. Previously existing ethnic and social variation moves to focus and variation becomes one of the most frequently discussed phenomena of society and culture. The idea of multiculturalism appears. Michel Maffesoli spoke of a new movement from individualism to collectivism (quoted in Featherstone 2000, 13).
- C. There is internationalization or globalization of production and markets. This leads to radically increased international contacts of all kind. Internationalization and globalization require a world system in which hierarchization takes place and such hierarchization is often negatively evaluated. Surviving economic inequality, mostly derived from the colonial past, negatively affects the completion of modernization and beginning of postmodernization in 'periphery' societies as emphasized in the dependency World System theory.
- D. There is a new wave of equalization which pays less attention to social class but emphasizes equalization across sexes, age, ethnic boundaries, etc. Economic production has increased to such extent that it is now not only workable but also necessary to include all social strata in the distribution process. On the other hand, a large number of cases of inequality remain. Multinational companies and media magnates hold enormous power. On the other hand, the power of non-governmental organizations of citizens is also growing.
- E. The ideology that develops is that of postmodernism, which can be divided into two seemingly opposite streams: humanism and rationalism. I further discuss this dichotomy under 2.3 and 3.

These premises furnish a picture of the Postmodern which is remote from that painted by enthusiastic proponents of the type, who suggest that here lies the solution to all social problems of mankind. The truth is nothing of the kind. Substantial problems remain and are unlikely to be removed in the near future. Nevertheless it is necessary to accept that while certainly new problems have appeared, some of the older ones – primarily those connected with variation and some forms of inequality – are in fact receiving attention.

*Maxims* which are generated by these general premises lead to important changes in the type of Postmodern languages.

- A. Languages develop further in their vocabularies and means of expression. An important new addition to languages are electronic media which substantially change the character of various aspects of communication.
- B. Internal variation, along the regional, class, ethnic, sex or other dimensions, gains prominence. It is displayed and celebrated rather than concealed.
- C. The linguistic world consists of a large number of languages which are formally equal but among which, in fact, new hierarchization occurs. Newly emerging languages – such as Japanese, Chinese or Korean – are taught even at the primary level. Of course, among all world languages English is the most equal of all and somewhat outdated though easy-to-use terms such as 'linguistic imperialism' have been applied to this situation.
- D. Sex, age and other types of language discrimination are targeted for removal.
- E. One type of postmodern ideology of language glorifies language variation. Another type builds on the concept of rationalization – the idea that language must efficiently serve economy and society.

Under these general language maxims develops the Postmodern type of strong language management which is characterized by the following *strategies*. Some of these strategies appear sooner than others and not all of them are applied in all systems. The following survey of these strategies will show that while attending to the project of modernization linguists have not yet detached themselves from the pattern of ignoring social facts that generate language problems.

#### A. Development strategies

New language terminologies and media are attended to, but these activities frequently take place outside the established language treatment networks (for example, in companies: Jernudd 1997). A number of 'rationalizing' strategies appears: removal of traditional measures and currency systems, introduction of post-codes, electronic mail, internet, etc. The newly created computer terminology permeates other areas. International terminology coordination com-



mences in a number of agencies (cf. INFO-TERM, Jernudd 1983, 349). Some questions have remained unattended so far. The most important among them is what human communication is most 'human'. Among the newly developed forms of communication, patterns appear that seem to diverge from human-like communication. In this situation it is necessary to consider what are the most appropriate ways of communication. Needless to say, this must not become a one-sidedly humanistic project. Rationalistic arguments must also be considered.

#### B. Variation strategies

Strategies are applied in order to support existing language variation. Such strategies aim at the removal of negative evaluation, support of the use of the varieties and, in the case of some of them, at their teaching. In the 1970s ethnic communities were rediscovered and stickers saying 'different is beautiful' were seen on bumper bars. Linguistic *multiculturalism* appeared on the scene, cf. the Australian *national language policy* of the 1980s (Lo Bianco 1987; Clyne 1991; Ozolins 1993). While multiculturalism is a humanistic project, from the stance of rationalism changes such as the legal codification of *official languages* advance in some societies, for example in the United States. These trends cannot easily be dismissed. They are inherent within the Postmodern type of language management. The *Standard language* weakens its norm, and regional dialects gain more acceptability. This trend gave Mattheier the opportunity to give prominence to the concept of Standardization and De-Standardization of languages (Mattheier 1997). A similar trend towards the acceptance of dialects is also characteristic for Japan (Neustupný 1995). The idea that standardization is inevitable in order to teach a language does not appear as obvious any more (Hübschmannová/Neustupný 1996, 102f). The renewed concern with the situation of Common Czech in the 1990s (Daneš 1997; Daneš 2003) also belongs to the same class of problems. Although Common Czech is not a threatened variety, the question is what functional role it should be allowed to play. On the other hand, 'unnecessary' variation that blocks access to language (such as the difficult language of law and administration) is partially removed through the *plain language* movements. In this case the equalization strategy

gives assistance because the old usage is seen as supporting the interests of the elites. The plain language movement is not a phenomenon particular to English (for Swedish see Jernudd 1983, 359) *Pidgins and creoles* are taken seriously (Hymes 1971). The language of non-native speakers becomes more acceptable and attracts the attention of linguists (Neustupný 1985; Clyne 1994).

At the level of *discourse correction* by individuals the trend towards standardization of speech continues. Dialects are further eroded, and ethnic languages tend to be more and more weakened or entirely lost in each subsequent generation of speakers. While the variation supporting strategies are governed by the humanistic maxim, these variation-reducing strategies can be assigned to rationalism.

#### C. External variation strategies

Colonialism has disappeared under that name but the inequality of development has remained. It results in the varying power of languages with English, the language of globalization, being on the top of the international hierarchy, followed by languages of the economically strongest countries, including now also some of the *nouveau riche*, such as Japanese and prospectively Chinese. Some former colonial languages stay under the spell of former colonial languages and struggle to further develop. Many weak languages are in a difficult situation or die. This is a logical extension of modernization strategies into the contemporary Postmodern society. External variation is positively managed through revitalized *language teaching* which now connects with governmental language treatment networks. Some organized language management networks give the impression of being mostly concerned about language acquisition (cf. Australia, Lo Bianco 1987). Language teaching is now dominated by the communicative approach. The range of languages taught widens beyond the previously accepted 'modernity-maintenance' range. In Australia any one of approximately 50 languages can be studied for a high-school-final/university-entrance examination (however, most of these are immigrant languages, cf. Clyne 1991). The role of *English as the international language* is conspicuous. Although English is often welcome, important objections have been raised against it (Phillipson 1992). It seems that we must take into consideration two aspects of

English: it can be used as an international language, but also as a language that supports economic, social and cultural hegemony of the 'English-speaking' countries. It is significant that even when used in the former function, the form of English is normally identical with native English. A considerable pressure of English on other languages appears and this also becomes the concern of language management. The question of 'language and globalization' has not yet received full and adequate attention (however, cf. comments in Jernudd 1997, 15). Equally underdeveloped is the question of international language management, not in the sense of what language ought to be used where, but to what extent one community can require planning, or engage in planning, with regard to another community. This problem has been touched on in 2000 by the Japanese National Language Council which made a decision about how the order of Japanese personal names should be rendered in English. Another issue that crosses the boundaries of a single country is the question of retention of languages as a common human cultural heritage.

#### D. Equalization strategies

Policies are established to remove all kinds of language *discrimination* (ethnic, sex, age, handicapped speakers, etc.). For example gender discrimination in language has been intensively managed since the 1970s in English-speaking communities. *Literacy*, i. e. the mastery of the written language, is reassessed and it is widely accepted that functional illiteracy reaches considerable levels even within so-called highly developed countries (Verhoeven, ed. 1994). For example, Doets (1994, 331) showed that 11 to 17% of Dutch adults experienced problems in writing their language. Situation in the Postmodern languages leads to the abandonment of the myth of perfect literacy. Access to information is skewed by the centralization of control of mass media. Threats to privacy of information and communication increase with computerization of society. Computerization creates new problems because not all social strata have equal access (e. g. women and the elderly still experience problems in using computers and the internet). On the other hand equalization can be identified in the appearance of local radio and press and in the availability of internet information to a very large percentage of the

world population. The idea of language rights has been present in language planning for several decades (Kloss 1971). This is a Postmodern project. For so-called corpus management it has been elaborated by Neustupný (1984) but its focus has remained in status management and the question which varieties ought to be used for what purpose (Skutnabb-Kangas/Phillipson 1995).

However, one of the most important additions to the language situation of the Postmodern period is the marking of language as satisfying the interests of particular speakers, and targeting language with the realization that power relationships are involved. This behaviour towards language builds on previously prepared grounds. Work such as Jernudd and Neustupný 1987, Fairclough 1989, Tollefson 1991 or Phillipson 1992 document the varying bases of the corresponding language management theories.

#### E. Symbolic strategies

There are two ideologies of postmodernism in language, and both of them agree with the general premises of the type. The first ideology is a *humanistic* one. It connects with social theories of interest, power, domination, inequality, linguistic imperialism and others. It glorifies variation, is concerned with the role of English, and takes a strong stance against discrimination. This ideology is typically generated by participants in language management who hold independent positions (scholars, other intellectuals, opposition politicians). The other ideology can be designated as *rationalistic* (without the implication of an automatic positive evaluation). It is normally advocated by governments and those who are close to them. It emphasises economic and social needs of the communities in question, and stands for maintenance rather than relaxation of norms. The humanistic ideology arrived first. Rationalism appeared in language management mainly in the 1990s and created the impression that the paradigm had changed. This is not so. Both humanism and rationalism are compatible with the Postmodern type of language management. Language managers must learn how to deal with both of them at the same time.

#### 3. Modernization: for whom?

Modernity-related processes are not value-neutral. However, it would be incorrect to

assume that modernization always promotes the interests of a particular social group over others. Admittedly, some strategies favour in the first instance industrialists and their associated networks. However, many strategies are in the interest of a number of social groups. For example, the transition from education presented in a canon language to education in a vernacular may be intended as a strategy to produce a large number of high quality graduates for the labour market and as such is in the interest of industrialists. At the same time it broadens the action radius of individuals who receive such education. The historical process of modernization of Asian, African and Latin American societies of the 1960s cannot be considered in isolation from the global political environment. This was the period of struggle between the Western capitalist and the Soviet systems. Modernization became a powerful program to check Soviet influence. It is in this period that the term *language planning* was coined, language modernization theory flourished, the Ford Foundation became interested in language matters, and large projects such as the International Project on Language Planning Processes were funded. No doubt, as the projects progressed, interests of the academics who actually worked on them were superimposed upon the interests of the US government, and it is the task of future research to show the interplay of all the agents involved. The question of interests is present in the Postmodern period. Sometimes, the only beneficiaries of humanistic strategies supporting immigrant languages are the intellectuals who propose them. Sometimes such strategies are welcome by immigrants themselves. However, they are not necessarily preferred by employers who desire monolingual education in a majority language. One of the most important issues linguists face with regard to modernization is how to interpret the interest and power structure of globalization. The dichotomy is not merely between the dominating and the dominated. The matter is not simple. It seems to remain unresolved for some time.

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## 225. The Development of Languages for Special Purposes Herausbildung von Fachsprachen

1. Approaches to the study of LSP
2. Sociolinguistic aspects of LSP development
3. A concluding remark
4. Literature (selected)

### 1. Approaches to the study of LSP

1.1. The term *language for special purposes*, or *language for specific purposes* (cf. Hoffmann 1988) is used with a variety of meanings (cf. art. 25; art. 136; Ammon 1998/1999a), and the word-forming structure of its equivalents in national languages makes its various aspects explicit: cf. e.g. the German equivalent 'Fachsprache' (Laurén 1994). As the English term 'language for special purposes' (henceforth LSP) suggests, the relevant linguistic phenomena (forms, varieties) are defined on the basis of the purposes they serve, or their functions. It is therefore logical to work with the concept of LSP proceeding from Prague inter-war functionalism. As is well-known, this was based on the general idea that "seen from the functionalist viewpoint, language is a system of purposeful means of expression" (PLC 1929/1983, 77). The authors connected with the Prague Linguistic Circle asserted the opinion that a special language should not be identified with "the sum of peculiarities of vocabulary and phraseology differing from common usage", i.e. with terminology in particular, and they urged that the special-purpose discourse and texts should

be investigated as a whole (Vančura 1936, 161; Pytelka 1972). However, it was not until about 1970 that this research program started being implemented in connection with the communicative and pragmatic orientation of linguistics (cf. Helbig 1986) and linguists (and sociologists) focused on specialized communication as such in more detail, including the question of how specialized communication is produced in the everyday interaction among the speakers (Drew/Heritage 1992; Lynch 1993). Nevertheless, the study of terminology has not lost its importance within the framework of the investigation of LSP, as demonstrated by the contents of the monumental handbook edited by Hoffmann, Kalverkämper and Wiegand (1998/1999) as well as its full title *Fachsprachen/ Languages for Special Purposes. Ein internationales Handbuch zur Fachsprachenforschung und Terminologie-wissenschaft/An International Handbook of Special-Language and Terminology Research*. Nowadays the term LSP, or 'Fachsprache', thus refers to a research area within which various phenomena of different degrees of complexity are being analyzed: (i) specific lexical sets, terminology in particular; (ii) sets of linguistic means (i.e. not only lexical ones) having special functions; (iii) specialized texts and their genres; (iv) specialized communication, including specialized oral communication. These four analytical subjects have not been usually

studied separately (terminology, i. e. subject (i), may be an exception), on the contrary, the investigation of the more complex subjects comprises also the less complex ones (e. g. (iv) may comprise (i) and (ii) and the inclusion of (iii) is also possible). It is significant that most attention has been devoted to the less complex subjects, i. e. primarily to terminology, this state of research being also influenced by the prevailing 'product-orientation' not 'process-orientation' of linguistics.

There can be considerable stylistic differences between the individual LSP (cf. 2.5.1.). The term LSP comprises both the theoretically-specialized and practically-specialized communicative domains (Seibicke 1985). However, unlike the classical concept of Prague functionalism (on that see Havránek 1932/1983), it is not limited to the standard language. It follows that LSP also comprises the means referred to as jargon and slang (cf. Nekvapil 1993; Partridge 1970).

1.2. The development of LSP can be studied according to the four analytical subjects above. Proceeding from the general idea that good diachronic descriptions are to a certain extent made possible (or easier at least) by good synchronic descriptions, it is obvious that the possibilities of LSP development investigation are best where special vocabulary is concerned and worst in the sphere of specialized oral communication. In the description of the LSP development two aspects can be distinguished: (i) the aspect of the development whose description refers to the important social factors and historical events, capturing the changes of LSP against the background of long stretches of time (e. g. centuries), (ii) the aspect of development whose description refers to language-forming and text-forming principles giving rise to various aspects and features of LSP. Obviously, the 'development' in the first sense cannot exist without the 'development' in the second sense, or rather the two aspects of development presuppose one another. However, this article will focus on the first aspect.

The emergence and development of individual LSP is connected with the emergence and satisfying of social, or communicative, needs. Yet identical communicative needs can be satisfied by different language means and varieties. It follows then that in the history of a society the same 'specific purposes'

need not be fulfilled exclusively by the local national language, but also by a foreign language, or the local and foreign varieties may compete. The notion of LSP is therefore so abstract from the functional point of view that it can comprise different language varieties, including various 'languages'.

## 2. Sociolinguistic aspects of LSP development

### 2.1. Antiquity

The emergence of LSP is usually ascribed to the differentiation of human knowledge and the division of labour in society. Such differentiation is well attested in ancient literature. In Homer's *Iliad* (1980, 216), we can read e. g. about physicians as a distinctive group of people – their language, however, could not have differed much from that of the other people in the era of archaic Greece as the education of these physicians had not been institutionalized yet at that time (Wenskus 1998/1999). It can be assumed that LSP started to form predominantly in such social conditions when a limited group of people engaged in a certain activity for a long time, communicating with each other intensively. Such a situation must have existed as early as in the Greek 'schools', philosophical or medical, of the classical period. The width and differentiation of the antique knowledge of the world is attested by Aristotle's works: his works on logic, 'physics' (i. e. natural philosophy and science), philosophy, ethics, politics, rhetoric and the arts. Aiming at a systemization of then existing knowledge, Aristotle contributed significantly to the fixing and systemization of the relevant special expressions. While the Aristotle's disciples had faced the problem of the relation between the special expressions and the local variants, i. e. the competition between the means within one language, the ancient Roman authors faced the competition between special expressions of Greek origin and those of Latin origin. The cultural contacts between the Greek and Roman world provided an opportunity to intentionally internationalize the Latin special language, and this possibility was sporadically exploited (Wenskus 1998/1999).

### 2.2. The middle ages

The late Roman antiquity saw the emergence of the so-called liberal arts (*Artes lib-*

erales) that constituted the backbone of the school education in the Middle Ages. For more than a thousand years the seven liberal arts provided the means to communicate in Latin on grammar, rhetoric and dialectics (trivium), arithmetic, geometry, astronomy and music (quadrivium). At the time when the Romance languages started forming and Latin was no longer the mother tongue of any large group of people, it was especially the teaching of Latin grammar that served as a language-stabilizing factor and contributed substantially towards the fact that the Middle Ages never lost contact with classical Latin culture and that special language has been able to draw on Latin (and Greek) up to now. The fact that the medium of education in medieval Europe was a single language, Latin, made it much easier for the scholars from different countries participating in the formation of special knowledge to communicate with each other. On the other hand, education was restricted to a limited group of people and it was provided only by certain institutions (particularly by monasteries and later by universities), which in certain situations must have served as a communication barrier between a smaller group of educated people and a much larger group of those lacking education.

Latin was also used as the language of religion and liturgy, and it thus became the means of spreading the western Roman Church concept of Christianity. As the promotion of Christianity was connected with the expansion of power, Latin as the liturgical language met with obstacles in some areas. As far as the communicative needs were concerned, the feudal rulers argued that Latin was incomprehensible to ordinary people, and sought to promote the use of the linguistic means of local origin as the liturgical language. As early as the second half of the 9<sup>th</sup> century this motivated the origin of the so-called Old Church Slavic, conceived on a Bulgaro-Macedonian basis by the Byzantine scholar Cyril (Constantinus) and his brother Methodius to meet the needs of their mission activities on the territory of Great Moravia. Old Church Slavic soon became the official language of the Bulgarian empire (Hill 1992), and remaining relatively uniform, it performed an important role in the literature on the territory of a number of Slavic countries. Old Church Slavic is generally considered the first standard literary

Slavic language, yet it originated as a LSP, namely a liturgical language (cf. Salmon 1998/1999). Daneš's claim that "the majority of standard languages are in their initial stages functional languages" (Daneš 1988, 1508) is worth mentioning here.

The 12<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> centuries saw a great upswing in economic life connected with the division of labour between the farmers and craftsmen as well as with the rise of modern cities. This process may be assumed to have also had a linguistic dimension, yet we have only scarce information about it. The problem is that e. g. the language connected with ore mining and processing had a practically-specialized character and was predominantly represented by oral communication in local languages, or dialects. It usually follows that we have no detailed records about it. Thus a methodological problem substantially influencing the presentation of the earlier development of LSP arises: what is available to us are the language materials from the fields based on the written records of special knowledge as their constitutive element, i. e. predominantly the language materials from the domain of theoretically-specialized communication.

### 2.3. The late middle ages and the renaissance

Only the profound economic, social and cultural changes which started occurring during the period of late feudalism and the Renaissance (approximately from the mid-14<sup>th</sup> century) changed the communication structures in Europe, leading to the gradual withdrawal of Latin from its position of special language, and to the progression of regional (national) languages. Specialized communication had to cope with the new demands laid down by the unprecedented development of craftsmanship, trade, science and technology connected with the development of the cities and the class of burghers. The cities offered good opportunities not only to people with education linked to Latin culture, but also to people with practical knowledge capable of contributing to the development of crafts and trade. The need for such people led to the establishment of lower secondary schools providing the fundamentals of mathematics as well as reading and writing on the basis of the vernacular. It should be pointed out here that the medieval Artes did not comprise only the above mentioned Artes liberales but also the Artes

mechanicae. These were close to practical life as evident from their division into *Lanificium* (i.e. wool-cloth production as an example of a craft), *Armatūra* (a military, or technical, craft), *Navigatio* (travelling, trade), *Agricultura* (agriculture, horticulture), *Venatio* (hunting, food production) etc., (Haage 1998/1999). *Artes mechanicae* were more significantly permeated by vernaculars than *Artes liberales* (Eis 1962, 14). Economic life was characterized by a new division of labour. The advancement of craft specialization is documented by the Nuremberg list of crafts from 1363 comprising 50 entries (Drozd/Seibicke 1973, 11). The specialization of crafts, however, need not have automatically brought about a parallel linguistic specialization. One can suppose that the particular special languages, or more precisely their subsystems or individual elements, overlapped. The languages of crafts were determined by the limited communication networks which the then craftsmen entered. The close link to the locality was evident from the strong dialectal character of LSP and the high proportion of regionalisms. It was only the later movement of the travelling journeymen through a larger territory that could lead to the gradual generalization and stabilization of special languages. The languages related to some manufacturing processes were probably kept secret to a certain degree, which was connected with the protectionist measures taken by the individual craftsmen as well as the guild organizations. The esoteric language of medieval alchemists, the predecessors of the chemists, and the interpretation of alchemist texts have posed a specific research problem up to these days (Drozd/Seibicke 1973). Note also that the representatives of the 'undignified professions', thieves in particular, created their own distinctive languages as well. Traditionally these linguistic means have been well-documented. A glossary of argot terms on the German territory (*Rotwelsch*) is documented from the 14<sup>th</sup> century (Eis 1962, 49), similar English and Czech lists date back to the 16<sup>th</sup> century (Partridge 1970; Oberpfalzer 1935). According to then European scholars, science should also contribute practically to everyday life. That was one of the reasons why they programmatically started turning their attention to regional (national) languages. They did not only aim at the possibility of communication with people who did

not know Latin, but also at a symbolic expression of a departure from the traditional special knowledge based on speculation. The new special knowledge indeed was not only intended for practice but also anchored in practice and even confirmed by experiment. The Renaissance scholar was not only a scholar but also often a scientist and a technician (Kalverkämper 1998/1999a). New media of communication were needed for the new contents. Nevertheless, the road from the use of Latin towards the unmarked use of the national language was a long and indirect one, leading via the parallel use of Latin and a vernacular either in the form of language-mixed texts (Paracelsus, Luther or Blahoslav; cf. Čejka 1998) or in the form of the explication of particular special expressions (from Latin to the vernacular or even vice versa), sometimes leading also via French, which aspired to succeed Latin in the function of the medium of international specialized communication (this happened e.g. in mathematics, cf. Fluck 1996). Although it ceased to be the universal communication medium of educated people, Latin retained its important position of a theoretically-specialized language for a long time. Scholars often based their choice of Latin or the vernacular on whether they wanted to address the broader public or a narrower group of specialists. It should be noted, however, that different communication media had been used before for written and for oral communication. Thus e.g. the Czech Court of Justice established during the reign of Přemysl II (i.e. 1253–1278) was conferred in Czech but its records were written in Latin (Cuřín 1985). The notes on which the reformer John Hus (1371–1415) based his sermons delivered in Czech were also formulated in Latin (Němec 1980). Specialized literature, written almost exclusively in Latin for many centuries, started being translated into regional (national) languages on a large scale. The translations from Latin substantially influenced the word-forming structure of the vernacular terminology as well as the syntactic and hypersyntactic structure of the vernacular specialized texts, and Latin itself changed to a certain extent with the vernaculars. The growth of special knowledge was accompanied by the increasing importance of specialized literature in the life of late medieval societies. Preserved German written relics document the fact that the texts of specialized nature were by



far more widespread than literary texts, thus substantially influencing the formation of written German (Eis 1962; Haage 1998/1999). The 14<sup>th</sup> century also brought about the rapid development of specialized literature in Czech. Similarly to the situation in other European countries, one of its streams aimed at facilitating Latin schooling, which was even the goal of the Latin-Czech rhyming dictionaries. Such literature reached its climax on the Czech territory with the dictionaries by Mg. Claretus de Solencia, in which the author (or possibly a group of authors) tried to summarize and partly even complement the Czech terminology of Artes liberales and all the then special lexis. Some of the expressions introduced by Claretus, a contemporary of the emperor Charles IV (1316–1378), have remained in specialized Czech till today. The dictionaries also illustrate the author's tendency to translate into Czech even those Latin expressions that had already been commonly used in Czech texts. The fact that the distinction between one vernacular and another was felt to be much less significant than that between Latin and a vernacular is manifested by Claretus' including in his dictionaries a considerable number of German expressions, or expressions of German origin, as local equivalents of Latin terms (Michálek 1989). The invention of printing was of crucial importance to the formation of special languages, making specialized literature more generally available. In the circumstances of the advancing specialization of crafts it was no longer sufficient to pass on special knowledge orally, as it had been still common in the medieval guild organization, and knowledge was increasingly being passed on by means of written genres. Naturally, this increased the requirements for the graphization of regional languages and contributed towards their gradual stabilization on all language levels including that of text construction. This was supported by the fact that in the process of the formation of centralized monarchies there arose the need for an identical communication medium that could be used on the territory of the whole state.

#### 2.4. Early modern age and the enlightenment

The development of LSP was considerably influenced by the capitalist production relations appearing in certain branches in the

form of manufactures since the 16<sup>th</sup> century. Manufacture production caused the decline of some crafts and the relevant special languages either became extinct as well or were incorporated in the newly emerging special languages (Fluck 1996). Production became more closely linked to the development of science, which resulted in a more exact manner of specialized expression. It was manifested by its higher degree of abstraction and differentiation. Terminological synonymy or heteronymy became undesirable. Scholars and specialists conducted intense discussions on the relation between things and words, or concepts and terms. It was theorized that special language is basically an analytical method and should therefore be optimized (Haßler 1998/1999; Gardt 1998/1999) – another step towards modern language management was thus taken. The fast growth of special knowledge was accompanied by the introduction of the new division of labour not only in production but also in science. (Natural) scientists have only specialized in their 'scientific field' since that time. However, this fact increased the demands on a wider communicability of scientific knowledge, especially due to the effort of the 'enlightened' scientists to use the special knowledge in practice, outside the sphere of the specialists themselves. These were the reasons that led to the attempts to summarize all knowledge in such a form as to make it available to anyone interested in it. Hence in the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century there originated e.g. *Encyclopédie, ou Dictionnaire raisonné des Sciences, des Arts et des Métiers* edited by J. L. d'Alambert and D. Diderot. It should be noted that the 'Encyclopédie' covered also the sphere of production, i.e. such processes that did not use to be the subject of exact description. Such descriptions inevitably meant a large amount of definitional work comprising the formation of terms and terminological systems. This was one of the means of introducing the scientific approach into the language pertaining to production (Drozd/Seibicke 1973).

#### 2.5. The industrial revolution and the formation of modern nations

In this period many European states underwent a complete transformation from agrarian societies to industrial ones (social modernization) while in other parts of Europe

this process entered its decisive phase. Two factors were fundamental to the development of LSP: (i) close links between certain spheres of science, technology and production which led to the origin of further special languages as well as complex scientific-technical languages making full use of the existing specializations; special expression was becoming more scientific, but at the same time it spread in various forms into everyday language (e. g. as a result of secondary school technical education); (ii) regional languages were becoming completely transformed into standard national languages.

#### 2.5.1. The language of electrical engineering (henceforth LEE)

We shall illustrate the formation of LSP through the development of LEE between 1760 and 1900, i. e. from the emergence of this language up to its modern form (Unger 1998/1999). We shall see the social complexity of such a process and its correspondence to the development of the respective field. At the same time, this section should serve as an explanatory alternative to the other sections of this article, in which the various aspects of development are presented in a generalized, and therefore rather simplified, manner.

What has to be realized first in the case of LEE is the fact that, unlike other technically oriented special languages of the preceding epochs, it is a scientifically founded special language. This is related to the fact that the first stage of LEE formation (1760–1830) is set (according to Unger 1998/1999) only in the domain of science, namely experimental science (Franklin, Volta). It is characteristic of this stage that the communication network consists exclusively of scientists and that their language displays a high degree of abstraction manifested also by the sporadic use of artificial symbols for the elements of the investigated objects (not for the relationships); the special expressions are not numerous, yet very frequent.

The second stage of LEE development (1830–1870) is determined by the fact that electrical engineering had become a complex social phenomenon: apart from the scientific domain differentiated into experimental science (Gauss, Siemens) and basic physical science (Faraday; Kirchhoff), new domains are established: the technical domain (the invention of the carbon filament

bulb, the construction of the DC generator) and that of production (the production of telegraphs). The domain of basic physical science is characterized by the highest level of abstraction accompanied by the application of mathematical models. Both the scientific and technical domains are permeated by the terminology of Newtonian mechanics. LEE is no more limited to the communication among scientists, but is also used, or co-formed, by the technicians and factory employees active on various levels of the organization of production. Thereby LEE obviously becomes stratified, yet its individual strata remain mutually permeable.

The key feature of the third phase of LEE development (1870–1900) is that the domains of the field established so far (science, technology, production) are complemented by the domains of application and consumption (the production of home telegraphs and street lamps). Within LEE there emerges a new level of expression typical of the communication between the representatives of industry and commerce on the one hand and the consumers on the other. Such communication is characterized by a very low proportion of special lexis and the application of terminology basically for the purposes of advertising (for more detail cf. Unger 1998/1999).

#### 2.5.2. Language intellectualization and the establishment of standard languages

In this period the development of special languages is closely linked to the establishment of standard (national) languages. This is achieved by means of gradual intellectualization of language expression. With respect to the standard language, this process is defined by the Prague school in the following way:

“By the intellectualization of the standard language, which we could also call its rationalization, we understand its adaptation to the goal of making possible precise and rigorous, if necessary abstract, statements, capable of expressing the continuity and complexity of thought, that is, to reinforce the intellectual side of speech. This intellectualization culminates in scientific (theoretical) speech, determined by the attempt to be as precise in expression as possible, to make statements which reflect the rigor of objective (scientific) thinking in which the terms approximate concepts and

the sentences approximate logical judgements” (Havránek 1932/1983, 147; cf. also PLC 1929/1983, 91).

On one hand LSP make use of the means of the standard language, on the other hand it is LSP that intellectualize the standard language, representing within it the component that had once been considered the set of communicative means serving to fulfil the cultural and civilization needs of the highest level. In this sense, the standard language is made a full-fledged standard language only by LSP. It is therefore only logical that the national movements in the 19<sup>th</sup> century aiming at the transformation of ethnic groups into nations made the intellectualization of the national language a part of their language programmes (Hroch 2000). The intellectualization comprised several phases, the final and highest being the production of specialized literature including scientific terminology. The intellectualization/ rationalization can also serve as an explanation of the fact that regionalisms are not desirable in the sphere of LSP, and that the local dialects are therefore out of place in specialized (written) language. Being a part of the standard language, LSP should be uniform on the whole territory inhabited by a certain nation. As early as in this period, this fact led to a substantial activity of national terminological committees, whose task was to standardize the special languages of individual fields. On the other hand, the fact that LSP were constituted during the formation of modern nations sometimes meant their being affected by the processes whose rationality already proved problematic after a few decades. What became valuable was the effort to develop the national/ ethnic linguistic sources rather than the established international means (not to mention the linguistic means of a further developed nation politically governing the ethnic group in the process of emancipation). At the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century the Czech patriots devised Czech equivalents of numerous names of scientific fields. Thus the traditional names as *philosophia*, *logica*, *aesthetica*, *grammatica*, *historia*, *psychologia*, *botanica*, *chymia*, *physica* were replaced. Nevertheless, these words returned into Czech after some time, while most of their Czech equivalents disappeared (for more detail cf. Havránek 1979, 92). The intellectualization of national languages did not remain limited to the language pro-

grammes of the national movements in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. It is a modernization process which can still be relevant in various countries of the world. For example, in the 1970s the Prague concept of language intellectualization was adopted for the modernization of the language Tagalog, or Filipino, in the Philippines (Gonzales 1999, 152).

## 2.6. The 20<sup>th</sup> Century

The development of science, technology and industry as well as the establishment of new nation states was accompanied by the continuing intensive building of the national LSP. Within the national languages the standardization of LSP gave rise to the so-called professional jargons or slangs on the periphery of LSP – it was against the background of the standard linguistic means that the jargon or slang expressions started being recognized as strongly marked. However, science, technology and production did not develop in hermetically sealed nation states. The efforts to develop and elaborate the LSP in national languages was therefore accompanied by a weaker or stronger tendency to form national LSP (terminology in particular) in such a way as to strengthen their supranational character. International coordination committees were even set up to serve this purpose. For example, in 1906 the International Electrotechnical Commission was established and its task was also to standardize terminology (Oeser/Picht 1998/1999); the International Organization for Standardization (ISO) originated in 1946. The internationalization efforts within LSP found also their theoreticians, among the most important E. Wüster (1898–1977). The planned internationalization of LSP, however, was not motivated only rationally but also ideologically. In the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century the central and eastern European countries strongly tended to reduce the influence of English and promote that of Russian, particularly as far as the language of humanities was concerned (it was ideology that determined even which specialists were and which were not to be quoted in scientific discourse). After the political changes in 1989 these countries displayed a reverse tendency – to eliminate the impact of Russian, promoting that of English (cf. Panzer 2000). The development of the international languages of science was also dependent on the political and economic strength of the states of Europe and the

world (Ammon 1998/1999b; Ehlers 1996). In many countries, the transition from the socialist (communist) system to the capitalist system had an immediate impact on the set of the genres and words used in everyday economic life (cf. Rathmayr/Klingseis/Schmid 2000; Engerer 1999; Höhne/Nekula 1997). The elimination of some special genres and words, and on the other hand the introduction of others, support the idea that certain language changes are not mere reflections of social changes, but contribute themselves towards the formation of the new social reality (cf. Nekvapil 1996). The end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century witnessed a mass expansion of electronic media. The consequences of their application for the development of LSP are yet to be ascertained. Transcending, on the basis of English, the frontiers of individual states (cf. the Internet), these media undoubtedly enhance the supranational character of LSP, thus contributing to the international standardization of specialized expression (e. g. in the case of the structure of specific written genres). On the other hand, not being subject to central control, or national central control, electronic media can also act as a factor of destandardization (in the sense of Mattheier/Radtke 1997), at least as far as the national LSP are concerned. This unclear situation coincides with the postmodern tendencies in language planning which stress language variability, suppressing the unifying function of standardization (Neustupný/Nekvapil 2003).

### 3. A concluding remark

The analysis of the individual LSP as well as of the complex development of LSP from the point of historical sociolinguistics (Mattheier 1988a; Němec 1987) is in still its initial stage. The point is not only that there are not enough preliminary works mapping the socio-communicatively motivated language changes (Mattheier 1988b) relevant to the emergence and development of LSP, but also that it is difficult to apprehend the dynamic aspect of these changes realized in individual communicative events. In other words, it is difficult to capture the language variation in and outside the scope of LSP (Gunnarson 1993) and the gradual generalization of the 'successful' variants. How can we capture, e. g., the gradual terminologization, or determinologization, of a nominal

expression? Language management theory (Jernudd/Neustupný 1991; Jernudd 1994), studying the way the speakers experience deviations from language norms in discourse, thereby indicating the potential language changes, represents a promising model that has not yet been fully exploited. It should be noted that by stressing the investigation of discourse, language management theory corresponds to the latest stage of the development of 'special-language linguistics' itself. This orients towards a complex study of specialized discourse (Munzberg 1998/1999), devoting partial attention to the diachronic dimension within the scope of this orientation (cf. Gunnarson 1989, 1997; Kalverkämper 1998/1999b).

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## 226. Colonization and Decolonization Kolonisation und Dekolonisation

1. The context of the global expansion of European languages
2. The role of language in colonisation
3. Language in the post-colonial world: Decolonization?
4. Literature (selected)

### 1. The context of the global expansion of European languages

European expansion throughout the world since 1492 has led to several European languages being securely transplanted elsewhere. The languages have accompanied political and economic influence, invariably backed up by military might. The promotion of languages often dovetailed with missionary activity. Christianity has thus accompanied several European languages worldwide, just as Arabic has been an integral part of the spread of Islam, and Arab and Turkish influence in the Middle East, Asia, Africa and the Balkans. Within Europe, the expansion of dominant languages has generally been at the expense of other languages, in processes of Europe-internal colonization and empire-building. The advance of English in the British Isles has caused the contraction of Gaelic, Welsh and other languages. For 650 years Sweden occupied Finland and used Swedish as the language of power. Denmark occupied much of Scandinavia, Iceland, the Faeroes and Greenland. Language policy in the Austro-Hungarian empire impacted variously on different ethnic groups. Poland has been under Russian and German sovereignty. The Russian empire, and its successor the Soviet Union, stretched across central Asia as far as Japan and as far south as Iran. While Europeans were experiencing industrialization, political democratization, and the consolidation of 'national' languages in nationally articulated states, they were deeply involved in overseas expansion, which contributed to a domestic economic boom. Competition between European powers also led to two 'world' wars, as a result of which many state borders have changed, in Europe and elsewhere. This turbulence, the dissolution of the Soviet Union, and decolonization in the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century have resulted in changes in the status and rights of many languages. The

present-day strength of English, French, Spanish and Portuguese in the Americas, in Africa, in Asia, Australasia and the Pacific is a direct consequence of successive waves of colonization. The dominance of English, rather than French, in North America is due to the British military defeat of France in Quebec, and the secession by France under the terms of the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713 of French possessions in North America to the British. At the Congress of Berlin in 1878, when the Turkish empire was in retreat in south-east Europe, there was a share-out of territory and spheres of influence between the competing European 'Great Powers' (the big four, Austria-Hungary, Germany, Russia and Great Britain, along with France, Italy and Turkey). At the Berlin conference of 1884, Africa was divided up between competing colonial powers. The map of Africa drawn up then, with no Africans present or consulted, is still essentially in place. Germany was forced to give up its colonies after defeat in the First World War. Italian occupation of parts of north and east Africa was ended by defeat in the Second World War. Dutch power was contained by defeat by the British in the Boer War in South Africa. The Japanese occupation of much of east Asia in the inter-war period and during the Second World War disrupted political control by the Netherlands of Indonesia, as well as French and British colonies. Colonial empires were no longer tenable after 1945, in a world dominated by the United States, the Cold War, and liberation struggles by oppressed groups worldwide. The decolonization process is generally regarded as beginning with India and Pakistan wresting political independence from the British in 1947, after which it intensified. However, since the first settlements of Europeans in North America were called colonies, one can regard the American war and declaration of independence, and similar severing by Latin American states of formal political links with European powers, as involving processes of decolonization. Australia, Canada, New Zealand, and South Africa were also granted political independence long before colonies elsewhere were deemed capable of self-government. The significance of language was understood early in the American struggle

for independence. In 1789 Noah Webster made an American declaration of linguistic independence, arguing the case for 'an American tongue', a language with pronunciation and spelling quite distinct from British English: "A national language is a band of national union. Every engine should be employed to make the people of this country national; to call their attachments home to their own country; and to inspire them with the pride of national character [...] Let us then seize the present moment, and establish a national language as well as a national government" (quoted in Bailey 1992). What was achieved for American English has been followed up more recently in other parts of the former British and American colonial empires, making English now a poly-centric and poly-ethnic language. This process of freeing the norms of the language from the hold of the 'mother country' has led many scholars to refer now to the existence of several English languages. Mufwene (1997) has noted the racism that permeates conventional analyses of variation in the family of global Englishes. Thus there are the legitimate offspring of English, meaning pedigree white English in, say, Australia or Canada, and the illegitimate black offspring, creoles and pidgins. This racist hierarchization is not merely unethical, it is indefensible on linguistic grounds, in that all types of English, including the initial British variant, have evolved in comparable processes of language contact and change. The evolution of English in North America and elsewhere has been shaped by a number of language-internal factors, in particular the dialect origins of its speakers, and language-external factors, specifically the other languages (African, European, indigenous) that speakers of English were in contact with. Both sets of factors contribute in fundamentally similar ways to the processes of linguistic evolution and restructuring in the local linguistic ecology (Mufwene 2001). The term *colonisation* often overlaps with *imperialism*. *Colonization* involves groups of people settling in a different part of the world, often of their own free will and mostly to the detriment of local people, whereas *imperialism* refers to the empires that exercised political and economic control over territories, often non-European ones. (No attempt is being made here to describe Arab, Japanese, Moghul, Turkish and other non-European empires.) Imperial exploitation entailed cultural policies. *Linguistic*

*imperialism* (Phillipson 1992; Mühlhäusler 1996) was an integral dimension of the overall structure within which one collectivity exploited others, and rationalised their right to do so in ideologies of racial and linguistic superiority (Pennycook 1998). There are broadly speaking three types of colonization (Skunabb-Kangas 2000, 268): the dominant power exploits other groups through colonization of their bodies, as in slavery, through colonization of their territory and natural resources, and exploitation of their labour, as in colonial empires, and colonization of the mind, which involves colonised peoples internalising the values of the dominant power. "It is the final triumph of a system of domination when the dominated start singing its virtues" (Ngũgĩ 1986, 20). Legacies from each of these phases permeate the relationship in the contemporary world between rich and poor countries, and between the rich and poor within each country. Language played a central role in colonial empires. It plays an even more significant role in the modern world, which is characterised by gross injustice in the way wealth and resources are shared out, between and within countries. This state of affairs, including the degrading conditions that many of the world's population are forced to live in, is projected in dominant ideologies as being inevitable and *natural*. Political decolonization was generally granted by the imperial powers only after lengthy liberation struggles, often involving protracted military conflict (e.g. Algeria, Kenya, East Timor, Eritrea). Many conflicts remain unresolved (e.g. West Sahara, Kurdistan, Chechnya). Language is often a major mobilising factor in struggles to end a status of colonization, external or internal, but the right to self-determination in international law (Clark/Williamson 1996) is one that existing states are often unwilling to recognise. In view of the limited number of states in the modern world, it is likely that the wishes of oppressed ethnolinguistic groups will continue to be frustrated, and that continued colonization will contribute to the demise of many more languages.

## 2. The role of language in colonization

Although language policy has taken many forms in the periods of both colonization and decolonization, there are remarkable similarities in the way the colonising powers



promoted their languages, and in the durability of the policies of the colonial period into the postcolonial world. The significance of language for the colonial adventure was appreciated from its inception. In 1492 Queen Isabella of Spain was presented with a plan for establishing Castilian as “a tool for conquest abroad and a weapon to suppress untutored speech at home” (quoted in Illich 1981, 35). For its author, Nebrija, the first modern grammarian and language planner, “languages has always been the consort of empire, and forever shall remain its mate” (ibid., 34): the language was to be fashioned as a standard in the domestic education system, as a means of social control, and harnessed to the colonial mission elsewhere. In fact in central and southern America, the colonisers encountered well established local languages of empire, and there was a protracted debate between missionaries seeking to preach the gospel using these languages, as opposed to those who favoured use of Spanish. This debate is recorded in great detail in the archives of the Catholic church, and has been analysed for its impact on Mexico (Heath 1972). Genocide involves the destruction of ‘the Other’, which can be those who are linguistically different. Appropriate in-group pronunciation is recorded as a test of ethnic identity in the Old Testament, where an alien way of saying *shibboleth* resulted in the death of 40,000 people (Judges XII, 6). The ancient Greeks stigmatised non-Greek speakers as *barbarian*, meaning speakers of a non-language. When French took over from Latin as a lingua franca in Europe in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, there was widespread belief in the intrinsic superiority of the language, a belief that was endorsed in Diderot’s influential ‘Encyclopédie’. The Academy of Berlin held a competition in 1782 on the theme of why French was a ‘universal’ language (Calvet 1987, 71). One of the winning essays, by Rivarol, argues that languages which do not follow the syntax of French are illogical and inadequate. Linguistic hierarchization was therefore widely believed in before it was needed in the legitimation of the colonial venture. Calvet’s ‘Linguistique et colonialisme: petit traité de glottophagie’ (1974) is a comprehensive analysis of the links between linguistics and the furtherance of the French colonial cause. His term *glottophagie* (linguistic cannibalism, Sprachenfressen) refers to dominant languages eating up and extin-

guishing dominated languages. Linguistic genocide, as defined in work on the United Nations genocide convention, is in fact practised widely in the modern world (Skutnabb-Kangas 2000). Maintenance of linguistic hierarchy typically involves a pattern of (a) stigmatization of dominated languages (mere *dialects*, *vernaculars*, *patois*), (b) glorification of the dominant language (its superior clarity, syntax, richer vocabulary), and (c) rationalization of the relationship between the languages, always to the benefit of the dominant one (the civilising mission, access to the superior culture and ‘progress’). One’s own language was therefore projected as the language of God (Sanskrit, Arabic in the Islamic world, Dutch in South Africa), the language of reason, logic and human rights (French both before and after the French Revolution), the language of the superior ethno-national group (German in Nazi ideology), the language of progress, modernity, national unity (English in much post-colonial discourse). As other languages are explicitly or implicitly deprived of such functions and qualities, it is ‘logical’ that speakers of a stigmatised language can only benefit from using a ‘superior’ language. The imagery associated with English, in its contact with other languages, initially in North America, and subsequently throughout the world, has played a major role in legitimating its privileged position and dissemination (Bailey 1992). The ascribed superiority of the language served to legitimate colonial exploitation, racist and linguistic policies. A major influence on attitudes in colonial empires was orientalism, which refers to the way European ideas shaped perceptions of the east and were central to the imperial task (Said 1978). Orientalism was “the corporate institute for dealing with the Orient – dealing with it by making statements about it, authorising views about it, describing it, by teaching it, settling it, ruling over it: in short, Orientalism as a western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient.” (said 1978, 3). These attitudes are clearly visible in the work of Lord Macaulay, whose educational minute in India in 1835 set the tone for language policy throughout the British empire. After consulting British Orientalists (i.e. those familiar with an Asian language), he wrote: “I have never found one amongst them who could deny that a single shelf of a good

European library was worth the whole native literature of India and Arabia” (quoted in Kachru 1986, 7). The purpose of British education for Indian leaders was to produce a “class of persons, Indians in blood and colour, English in taste, in opinion, in morals and in intellect” (ibid., 5). Macaulay’s dictum emerged from a lively debate in Britain in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century between those who advocated the use of English to promote the colonial cause in India, the Anglicists, as opposed to those in favour of widespread use of Indian languages, the Orientalists, who were equally committed to the colonial cause. The interlocking of Anglicist and Orientalist policies in several Asian countries has been explored in great detail (in Pennycook 1998) in relation to how ideologies of linguistic supremacy influenced not only colonised people’s perceptions of themselves (the stigmatised images that lead to a colonised consciousness, Fanon 1961), but also how the colonising relationship shaped the mentality of colonisers. Images of the colonised not only guided policy in the colonies but were central to the development of the ‘mother country’ not only economically, which the wealth of the ruling class in Europe in the 19<sup>th</sup> century testifies to, but also culturally, affecting our understanding of our role in the world, our beliefs about ourselves. Beliefs in the superiority of western technology, culture and language are still widely held today, and are often hegemonic in the sense of being taken for granted and unquestioned. The transplantation and export of languages is sometimes in the sociology of language referred to as *language spread* (Cooper 1982), which is shorthand for a host of variables that can account for the expansion of a language. The term is however misleading, since it can be interpreted as signifying an agent-less process, as though languages, like living organisms, expand and contract according to nature’s laws. In fact languages, like the many species of flora and fauna that Europeans have taken with them worldwide (involving ecological imperialism, Crosby 1994) quintessentially involve human intervention. It is specific groups of humans who have taken their languages with them in each context, and successfully imposed them. Colonial policies have involved linguistic imperialism. Gilbert Ansre, the Ghanaian sociolinguist, describes this as “The phenomenon in which the minds and

lives of the speakers of a language are dominated by another language to the point where they believe that they can and should use only that foreign language when it comes to transactions dealing with the more advanced aspects of life such as education, philosophy, literature, governments, the administration of justice, etc. [...]. Linguistic imperialism has a subtle way of warping the minds of even the most noble in a society and of preventing him from appreciating and realising the full potentialities of the indigenous languages” (Ansre 1979, 12). In West Africa “education to many people came to mean simply the ability to speak and write English” (Mazrui 1968, 186). The key to success in secondary education in East Africa was “the ability to transpose one’s mind from the immediate environment to the European one” (Chishimba 1981, 171). “English was the official vehicle and the magic formula to colonial elitedom” (Ngũgĩ 1986, 12). Although many investigative reports on the British empire stressed the need to strengthen local languages, policies of economic underdevelopment and linguistic underdevelopment functioned in parallel, and tied the peripheral economies and languages to global centres of power (Phillipson 1992). The language policies of the French and British empires are often regarded as differing significantly, since the local languages were seldom used in education in the French empire, whereas they were widely used in the British empire in the initial years of schooling. However, local languages invariably had low status, and it was the colonisers’ language which provided access to power and resources. The linguistic hierarchy was thus comparable in each empire. This is also borne out by what has happened since the independence of countries from each empire: the former colonial languages remain as the dominant languages, while indigenous languages are, with few exceptions, marginalized. One of the most durable legacies of colonialism has been language: “Years after the attainment of political independence, the majority of African independent states have continued to practise linguistic policies inherited at the time of independence, where, on the whole, foreign colonial languages are more favoured than the languages indigenous to the African continent” (Organization for African Unity Inter-African Bureau of Languages 1985, 7).

### 3. Language in the post-colonial world: Decolonization?

One of the paradoxes of post-colonial language policy is that European languages are in a stronger position today in former colonies than at any earlier time. Post-independence India aimed at reducing the power of English and strengthening Indian languages, but there has been an absence of political will to achieve this. A former director of the Central Institute of Indian Languages attributes the failure of Indian language policy to four factors: language development was not coordinated with economic development; there was no unified strategy for the use of Indian languages in a variety of domains (education, administration, law, medicine, etc.); absence of a coherent strategy to reassure minority language speakers, or to counter-balance Hindi, led to a clinging to English; development planning was top-down, thus there was massive creation of technical terminology but no implementation or use was made of it (Annamalai 1994). In India there is “an increasing mystification and deification of English socially and pedagogically – it is essentially meant for a special group of people; it is taught (effectively) in prestigious public schools and other Indian languages are ignored and marginalized [...]. What we need is a more radical paradigm shift in language planning in which English sustain rather than destroy the multilingual ethos of India” (Agnihotri/Khanna 1997, 19, 144). Likewise in Pakistan, English acts “by distancing people from most indigenous cultural norms” (Rahman 1999, 293). While it is true that English now serves to express hybrid, local cultural norms in such countries, and postcolonial literature in English is rightly popular worldwide, English serves to cut off the elite from the mass of the population domestically, and to incorporate elites into a western-dominated global culture externally. Another variant of linguistic imperialism occurs when one national Sign language has been promoted at the expense of the vitality of a variety of Sign languages (for instance in Indonesia, Branson/Miller 1998). Some countries in Asia have made a major effort to consolidate a national language (e.g. Bahasa in Malaysia and Indonesia), but in countries where promotion of a national language has been seen to discriminate against a minority (e.g. the privileging

of Singalese over Tamil in Sri Lanka), language policy has aggravated inter-group tensions that are essentially due to inequitable treatment and rights. Language is one factor among many that divide groups, even if in many non-European societies, multilingualism and plural linguistic identities are the norm (Khubchandani 1983). Tanzania is one of the few African countries that have made major efforts to provide all its citizens with competence in an African language, Swahili, but English still remains at the top of the linguistic hierarchy, other languages are marginalized, and social mobility and inter-marriage between people from different language groups means that the vitality of many languages is threatened (Yahya-Othman/Batibo 1996). The need to create national unity in ethnically diverse states, themselves often colonial creations, has often been used as an argument in favour of maintaining the former colonial languages. One consequence of this has been the neglect of local languages. Contributing to this neglect is the fact that “Africans have been psychologically conditioned to believe that only European languages are structured to aid development” (Kashoki, quoted in UNIN 1981, 41). “The languages of Europe were taught as if they were our own languages, as if Africa had no tongues except those brought there by imperialism, bearing the label MADE IN EUROPE” (Ngũgĩ 1993, 35). In fact in ‘English-speaking’ countries such as Zambia, Nigeria and Bangladesh only a tiny fraction of the population actually speak the language of power. Countries in the postcolonial world are trapped in a major contradiction when opting to perpetuate use of a former colonial language. On the one hand, everyone can see that this language, and English in particular, opens doors to power locally and to the global economy. On the other, there is the fact that the medium is not culturally or ideologically neutral, far from it, so that its users run the “apparently unavoidable risk of co-option, of acquiescing in the negation of their own understandings of reality and in the accompanying denial or even subversion of their own interests” (Kandiah 2001, 21f). In education there has often been an excessive dependence not only on the colonial language per se, in its exo-normative variant with native speaker models of proficiency, but also on syllabuses, exams, and tertiary education that follow a western agenda. The

British and American governments have pursued policies of linguistic imperialism throughout the postcolonial period, so as to maintain the privileged position of English worldwide, and perpetuate western capitalist influence (Phillipson 1992). English is now central to globalization, to the world of Coca Cola, CNN, Microsoft and the many transnational corporations which, through processes of McDonaldisation, are seeking to create a global consumerist culture, a single market. English is therefore a key instrument in breaking down national borders. The overall position of English in many countries has been explored in 'Post-imperial English: Status change in former British and American colonies, 1940–1990' (Fishman/Conrad/Rubal-Lopez 1996); many contributors provide a wealth of detail on the position of English in diverse postcolonial situations. Fishman speculates on English being "reconceptualized, from being an imperialist tool to being a multinational tool [...]. English may need to be re-examined precisely from the point of view of being post-imperial (as the title of our book implies, that is in the sense of not directly serving purely Anglo-American territorial, economic, or cultural expansion) without being post-capitalist in any way" (ibid., 8). His assessment that the "socio-economic factors that are behind the spread of English are now indigenous in most countries of the world" and that the continued spread of English in former colonies is "related more to their engagement in the modern world economy than to any efforts derived from their colonial masters" (ibid., 639) seems to ignore the fact that "engagement in the modern world" means a western-dominated globalization agenda set by the transnational corporations, the World Trade Organization, the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank. The World Bank employs a rhetoric of support for local languages but "The World Bank's real position ... encourages the consolidation of the imperial languages in Africa [...] the World Bank does not seem to regard the linguistic Africanisation of the whole of primary education and beyond as an effort that is worth its consideration. Its publication on strategies for stabilising and revitalising universities, for example makes absolutely no mention of the place of language at this tertiary level of African education" (Mazrui 1997, 39).

An admirable collection of papers, 'Language and development. Teachers in a changing world' (Kenny/Savage 1997) contains a fund of reflective analysis of the factors contributing to the triumphs and, more frequently, the failures of development aid projects in a range of Asian countries. But *language* in the title in fact refers exclusively to English, and *teachers* are teachers of English. This invisibilization of the rest of the relevant languages is a re-run of much colonial and post-colonial language-in-education policy, which has served European languages well and other languages much less well. It reflects investment being put into English, an infrastructure and ideology that discursively construct English as the handmaiden of globalization, the universal medium. The endorsement of multilingualism in policy statements by international development 'aid' bodies often rings hollow. The French government warmly endorses multilingualism in policy statements on both the European Union and the global network of 'Francophonie' states, but it is no secret that this rhetoric is strongly influenced by a wish to combat the forces that are diminishing the power of French. Whether "decolonizing the minds" (Ngũgĩ 1986) of either the colonisers or the colonised has occurred is an open question, but there is evidence that the language policies currently in place, and not least those followed in education, entail the recolonization of the African mind (Brock-Utne 2000). Organization for African Unity policy documents have for decades called for more focus on African languages, and investment that would facilitate their use inside and outside classrooms, the purpose being to ensure that local skills and resources are built on. The Intergovernmental Conference of Ministers of Language Policies in Africa (Harare, 20–21 March 1997) called for a major paradigm shift in language policy, and for donors to formulate policies that respect African values and cultures. A plea for an African linguistic and cultural renaissance, the 'Asmara Declaration on African Languages and Literatures' of January 17, 2000, was formulated by scholars and writers from the entire continent at a conference in Eritrea. However, the privileged position of the elites in such countries is in no small measure due to their proficiency in the former colonial language, and this militates against change. The language policy of post-

apartheid South Africa is an ambitious attempt to valorise all local languages, hence the recognition of 11 official languages in the Constitution, as well as a commitment to support the maintenance of many others. The language policy was elaborated after a long consultation process, which also clarified the principles that should guide language policy, namely that it is part of general social policy, that languages need to be seen as resources rather than a problem, that learning your language is a basic human right, that it is the duty of the state to promote all the languages within its borders, and to educate people to appreciate multilingualism and demonstrate tolerance and understanding of other cultures (LANGTAG 1996). Implementing such a policy is, of course, hugely demanding, granted the legacy of apartheid, the integration of the South African economy into the global economy, and not least the 'blatant hegemony' of English, which the policy seeks to combat.

#### 4. Literature (selected)

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## 227. The Development of Language Empires Entwicklung von Sprachimperien

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### 1. Introduction

To assume the existence of language empires presupposes the existence of empires as such, and the hypothesis that the dynamics of the languages related to a given empire bear a certain relationship to other aspects of imperial development and behavior. A third theoretically thinkable hypothesis of the word compound could assume the existence of entities that are imperial only in the realm of language and not otherwise. The question of whether empires – and imperialism – constitute valid concepts in a so-called "post-capitalist, post-modern, and post-imperial" era has aroused considerable debate and led to extensive literature over the past twenty years. Globalization has taken over the field, the concepts, and our minds and has replaced names like imperialism, modernization and others from previous times.

Different from imperialism, globalization seems to have no clearly identifiable actor – rather, its discursive shaping places it in the neighborhood of natural events such as earthquakes and hurricanes that occur without human intervention. Hardt and Negri's 'Empire' (2000), probably the most read oeuvre on the topic in recent years, proposes to reframe the concept of empire as largely independent from any specific nation-state. The debate on renewed imperialism versus actor-less globalization has acquired considerable weight in the analysis of the modern spread of English, as we shall see. It is related to our second issue, the relationship between linguistic and other aspects of imperial conduct, which in turn reframes basic questions about the *socio* and the *linguistic* in the sciences of language and society (section 2). A quick revision of the history of the Roman (3), the Spanish (4) and the British Empires (5) will shed light on our theoretical questions that arise from the previous debate. Next, I will analyze the passage of English as the language of one empire, among others, to its actual position as the only fully globalized language (6). Since the spread of English threatens the position of other international languages and global language ecology as a whole, influential positions opposed to total English domination arose. Of these I will outline two (7): one that accuses English of being the 'killer language' and postulates the unrestricted defence of all minority languages based on a close relation

between linguistic and biological ecology (Terralingua, Skutnabb-Kangas; Maffi et al.); and a second sustained mainly by European scholars (Calvet; Ammon; Ehlich et al.) that I will frame as the “strong national language” position. Finally, I will return to the initial question about the nature of language empires and sketch some research perspectives and desiderata for future inquiry and debate (8).

## 2. Empire, imperialism, linguistic empires, and globalization

Language empires will be explored from two perspectives: in what way do linguistic factors – language spread, shift, dominance, linguisticism – contribute to the building of empires, to their stability, reign, and governance over linguistically diverse, multicultural populations? And in what ways do empires create imperial languages or, to put it conversely, to what extent do linguistic constellations develop with certain independence from the economic, political and cultural processes that might have brought them about in the first place? Since we do not have any independent sociolinguistic theory of empire, we need to revise past and present concepts of empire, imperialism and globalization, as well as language spread and language globalization, from the perspective of the reciprocal relationship between the linguistic and the social. A first workable definition of empire may be drawn from the previous treatment of the topic in this Handbook, starting from a definition of polities as those social groups that totalize themselves as global societies. Achard (1988, 1541) defines empire as: “The exercise of power from a given political unit over social formations which this political unit considers both as ‘foreign’ [...] and as globally submitted to the rule of the first society’s power.”

Such a basic definition covers the development of empires from Rome to modern imperialism from the perspective of the power that one polity exercises over another group or polity that differs in culture and in language. As we shall see, however, it will turn out to be too narrow to cover the whole range of imperial language relations. The conceptual transition from empire to imperialism implied a shift in value and perspective. Theories of empire and imperialism developed over the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century

largely within and in opposition to Marxist theory. Within a Marxist framework, imperialism was defined as the natural next stage that evolved out of colonialism. The development of capitalism required an expansion of trade and production; thus imperialism represented the monopoly stage of capitalism (Lenin 1916/1973). ‘Dependence theory’, a joint North and South American offspring of Marxist theory in the 1960s and 1970s (Frank; Dos Santos), showed to what extent the capitalist development in the metropolis determined economic development and socio-political structuring of colonial societies right from the beginning of colonization, reproducing third world dependency until present times. Indeed, the modern concept of imperialism, which combines economic, political, and cultural mechanisms of control, was applied both to politically dependent colonies, mainly in Africa and Asia, and independent states in Latin America. Although these mechanisms of external control have deepened the gulf between rich and poor states since the 1970s – and between the rich and the poor inside practically every country – the term imperialism has almost disappeared from political and scientific debate. ‘Globalization’ has taken its place, a concept with multiple meanings. In very general terms, it stands for increasing inter-connectivity on all levels. Its most relevant and systematic component is a radical restructuring of the world economic system known as ‘neoliberalism’, where financial capital is taking the lead over productive capital; nation states, especially third world countries, are forced to open their markets, reduce state expenditure and services such as healthcare, social security, pensions, and education, and privatize them, together with public enterprises and natural resources (oil, gas, water, minerals), mainly for the benefit of international corporations. At the same time, electronic technologies facilitate national and international communication in ways impossible to imagine only a few decades ago. Beyond primary (*Gemeinschaft*) and secondary (*Gesellschaft*) social relationships, new impersonalised tertiary bonds mediated by technologies and corporations increasingly determine our lives (Calhoun 1992). New de-territorialized ‘third cultures’ emerge, such as fashion or the new international management culture, which develop their own discourses and language

usages. Globalization, however, does not only imply homogenization of markets and cultures, but also the growth of diversity, socio-cultural variety and wealth of local discourses, codes and practices that resist and play back against the homogenizing order. Hardt and Negri's (2000) 'Empire' has encountered a surprisingly massive reception, perhaps just because it attempts to detach global dominance from the national state. Economics and other processes of globalization have not only transgressed state borders, they argue, thus severely reducing national sovereignty of most states – but furthermore, power has largely shifted from governments to international corporations who are seemingly not anchored in any specific harbor. The present situation is characterized by 'governance without government' (Hardt/Negri 2000, 14); imperialism has mutated to a new empire – the new paradigm is a "process of the imperial constitutionalization of world order", a new entity that appears as supra-national, worldly, and total. Most important, the classical nation-state is declining and will disappear as a result of "a structural and irreversible process" (ibid., 336), thus giving way to a political regulation of the global market by the large transnational corporations that have defeated the nation-states. Sovereignty is passing from individual nation-states to empire which is neither American nor European, simply capitalist.

Communication plays a mayor role in this process; while it is a fundamental medium of imperial control, it dissolves and subordinates territorial sovereignty. "It attacks the very possibility of linking an order to a space. [...] Deterritorialization is the primary force and circulation, the form through which social communication is manifesting itself. In this way and in this ether, languages become functional to circulation and dissolve every sovereign relationship" (ibid., 347).

In sum, Hardt and Negri synthesize the impressions of many puzzled observers who notice increasing dominance, restrictions and global control over a growing number of domains in our lives, while at the same time the actors or sources behind the scene appear more and more diluted: "David doesn't find Goliath any more", to use García Cancellini's (1999, 26) poignant metaphor. Opponents argue that corporate power is not diluted, but is concentrated in seven nations

only, and that national governments of industrialised states stronghandedly intervene to support the industries of their countries (Chomsky 1994). Globalization stresses rather than weakens imperialist domination of a few central nation states (Borón 2002, 13). Last but not least, war is back as an extension of politics with other means. The US-British invasion of Iraq in 2003 reopened in the eyes of many critiques our views on the *Handlungslogik* of empire states and imperialism in our days. It is difficult to believe that empire states do no longer exist or hold power in the face of the world's most powerful nation state establishing an explicit doctrine of preventive and pre-emptive war as the basis of its international relations (Chomsky 2003). The thesis of imperialism in its classical meaning lies at the bottom of the most influential book along this line of thinking in recent years, Robert Phillipson's (1992) 'Linguistic Imperialism'. It analyses the role of British and US American state support for the spread of English as a global language. Phillipson arrives at the conclusion that English attained its dominant position as the prime world language because it has been actively promoted "as an instrument of foreign policy of the major English-speaking states" (Phillipson 1992, 1). The language policies that third world countries reproduce as a result of colonization serve first and foremost the interests of Western powers and contribute to preserve existing inequalities in the world system. English linguistic imperialism, as a specific case of linguisticism, "is a theoretical construct, devised to account for linguistic hierarchization, to address issues of why some languages come to be used more and others less, what structures and ideologies facilitate such processes, and the role of language professionals" (Phillipson 1997, 238).

The linguistic imperialism hypothesis sustains that English – and other colonial languages – were imposed by force, albeit selectively, on native populations as part of an array of other imperial measures for maintaining and reproducing control, or at least cultural and linguistic hegemony (Phillipson 1992; 1997; see Pennycook 1994; 1998; Schiffman 1996). The opposite position sustains that the characteristics of an international language imply that learning and using the language bears no relationship to cultural assimilation; such a language



becomes denationalized and is no longer the property of its mother tongue speakers (Smith 1987). Here we discover a significant parallelism with Hardt and Neri's (2000) dissociation of global empire from imperialist nation states. Furthermore, "English owes its existence as a world language in large part to the struggle against imperialism, and not to imperialism alone" (Brutt-Griffler 2002, IX). We shall return to this debate once we approach the English Language Empire (section 6). For our more general debate, let us retain for the moment that different views persist about the nature of modern domination – imperialist states versus state-less empire, or even a loftier globalization. In the field of language policy, divergence exists on the role of imperial languages, both in the construction and maintenance of power relations, and in the more linguistic and sociolinguistic concerns of language spread, globalization and the development of world languages. Certainly the question of power relations mediated by language dichotomies, rather than spread itself, will turn out to be an essential common ground to explain the functioning of language empires.

### 3. The Roman Empire: centralized government without massive language spread

At first sight the Roman Empire, the polity that coined the concept until our days, might seem to fulfill the prototypical characteristics of a full-fledged cultural and linguistic empire: a world-embracing polity that extended its realm to the four corners of earth – not only by military force, but also through its superior state organization including the domains of law, politics, culture and language. Different from later empires whose capitals functioned as fairly monolingual centers of linguistic irradiation, Rome was bilingual right from the beginning in a very peculiar way. For six centuries, between the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC and the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD, "the educated Roman was bilingual" (Kahane/Kahane 1979, 183). Apart from nascent Latin, Greek occupied both the space of the dominant cultural and scientific language, and that of the slaves, many other lower class segments and immigrants from the East. The world of Greek, whose territory was never unified, could look down on their

Roman conquerors with condescendence because they represented the language of prestige, philosophy, and higher education. Latin, on the other hand, evolved as the language of the polity – the Senate never accepted Greek, not even when used by foreign representatives –, of law and of the legion (Achard 1988, 1543). During its heydays, Rome reigned over five to six million citizens and some fifty to sixty million subjects without imposing its language to the conquered nations. Similar to the Aztecs in Mesoamerica and the British in India, the Romans governed at the lowest possible cost and limited their intervention to tax collection and the avoidance of revolts. In sum, the Roman Empire no doubt extended Latin as the language of administration and citizenship, of military and legal rule. The image of a linguistic empire, however, where the extension of political power correlates on a one-to-one relationship with the spread of its language, should be differentiated on several grounds. First, Rome as the very center of the empire was bilingual throughout most of the empire's splendor. Second, the Roman Empire did not foster a policy of massive language spread; instead, the emergence of Romance languages and the revival of Latin as a language of power occurred long after the downfall of the Roman Empire, ironically as the result of the anti-Roman new religion of Christianity and in the heart of a Germanic empire. Thus the Roman Empire does not represent the typical case of a central state which extended and imposed its language on the conquered nations.

### 4. The realm of Spanish: from colonial empire to a second tier world language

On the other hand, the Spanish Empire may be seen as the one colonial regime where the extension of domination and the spread of its state language coincided to a large extent, probably more than in any other empire before or afterwards. Today, Spanish is spoken as the official language on the mainland peninsula and in practically all long-lasting former colonies, i.e. in 21 sovereign states. How did Spanish achieve such a solid and massive spread, considering the fact that Spain never reached a level of economic development comparable to other contemporary colonial powers such as Britain and

France? During 1492 three important milestones paved the way for Spain's linguistic empire: Columbus reached the Americas and launched the Conquest – without ever knowing that he had 'discovered' a new continent; the fall of Granada, the last Arab stronghold in Europe, was celebrated as the final triumph after 800 years of *Reconquista* and the consolidation of the Hispanic Kingdom initiated by Castilla and Aragón on the Iberian Peninsula; and finally, Nebrija published the first grammar of the Spanish language, pronouncing the famous and visionary prediction that the Spanish language was and would be the loyal companion of the empire (Quilis quoted in Cifuentes 1998, 117, note 43). Here, at the brink of modernity, we find the first formulation of the modern hypothesis which forcefully links the growth of an empire to the standardization and spread of its imperial language.

In which language(s) should public administration, military rule, and religious conversion proceed in the American colonies to grant optimal conditions for government, exploitation, and the saving of souls? Although both the clergy and the Crown sustained that the language question was subordinate to that of rule and Christianization, the spread of Spanish meant much to a kingdom that had only recently achieved unification of its own state, based on a common religion and the imposition of a national language. The 16<sup>th</sup> century represents the most interesting period of colonization in terms of language policy controversies (Heath 1972; Suárez 1983; Cifuentes 1998). The clergy studied and learned dozens of indigenous languages as never afterwards and wrote hundreds of vocabularies and grammars based on the structure of Latin. After a first impulse to impose Spanish rapidly on the new colonies, King Carlos V reconsidered his linguistic policy in the face of the impossible task it represented. In his 1550 edict he concedes the use of vernacular languages, especially the general languages of the former empires: Nahuatl for Mexico, Quechua for the Andean region and Tupi-Guarani for the central South American area which today is Paraguay. Thus language policy practiced restricted multilingualism; it favored some majority languages and attempted to introduce and stabilize them as general languages, whereas the languages of smaller groups with less prestige and extension were

not considered. Tupi-Guarani in central South America reflects the most successful case of a *lingua geral*, perhaps just *because* it did not represent a former Indian empire like Aztec Nahuatl and Quechua and a new vice royal capital (Barros 1993). The historical roots of Guarani constitute the basis for explaining its stability and singular extension in Paraguay, the only massively bilingual country in the Americas where an urbanized, formerly indigenous language, is spoken by more citizens from all social classes than Spanish is.

It is undoubtedly the project of building homogeneous, monolingual and monocultural *nation states* shaped on the European model that emerges as the single most important political process throughout Latin America in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. After the wars of Independence, the new national bourgeoisies had to overcome the heritage of a disastrous colonial administration, internal violent rivalry between power groups, and the weak constitution of national identities. Whereas at the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century the indigenous population formed a majority in most states (64% in Mexico, Cifuentes/Ros 1993), one hundred years later it had been reduced to tiny minorities in the countries of the southern cone and to less than 20 per cent in Mexico; only in Bolivia, Peru, and Guatemala did the members of Indian peoples still form a majority. The 20<sup>th</sup> century consolidated this tendency of stabilizing Spanish and Portuguese in Latin America and transformed them into international languages (Hamel 2003a; Hamel/Martín Butragueño, article 216); at the same time indigenous languages became more and more threatened throughout the continent to the extent that over 80 per cent of them are considered to be at risk (Maffi 2001). Although legal and military action, as well as economic development, resulted to be key factors for Spanish language spread, the general objective of constructing homogeneous nation states was propelled by two basic strategies of language policy (cf. Albó 1988; 2002; Plaza/Albó 1989) and education for the indigenous peoples (cf. López/Moya 1990; Hamel 1994a; 1994b; 2000). The first and generally dominant strategy considered the assimilation (i. e. dissolution) of indigenous peoples and the suppression of their languages as a prerequisite for building a unified nation state. A second position favored the preservation of indigenous lan-

guages and cultures in this process, without giving up the ultimate aim of uniting nation and state. The first strategy imposed direct Hispanicization (*castellanización*) through submersion programs. Transitional programs reflecting the second strategy applied diverse bilingual methods where the indigenous languages played a subordinate, instrumental role as the languages of instruction and for initial alphabetization. Only since the 1980s have new language policies and programs of intercultural bilingual education geared towards preserving indigenous cultures and languages emerged as the result of vigorous indigenous movements, e. g. the national coalition of indigenous peoples in Ecuador or the Zapatista Army in Mexico. In the course of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Spanish became the national language in Hispanic America and gained independence from the Castilian norm. One country after another set up a Language Academy and arrived at the conclusion that its own variety of Spanish should become the national norm (Cifuentes/Ros 1993). This process consolidated during the 20<sup>th</sup> century. In sum, the development of Spanish language spread – both inside nation states and internationally – reveals a complex pattern in relation to the political development of Spanish-speaking polities. During the vigorous rise and expansion of an empire where the sun never set, Spanish did not consolidate in Spain and made only weak inroads in the newly conquered territories in the Americas, where Spain's language policy oscillated between the imposition of Spanish and tolerance of the indigenous languages during two centuries. Paradoxically, Spanish really started to spread massively in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, when the empire had weakened drastically, and it was during the 19<sup>th</sup> century, *after* independence from Spain, when Spanish became the majority language in most Hispanic American countries. At that time, Spain had lost its economic and political influence in the former colonies; Britain first and the USA later, extended their economic and political power in the region under the banner of modern imperialism, which promoted unilateral free trade, political and sometimes military intervention, and maintained at the same time regimes of formal political independence. The Hispanic American elites kept their cultural orientation towards France and some other European countries; at the same time they

firmly expanded Spanish as the language of national unification (Del Valle/Gabriel-Stheeman 2001). English made no significant inroads whatsoever during this time; even as a foreign language it ranked behind French until the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century in most countries (Hamel 2003a). A loose ensemble of nation states, rather than an empire in its old and new sense, made Spanish the most solidly rooted ex-colonial language in any part of the third world, comparable only to the first circle of early colonization in the British (USA, Canada, Australia, New Zealand) and French (Quebec) Empires (Mar-Molinero 2000; Walter 1994). The appropriation of the colonizer's language that constitutes a contemporary issue in language policy debates in Africa and Asia had already known a predecessor after the Latin American independence movements 150 years earlier.

##### 5. The British Empire and the rise of English

English has been the most expansive language during the past 500 years. "Between the end of the reign of Elisabeth I (1588) and the beginning of the reign of Elisabeth II (1952)" (Crystal 1997, 25), the number of speakers of English increased from five to seven million, most of whom lived in the British Isles, to approximately 250 million, residing in their vast majority outside the British Isles (see figures in Crystal 1997; Graddol 1997; Pennycook 1994). For a long time English language spread developed alongside the expansion of other imperial languages such as Spanish and French. From a certain period onwards, however, English attained unique conditions of development which made this language overtake all other international competitors during the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

The British Empire – similar to the French – developed in three distinct periods with different results. During a first period throughout the Middle Ages English spread over the British Isles to set the stage for becoming the language of the British Empire. The next period started at the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century with settlements in North America and, later on, in Australia and New Zealand. The third period initiated towards the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century with the building of a vast colonial empire, mainly in Africa and Asia. Whereas the first period made English emerge from a subordinate position in a

Norman French vs. English diglossia to become the national language of one of the most powerful European empires (Kahane/Kahane 1979), the second period laid the ground for English world rule through the conquest, massive settlement, and future industrial development of North America. These two periods consolidated English in the seven countries of the inner circle (Kachru 1986), where English became the majority language. Like other language empires, Britain never obtained total linguistic unification in its homeland. The second period implied the most significant phase and area of language spread, but would not easily fall under the narrow definition of *Language Empire* as the imposition of the dominant language on populations with different cultures and languages we set off with (cf. Achard 1988, 1541). Only the third period follows the classical scheme of empire building where colonial rule was imposed on huge numbers of non-European peoples, but no massive settlement took place except for South Africa and Rhodesia.

During the third phase British colonial administration was based on the principle of indirect rule: basically, each group should govern itself according to its own principles and traditions, as long as exploitation and British supremacy were not challenged. Different from the Roman or French Empires, individual citizenship in the empire linking the local elites to colonial government was not set as their highest goal, but instead a concept of local communities that collectively formed a federation in the Empire prevailed. Consequently, indirect rule meant the preservation of traditional forms of government, customary law, language and culture, whose study gave rise to modern anthropology as a discipline of colonialism. Orientalism became a key concept of the British and French handling of the East. Starting in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century, it expressed at the same time a world view that shaped, reinvented and mystified the colonized East from the perspective of a great divide between Occident and Orient; and a “corporate institution for dealing with the Orient – dealing with it by making statements about it, [...] describing it, by teaching it, settling it, ruling over it: In short, Orientalism as a Western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient” (Said 1978, 3).

According to this view, European colonialism construed a vast array of cultural

components including literature (Said 1993) and language into an overall hegemony that constantly reproduced Western superiority as cultural imperialism. Thus Orientalism fulfilled a similar purpose as the concept of *indigenismo* in Latin America which represents both a state institution and “the ensemble of ideas about the Indians in the heads of non-Indians”, to use the Mexican philosopher Luis Villoro’s (1950) definition. Indigenismo, however, was developed by the national bourgeoisies in Latin America who understood themselves as part of Western culture.

As a case in point within this global context, British language policy in India has been the object of detailed studies and controversial debates. Similar to Spanish colonial policy in Latin America, two positions concerning the languages and orientations of education competed with each other in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century: Orientalism versus Anglicism. The first advocated teaching in the local languages, whereas the second proposed English for secondary education. The acceptance by the governor of the now famous Macaulay Doctrine, a minute formulated by a civil servant in 1835, concluded a long-standing debate in favour of English (Phillipson 1992, 110) and is seen as a recognized turning-point in educational policy (Crystal 1997, 42): “It is impossible for us with our limited means to attempt to educate the body of the people. We must at present do our best to form a class who may be interpreters between us and the millions whom we govern – a class of persons Indian in blood and colour, but English in tastes, in opinions, in morals and in intellect” (Macaulay 1835, 249; quoted in Pennycook 1994, 78).

The main purpose behind language policy issues consisted of the British attempt to reduce the costs of government in all her colonies by employing local civil servants for lower posts in administration. For that reason, a small portion of civil servants had to be educated in English, mostly at secondary level. “Anglicism never really replaced Orientalism, but rather operated alongside it” (Pennycook 1994, 77). More important from the point of view of the ideological debate was the fact that Macaulay’s orientation implied a total disregard and despise for Indian ‘dialects’ which he considered absolutely improper to convey scientific knowledge or literary quality: “A single

shelf of a good European library was worth the whole native literature of India and Arabia" (Macaulay op. cit., quoted in Pennycook op. cit., 79). As a matter of fact, English did not spread massively, neither during colonial rule nor after Independence in 1947. Nevertheless, English maintains the complex status of associate official language and is part of the 'three language formula' introduced in 1960 after the failure to establish Hindi as the sole official language based on the Soviet model of language policy (Schiffman 1996); the principal alternative to state languages, English is the *de facto* language of federal administration, most higher education, science, and international relations, although only four to five percent of the population exhibit some mastery of the language (Crystal 1997).

The British language education policy in the colonies contrasts significantly with the same policy developed by its eternal rival, the French Empire. Whereas British colonial rule apparently never fostered massive education in English but preferred vernacular language or bilingual education, the French Empire deployed a policy of imposing its language massively (Calvet 1987; 1994). From the previous analysis of the English language empire we can arrive at some provisional conclusions that will be taken up in the sections 6 to 8. Certainly, the British spread their language. This movement worked very clearly in the first phase on the British Isles, where English became the national language and erased other languages almost completely with the exception of Welsh. The second phase in North America, Australia and New Zealand followed the same pattern observed in the South American countries with scarce and not highly developed indigenous populations. Military conquest, combined with massive immigrant settlement, decimated the native populations and made English the national language. The classical colonial empire building in Africa and Asia from the late 18<sup>th</sup> to the 20<sup>th</sup> century, however, shows a more differentiated picture. As a result of indirect rule without significant settlement, English did not spread massively in most British colonies.

#### 6. English: from colonial empire to the global language

The rise of English has triggered one of the most exciting debates in language policy of

our days. The questions are basically: Why English? How did English develop externally and internally to become the leading world language? Who, if anyone, controls or 'owns' English? Will English continue to hold its position, and how does its role relate to the fate of the other languages of the world? How did English jump from its role as a powerful international, colonial language among a few others to the status of *the* hegemonic world language? Most of the debate on these topics occurs within the Anglo-Saxon world itself. Even prominent academics from outside the Anglo-Saxon language realm are usually not taken into account. Thus, it may be taken as a symptom of English scientific imperialism in itself that most authors – with the exception of Phillipson and Schiffman, among a few others – from English speaking countries and their former colonies who write about the world as a whole do so without quoting a single text from outside English in their vast bibliographies. Around 1900 French still held a mildly leading position as the language of international diplomacy, culture and literature and, consequently, as the first foreign language in many parts of the world. In science three powerful European languages, English, French, and German, maintained a tripartite equilibrium, each of them salient in some scientific domains (Ammon 1991). No research available at that time foresaw that English would rapidly bypass its rivals in the course of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. In his very influential book on "English as a global language", David Crystal (1997) sustains that in 1950 world English was still not an issue. In retrospect, however, it becomes clear that the future of English was deeply rooted in the British pattern of migration-intensive colonization of North America, its process of early industrialization, and the building of its colonial empire in Africa and Asia. When economic and political leadership passed over from Britain to the USA in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, English, together with other components of shared culture, constituted the common bridge between the old and the new empire that set the game and gave English the decisive lead over its competitors. Crystal concludes that English is "a language which has repeatedly found itself in the right place at the right time" (1997, 110). While hardly anyone would question the historical accounts and the hegemonic role of English today, controversy persists

about the reasons, particularly the kind of agency that has brought about this hegemony. Crystal's rather 'naturalistic' interpretation, which converges with those who posit the existence of many Englishes belonging to no one today, is criticised by Phillipson and others who insist on the decisive role of imperialist action in language policy, particularly in the field of education in the colonies and the active spread of English via English Language Teaching (ELT, TESL) promoted by Britain and the USA since the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The spread of English from a colonial language to globalization has been framed by Kachru (1982; 1986), both in its external spread and its internal variation as 'World Englishes'. His model of three concentric circles is widely quoted: the *Inner Circle* comprises the six countries where an old-variety English is used and English has become the majority language through massive migration to the overseas colonies: Britain, Ireland, the USA, Canada, Australia and New Zealand. The *Outer Circle* contains more than 70 states that correspond to the second diaspora (Kachru 1992; Kachru/Nelson 1996), when English was transported without significant migration to the vast territories of Britain's colonial empire, mainly in Africa and Asia. In those countries English has played a major role up to the present as a second and official language in many key institutions of governance and education (Kachru/Nelson 1996). Typical countries are India, Pakistan, Singapore or Nigeria where new varieties of English arose over time through contact with native languages. The *Expanding Circle* includes countries where English plays a variety of roles and is widely studied as a foreign language; these countries were not colonized by any country of the Inner Circle, and English has no official status. This circle, less well defined than the others, comprises countries like China, with more than 200 million English language learning children in 2003 according to Yajun (2003), Japan, Korea, and certainly most if not all European and Latin American countries. Around 2000, estimates gave some 680 million English language speakers for the combined first and second circle, whereas foreign language users may have exceeded 1.5 billion already. Most important, the *Expanding Circle* is growing fast and has outnumbered the speakers in the two other circles already. The relevance of a global lan-

guage can be measured by its Outer and Expanding Circle which indicate its role in international relations, commerce, science and technology. Conversely, the reduction of the third circle denotes shrinking influence of a given international language. Thus, it could be said that Russian and, to a lesser degree, French are surrounded by 'implosion' second and third circles, whereas Spanish is entering a period of expanding its third circle given increasing spread as a foreign language in several continents. Pennycook (1998) complains that the scope of the debate within the Anglo-Saxon world has been reduced to the question of standards and varieties of English; Kachru (e. g. 1982) represents a liberal pluralistic position fostering 'many Englishes', whereas Quirk (1990) defends a more conservative view, stressing the need for common standards that grant intelligibility. Most actors, however, share the view of the spread of English as natural, neutral, and beneficial which is considered to be central to the discourse of English as an international language, especially among the English language teaching profession (Pennycook 1998). Broader issues about the relationship between British or US-American business interests and the promotion of English usually remain hidden behind the smokescreen of actor-less globalization. Most significantly, Kachru, Crystal and others dissociate English from centralized power relations of national imperial states. For Kachru, Asian varieties of English are considered not as a colonial transplant, but part of a local pluralistic linguistic heritage. English language teaching (ELT, TESL) has come to the foreground in this debate on agency. Phillipson (1992) gives a detailed account from inside the 'Company' on the British Council's strategies and activities which, according to his analysis, constitute an imperialist strategy. Since the 1950's the British government assigned a key priority to the teaching of English abroad to support its foreign policy, to strengthen the Commonwealth, and to promote trade relations. At the same time the USA also began to involve an increasing number of government agencies, such as the United States Information Agency and the Agency for International Development in educational planning and ELT in the Third World as part of development aid. Evidence shows quite clearly how both countries integrated their general economic, political and military

interests and language spread policies to maintain and advance imperial control in vast areas of the world. The language teaching centres have intended to control ELT, Britain's second largest export business, based on a number of tenets that establish a hierarchy of programmes which favour the native speakers of English and their countries: English is best taught monolingually, with the same methodology and textbooks worldwide, preferably by native speakers and as early as possible; and the teaching of other second languages obstructs the acquisition of English (Pennycook 1994; Philipson 2002). Many of these tenets have proven to be fallacies, conflicting with research findings on second language acquisition and bilingual education (Cummins 2000; Skutnabb-Kangas 2000). Brutt-Griffler (2002) criticises that current conceptual frameworks of second language acquisition and ELT are inadequate to cope with the extremely diverse cultural contexts and conditions of acquiring such a diverse world language as English.

In sum, the leap of English from a colonial language, among others, to become *the* hegemonic world language implies a number of complex processes. To affirm that "English was in the right place at the right time" (Crystal 1997, 110) is certainly too simple to explain this phenomenon. From the point of view of empire building, agency seems to be the most significant, and at the same time, controversial aspect to answer de Swaan's (1993) fundamental question to what extent linguistic constellations develop with certain independence from the economic, political and cultural processes that might have brought them about.

#### 7. Resistance against English hegemony: English only or language pluralism?

The dynamics of the world language system and the increasing hegemony of English have been discussed from a number of diverse perspectives beyond the rather ethnocentric Anglo-Saxon debate reported before. Not surprisingly, from outside the English language empire, the unprecedented power accumulated by the global language is increasingly perceived as a menace. For many, English and its armies have been – and still are very much – in the wrong place at the

wrong time. English language globalization, whether identified as linguistic imperialism or not, is perceived as a threat to the survival and the historical spaces of other languages. Many scholars interested in discovering some underlying rules of power and hierarchy attached to language dynamics that could explain their status and future role, are involved in exploring the possibilities of counteracting English dominance.

Whereas only a few scholars have voiced the fear that English may displace and make robust languages such as German (Dieter et al. 2001) or Portuguese (Faraco 2001) disappear altogether, the inroads of English into specific discourse spheres in national and international fields are being taken more seriously. Although welcomed by many supporters for globalization, the advancement of English in trade, international relations, the media, cinematography, popular music, military, education and science is perceived as a threat by many. Studies and complaints about the increasing hegemony of English in international organizations (Born/Schütte 1995; Labrie 1993), protests by Francophone countries (Calvet 2002), the devastating effects of unequal free trade for national cultural industries like motion pictures in France and Quebec or Latin American popular music controlled increasingly by US companies – all these processes express the inextricable relations between culture, identity, language and power. In science, the shift to English and the new functional reduction of other once powerful languages is monitored in careful studies (Ammon 1991; 1998; Ammon/McConnell 2002). Serious critique warns that scientific monolingualism might not only deepen the existing inequalities in access and diffusion of scientific findings, but also threaten scientific creativity and conceptual diversity itself as a basis for scientific development as such (Durand 2001; Hamel 2003b).

In all these cases, English is not imposed on – or acquired by – vast populations as a language for everyday communication, but as a functionally defined language for specific purposes that increases control of English – and of those who control English – in strategic domains of a globalized world. Opposition is voiced in many cases, not so much against the leading role of English, but against the thread of an imminent passage from a strong hegemony to monopoly, from a plurilingual paradigm of diversity that ad-

mits language conflict to a monolingual paradigm of English only. Let me select two positions – quite different in nature and social representation – from a number of diverse voices that oppose the dominance of English. Both share the view that English is a menace to the languages their spokespersons claim to defend. They differ, however, in their analysis of remedy and strategies for action. The first position is identified with the international NGO *Terralingua*, devoted to the preservation of the world's linguistic diversity (Harmon 1996; Maffi 2001; Skutnabb-Kangas 2000; see also Hagège 2000). In line with the warning launched by Hale (1992), Krauss (1992) and others regarding the possible death of ninety per cent of the languages of the world by the end of the XXI century as a result of linguistic globalization, they are champions of an unlimited defence of all languages of the world, arguing that the disappearance of any single language constitutes an irreparable loss of global linguistic treasures. Given the high correlation between countries with biological and linguistic mega diversity, biological and linguistic diversity are seen as interrelated in multiple ways and constitute a unified principle of ecological diversity that needs to be preserved (Maffi 2001). Threatened or endangered minority languages store indigenous knowledge about how to maintain vulnerable biological environments and to produce food in sustainable ways. To help maintain minority languages, the fundamental linguistic rights of all citizens of the world to be educated, and to have access to other public services in their own language need to be defended. To achieve this goal, writing systems and literacy should be developed in every language (Skutnabb-Kangas/Phillipson 1994; Skutnabb-Kangas 2000). Multilingualism is not only considered to be an ecological necessity, but also an individual and collective asset for professional development. As a counter strategy *Terralingua* suggests intensive survival, preservation, revitalization and literacy programmes for endangered languages.

Quite a different perspective, which might be framed as the “strong national language position”, stems from representatives of those international languages that have been most affected by English. The French sociolinguist Louis-Jean Calvet (1999; 2002) sustains that the main contradiction is not between English and threatened minority

languages, but between English and all other international languages. He points to the risks involved in strengthening local languages to the detriment of national and supranational languages. Calvet adopts central elements from de Swaan's (1993) galaxy model of the world language system which establishes a hierarchy of four language types and three linguistic functions to which all people ought to be entitled. In Calvet's (1999) version English is the *hyper central* language in this model, followed by a limited number of *super central* languages (e.g. French as the official language of Francophone Africa), others which he calls *central*, such as national languages and regional *linguas francas*; finally, the fourth group is composed of *peripheral* languages (first or vernacular languages). The relationship is gravitational because all the languages of a lower level gravitate around a language on the higher level. The three designated functions (official, vehicular and first), which correspond to linguistic rights, may materialize for individuals in the form of one, two or three languages, according to each case. Calvet (2002) accuses what he calls the “politically correct language discourse” sustained by minority language defenders, of establishing taboos which impede an open discussion as to whether all languages are equal in the real world and whether mother tongue literacy and education is beneficial for all. For Calvet, not everybody should be entitled, nor is it necessarily an advantage for every person, to be educated in their first language, since the introduction of literacy in illiterate cultures often upsets the pre-existing ecological balance. The reduction of a vernacular language to writing may accelerate its displacement and shift (see Melià 1995 and Mühlhäusler 1996 on this issue). Calvet's main argument is that the spread of English imperialism can not only co-exist with lesser used languages, but can actually benefit from the process of minority language revitalization, since the strengthening of local languages weakens national and super central languages, which are often an obstacle for the spread of English. In the case of Europe, the emergence of national languages such as Catalan, Basque and Galician in Spain is seen as a contributing factor to the weakening of Spanish. The transformation of the European Union, from its present status as a community of national states into a federation of regional



nationalities, would mean that English inevitably became the only language of communication among them, thus destroying the principle of present-day multilingual communication in its official bodies. From the perspective of de Swaan's and Calvet's gravitational model, then, the gravitation of vertical bilingualism is so strong that most speakers opt for a higher ranking language as a second language and abandon the option of horizontal bilingualism. Many speakers of vernacular or central languages even decide to skip the next step and go straight to English, the hyper central language (Leáñez Aristimuño 2002), as can be observed among Swiss Germans and French who increasingly prefer to learn and communicate among each other in English instead of learning the other official language of their country. According to this analysis shared by many national language defenders in Europe and elsewhere, language globalization today means above all the attempt to reduce the *super central languages* like French, Spanish, Portuguese, Chinese, and others to *central languages* in order to stop them from competing with English in the strategic arenas of international relations, trade, science and the technologies of the future. Candidates for significant barriers against a total English monopoly are the 'big' international languages or regional blocs that can exist without English or where other strong languages counterbalance its influence (see Hamel 2003a for the development of this argument). Certainly one of the most important barriers today is or could be the European Union. Its traditional policy of plurilingualism is at risk, however, given its extension from 15 to 25 member states in 2003 (Phillipson 2002; Skutnabb-Kangas/Phillipson 2003). Another candidate, although representing much less centrality and power, is Mercosur, the Common Market of the Southern Cone established in 1991 among Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay and Uruguay and which is about to include other countries in the area. There, the South America leaders and historical rivals, Argentina and Brazil, who at the same time represent two vital super central world languages, Spanish and Portuguese, have broken down their traditional linguistic antagonism and have started a process of regional integration based on these two languages, leaving English outside (Hamel 2003a).

How do these debates relate to language empires? No doubt central questions about the relation between empire and language spread, agency, resistance and appropriation are at stake. The dispute between divergent strategies to resist the increasing hegemony of English reveals different concepts of plurilingualism and different priorities to defend. Certainly Skutnabb-Kangas' (2000) claim that English is the 'killer language' of threatened languages worldwide seems difficult to sustain outside Anglophone countries of the inner and outer circle, where languages at risk face the dominance of the local national or regional languages. On the contrary, as Calvet (2002) would argue along with Crystal (1997), the pressure of English against national languages has opened and increased the spaces for minority languages to survive and grow. On the other hand, many may disagree with Calvet's (2002) claim that vernacular languages should be subordinate to the strategic interests of strong national – central and super central – languages and not be extended to prestige domains like education. The debates about the strategies to counter linguistic globalization (or rather US-Americanization), which in part line up with the international anti-globalization movement, seem to indicate that not language spread *per se* may be most relevant for either empire or imperialist agency, but language hierarchization and English superiority established both in usage and language ideologies in strategic areas of national and international conflict. We will pursue this debate in the next section.

## 8. Perspectives on Language Empires

The world language system (de Swaan 1993; 2001) and the future of threatened languages (Maffi 2001), English as a global language (Crystal 1997), geolinguistic dynamics (Maurais 2003), the fate of languages (Mackey 2003), an ecology of the languages of the world (Calvet 1999), the linguistic market and the linguistic effects of 'mondialization' (Calvet 2002) are but a few of the most common concepts and metaphors used to describe the recent processes of language spread and shift, and of the changing power relations between ethno-linguistic groups and their communicative practices. The question arises, then, whether *Language Empire* or *Imperialism* could be

considered to be useful scientific concepts, and to what extent they contribute to explain the broader sociolinguistic questions about the relationship between the linguistic and the social, the degree of determination or autonomy of linguistic processes, and the explanatory potential that could be derived from them. I will take up these questions in the light of our initial hypotheses and the exploration of various language empires along the text. The Roman Empire created the concept itself, but it was never a monolingual center and did not develop a policy of massive spread of Latin. Its linguistic legacy, however, was perpetuated in a twofold fashion. First, the real language spoken by the colonizers, Vulgar Latin, did spread and lay the groundwork for one of the most consistent and vital language heritage empires known in history, the empire of the Romance languages (Bochmann 1993). Second, the spiritual projection through literature, religion, and the most efficient writing system ever developed in history, revived Latin as the unifying language of the European Middle Ages and made it survive as the language of prestige in religion and science until long after the Middle Ages had given way to modernity. Therefore, the ideological power of the Roman Empire, expressed equally through other fields of knowledge like medicine and law, whose conceptual frameworks maintain their relevance until our present times, did certainly have a tremendous linguistic impact if we overcome a narrow view of language as linguistic structure and extend our exploration to the realm of discourse and ideology. The Spanish Empire may be seen as the one that fits most clearly the narrow definition that any central power will tend to impose its own language. The massive spread of Spanish took place, but in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century, when Spain was already declining as an empire. It grew more vigorously with the rise of the new national states in Latin America, since the emergent bourgeoisies adopted the Spanish language as one of their central instruments of national unification. Thus, the real language empire expanded based on the policy of a contiguous ensemble of national states, rather than a colonial empire. The strategic weakness of Spanish as a potential world language today is rooted in its colonial past. Given its internal political and economic structure, Spain was unable to invest the immense flow of capital drawn from

its colonies in its homeland. Instead it transferred this wealth to the more developed regions of Europe in the Netherlands, France, England and Germany in exchange for manufactured commodities and consumer goods. Different from the British and the French, the Spanish and the Portuguese empires never achieved economic development and industrialization that could have taken place given the enormous concentration of capital from their colonies. Today, the fact that none of the Spanish speaking countries managed to enter the first circle of industrialized countries constitutes the main weakness of Spanish as an international language. This becomes evident in its frail position in industry, science and technology, where it ranks far behind French, German and Japanese. At the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, only 0.5% of the articles in natural sciences and 3.5% in the social sciences and humanities in international scientific journals were published in Spanish (Hamel 2003b). Here we find some strategic components to define the nature of an imperial language of our times. The development of the Anglo-Saxon empire exhibits a policy of massive language spread in its first and second phases – in the British Isles and the rest of the Inner Circle – but not in phase three. When the British colonial empire reached its peak between the 18<sup>th</sup> and the 20<sup>th</sup> century, language spread policy operated in a rather selective way in education, or was simply inefficient. Both English language spread policy propelled by the leading Anglo-Saxon countries and macro-acquisition in Africa and Asia contributed to making English the leading hegemonic language. In phase four, with the USA taking over from Britain, language spread really operated in its expanding circle, which does not cover massive spread of English as a general language, but as a language for specific purposes in strategic and clearly hierarchically structured areas of language use, discourse and ideology. Again we learn that language imperialism is not about mechanical language spread. The decisive process implies power relations that establish language hierarchies and qualitative spread of a dominant language, combined with the construction of specific hegemonic discourses such as *Orientalism* that contribute to describe, shape, restructure and have authority over the colonies or dominated countries. Ma-caulay's Doctrine in 19<sup>th</sup> century India is ex-

tensively quoted in the literature not so much because of *what* it proposed, but because of *how* it was worded, i. e. its explicit ideological formulations. As a matter of fact, the Doctrine turned out to be much more efficient as a piece of colonialist language policy with ethnist implications which denied the native languages any capacity of expressing science and literature, than because of the admittedly limited result on turning education over to English. The effectiveness of such a colonialist and imperialist policy can be measured precisely by the reaction of the local elites who pushed for English education which is too easily interpreted as agency fostering the appropriation of English as a tool of resistance (Brutt-Griffler 2002), as if all this had happened outside the imperialist field of gravitation. For English language imperialism to function in India it was not so relevant that only four or five per cent of its population spoke English as a second language, certainly a lower percentage than in Scandinavia, Germany or Argentina, but rather, that the interplay of agency from the colonial and later imperialist powers and that of the Indian elite perpetuated an imperialist hierarchization of all languages spoken in the country which made English the only indispensable language after the Hindi language policy experiment had failed (see Khubchandani 1997 and Pattanayak 1991 for a debate). Furthermore, it carved the Indian elite (as well as others in Africa) as an English-only intelligentsia who had to operate monolingually in the international arena – certainly with a number of exceptions. As a matter of fact, it made these elites and many others prisoners of English dependent on its culture, ideology, and knowledge as the only known and accessible reference within the Western world and cut them off from learning other international languages like French, German or Spanish, and from having access to their cultures, ideologies, literatures, political science and technologies as alternative orientations during most of the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century. The same, of course, happened and is still happening with the French Empire and today's Francophonie (Chaudenson 1991): their neo-colonial elites have been trained to become French-only professionals or intellectuals, and the increasing rebellion in the Francophonie against such a monolingual and monocultural policy which reproduces dependency

from the one imperial center only confirms its existence.

*Agency* seems to occupy a central space in the debates about geolinguistic dynamics and linguistic imperialism. Most analysts converge in recognizing two types of agency, i. e. forces that induce the functional diffusion of the language: 1. language spread policies propelled by empires to impose their language on other populations, sustained by ideological constructs that establish the superiority of their own model based on religion, political regime, the language and culture, the writing system, science and technology among other components; and 2. the dynamics, initiatives or demands expressed and developed by groups and peoples in the subordinate territories who wish to gain access to citizenship, power, elite status, professional advancement or other commodities through the acquisition of the imperial language. Some authors observe an evolution from imperialist action in the past to the agency of appropriation in our times to underpin the supposedly *post*-imperial character of English language spread today (Fishmann/Conrad/Rubal-Lopez 1996). According to most authors, then, imperialism covers the first case of agency but not the second. In sum, it seems that no ideal language empire ever existed that would fit a narrow definition as a polity with a monolingual center and a homogenous, systematic and permanent language spread policy. Should we therefore dismiss the hypothesis of language empires and imperialism as an explanatory concept altogether? Certainly not. Rather, many other language dynamics beyond spread (macro-acquisition, functional and political dominance) also function as mechanisms of imperial control over subaltern populations or countries. Our previous analysis indicates that language empires and imperialism exist but function in much more sophisticated ways than through mechanical language spread. Brutt-Griffler's (2002) extensive critique of Phillipson's language imperialism thesis claims that, to be acknowledged as imperialism, the British colonial policy would have had to be based on a homogeneous model of sustained language spread, applied everywhere in the empire in the same manner. In my view, this critique misses the central point of what language imperialism is about. It was exactly the policy of restricted access to English through vernacular language teaching at the

bottom and elite English education at the top which constituted part and parcel of a colonialist and imperialist language policy. Thus, both the French imperial policy of radically imposing their language until today and the British policy of hierarchically defined native language education constitute different ways of reproducing dominant power relations via language policy. That is precisely what is meant by Phillipson's definition of linguistic imperialism as the imposition of power relations mediated by language dichotomies that create a hierarchization of languages (1997, 238). Tentatively, we could sketch this process as *qualitative* language spread which establishes a hierarchy of discourse functions and ideologies with the imperial language at the top.

From Gramsci's concept of hegemony to the neo-Gramscian Italian debate on subalternity or Hard and Neri's Empire, modern theories of empire and imperialism extend their analysis of the active forces sustaining and perpetuating unequal international power relations far beyond overt institutional policies or visible agency. Or, to evoke a convergent perspective that goes even further, Bourdieu (1980) upheld the argument that we have to acknowledge the existence of "strategies without strategic calculus" in the observable social action in order to explain causal relationships without having to resort to theories of conspiracy and big brother's permanent control. A second argument is that the dominated classes participate actively in the reproduction of domination (Bourdieu 1979; 1980). Therefore, it makes much sense to understand empire and imperialism as part and parcel, as source and outcome of both active imperial language policy *and* equally active macro or not so macro acquisition deployed by local elites to gain access to some valued commodity. Already in the 19<sup>th</sup> century Marx had identified very clearly the role of the "Kompradoren-Bourgeoisie" in the colonies and dependent countries, the local bourgeois elites that were bought off by colonial power and facilitated the development of colonialism and imperialism. With neoliberal globalization, these elites play an even more active role in dissolving sovereignty and their nation states than ever before. Certainly, the role of local elites using the colonial languages in the process of decolonization and liberation could and should not be

denied, from Mahatma Ghandi and Franz Fanon to more recent processes. In the same vein, indigenous movements in most Latin American countries have to use Spanish (or Portuguese in Brazil) for their inter-ethnic and external relations because, similar to most former colonies in Africa and India, they do not share any indigenous language as commonly accepted *lingua franca*. How could we acknowledge these processes and distinguish among divergent types of agency? Bonfil's (1988) well-known anthropological theory of cultural control might help to clarify these processes. In his detailed analysis of Spanish colonization in Latin America Bonfil identifies key components of political, cultural and religious organization that were imposed on the indigenous peoples right at the beginning of colonization during the 16<sup>th</sup> century. These peoples incorporated them into their culture to a degree that today they constitute core values of internal and external identification as ethnic communities, whereas other non-indigenous peasant communities have abandoned these cultural practices already. Bonfil criticizes purist and historicist positions within the anthropological debate that are not prepared to recognize components of indigenous culture as authentically indigenous if they were 'imported' from outside. He argues that the relevant question is not origin, but control, incorporation and identification, given the fact that in modern social theory a culture is understood as a changing relationship rather than a static and essentialist collection of fixed features. Thus, indigenous peoples in the Americas, from the Apaches in the north to the Mapuches in the south, appropriated the European horse and incorporated it into their culture to the extent that the new component acquired central relevance in their lives and triggered fundamental changes in their economic, military and cultural organization. Conversely, the New World potato found its way into several European nations and gained such a fundamental role in their nutritional culture that they – e. g. the Germans, Dutch or Irish – depended almost entirely on it for their survival in past centuries, and are identified as 'Kartoffelfresser' (potato eaters) by their neighbors to date. Cultural components fall into one out of four categories: of internal origin and internal control (their own language, hopefully, and its knowledge base; certain rituals of their own

religion); of internal origin and external control (folklorized and commoditized indigenous artefacts produced and sold as souvenirs, and practices like dances performed for tourists); of external origin but internally controlled (the horse; in rare cases, the writing systems of their own languages; in principle, the appropriated dominant language); of external origin and externally controlled (most school systems for indigenous populations). Again, the central category to define the role of a cultural component for ethnic identity and power is control, not origin. Certainly, the most important aspect in the case of languages is, too, control, not origin. As we have seen along our explorations, a strong choir of voices, sounding mainly from the centers of English imperial power, sustains that English has given up its role as an imperialist tool and is now more and more controlled by those who have appropriated and adopted the language from its original owners, or is no longer controlled by anyone. Many Englishes have sprung up like mushrooms that belong to no one and therefore to everyone. More and more people, groups, companies and states become involved in the globalized world economy and 'choose' to do business in English. And no doubt the intervention of non-native speakers in the shaping and development of the corpus and structure of a shared language, e. g. in politics, science or business, has never been as far-reaching as with English today since the common use of Latin. But then Latin was a dead language – nobody's mother tongue. The debate between those who foster diversity of many Englishes and those who insist on the need for common norms – a debate that Pennycook (1994; 1998) considers limited to almost technical details – might be re-analyzed in the light of a struggle about control of the language. The main Anglo-Saxon actors in this debate share the view that English should continue to rule the waves – electronic and others –, and only few from the inner circle defend a plurilingual model and the necessity to prevent world wide monolingualism in international communication (e. g. Phillipson 2002; cf. articles 226 and 231). English continues to be one common language despite a range of variation which meets its functional limits when communication is at risk. Had English reached the stage of Arabic diversification it would no longer be useful for its prime international

functions. The same certainly applies to other international languages such as French or Spanish, and polycentric normalization raises no obstacle for the empire or imperialism to function. English in its written form continues to maintain its norms, and all oral language use for international communication remains subject to centripetal dynamics of norm-keeping to build up the World Standard Spoken English that Crystal (1997) envisages. Therefore, processes related to the establishment, preservation and control over norms should be analyzed from the perspective of the agency that maintains control. At least two kinds of interlocking mechanisms can be identified as the guardians of normative control: the language teaching industries including research and teacher training; and international organizations, institutions, scientific bodies, business corporations of all kinds, broadcasting and cultural industries where Anglo-Saxon countries and their representatives play a leading role. Therefore, we can identify a number of overt and covert actors and the power of combined agency behind the dynamics of vertical bilingualism: the gravitational forces working in favor of English as the hyper central language; the attraction of US economy, technology, and the American way of life as an overall hegemony which constantly reproduces Western superiority as cultural imperialism (Said 1993).

Here we find some key components of strategic relevance to define the nature of an imperial language. It is neither the number of speakers, nor the number of countries, nor the density of its population that makes the difference. Rather, we have to consider economic power, military strength, the ranking in scientific and technological development, the role in international organizations and the cultural industries of those countries and international corporations that back a given language and are determined to operate through it in order to establish the real power and ranking of a language as international, worldly (Pennycook 1994), global (Crystal 1997) or imperialist (Phillipson 1992). Certainly agency is relevant, but we will have to extend our view of agency in two interlocked ways: first, we have to include all activities propelled by a given habitus, in Bourdieu's sense, not only planned and conscious action. And second, we need to consider the agency of all those who from subaltern positions and a second language

status help to strengthen the dominant role of a language which in turn contributes to maintain and increase imperial and imperialist power relations. For Hardt and Neri's (2000, 347) conception of empire, communication and languages play a central role for imperial control, while at the same time "languages become functional to circulation and dissolve every sovereign relationship." However, as we have seen along the lines of our debate on modern power relations mediated by languages, the forces that maintain control over English are clearly rooted in specific territories of a small number of sovereign states some of which could be identified as imperialist states, provided we refine our definitions of imperialism. There is enough evidence that the main difference between an imperialist language and other languages or dialects still is that the first is backed by a powerful army, controlled by a specific nation state, whereas the others are not.

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## 228. Spracherhaltung, Sprachverfall, Sprachtod

### Language Maintenance, Language Decline and Language Death

1. Einleitung
2. Sprachverfall und Sprachzerfall vs. Spracherhaltung
3. Sprachverschiebung vs. Spracherhaltung im Sprachgebrauch
4. Gesellschaftlicher Entwicklungsrahmen: Soziolinguistische Ansätze
5. Soziopolitische Ansätze
6. Sozioökonomische Ansätze
7. Soziokulturelle Ansätze
8. Soziopsychologische Ansätze
9. Schlussbemerkung
10. Literatur (in Auswahl)

#### 1. Einleitung

1.1. Die wissenschaftliche Beschäftigung mit dem Phänomen des 'Sprachtods', die systematisch erst seit den 70er Jahren stattfindet, hat gerade mit der Jahrtausendwende wieder größeres Interesse geweckt, und da geschätzt wird, dass in den letzten 500 Jahren die Hälfte der existierenden Sprachen ausgestorben ist (Brenzinger 1997, 273), wird im eben begonnenen Jahrhundert mit einem weiteren drastischen Rückgang der Sprachen der Welt gerechnet: Krauss (1992) spricht von 20–50% der Sprachen, die ernsthaft bedroht sind und in den nächsten hundert Jahren verschwinden werden, und davon, dass letztlich nur 10% der heutigen

Sprachen 'überleben' werden (vgl. auch Sasse 1992a, 7; Grenoble/Whaley 1998a, viii). Obwohl eine konsistente Theorie des Sprachtods nach wie vor fehlt, gab es in den letzten 15 Jahren eine Reihe von Sammelpublikationen, die den Stand der Forschung dokumentierten (Dorian 1989; Brenzinger 1992; Fase/Jaspaert/Kroon 1992; Grenoble/Whaley 1998a) sowie Versuche einer Theoriebildung (Sasse 1992a) bzw. systematischen Erfassung der die Sprachverdrängungsprozesse beeinflussenden Faktoren (Edwards 1992; Grenoble/Whaley 1998b). Dabei gerieten im letzten Jahrzehnt zunehmend auch Fragen der sprachlichen Menschenrechte in den Vordergrund (Skutnabb-Kangas/Phillipson 1995; Skutnabb-Kangas 1997; IJSL 127; Hornberger 1997) und die Frage, wie Sprachwechselprozessen entgegengewirkt werden kann und welche Rolle bzw. Verantwortung Linguisten in derartigen Prozessen haben (Grenoble/Whaley 1998a; Fishman 1993; Hale 1998; Crystal 2000; Hagège 2000).

1.2. Von *Spracherhaltung* oder *Sprachbewahrung* (engl. *language maintenance*) spricht man sinnvollerweise nur dann, wenn der Fortbestand einer Sprache durch eine andere Sprache bzw. genauer durch Sprecher einer oder mehrerer anderer Sprachen bedroht ist. Selten erfolgt der Untergang einer



Sprache in Form von Völkermord (Genozid); so verschwanden etwa das Tasmanische oder die kalifornische Indianersprache Yahi, ohne dass die Gruppe der letzten Sprecher zweisprachig, d. h. des ihre Muttersprache verdrängenden Englisch mächtig gewesen wären (vgl. Swadesh 1948, 266 ff; Dorian 1981, 114; Leap 1981, 134 f; Hagège 2000, 127 ff). Gewöhnlich müssen wir von Situationen des Bi/Multilinguismus bzw. der Di/Polyglossie (vgl. Art. 15; 145) ausgehen, in denen Muster der *Sprachwahl* (engl. *language choice*) feststellbar sind. Wenn sich diese Muster der Wahl mehrerer Sprachen diachron zugunsten einer (dominanten) Sprache und zuungunsten einer (rezessiven) Sprache verändern, sprechen wir von *Sprachverschiebung/Sprachverlagerung/Sprachumstellung* (engl. *language shift*), im Anfangsstadium auch von *ersetzender Zweisprachigkeit*. Eine vollständige *Sprachverschiebung* (engl. *language reldisplacement*), die keine Sprecher der rezessiven Sprache mehr übrig lässt, kann als *Spracheratz* oder *Sprachuntergang* bzw. 'Sprachtod' bezeichnet werden, hingegen eine Unterbrechung oder Umkehrung des diachronen Vorgangs der Sprachverschiebung als *Spracherhaltung* (vgl. Enninger/Wandt 1981). An der biologischen Metapher des 'Sprachtods' wurde wiederholt Kritik geäußert (Sprache sei ein historisch-gesellschaftliches Phänomen und nicht ein Organismus; vgl. Huss 1999, 17 f; auch Rindler-Schjerve 2002), der Terminus hat sich aber durchgesetzt, sodass er hier beibehalten wird. Parallel dazu spricht man von *Sprachfreitod* (*language suicide*) oder *Sprachmord* (*language murder*, Aitchison 1991; Denison 1977; Calvet 1974).

Campbell/Muntzel (1989, 182 ff) unterscheiden vier unterschiedliche Formen von Sprachtod: 'Sudden Death', hervorgerufen z. B. durch Genozid; 'Radical Death', bei dem die Sprecher aufgrund extremer politischer Repression die Sprache sozusagen als Akt der Selbstverteidigung aufgeben; 'Gradual Death' – der graduelle Übergang zu einer dominanten Sprache in Sprachkontaktsituationen – und 'Bottom-to-top-Death', bei dem die Sprache zuerst in familiären Kontexten aufgegeben wird und in gehobeneren, z. B. rituellen Kontexten bewahrt wird. Letztlich können alle Formen als Varianten des prototypischen Falls des 'gradual shift' interpretiert werden (Sasse 1992a, 22).

Nicht unumstritten ist die Frage, ab wann man von Sprachtod sprechen kann: Stirbt

eine Sprache mit dem physischen Tod ihres letzten Sprechers, also ist z. B. Manx etwa 1974 mit dem Tod von Ned Maddrell 'gestorben' (Broderick 1999), das Kornische 1777 mit dem Tod von Dolly Pentreath (Baker/Prys Jones 1998, 161), oder ist der Schlusspunkt schon dann erreicht, wenn die regelmäßige Kommunikation in der rezessiven Sprache in einer Sprachgemeinschaft aufhört (Sasse 1992a, 17 f)?

1.3. Dem Sprachtod geht also eine Phase voraus, in der alle Angehörigen der betreffenden Sprachgemeinschaft zwei- oder mehrsprachig sind; stabiler Bi/Multilinguismus herrscht bei Spracherhaltung, während instabiler Bi/Multilinguismus zu Sprachtod führen kann. Sprachverschiebung/-tod/-erhaltung betreffen über die reinen Sprachkompetenzen hinaus die kommunikative Kompetenz einer Sprachgemeinschaft.

1.4. Sprachtod via Sprachverschiebung tritt nur bei Minderheitensprachen bzw. sprachlichen Minderheiten ein (vgl. Art. 147), seien es demographische (zahlenmäßige) oder funktionelle Minderheiten. Bedroht sind daher besonders sehr kleine und schwache Sprachgemeinschaften (vgl. Art. 148). Brenzinger (1997, 277 ff) allerdings unterscheidet Sprachtodsituationen nach den soziopolitischen Kontexten, in denen die Sprachverdrängungsphänomene stattfinden, und unterscheidet drei Settings: regionale, imperiale und globale Settings, wobei der Großteil der bekannten Sprachwechsel in imperialen Kontexten stattgefunden habe, die durch physischen Druck auf Sprachminderheiten und deren physische Vernichtung gekennzeichnet sind (z. B. die Entwicklung in den letzten Jahrhunderten in Südafrika, Südamerika, Australien). Globale Settings sind gekennzeichnet durch sozialen und v. a. ökonomischen Druck, mit dem die weltweite Vorherrschaft von ein paar wenigen Sprachen durchgesetzt wird (vgl. auch Hagège 2000, 93 ff)

1.5. Gemäß dem Titel dieses Artikels werden folgende verwandte Phänomene nicht behandelt: 1) Untergang von Dialekten, inklusive dachloser Außendialekte (vgl. Art. 151), trotz der großen Parallelen; 2) Untergang von Pidginsprachen (vgl. Art. 24; 86; 135), da es sich bei diesen um keine Voll- und Muttersprachen handelt; 3) individueller Sprachverlust, z. B. Aufgabe der Erstsprache durch einzelne Immigranten; 4) nur am Rand mitbehandeln wollen wir den Untergang einer Sprache als Minderheitsspra-

che in einem Land, während sie in einem anderen Land (z.B. als Nationalsprache) weiterverwendet wird.

1.6. Wohl von *toten Sprachen*, aber nicht von *Sprachtod* redet man, wenn eine Sprache in kontinuierlicher Entwicklung durch eine oder mehrere Tochtersprachen abgelöst wird und dabei eine Verschiebung von einer Standardsprache (z.B. Latein) zur anderen (z.B. Französisch) stattfindet.

1.7. Während einer Sprachverschiebung weisen rezessive Sprachen Erscheinungen auf, die von aktiven 'Spracherhaltern' bzw. Puristen als *Sprachverfall* bezeichnet werden, z.B. die starke Beeinflussung anderer Sprachen durch das Englische insbesondere im lexikalischen Bereich (vgl. das *franglais* oder *Denglisch*). Während derartige Entwicklungen durch Maßnahmen der Sprachplanung bzw. Sprachpolitik beeinflussbar sind, scheint es irreversible Phänomene zu geben, die notwendigerweise zum Sprachtod führen. Sie können nur durch Sprachwiederbelebung (vgl. Art. 245) rückgängig gemacht werden.

1.8. Unter irreversibel verstehen wir neben historischen Entwicklungen, die zum Sprachtod führten, solche, die zu einem nahe bevorstehenden Untergang einer Minderheitssprache zu führen scheinen, in beiden Fällen trotz allfälliger Spracherhaltungsbestrebungen. Die Voraussage eines bevorstehenden Sprachtodes erfolgt gewöhnlich eher aus induktiven Verallgemeinerungen (z.B. Williamson/van Eerde 1980; Cooper 1982a; Durkacz 1983; Vries 1984).

Der elaborierteste Ansatz einer Theoriebildung bzw. der Modellierung von Sprachtodphänomenen findet sich bei Sasse (1992a), der als Grundlage seines Gälisch-Arvanitischen Modells die besonders gut erforschten empirischen Befunde zum Gälischen bzw. Albanischen (in Griechenland) nimmt. Er unterscheidet drei Ebenen der Analyse: die außersprachlichen Faktoren (external setting); das Sprachverhalten (speech behaviour) und die strukturellen Konsequenzen, die sich im Falle von Sprachtod feststellen lassen. Alle drei Ebenen müssen bei der Analyse von Sprachtodphänomenen berücksichtigt werden, es muss also ein kombinierter historischer, soziolinguistischer und struktureller Zugang gewählt werden, wobei das Verhältnis zwischen den drei Ebenen als Implikationskette charakterisiert wird: Externe Phänomene führen zu einem bestimmten Sprachverhalten, was

wiederum zu bestimmten strukturellen Konsequenzen im sprachstrukturellen Bereich führt (Sasse 1992a, 9 ff, 19). Ein anderer systematischer Zugang ist eine Typologie von Sprachgefährdungssituationen, in der versucht wird, die Faktorenkomplexion der in Sprachverdrängungsprozessen intervenierenden Variablen in den Griff zu bekommen. Edwards (1992) erstellt in seiner Typologie von Sprachminderheitensituationen eine Variablenmatrix, die auf der einen Seite elf Bereiche zur Charakterisierung menschlicher Gesellschaften enthält (Demographie, Soziologie, Linguistik, Psychologie, Geschichte, Politik/ Gesetz/ Regierung, Geographie, Erziehung, Religion, Wirtschaft, Medien), auf der anderen Seite die Variablen Sprecher, Sprache und Setting. So ergibt sich eine Matrix von 33 Zellen, von denen jede einen spezifischen Aspekt der Analyse von Sprachminderheitensituationen erfasst. Grenoble/Whaley (1998b) schlagen eine Erweiterung dieses Modells in drei Punkten vor: erstens sollte Literalität (literacy) als besonders wichtige Dimension mit einbezogen werden, zweitens soll eine Hierarchie der einzelnen Variablen erstellt werden, und drittens schlagen sie vor, auf der Ebene der Makro-Variablen vier unterschiedliche Ebenen zu unterscheiden, eine lokale, regionale, nationale und extra-nationale. Trotz dieser Ansätze einer genaueren Modellierung von Sprachwechsel- und Sprachtodphänomenen wurde letztlich noch keine konsistente Theorie des Sprachtods erstellt. Der vorliegende Artikel behandelt zunächst die strukturelle Ebene, sodann die Ebene des Sprachverhaltens, um schließlich die unterschiedlichen intervenierenden extralinguistischen Faktoren zu erörtern.

## 2. Sprachverfall und Sprachzerfall vs. Spracherhaltung

2.1. Als Teilbereich der Soziolinguistik des Sprachwandels ist der zum Sprachtod führende Sprachverfall verschieden aufgefasst worden (vgl. Enninger/Wandt 1981): als überschneller bzw. drastischer Sprachwandel (z.B. Dorian 1981, 151 ff; Giacalone-Ramat 1983, 378) oder als Reduktion zu einer pidginartigen dysfunktionalen Sprachform (z.B. Dressler/Wodak 1977a, 8; vgl. 2.9.).

2.2. Stärker als bei sonstigem Sprachkontakt finden sich bei Sprachverfall Interferenzen, und zwar einseitige Entlehnungen aus der dominierenden in die rezessive Spra-

che (Mattheier 1980, 409; Dorian 1982c, 56; Gal 1979; 79 ff), wobei die Asymmetrie der Entlehnungsrichtung die soziale, soziopsychologische und meist sozioökonomische und politische Hierarchie der Sprachgemeinschaften widerspiegelt. Beispiele sind die Aufgabe einheimischer Namensgebung, z. B. von Vornamen (Dressler 1982, 325; Williamson/van Eerde/Williamson 1983, 78), die massenhafte Übernahme von Fremdwörtern, die oft nur ungenügend morphologisch und phonologisch integriert werden oder gar völlig nicht integrierte Gastwörter bleiben (vgl. z. B. Dorian 1981, 100 ff; Knab/Hasson de Knab 1979, 473 f; Dressler 1982, 326), vgl. Hill/Hill's (1977) Begriff der *Relexifizierung* (vgl. Giacalone-Ramat 1979, 137; Tsitsipis 1984; Barry/Nash 1999), worunter massiver Ersatz einheimischer durch fremde Wörter gemeint ist. Doch finden sich viele lexikalische Entlehnungen auch bei starkem Bilingualismus. Ein typischer phonologischer Wandel liegt in der Verschiebung eines 'fremden Akzents' von der Mehrheitssprache (die die Minderheit ursprünglich schlecht beherrscht) zur Minderheitssprache (die manche der letzten Sprecher auch phonetisch/phonologisch nur mehr unvollständig lernen). Ähnlich ambivalent (vgl. Denison 1979, 33 f) sind die Kriterien der Entlehnung morphologischer Affixe und syntaktischer Konstruktionen, die in der dominierenden Sprache kein Gegenstück haben (z. B. in der albanischen Sprachminderheit Griechenlands; vgl. Trudgill 1977; Kieffer 1977, 83 ff; Leap 1981, 139). Verfallsverdächtig sind also einstweilen nur die Einseitigkeit und die Masse der Entlehnungen in einem kleinen Zeitraum, sowie das Fehlen puristischer Gegenreaktionen (vgl. Denison 1982, 11; 14); ferner stellen diese Entlehnungen nicht einfach eine Bereicherung der Minderheitssprache dar (vgl. Denison 1977, 16 ff), sondern sind mit dem Verlust einheimischer Elemente und Strukturen verbunden (z. B. bei Relexifizierung).

2.3. Ein etwas komplexeres Substitutionsphänomen ist das Versiegen der Produktivität von Wortbildungsregeln (Dressler 1977; 1981, 10 ff; Hill/Hill 1978; Knab/Hasson de Knab 1979, 474 f; Williamson/van Eerde/Williamson 1983, 74). Die Funktion der Bereicherung des Wortschatzes wird nicht mehr durch die Wortbildung der rezessiven Sprache erfüllt, sondern nur mehr durch Entlehnung aus der dominierenden Sprache.

2.4. Der Abbau bzw. die Substitution von Strukturen innerhalb der rezessiven Sprache ist aber oft nicht direkt auf ein Vorbild in der dominierenden Sprache zurückzuführen: Dazu gehört in der Phonologie die Reduktion des Phonemsystems des Qupaw (Rankin 1978, 51; vgl. Dorian 1999, 100 ff) oder des Manx (Broderick 1999), in der Morphonologie der Abbau der verschiedenen wortanlautenden Konsonantenmutationen des Bretonischen und des Manx, bis nur mehr eine einzige (die Lenition) in reduzierter Form übrig bleibt (Dressler 1972; Broderick 1999). Besonders oft wurde der Abbau flexionsmorphologischer Formen und Kategorien beobachtet (z. B. Dorian 1981, 124 ff; 1982c, 38 ff; Dressler 1981, 6 ff; Hill/Hill 1977, 61 ff; Trudgill 1977; Broderick 1999), in der Syntax der Abbau von Nebensätzen (Dorian 1982b, 384; Hill 1978; Knab/Hasson de Knab 1979, 475; Tsitsipis 1984), sowie der Abbau von Textstrategien (Tsitsipis 1998).

2.5. Sind derartige Abbauerscheinungen als Vereinfachung (engl. simplification, incl. Innovationen, vgl. Dorian 1999, 103 ff) oder als Reduktion aufzufassen? (vgl. Trudgill 1977; Dorian 1981, 153 ff; 1982c, 44; Dressler 1982, 325 f; Giacalone-Ramat 1983, 38). Bei normalem Sprachwandel werden Vereinfachungen in einem Teilsystem durch Komplizierungen in anderen sozusagen kompensiert (z. B. der Verlust der lateinischen Kasus durch die Einführung von Artikeln und grammatischen Wortstellungsregeln in den romanischen Sprachen). Reduktion (ohne Kompensation) führt hingegen zu einem 'dysfunktionalen' System, in dem man weniger ausdrücken kann. In diesem Sinne können wir die meisten der in 2.4. und einige der in 2.2. genannten Abbauphänomene als Reduktion auffassen, ferner den Verlust der Wortbildungsproduktivität (2.3.): Kompensation tritt zwar ein, aber durch Mittel der dominierenden Sprache. Die Ausdrucksfähigkeit der Sprachgemeinschaft bleibt dadurch zwar bestehen, aber nicht mehr in der zerfallenden Minderheitssprache.

2.6. Damit sind wir zu einem stärker funktionellen Aspekt gekommen: zwei/mehrsprachiger Sprach/Code-Wechsel (engl. code switching, vgl. Art. 144). Dieses Phänomen muss keinesfalls ein Zeichen für Sprachverfall sein, da es auch bei stabiler Mehrsprachigkeit auftritt (vgl. Breitborde 1983), wird aber doch besonders stark bei Sprachverschiebung/verfall beobachtet (z. B. Gal

1979, 173). Myers-Scotton (1993) hat im Rahmen ihres Matrixsprachenmodells die Bedeutung des Code Switching für die Desintegration rezessiver Sprachen untersucht. Switches aus der nebengeordneten Sprache werden demzufolge immer in den Rahmen der Hauptsprache, der Matrixsprache, integriert. Bei Sprachwechselphänomenen kommt es dazu, dass die frühere Einbettungssprache zur neuen Matrixsprache wird. Nach Rindler-Schjerve (2002) könnte über die Muster des Codeswitchens in rezessiven Situationen das Ausmaß des Sprachwechsels näher erfasst werden.

2.7. Sprachverfall ist durch übergroße Variation ausgezeichnet, z. B. durch das Auftreten neuer, freier phonetischer Varianten von Phonemen (Miller 1971; Dressler 1972, 454; 1982, 326; Dressler/Wodak 1977a, 9; Denison 1979, 30 f; Dorian 1982a, 65 f; 1982b, 44; Giacalone-Ramat 1983) und durch freie Variation zwischen Phonemen (Broderick 1999). Allgemeiner sagt z. B. Trudgill (1977, 35), dass „Arvanitika (...) is in a state of considerable flux, with no real norms of usage“ (vgl. Dorian 1982b, 46), was Normenzerfall darstellt.

2.8. Geradezu als Normenverlust bezeichnen kann man die Einschränkung des Stilrepertoires, d. h. die Tendenz zum Monostilismus, wie sie für die Phonologie von Dressler (1972, 454 f), auf Grund der Beschreibung des phonologischen Stilrepertoires, behauptet wurde (vgl. Dressler/Wodak 1977a, 8; 1977b; Dorian 1977, 27; Giacalone-Ramat 1983). Dazu kommt eine starke geographische Reduktion, sozusagen auf vereinzelte Sprachinseln (Insularisierung bzw. 'Ghettoisierung': Dorian 1982b, 45), die eine sterbende Sprache für überlokale Verständigung ungeeignet macht und ihr den zwar dialektal differenzierten, aber dennoch zusammenhängenden Sprachraum nimmt.

2.9. Die Sprecher sterbender Sprachen haben sehr unterschiedliche Kompetenzen. Dorian (1973) prägte den Terminus *semi-speaker* und unterschied schließlich die folgenden Kompetenzstufen (Dorian 1982b): (i) *older fluent speakers* (scheinbar ohne Anzeichen von Sprachzerfall), (ii) *younger fluent speakers* (mit bereits reduzierter Kompetenz), (iii) *semi-speakers* (deren soziolinguistische bzw. kommunikative besser als ihre linguistische Kompetenz ist), (iv) *passive bilinguals* (vergleichbar den *rememberers* bei Knab/Hasson de Knab 1979). Von allgemeinem soziolinguistischen Interesse ist Do-

rians (1981, 116; 1982a; b) Feststellung, dass *semi-speakers* mit stark eingeschränkter lexikalischer und grammatischer Kompetenz (messbar durch Sprachfähigkeitserhebungen) eine gute kommunikative Kompetenz besitzen und daher zur Sprachgemeinschaft (der rezessiven Sprache) gerechnet werden müssen. Campbell/Muntzel (1989) unterscheiden zwischen *nearly fully competent speakers*, *semi-speakers* und *rememberers*, wobei sie die *semi-speakers* wieder unterteilen in 'imperfect but reasonable fluent speakers' und 'weak semi-speakers' mit noch geringerer Kompetenz. Sasse (1992a, 22) schließlich verwendet den Terminus *rusty speaker* (nach Menn 1989) für die Situation des raschen Sprachwechsels, in der es keine normale Generation von *semi-speakers* gibt (vgl. Dorian 1999, 107 ff).

### 3. Sprachverschiebung vs. Sprach-erhaltung im Sprachgebrauch

3.1. Sprachverschiebung/verlagerung/umstellung (engl. language shift, vgl. 1.1.), die das Vorspiel und den Rahmen von Sprachverfall bildet, kann hier bezüglich des Sprachgebrauchs zusammen mit Spracherhaltung kurz zusammengefasst beschrieben werden, da sie oft und ausführlich dokumentiert worden ist (z. B. Calvet 1974; Crystal 2000; Hagège 2000). Den geläufigsten Ansatz bilden Fishmans Domänen (vgl. Art. 40; 142), zunächst einmal als deskriptive Bereiche sozialer Interaktion, deren Zahl und Relevanz für jede Sprachgemeinschaft empirisch festgestellt werden muss. Mit Hilfe von Fragebögen bzw. mündlichen Interviews wird ein (meist nicht sehr repräsentatives) Sample von Informanten befragt, in welchen Domänen wie z. B. Schule, Behörden, Gottesdienst, Arbeit, Einkauf, Nachbarschaft, Freundschaft, Familie sie (noch) die rezessive Sprache ausschließlich, vorwiegend, häufig, ausnahmsweise oder niemals verwenden, was Dominanzkonfigurationen ergibt. Wenn nun solche Domänen parametrisiert werden, kann auf eine frühere oder im Gang befindliche Sprachverschiebung (z. B. von formelleren zu nur mehr informelleren Domänen) geschlossen werden (vgl. z. B. Dressler/Wodak 1977b; Giacalone-Ramat 1979; Gal 1979, 120 ff; 34 ff; Dorian 1981, 74 ff; Rindler-Schjerve 1981; Williamson/van Eerde/Williamson 1983). Inwieweit die Informantenantworten verlässlich sind, bleibt allerdings offen – sie

spiegeln jedenfalls auch die Spracheinstellung (8.1.) wider. Unter der Rubrik Domänen oder auch eigens, aber nach analogen Methoden, wird auch Sprachverschiebung/erhaltung in Sprechsituationen, bei Rollenverhalten und Themenwahl untersucht (z. B. Dressler/Wodak 1977a; b; Enninger/Wandt 1981, 73 ff).

3.2. Von dieser deskriptiven Rolle der Domänen muss ihre Funktion als Einheiten einer makrosoziolinguistischen Theorie unterschieden werden (z. B. Fishman 1964; Breitborde 1983). In separierten, also nicht überlappenden Domänen scheint sich eine rezessive Sprache besser bzw. länger halten zu können (vgl. Fishman 1964; 1980, 8ff; Huffines 1980, 49; 54).

3.3. Relativ früh verloren werden bzw. nie; vorhanden waren institutionelle Domänen wie die Schule (z. B. Durkacz 1983; Leap 1981, 136 ff; Paulston 1981; vgl. 5.1.), weshalb auch die Schreib- und Lesefähigkeit viel geringer als in der dominanten Sprache sein kann (Leap 1981, 138 f; Huffines 1980, 50; Williamson/van Eerde 1980, 69; Williamson/van Eerde/Williamson 1983, 72; 79). Hier setzen denn auch mit Vorliebe Spracherhaltungsmaßnahmen ein, da der Schule eine hervorragende (oft übertriebene) Rolle beim Sprachverfall zugeschrieben wird. Im Gegensatz dazu bleibt Familie oder Religion oft letzte Domäne der rezessiven Sprache. Obwohl die Bedeutung der Schule bzw. zweisprachiger Schulmodelle nicht unumstritten ist bzw. skeptisch beurteilt wird, wird in der Regel die Verwendung der rezessiven Sprache als Unterrichtssprache als wichtiges Mittel des Spracherhalts beurteilt, auch unter dem Aspekt einer vollständigen Entwicklung der Sprachfähigkeit, die im gegenteiligen Fall zu Semilingualismus oder Halbsprachigkeit führen würde (Fthenakis/Sonner/Thrul/Walbinger 1985; Skutnabb-Kangas 1984). Aus der Perspektive der sprachlichen Menschenrechte (vgl. Art. 257) wird ein Grundrecht auf Unterricht in der Muttersprache auch in Minderheitensituationen gefordert (Skutnabb-Kangas 1997; Skutnabb-Kangas/Phillipson 1995). Den Zusammenhang mit der Domäne Schule zeigt der Faktor Bildung: In Zeiten der ungehinderten Akkulturation beschleunigt sich Sprachverschiebung mit steigender Bildung, bei erfolgreichen Revitalisierungs/Spracherhaltungsbestrebungen kann das Gegenteil der Fall sein (z. B. Clyne 1981, 65). Grenoble/Whaley (1998b, 32 ff) betonen die

Wichtigkeit der Berücksichtigung von Literalität (literacy), in Sprachbedrohungsszenarien. Sie erfassen damit eine Reihe von Variablen wie Erziehung, Sprachplanung, Einstellung zu Mehrsprachigkeit und Multilingualismus, Bedeutung der Literalität für die community, Erwerb der Literalität oder Aspekte der Standardisierung.

3.4. Zunehmende Bedeutung für Sprachwechselphänomene haben in den letzten Jahrzehnten die elektronischen Medien bzw. neue Technologien erlangt (Busch 1999; Edwards 1992), ihre Rolle wurde aber bisher noch wenig untersucht (z. B. in Husband 1994; Riggings 1992). Insbesondere über das TV sind die Mehrheitssprachen auch in die Wohnzimmer der Minderheitenfamilien, mithin in die Domäne der primären sprachlichen Situation vorgedrungen, und auf der anderen Seite haben Zeitungen und Zeitschriften durch ihre neu definierten Rollen zunehmend ihre spracherhaltende Funktion für rezessive Sprachen verloren, wie Busch (1999) anhand des Kärntner Slowenischen zeigt.

3.5. Einen direkteren Schluss auf die Diachronie von Sprachverschiebung/erhaltung nach (oder auch ohne) Domänen erlauben Befragung und Beobachtung nach Altersgruppen bzw. Generationen (vgl. Art. 152). Denn Sprachverschiebung/verfall erfolgen hauptsächlich beim Übergang von einer zur nächsten Generation bzw. sukzessive in mehreren Generationen (z. B. Durkacz 1983, 216 f; 222 ff; Gal 1979, 154 ff; Fishman 1980, 8 f; Dorian 1981; Rindler-Schjerve 1981, 211 ff; Tsitsipis 1984). Hier müssen aber Fehlerquellen berücksichtigt werden wie Rückverschiebung von Pensionisten zur rezessiven Sprache oder verspäteter Spracherwerb derselben durch Jugendliche (Clyne 1981; Lieberson 1980). Besondere Vorsicht ist bei Zensusdaten geboten, da in Sprachkontaktsituationen mit großem Assimilationsdruck in der Regel Verzerrungen zugunsten der Mehrheitssprache auftreten. Zuverlässigere Angaben erhält man oft von anderen Institutionen wie Kirchenämtern.

3.6. Schichtunterschiede wirken sich offenbar in Abhängigkeit von Bildungsunterschieden aus (vgl. Williamson/van Eerde 1980, 76 f; Williamson/van Eerde/Williamson 1983, 79).

3.7. Auf mehrere Faktoren (3.3.: Schule, 6.1.: Wirtschaft, 6.2.: Modernisierung, 6.3.: Mobilität) zurückzuführen ist die bessere Sprachbewahrung bei ländlichen Berufen,

denen im Wohnort nachgegangen wird, als bei anderen Berufen (vgl. Gal 1979); auch Fischer (zumindest beim Fischfang, nicht beim Fischverkauf) gelten als Sprachbewahrer (Dorian 1981; Floc'h 1981).

3.8. Derartige Faktoren sind keineswegs unabhängig, sondern zumindest interdependent, wie z.B. die Variable Geschlecht erweist. So sind oft ältere, ungebildete Frauen bessere Sprachbewahrer als vergleichbare Männer (Giacalone-Ramat 1979, 70 ff; Clyne 1982, 42; 55; Durkacz 1983, 218), jüngere, gebildete Frauen aber schlechter als vergleichbare Männer (Gal 1979, 166 ff; Dressler/Wodak 1977a, 8; b, 38; 40; Williamson/van Eerde/Williamson 1983, 81; Ryan 1979, 155). Hier spielt auch der Grad des Zugangs zur Öffentlichkeit eine Rolle (vgl. Williamson/van Eerde 1980, 74 ff).

3.9. Ambivalent sind auch religiöse Domänen: Wenn eine spezifische Religion die Sprachminderheitsgruppe abtrennt und zu deren Identifizierung dient, so kann sie spracherhaltend wirken (z.B. Kieffer 1977, 86 f; Leap 1981, 137; Paulston 1981, 477 f; Enninger/Wandt 1981, 72 ff; vgl. 8.5.), dient sie aber der Identifizierung (vgl. 8.4.) mit der dominierenden Sprachkultur, haben wir Domänen der Sprachverschiebung vor uns (vgl. Mackey 1980, 37 f; Huffines 1980, 48). Allerdings spielen hier auch der Sprachminderheit wenig zugängliche institutionelle Entscheidungen (vgl. 5.1.) eine Rolle (vgl. Williamson/van Eerde 1980, 69; Williamson/van Eerde/Williamson 1983, 68; 82). Andererseits kann die Religion als Residuum für nicht mehr gesprochene Sprachen dienen, wenn die jeweilige Sprache eine rituelle Funktion erfüllt, wie etwa das Koptische, das seit dem 17. Jh. nur als liturgische Sprache 'überlebte' (Brenzinger 1997, 283), so wie auch das Hebräische.

3.10. Sprachverfall/ersatz hat eine unmittelbare Ursache in der Sprachverschiebung beim Spracherwerb. Zunächst erfahren häufig selbst diejenigen Kinder, deren Primärsozialisation in der rezessiven Sprache erfolgt, die Sekundärsozialisation in der dominanten Sprache, sei es aus institutioneller Verordnung (z.B. Leap 1981, 134 f; vgl. 3.3.), sei es auf Grund von Elternwünschen (z.B. Leap 1981, 135; Gal 1979, 164; Walker 1980; Dressler 1982, 328). Dies führt zu (wenigstens funktionell) unvollständigem Spracherwerb (bzw. subtraktivem Bilinguismus, vgl. Baetens Beardsmore 1982, 19 f) und zu Rollenkonflikten. Für derartigen unvollständigen

Spracherwerb in der Erstsprache, in dem die schulische Sozialisation ausschließlich in der Mehrheitssprache erfolgt, wurde auch der Terminus der doppelseitigen Halbsprachigkeit bzw. des Semilingualismus geprägt (Skuttnabb-Kangas 1984). Zur Tertiärsozialisation im Beruf vgl. 3.6.

Irreversibel wird Sprachverschiebung, wenn die Primärsozialisation nicht mehr in der rezessiven Sprache oder bilingual, sondern (fast) nur mehr in der dominanten Sprache erfolgt (vgl. Wodak/Rindler-Schjerve 1985; Dorian 1981, 104; 1982b, 51 ff; Denison 1982, 7; vgl. 3.3.; 5.1.). Denn selbst wenn Jugendliche später die rezessive Sprache erlernen wollen, kann dies gewöhnlich, aus neuropsychologischen Gründen, nur mehr unvollständig erfolgen (wie beim Fremdspracherwerb, vgl. Dorian 1981, 148; 1982b, 51 ff). Diese Selbstaufgabe der Sprecher in ihrer Elternrolle kann man zu Recht als Sprachselbstmord bezeichnen (vgl. 1.1). Die (zumindest behauptete) Bereitschaft von Eltern, mit ihren Kindern in der rezessiven Sprache zu interagieren, ist nicht mit ihrer Bereitschaft, sie ihnen beizubringen, identisch.

#### 4. Gesellschaftlicher Entwicklungsrahmen: Soziolinguistische Ansätze

Der gesellschaftliche Entwicklungsrahmen von Spracherhaltung/verfall/tod wird nach verschiedenen Ansätzen erforscht: makrosoziolinguistische Domänentheorie (vgl. 3.2.), Sprachökologie (z.B. Mackey 1980; Haarmann 1980; Denison 1982; kritisch Dressler 2003), Ethnomethodologie/graphie (z.B. Gal 1979), Vitalitätstheorie (Johnson/Giles/Bourhis 1983), Netzwerktheorie (z.B. Gal 1979), Rollentheorie (vgl. 3.1.), selten Diffusionstheorie (z.B. Cooper 1982b; Dressler 1981, 11), Akkommodationstheorie (z.B. Giles/Bourhis/Taylor 1977, bezüglich der ethnolinguistischen Vitalität von Sprache). Der Multikausalität und Interdependenz historischer Vorgänge entsprechend betreffen diese Ansätze jeweils einen oder mehrere der folgenden Bereiche 5–8. Für weitere Forschungsvorschläge vgl. Ryan (1979, 153 ff), Mackey (1980, 40 f), Dressler (1981; 2003).

#### 5. Soziopolitische Ansätze

5.1. Sprachverschiebung kann eingeleitet werden durch Imperialismus (z.B. Dorian 1982c, 45 f; Breitborde 1983, 172) bzw. Ko-

lonialismus (z. B. Calvet 1974; vgl. Art. 226), wodurch eine Sprachgemeinschaft einer anderen soziopolitisch und soziokulturell untergeordnet wird (vgl. Schermerhorn 1970, 15; 81; Giles/Bourhis/Taylor 1977, 334; Dressler 1982, 324f), besonders bei zentralistischer Organisation. In Europa trug der seit der Französischen Revolution einsetzende Nationalismus (vgl. Fishman 1975; Heller 1999) wesentlich zur Unterdrückung (der Sprecher) rezessiver Sprachen bei (z. B. Trudgill/Tzavaras 1977, 172; Pabst 1980; Dressler 1982, 327 ff; zur USA vgl. Leap 1981, 134 f; zur verschärften faschistischen Unterdrückung Haas/Stuhlpfarrer 1977, 74 ff; Rindler-Schjerve 1982a). Die Ideologie des Nationalismus war oft für die Einführung des Pflichtschulwesens verantwortlich, in dem entweder die dominante Sprache allein vorherrscht(e) (Hill/Hill 1977, 59; Rindler-Schjerve 1982a, 292; vgl. 3.3.; 3.10.) oder die rezessive Sprache nur als Vorstufe und Übergang zum einsprachigen Unterricht in der dominanten Sprache Verwendung fand/ findet, in sogenannten Übergangs- oder Assimilationsprogrammen, im Unterschied zu Spracherhaltungs- oder Bereicherungsprogrammen (Fthenakis et al. 1985; Horn 1990; Durkacz 1983, 219 ff). Im Zusammenhang mit der Entstehung der europäischen Nationalstaaten im 19. Jh. entstand auch die Vorstellung von der Einsprachigkeit des Menschen (monolingualer Habitus, Gogolin 1993) und die Gleichung 'ein Staat – eine Sprache', womit die Marginalisierung von Minderheitensprachen und die Assimilation von deren Sprechern über allgemeine Schulpflicht und Militärflicht gerechtfertigt wurde. Schließlich haben eurozentrische Sprachideologien wie Linguizismus eine ähnliche Wurzel. Dorian (1998) weist auf die Bedeutung dieser europäischen Sprachideologien (Western language ideologies) hin, auf sozialdarwinistische Konzepte vom Überleben des Stärksten, auf Annahmen wie die, dass Zweisprachigkeit und Mehrsprachigkeit eine Belastung seien usw. (Dorian 1998, 10 f).

5.2. Unterdrückung (falls nicht in der radikalen Form von Sprachmord – Linguazid) hat aber oft Widerstand zur Folge, der spracherhaltend wirkt (vgl. Pabst 1980, 196; Dressler 1982, 332), während größere Toleranz der Behörden die Widerstandskraft der Sprachminderheit schwächen kann (wobei Toleranz typischerweise 'zu spät kommt', vgl. Lindgren 1984). Deshalb wirkt ein demo-

kratisches Regime nicht unbedingt spracherhaltender als ein autoritäres, wobei noch die größere Partizipation an gesamtgesellschaftlichen Belangen des ganzen Staates (mit seiner dominanten Sprache) hinzukommt (vgl. Fishman 1981, 519 ff).

5.3. Die Vitalität einer Sprache wird durch ihre Sprecherzahl mitbestimmt (Giles/Bourhis/Taylor 1977, 313 f; Haarmann 1980, 2; 16 ff; 42 ff; 49 ff; Crystal 2000, 11 ff; 70 ff), d. h. zunächst einmal durch die absolute Sprecherzahl, obwohl sich das Irische (Dorian 1982c, 49) viel schlechter erhalten hat als das Maltesische, Färöische (Kontzi 1983, 350) mit viel geringeren Sprecherzahlen; aber eine 'kritische Mindestmasse' ist sicherlich notwendig (vgl. McLendon 1980, 147). Wichtiger erscheint (mit Giles/Bourhis/Taylor 1977, 313 ff) die Relation (Proportion) zwischen dominanter und rezessiver Sprache in deren Territorium (Fishman 1964, 50; Denison 1977, 16), dazu absoluter und relativer Geburtenüberschuss, Verhältnis von Emigration und Remigration sowie Immigration Sprachfremder (z. B. Kieffer 1977, 90 ff; Prattis 1981, 24; vgl. 6.3.). Brenzinger (1997, 276) erachtet als den wichtigsten Indikator für die Vitalität einer Sprache das Verhältnis zwischen der Zahl der Mitglieder einer ethnischen Gruppe und der Zahl der Sprecher der ethnischen Sprache: So seien Zaramo und Bondei in Tansania, die beide über 200000 Mitglieder der ethnischen Gruppe zählen, dabei, ihre Sprachen zugunsten des Suaheli aufzugeben, während Baiso in Südäthiopien nicht bedroht sei, obwohl sie nur 3260 Mitglieder zähle, die aber alle die Sprache sprechen.

5.4. Ein zusammenhängendes Territorium ist für Spracherhaltung besser als das Gegenteil, ebenso räumliche Trennung von der dominanten Sprache besser als Koterritorialität (Lieberson 1980, 24; Kontzi 1983, 349 f; Walker 1980), obwohl dies nur eine der Vorbedingungen für starke gruppeninterne und schwache gruppenexterne Kommunikation ist (zur kommunikativen Segregation vgl. Fishman 1964, 50 Rn. 32; Mackey 1980, 38 f; Schermerhorn 1970, 124; McLendon 1980, 147; Williamson/van Eerde 1980, 81; Enninger/Wandt 1981, 73; vgl. 8.5.). Giles/Bourhis/Taylor (1977, 313) sprechen hier von Konzentration vs. Streuung (vgl. Haarmann 1980, 2; 20 ff). Eine wichtige Variable ist das Vorhandensein von 'Mischheiraten' (Exogamie vgl. Giles/Bourhis/Taylor 1977, 314; Mackey 1980, 39;

Haarmann 1980, 2; 81 ff; Roth 1993), wobei insbesondere Fälle umgekehrter Assimilation Zeichen einer relativen Vitalität der Minderheitensprache sind (Holzer/Münz 1993, 76).

## 6. Sozioökonomische Ansätze

6.1. Wichtiger und direkter als politische sind wirtschaftliche – beides interdependente – Faktoren (Knab/Hasson de Knab 1979; Giles/Bourhis/Taylor 1977, 310). Die Bedeutung sozioökonomischer Faktoren, die Tatsache, dass es oft einen ökonomischen Zwang zum Sprachwechsel gibt, wird in der Literatur häufig betont, besonders bei Grenoble/Whaley (1998b, 38), denen zufolge bei einer Vielzahl von Variablen, die für Sprachbedrohung eine Rolle spielen, der ökonomische Druck alle anderen Variablen übertrifft (vgl. auch Winter 1993; Hale 1998). Brenzinger 1997 sieht insbesondere in globalen Settings den ökonomischen Druck als zentral an.

Besonders häufig wird Urbanisierung als sprachverschiebungsfördernd genannt (vgl. aber Lieberson 1980, 24), besonders wenn rezessive Sprachen nicht über eigene Städte mit Mittelpunktfunktion verfügen (Kontzi 1983, 350; Durkacz 1983, 219).

6.2. Bedeutsamer scheint aber Industrialisierung (vgl. aber Prattis 1981) bzw. Technisierung und Modernisierung einschließlich Landreformen (z.B. Knab/Hasson de Knab 1979, 478; Durkacz 1983, 217; 219) und Verkehrserschließung zu sein.

6.3. Die ökonomische Integrierung und Unterordnung führt zu größerer geographischer Mobilität, die sich in Emigration und Immigration (vgl. 5.3.; 6.4.) auswirkt. Die parallele, durch Konsumismus (Mackey 1980, 38) verstärkte soziale Mobilität hat u. a. ebenfalls Pendlertum und Wanderarbeit (z.B. Durkacz 1983, 218 f) zur Folge. Beide Arten von Mobilität begünstigen die dominante Sprache.

6.4. Die sozioökonomische Unterordnung (vgl. 5.1.; 6.3.) kann aber auch in Marginalisierung des Sprachminderheitsgebiets resultieren (vgl. Knab/Hasson de Knab 1979, 476 f), wobei die damit einhergehende Verarmung wieder Massenauswanderung nach sich ziehen kann (z.B. Durkacz 1983, 226; Kieffer 1977, 91 f; vgl. 5.3.; 6.3.). Häufig sind Sprachminderheiten sozial und ökonomisch rückständig, sind die Anteile agrarischer bzw. nichtproduktiver Bevölkerungs-

teile (Pensionisten, im Zusammenhang mit Überalterung) überproportional hoch.

6.5. Obwohl sozioökonomische Veränderungen oft sprachliche Umwälzungen auslösen, ist doch (gegen Knab/Hasson de Knab 1979) jeder Zusammenhang mit Sprachverschiebung/tod durch folgende Typen von Faktoren (7; 8) vermittelt (vgl. Fishman 1964, 48 ff).

## 7. Soziokulturelle Ansätze

7.1. Die soziopolitische (5.1.) bzw. sozioökonomische Unterordnung (6.1.) kann entweder zu einer Folklorisierung der untergeordneten (Sprach)Kultur führen oder aber zu einer soziokulturellen Entfremdung (frz. *aliénation ethnique*, vgl. Kremnitz 1982). Vor völliger Akkulturation (inkl. sprachlicher Assimilierung oder Absorption) steht die Stufe des schwebenden Volkstums (vgl. Dressler 1982, 328).

7.2. In beiden angeführten Fällen leidet die Sprachkultur. Für Spracherhaltung ergeben sich daher Ausbauprobleme (Fishman 1981b; Rindler-Schjerve 1982b), wozu besonders die funktionell wichtige Standardisierung gehört (z.B. Ryan/Giles/Howard 1982, 3 ff; Dressler 1982, 329 ff; Rindler-Schjerve 1982a, 288). Dies ist ja auch Vorbedingung für repräsentative Vertretung in den Massenmedien (z.B. Williamson/van Eerde 1980, 61; 69; Mackey 1980, 36).

7.3. Die vielleicht am häufigsten angeführte, aber auch nicht quantifizierbare Ursache von Sprachverschiebung ist das mangelnde Prestige der rezessiven Sprache (vgl. Fishman 1964, 53 ff; Giles/Bourhis/Taylor 1977, 310 f; Ryan 1979, 147). Ein wichtiger Faktor ist mangelnder Ausbau (7.2.), ein anderer Alteingesessenheit vs. prestigelosere (besonders rezente) Immigration (z.B. Kloss 1969, 247 f; Fishman 1981; Paulston 1981, 472 ff).

7.4. Die Sprachstruktur selbst betrifft der empfundene Abstand zwischen rezessiver und dominanter Sprache: geringere Verschiedenheit fördert gewöhnlich die Assimilation (vgl. Mackey 1980, 35 f).

7.5. Das Überleben einer in eine dominante Sprachkultur eingebetteten rezessiven Sprache hängt u. a. davon ab, ob es sich überhaupt um eine stratifizierte (Gal 1983, 66 f), ferner um eine pluralistische oder assimilatorische Sprachgemeinschaft handelt (vgl. Schermerhorn 1970; Giles/Bourhis/Taylor



1977, 336 f; Fishman 1981; Paulston 1981, 475 ff; Clyne 1981, 45 f), und welche sozial-symbolische Funktion die rezessive Sprache für die Ethnizität deren Sprecher hat, d. h. ob Ethnizität ohne eigene Sprache gewährleistet ist (vgl. Fishman 1977, 25 ff; Trudgill/Tzavaras 1977, 171; 180; Verdoodt 1980).

## 8. Soziopsychologische Ansätze

8.1. Die Einstellungen zu dominanter und rezessiver Sprache (vgl. Brudner/White 1979; Williamson/van Eerde 1980, 69 ff; vgl. 3.1.) hängen zuallererst davon ab, ob sich eine Sprachgemeinschaft überhaupt ihrer Eigenheit und ihrer Einheit bewusst ist (vgl. Fishman 1964, 60 ff; Dressler 1982, 329; Trudgill 1977; Hill/Hill 1977, 60; vgl. 7.5).

8.2. Unter dem Einfluss soziopolitischer, sozioökonomischer und soziokultureller Faktoren können (Gruppen innerhalb von) Sprachminderheiten mehr oder weniger sprachloyal sein (vgl. Fishman 1964, 51 f; 1966a; Trudgill/Tzavaras 1977, 175 ff; Ryan 1979, 148; Williamson/van Eerde 1980, 80 ff; Dorian 1982c, 47 f). Sprachloyalität wird von Brenzinger (1997, 277) für das Überleben einer Sprache als besonders wichtig eingeschätzt. Der Loyalität förderlich ist ein ausgeprägtes Geschichtsbewusstsein (z. B. Fishman 1977, 34; Dorian 1982c, 46; Haarmann 1980, 2; 107 ff; Rindler-Schjerve 1982b, 176 ff).

8.3. Negative Fremdeinstellungen (vgl. Clyne 1981a, 66; Haarmann 1980, 2; 134 ff; Art. 130) der dominanten Sprachgemeinschaft, besonders wenn sie mit Diskriminierungen verbunden sind, können auch von Sprechern der untergeordneten rezessiven Sprache übernommen werden und zu Minderwertigkeitsgefühlen, ja Selbstverachtung und Selbsthass führen (z. B. Dressler 1974, 249; 1982, 328; Trudgill/Tzavaras 1977, 174 f; 179 f; Tsitsipis 1984), was oft massive Sprachverschiebungen in der darauf folgenden Generation nach sich zieht. Eine 'Ideologie der Verachtung' (Grillo 1989, 173 f; Huss 1999, 16), also Abwertung der Sprache von seiten der Mehrheitsbevölkerung, rassistischer und minderheitenfeindlicher öffentlicher Diskurs (Menz/Lalouschek/Dressler 1989) beeinflussen die Assimilationsbereitschaft bei Angehörigen der Minderheit, wobei manchmal eine konstruierte ethnische Zwischenexistenz (z. B. 'Windische' bei den Kärntner Slowenen) als Übergangsstufe im Assimilationsprozess dient.

8.4. Dadurch wird Identifizierung mit der rezessiven Sprache erschwert (vgl. Giles/Bourhis/Taylor 1977, 325 ff; Prattis 1981, 23; Williamson/van Eerde/Williamson 1983, 76; 81 ff) bzw. es kommt bei Zweisprachigen zu Rollenkonflikten zwischen den Identitäten der dominanten und rezessiven Sprachkultur (vgl. Dressler/Wodak 1977a, 6; 1977b, 38; Trudgill/Tzavaras 1977, 179; 182 f); bei Frauen kann sich der Rollenkonflikt durch eine zusätzliche problematische Rolle 'Frau' verschärfen (vgl. Trudgill/Tzavaras 1977, 177; Wodak/Rindler-Schjerve 1985).

8.5. Die angegebenen Einstellungskriterien erklären bereits teilweise, ob eine rezessive Sprache die Funktionen der Solidarisierung innerhalb der Sprachgemeinschaft (vgl. Ryan 1979, 147; 150; 152; Williamson/van Eerde 1980, 71; Dorian 1982c, 53) und der Separierung gegen Gruppenfremde (vgl. Dressler 1984, 330; Kieffer 1977, 86 f; Haarmann 1980, 2; 203; Prattis 1981, 23 f; vgl. 3.9.) erfüllen kann. Die Erfüllung beider Funktionen setzt einen soziolinguistischen Vergleich (Einschätzung) zwischen rezessiver und dominanter Sprache voraus (Giles/Bourhis/Taylor 1977, 328 f; 339 f).

8.6. Bei diesem Vergleich schneidet die rezessive Sprache oft schlecht ab. Sie wird als weniger schick (vgl. Ryan 1979, 150), als ländlich/bäurisch bzw. veraltet (z. B. Hill/Hill 1977, 59; Durkacz 1977; Tsitsipis 1984), ausdrucksarm (vgl. 2.5.; 2.8.), nutzlos (z. B. Huffines 1980, 51 ff; Dorian 1982c, 46) hybrid und daher wertlos (z. B. Hill/Hill 1977, 60 f; 67; Tsitsipis 1984; vgl. 2.2.; 2.6.), als unnötiger Luxus (z. B. Huffines 1980, 47) empfunden. Dass sentimentale Gründe für Spracherhaltung wichtiger sind als instrumentale, zeigen Hofman/Cais (1984).

8.7. Natürlich spielen auch Persönlichkeitskriterien herein (vgl. besonders Dorian 1980, 89), und selbst bei durchaus positiver Spracheinstellung muss betont werden, dass Motivation allein nicht ausreicht, um eine Sprache zu erhalten (vgl. Dorian 1981).

## 9. Schlussbemerkung

Im Kontext zunehmender Globalisierung ist zunehmendes Interesse an Fragen von Sprachwechsel und Sprachtod festzustellen, werden Appelle zur Rettung der Sprachenvielfalt laut. Der Verlust von Sprachen wird als ein großer intellektueller Verlust für die Menschheit wahrgenommen (Mithun 1998; Hale 1998; Crystal 2000; Hagège 2000), wo-

bei Sprachen sozusagen als Dokument der Kreativität des menschlichen Geistes interpretiert werden und mit dem Verschwinden einer Sprache unwiederbringlich wertvolle Informationen auch für die Universalienforschung (Hale 1998) verlorengehen. Dabei ist die Frage nach der Rolle, die Linguisten in diesem Prozess einzunehmen haben (Grenoble/Whaley 1998a, xii), durchaus umstritten: Die Bandbreite reicht vom aktiven Engagement und Eintreten für die Bewahrung sprachlicher Vielfalt und Revitalisierung von bedrohten Sprachen bis hin zu distanzierendem 'professional detachment', demzufolge das Ganze den communities und politischen Autoritäten zu überlassen sei (Ladefoged 1992).

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## 229. Migration and Language / Migration und Sprache

1. Isolating the linguistic and sociolinguistic consequences of migration
  2. Migration: parameters and consequences
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1. Isolating the linguistic and sociolinguistic consequences of migration

Language change may be thought of as having internal (intra-systemic), external (contact-based) and extra-linguistic (socio-political and economic) motivations (Farrar/Jones

2002, 1). It is reasonable to suppose that the migration of people is a leading cause of contact-induced change; in other words, migration is a key extra-linguistic factor leading to externally-motivated change. In every case of migration, except where a homogeneous group of people moves to an isolated location, language or dialect contact ensues (Thomason/Kaufman 1988; Trudgill 1986). Migration also has far-reaching consequences for the social fabric of the three communities affected: the society of origin, the society of destination, and the migrants themselves (Lewis 1982, 25; summarising

Mangalam 1968). It follows that migration has profound *sociolinguistic* consequences, as the demographic balance of the sending and receiving populations is altered (migrants are typically young and economically active), and as the migrants are uprooted from familiar social and sociolinguistic set-ups, perhaps forming an ethnolinguistic minority which has to relate sociolinguistically to a new, 'host' speech community – which in its turn becomes transformed by their arrival (Kerswill 1994). Until recently, the study of the (socio)linguistic effects of migration has been conceptually separated from that of the spread of linguistic features by means of geographical diffusion, the simplest manifestation of which is the wave-like spread of a linguistic innovation from its point of origin. This is an example of the geographical phenomenon known as *expansion diffusion* (Britain 2004), and by definition does not implicate population movements. The study of this type of diffusion was central to the concerns of 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century dialect geographers, later refined by the application of models from human geography, particularly hierarchical diffusion (Trudgill 1983; Britain 2002, 622–627; 2004). The geographical models applied were asocial in character (Britain 2004), while the linguistic focus was on individual features viewed within a mechanistic theory of change (the regularity hypothesis, see Hock 1991, 35). A parallel research tradition, focusing on pidgins and creoles (Schuchardt 1980) but also on language islands (Bohnenberger 1913; Schirmunski 1928), investigated the linguistic consequences of *relocation diffusion* (Britain 2004), by which cultural elements (including language) are transmitted to non-contiguous locations by human migration. From the outset, this tradition has taken social conditions into account, particularly in pidgin/creole linguistics: Holm (2000, 30) cites Schuchardt's 1882 study of São Tomé Creole Portuguese, which opens with a discussion of the social history of the language. It was only recently that the relationship between the two types of diffusion was acknowledged: both involve the varied psycholinguistic and sociolinguistic processes resulting from language and dialect contact (Trudgill 1994). At linguistic borders and within *linguistic areas* (*Sprachbünde*; Chambers/Trudgill 1998, 168–170), expansion diffusion results in language contact, as do almost all cases of relocation diffusion. In these circumstances, we may find pidgini-

sation, creolisation, second-language acquisition, multilingualism, borrowing and language shift. Dialect contact (Trudgill 1986) is characteristic of expansion diffusion within a dialect area (L. Milroy 2002). It also characterises relocation diffusion when the migrants move to a place where the majority language varieties are mutually intelligible with their own, or when speakers of different, but related varieties converge on linguistically 'virgin' territory, as in a new town or in many colonial settlements. Here, the processes involved are second-dialect acquisition (Chambers 1992; Britain 2004; Kerswill 1996), accommodation (Trudgill 1986, 1–38), mixing, simplification, levelling, hyperdialectalisms and reallocation (Trudgill 1986; Britain/Trudgill 1999). The extent and manifestation of each of these processes depends on the nature of the contact and the types of communities involved (Trudgill 2002); however, their manifestations will be more extreme in cases of relocation diffusion than expansion diffusion (Britain 2004). In this chapter, I shall treat *relocation* as equivalent to *migration*. The focus will be on the parameters of migration as identified by human geographers. The linguistic and sociolinguistic consequences of each will be illustrated with examples.

## 2. Migration: parameters and consequences

The importance of migration in human affairs is suggested by the observation that: "... variation in migration levels between places [tends] to be much greater than differences in births and deaths" (Lewis 1982, 9). Within a single place, it is possible that the "net migration change [is] generally of much greater importance than natural change in its contribution to population change" (White 1980, cited in King 1993, 29). However, migration is not a single process, and there are "definitional problems once a precise description is attempted" (Boyle/Half-acre/Robinson 1998, 34), though there is usually agreement on the parameters that must be examined in describing and categorising cases of migration. These include:

- space
  - time
  - motivation
  - socio-cultural factors
- (Lewis 1982, 9–19; Boyle et al. 1998, 34–38)

I will present each of these separately, along with discussions of their sociolinguistic repercussions.

## 2.1. Space

### 2.1.1. Boundaries

The concept of space in migration studies relates, primarily, to whether administrative boundaries are crossed. Migration is defined as “movement across the boundary of an areal unit” (Boyle et al. 1998, 34), whereas a move within an areal unit is, simply, a *local move* (Lewis 1982, 10). Obviously, the larger the areal unit considered, the fewer moves will be classified as *migrations*, though this may not reflect the impact of the moves on the communities concerned. A move across a boundary within a country is termed *internal migration*, the people involved being *in-migrants* to the areal unit, those moving out of it (to whatever destination) being *out-migrants* (Boyle et al. 1998, 34–5). Sociolinguistically, the distinction between moves within and across administrative boundaries within a state is of little consequence except insofar as the boundaries reflect, or in some cases shape, differing allegiances. For example, Llamas (2000) reports that younger people in Middlesbrough in north-east England have ceased to identify themselves as being ‘from Yorkshire’, the county to which it had belonged until boundary changes in 1968. This is reflected in the fact that the local accent has taken on features from the city of Newcastle to the north, even though self-expressed identities are aligned not with Newcastle but with the town itself. Whether these changes were ‘caused’ by the boundary changes or by, say, economic changes is a moot point. Where the boundary separates states, significant differences of culture, economic conditions, education and language may be involved, and the impact of the migration will be greater. Omoniyi (1999) notes that in Idiroko and Igolo, villages on either side of the border between Nigeria and Benin, language attitudes differ within the same ethnolinguistic group, the Yoruba. On the Benin side, the population is more positively disposed towards Yoruba than are the Nigerians, while often sending their children across the border to be educated through the medium of English instead of French. At the same time, the twin villages have attracted numerous incomers, such as traders, smugglers and

money-launderers, in addition to the presence of border officials.

### 2.1.2. Distance

Space is also reflected in distance. Short-distance migration differs from long-distance migration in the degree to which individuals can maintain links with the point of origin, as well as in the amount of personal commitment (resources, motivation) needed to move and maintain links. As with expansion diffusion (Hägerstrand 1952; Trudgill 1983; Britain 2004), gravity models have been applied to migration (Hägerstrand 1957, cited in Lewis 1982, 51–2). The model is the same, and predicts that migration flows will be a function of the size of populations at the points of origin and destination, and the distance between them (Lewis 1982, 53). However, geographers point out that perceived distance is not the same as Euclidean distance, with a logarithmic transformation to some extent matching economic and psychological distance. This is in line with the claim that nearby places are seen as strongly differentiated and those further away as more uniform (Lewis 1982, 50). While short-distance moves enable existing social ties to be maintained, intermediate-distance moves are often to a socially similar area and allow new ties to be established. On the other hand, long-distance moves may involve a very different environment (Lewis 1982, 51), and establishing new ties will prove problematic (though cultural differences are small in the case of Europe and distant former European settler colonies such as those of Australasia, Canada, the USA and parts of Latin America). The factor of distance is relevant sociolinguistically, but is not an explanatory variable because there are a number of intervening variables. Primarily, distance relates to the extent to which social ties can be maintained, as already noted. Weekly face-to-face contacts will serve to maintain dialect and language better than annual ‘home’ visits. However, beyond a certain distance (Lewis rather arbitrarily mentions 1000 miles (1600 kilometres)) and a certain level of difficulty of travel to and from the home region, absolute distance is less relevant: direct contact will be relatively rare, and the cultural difference between the migrant and ‘host’ groups will be relatively great. There are, however, a number of intervening variables, including wealth (reflecting ability to pay for travel).

Two factors, in particular, are likely to have powerful sociolinguistic consequences, overriding distance *per se*: motivation and socio-cultural factors (2.3.). Distance seen in isolation from other variables is unlikely to show anything other than a weak association with language behaviour.

Long-distance, long-term labour migration from less to more developed countries has been characteristic of the period since ca. 1950, and is discussed under *long-term migration*, below (2.2.). Sociolinguistic issues are taken up there as well.

### 2.1.3. Direction

Finally, space also involves *direction*. Historically, mass migration in Europe and North America has been from rural to urban areas, starting in Britain in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century with the Industrial Revolution (Boyle et al. 1998, 5–9). The process was complex, with a good deal of short-stay migration (circulation; see below), as well as return migration over a lifetime (Boyle et al. 1998, 9; see below). This was followed in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century by suburbanisation, with commuting made possible by improved transport links and the motor-car. From the 1960s, we find counter-urbanisation, with quality-of-life decisions and industrial relocation playing their part. However, recent years have seen an ‘urban revival’, with strong population growth in US metropolitan areas (Boyle et al. 1998, 14). Sociolinguistically, the critical directional parameter is that of in- vs. out-migration, since these alter the demographic balance of the location under scrutiny in terms of age, socio-economic class, ethnicity, other socio-cultural factors and language. At the same time, social network densities will change, both for the migrants and the destination societies, with the result that language change and language shift may be accelerated. For Europe and North America, the historical picture is one of considerable, mainly citywards movements, followed by more geographical mobility through internal migration and circulation in the shape of commuting. Within present-day western cities, differences have been noted in the pattern of migration among inner-city residents (mainly local moves, with no predominant direction) and suburban residents (moves over a greater distance, outwards from the centre within their own geographical ‘sector’) (Balderson 1981, quoted in Lewis 1982, 52). In inner cities,

this pattern allows for the maintenance of close-knit networks as well as non-standard, localised language varieties (L. Milroy 1980), while more mobile outer-city speakers are more levelled in the sense of using fewer strongly local features (J. Milroy 1982; 1992, 100–109; see Kerswill/Williams 2000a on dialect levelling among mobile populations). In Great Britain, the establishment of new towns from the 1950s onwards led to the possibility of *koineised* (mixed, levelled and simplified – Trudgill 1986, 127) new dialects (Kerswill/Williams 2000b).

In Europe, initial urbanisation, the loosening of individuals’ network ties following greater geographical mobility and the formation of new towns are thought to have resulted in *regional dialect levelling* or *dialect supralocalisation*, which can be understood as the rise of distinctiveness at the wider, regional level at the expense of local distinctiveness, as well as the emergence of regional versions of the standard (cf. chapters in Foulkes/Docherty, eds., 1999; Milroy/Milroy/Hartley 1994; L. Milroy 2002; Trudgill 1999; Sobrero 1996; Hinskens 1996; Kerswill 2001; 2002; Andersson/Thelander 1994; Thelander 1982; Auer/Hinskens 1996, 4). In the developing world, rural-urban mass migration is a phenomenon of the latter part of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, with Sub-Saharan Africa the latest region to be affected (Boyle et al. 1998, 20–23). In West Africa, the dominant sociolinguistic effect appears to be an increase in individual multilingualism and the spread of lingua francas. Accra, the capital of Ghana, has seen massive in-migration. This has led to the indigenous ethnolinguistic group, the Ga, becoming a minority in the city (300 000 out of a population of 2 million (Grimes 2000)), with Akan/Twi now the main lingua franca with considerable numbers of L2 users. However, among northern migrants in Accra, Hausa is increasing its use as a lingua franca, reflecting its existing lingua franca status in the North (Kropp Dakubu 2000). Kropp Dakubu (2001) argues that the influx to Accra of people from the North has led to a conflict of sociolinguistic practices: the Ga share with other southerners (including the Akan) the custom by which visitors and hosts exchange news using spokesmen. This is not practised by northerners, who thereby remain outsiders. In Maiduguri, in northeast Nigeria, mass in-migration has led to Hausa being used as a lingua franca, particularly by L2 users, replacing the indigenous Kanuri. A



new form of Hausa, separate from L1 varieties spoken elsewhere, is emerging (Broß 2005). Extreme political circumstances lead to directional mass migration. The Spanish occupation of Antwerp in 1585 led to the flight of over half the city's population to the western provinces of today's Netherlands, and has had a lasting effect on the dialects there (Auer/Hinskens 1996, 18). The resettlement in Germany of German speakers from the eastern provinces of the former *Reich* after World War II led to loss of dialect (Auer/Hinskens 1996, 20), while the post-war migration of people from eastern to western Poland led to dialect levelling (Mazur 1996). The relatively short-distance in-migration of rural people to local towns/cities has been the subject of sociolinguistic research. Bortoni-Riccardo (1985) considers the qualitatively different networks of Caipira (rural) speakers in Brasilia, Brazil; Kerswill (1994) considers dialect contact, long-term accommodation, network and integration among rural migrants in Bergen, Norway; Omdal (1994) examines attitudes and long-term accommodation among rural migrants in Kristiansand, Norway. A variation on this sociolinguistic approach is van Langenvelde's (1993) quantitative migration-based study of the province of Friesland in the Netherlands. Here, there is in-migration of Frisian speakers to the towns, leading to a temporary increase in the number of Frisian speakers there. As these people and their descendants are urbanised, many will switch to Dutch. At the same time, there is counter-urbanisation led by Dutch-speaking town dwellers; this has the effect of decreasing the proportion of Frisian speakers in the countryside. The result is the potential for language shift to Dutch both in the country and in the towns.

## 2.2. Time

'Migration' implies a degree of permanence in the move; migrant groups tend to be "committed to the project of living in other people's countries", despite in many cases retaining "diasporic yearnings" for a return to the homeland (Rex 1997, 17). An absolute definition of migration in terms of temporal patterns is, however, not possible. Four temporal categories have been recognised: daily, periodic, seasonal and long term (Gould/Prothero 1975, cited in Lewis 1982, 17–18). Daily movements include commuting, while the latter three categories involve overnight stays.

### 2.2.1. Circulation

A further category is usually made cutting across these three: this is the concept of *circulation*, which includes "a great variety of movements usually short-term repetitive or cyclical in character, but all having in common the lack of any declared intention of permanent or long-standing change of residence" (Zelinsky 1971, cited in Lewis 1982, 18). Examples of circulation include African nomads and western business people who spend regular periods every year working abroad (Boyle et al. 1998, 35). To these may be added the European Roma (see Réger 1995 and Matras 2000 for approaches integrating circulation and language contact). Students returning to their home towns during university vacations may find themselves with dual allegiances resulting in new dialect-mixing patterns that are not characteristic of the stay-at-homes (Blom/Gumperz 1972). As both insiders and outsiders, such individuals form a potential bridgehead for the introduction of innovations or for dialect levelling ('language missionaries' (Trudgill, 1986)).

### 2.2.2. Periodic and return migration

The distinction between circulation and migration 'proper' is, perhaps, arbitrary; the United Nations suggests a residence of at least one year in the host community as defining migration (Lewis 1982, 18). Turkish 'guest workers' working in Germany in the winter but returning to Turkey in the summer are best regarded as temporary (periodic) migrants or seasonal workers (Boyle et al. 1998, 35). Guest workers and their families formed sufficiently large and permanent groups for code-switching norms to emerge (di Luzio 1984). Guest workers took employment in Germany expecting to leave permanently at the end of a work contract; for those who did indeed leave, the 'myth of return' – the "failure to complete the intended migration route" (Boyle et al. 1998, 35) – was transformed into an actual return. Many migrants who have moved from a poorer to a richer country return to their place of birth at a later life-stage, either having accumulated enough money, or on reaching retirement; these are known as *return migrants* (Boyle et al. 1998, 35; Lewis 1982, 18). Others return, having failed to find work or an improved lifestyle, as was the case for many after the US stock market crash of

1929. The scale of return migration is shown by the fact that one quarter of those who migrated from Norway to the USA after 1880 eventually returned home (Engesæter 2002). Sociolinguistically, periodic and return migrations are significant for the country of origin and for the migrants themselves. Some 20% of the population of Puerto Rico are returnees from mainland USA, and 10% of children are English-dominant. This has led to a conflict between the attitudes of Puerto Rican educators and commentators, who deplore the mixing of Spanish with English, and the return migrants' offspring, who believe that it is possible to combine a Puerto Rico identity with English dominance (Zentella 1990). A rather different example is the Norwegian Arctic territory of Svalbard (Spitsbergen), where by law residents must remain registered as domiciled on the mainland and where no one is permitted to remain after retirement. The average duration of stay is 10 years, with the result that stable linguistic norms have not emerged. Families normally spend long summer holidays on the mainland. Children who grow up there speak using often idiosyncratic dialect mixtures, and express dual allegiance to Svalbard and to their official domicile in Norway (Mæhlum 1992).

### 2.2.3. Long-term migration

The distinction between return and quasi-permanent migration rests on whether the individual actually enacts the myth of return. However, there may be no intention to return. This will be true for religious minorities, such as the German Mennonite communities in North America (MacMaster 1985; Kraybill 1989) and Russia, which have practised extensive cultural separation over two centuries or more and have formed *language islands* (*Sprachinseln*). But by far the largest category is that of the migrant with miscellaneous, though mainly economic motivations. The mass migration from Europe to the USA in the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries is the clearest example of the intention to establish a 'new life', with no return envisaged. We can see the circulatory or seasonal migration patterns noted above merging, over time, with long-term migration. Starting in about 1950, western Europe saw large-scale *long-distance* unskilled labour migration from its former colonies (North Africa, Sub-Saharan Africa, India,

Pakistan, the West Indies), from eastern and southern Europe (Italy, Yugoslavia, Greece) and from Turkey (White 1993). These migrants were mainly men who came without families, and many, particularly in Germany, Austria and Switzerland, were on fixed contracts. As Giddens (2001, 260) points out, this reflected not only macro-level economic circumstances, but also micro-level decisions taken by individuals, who used information gained from family and friends and the promise of a support network to inform their decision to migrate to particular countries and towns. Thus, Turks tended to migrate to Germany, in a series of *chain migrations* (Boyle et al. 1998, 36) by which individual 'pioneers' were followed by others who knew them. A well documented case of chain migration is that of the Sylheti-speaking Bangladeshi community in the London borough of Tower Hamlets, where their 17000 children form over 50% of the school population (Gregory/Williams 2000, 38–9; 154). From about 1970, restrictions began to be placed on immigration, and a second stage of migration followed, that of family reunification (White 1993, 49–50). Initially, agencies such as employers and governments determined the source of the migrant workers and made provision for their housing. The subsequent reduced need for unskilled labour coincided with the obligation to support arriving families. With the encouragement of market-led housing, immigrant communities became more reliant on poor-quality and/or social housing. A third migration wave has followed, that of asylum seekers and refugees on the one hand and highly-trained workers on the other. Combined with the effect of socio-cultural differences between immigrant groups, different times of arrival and widely differing degrees of cultural and economic integration, all these factors have now led to considerable residential separation of ethnic groups in European cities approaching that already found in the USA (White 1993, 52–59). There has been considerable linguistic and sociolinguistic research on the German *language islands* of North America and elsewhere, much of it summarised in Rosenberg (2005). BurrIDGE/Enninger (eds., 1992) and Enninger/Raith (1988) are treatments of Pennsylvania German. Key issues are: dialect levelling (Schirmunski 1930); language contact with English on the syntactic level (Börjars/BurrIDGE 2003); lan-

guage contact and maintenance (Fuller 1996); cultural motivations for maintenance (Gal 1995). The mass migration from Europe to the USA spawned much early sociolinguistically-informed bilingualism research, notably that of Haugen (1953). The more recent long-distance labour migration to European (and North American) cities has obvious sociolinguistic consequences for the recipient communities, which have become increasingly multilingual. Thus, 33% of the primary school children of London (a city with a population of 8 million) do not have English as a first or home language (Baker/Eversley 2000). 10 languages have more than 40 000 speakers in London, and 40 more than 1000. Sociolinguistic studies of migrant communities in western Europe vary widely in their approaches. Some are linguistic in their aims, with linguistic distance an explicit factor (e. g., Perdue 1993a; b). The *Dutch Science Foundation Program on Language and Minorities* explicitly combines socio-cultural and linguistic comparisons, focusing on two languages (Turkish and Moroccan Arabic) in the Netherlands (e. g., Extra/Verhoeven 1999). The project *Languages and Cultures in the Utrecht Neighbourhoods Lombok and Transvaal* is concerned both with linguistic aspects (e. g., Boumans/Caubet 2000) and with interethnic contacts within a multilingual neighbourhood (e. g., Jongenburger/Aarssen 2001). Similar projects in Stockholm are *Language and Language Use among Adolescents in Multilingual Urban Settings* (Bijvoet 2003; Fraurud/Bijvoet 2003) and an earlier study reported in Kotsinas (1998). In London, more survey-based studies are those of the *Linguistic Minorities Project* (1985) and Baker/Eversley (eds., 2000). A network study of language shift and maintenance in Newcastle, England, is Li (1994). Work on the language of the 250 000-strong Finnish immigrant community in Sweden has focused on syntactic change resulting from dialect contact and the development of separate Sweden-Finnish norms (Lainio/Wande 1994; Lainio 1993).

### 2.3. Motivation and socio-cultural factors

#### 2.3.1. Forced migration

The best known case of forced migration is that of the estimated 10–12 million Africans who were sent as slaves to the Caribbean, the

West Indies and the Americas in the 16<sup>th</sup>–19<sup>th</sup> centuries (Iliffe 1995, 131). There is evidence that slave ship captains deliberately took on board speakers of different languages to reduce the likelihood of insurrection (Dillard 1975, 19). The eventual outcome of this enforced multilingualism was the emergence of pidgins for communication with the masters and related creoles as the L1s of the slaves. In the 20<sup>th</sup> century, forced migration is again widespread, with an estimated 20 million of 100 million international migrants in 1992 being involuntary, as a result of persecution, war, environmental change and development projects. Africa contains some 47% of all refugees, though many of these migrations are short-lived (Boyle et al. 1998, 32). These movements contribute to the increasing urban multilingualism on that continent.

#### 2.3.2. Economic and cultural factors affecting orientation to migration

However, the distinction between forced and voluntary migration may be hard to draw, because of the complex motivations in an individual case. According to Boyle et al. (1998, 36), “different sub-groups of the population have different migration propensities, and there is a relatively small group who continue to move frequently (movers) and a larger group who rarely move (stayers)”. This is related to the idea that some migration is *innovative*, that is, ‘exciting and challenging’, while other instances are *conservative*, meaning that migrants want to preserve as much as possible of what they had before (Boyle et al. 1998, 37). There are few sociolinguistic studies of migration addressing these largely social psychological parameters. One that does is part of a larger project on eastern German migrants to western Germany in the 1990s (Auer/Barden/Großkopf 1998). In a case study of an individual migrant, it was found that his orientation towards living in western Germany changed drastically over time, as a result of losing his job following an industrial accident (Auer/Barden/Großkopf 2000). His network changed, along with his attitudes. In the first period, before the accident, he had acquired standard variants of a number of phonological variables. As he lost his work-based contacts, he reactivated his eastern German ones, and reverted to many of the Upper Saxon dialect features of his home province. It is possible to distinguish

two broad types of relationship with the host society on the part of a minority group, one emphasising segregation, the other participation. Coleman (1997) points out that these two types may be the (automatic) result of socio-economic and demographic attributes related to education, income and occupation type. Alternatively (or in addition), they may be related to the minority of group's orientation in terms of their *response* to the host society. Thus, a segregationist group, "fearing extinction, maximises its reproductive potential and minimises contact with the outside world, through segregation and by limiting outmarriage" (Coleman 1997, 1471), while one that is more participatory attempts to "overcome the disadvantages of life as a new minority and to maximise social mobility and material standing" by delaying marriage and ensuring a low birth-rate. The latter orientation does not entail assimilation, though in time it may lead to it. These orientations are related to cultural factors which may be independent of socio-economic differences, for example, the maintenance of religion, different gender roles, and the practice of arranged marriages (Coleman 1997). Sociolinguistically, the practice of sending young men to visit the country of origin to participate in arranged marriages has the effect of continually refreshing the supply of L1 speakers. A strongly segregationist orientation, supported by external and internal institutions, legislation and a favourable economic climate, can lead to language maintenance over many centuries, as with some of the Pennsylvania German groups.

### 2.3.3. Ethnolinguistic vitality and saliency

All the factors discussed above are related to the notion of *ethnolinguistic vitality* (Allard/Landry 1986; Sachdev/Bourhis 1993; Landweer 2000), measured in terms of a range of indicators such as number of speakers, strength of ethnic identity, strength of economic base and range of domains of use. However, a language's *ethnolinguistic saliency* (Fishman 1999) is affected by the context in which a language group exists: this is to be seen both at the level of the immediate (i. e. conversational) setting and in terms of overall relations between groups. Saliency is increased by the presence of conflict, as well as by a high degree of perceived cultural difference, as a kind of 'figure-ground contrast' (Fishman 1999, 154).

## 3. Migration and new-dialect formation

Apart from pidginisation and creolisation, the most striking purely linguistic effect of migration is the formation of new dialects by the process of *koineisation*. Through koineisation, new varieties of a language are brought about as a result of contact between speakers of mutually intelligible varieties of that language. Typically, this occurs in new settlements to which people, for whatever reason, have migrated from different parts of a single language area. Examples of what are known as *new dialects* (Trudgill 1998) or *immigrant koinés* (Siegel 1985, 364; Kerswill 2002) include the Hindi/Bhojpuri varieties spoken in Fiji, Mauritius and South Africa, New Zealand English, and the speech of 'new towns' such as Høyanger, Odda and Tyssedal in Norway and Milton Keynes in England (Trudgill 1986; Mesthrie 1992; 1993; Kerswill 2002; Siegel 1987; Britain 1997; Trudgill/Gordon/Lewis/Maclagan 2000; Kerswill/Trudgill 2005; Kerswill/Williams 2000b). Less clear cases are those of the Dutch of the reclaimed land of the Polders (Scholtmeijer 1992) and the English of the Fens of eastern England following 17<sup>th</sup> century land reclamation (Britain 1997).

Koineisation is composed of the *mixing* of elements from different dialects, followed by *levelling*, which refers to "a process whereby, in a dialect mixture situation, those elements disappear which are marked either universally *or* in terms of the particular language undergoing koineization" (Trudgill 1986, 143). This leads, eventually, to the reduction in the number of different realisations of the same linguistic element (a phonological variable, a grammatical morpheme or a lexical item) found as a result of prior mixing. Koinés are also *simplified* with regard to the input dialects, usually having smaller phoneme systems, more invariant word forms, and simpler morphophonemics.

### 3.1. Fiji Hindi

One of the major population movements of the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries was the shipment of people from the Indian subcontinent to work as indentured labourers in the European colonies (Mesthrie 1993). This resulted in new varieties of Indian languages, particularly Bhojpuri, being established across a wide region ranging from the West Indies and the Caribbean to South Africa

Tab. 229.1: Indian Hindi dialects and Fiji Hindi definite future suffixes (from Siegel 1997, 115)

	Bhojpuri	Avadhi	Braj	Fiji Hindi
1sg	bō, ab	bū, ab	ihaū, ūgau	egā
1pl	ab, bī, iha	ab	ihaī, aīgai	egā
2sg (masc.)	bē, ba	bē, ihai	(a)ihai, (a)igau	egā
(fem.)	bī, bis			
2pl (masc.)	bā(h)	bō, bau	(a)ihau, augau	egā
(fem.)	bū			
3sg	ī	ī, ihai, ē	(a)ihau, agau	ī
3pl	ih, ē, ihen	ihaī, aī	(a)ihai, aīgai	ī

(Mesthrie, 1992) and Fiji (Siegel 1987). Table 229.1 (discussed in Kerswill 2002, 672–3) illustrates the mixed nature of the koine known as Fiji Hindi in one area of its grammar.

The form *egā* clearly comes from Braj; in fact, it appears to be a compromise between the various forms available in Braj. The form *ī* presumably comes from Bhojpuri or Avadhi. The manner in which variants have been selected from the range of possibilities provided by the input dialects is an example of levelling. At the same time, the table shows extensive simplification, involving the loss of distinct suffixes for the first and second persons singular and plural, the third person singular and plural, and, predictably perhaps, a failure to adopt the gender distinction in the second person found in one of the contributing dialects (Bhojpuri).

### 3.2. Milton Keynes

The southeast English new town of Milton Keynes was designated in 1967 in a location roughly 80 kilometres from London, Oxford, and Cambridge (see fuller discussions in Kerswill/Williams 2000b; Kerswill 2002; Kerswill/Trudgill 2005). From that date to 1991, the population of the area rose from 44,000 to 176,000, rising further to 207,000 by the 2001 Census. Recordings were made of children (aged 4, 8 and 12) and their female caregiver in 1991–2, some 24 years, or one generation, after its foundation. Almost all the child speakers in the samples were the offspring of adult migrants to the town. We consider first the degree to which this first native generation has *focused* (Le Page 1980) its speech by settling on a new norm, in comparison with that of the migrant caregivers. The variable (ou) refers to the realisation of the offset of the vowel /əʊ/ as in GOAT, which is currently being fronted in south-east Eng-

land. The parents of the children originate from various parts of Great Britain, and would therefore be expected to show a range of pronunciations for this vowel, from both the southeast and elsewhere. In order to see whether any focusing among the children has occurred, we can compare the fronting scores for the female caregiver (in almost all cases the mother) with those of their children. The variable has the following values:

- (ou) – 0: [o:], [oʊ] score: 0  
(Northern and Scottish realization)
- (ou) – 1: [əʊ], [əʊ̯] score: 1  
(older Buckinghamshire and London)
- (ou) – 2: [əʏ] score: 2  
(fronting)
- (ou) – 3: [əɪ] score: 3  
(fronting and unrounding)

An index score was calculated for each speaker, on a scale from 0 to 3, in interview style. It was hypothesised that the 4-year-old children would be measurably closer in their speech to their caregiver than are either the 8 or the 12 year olds. Figure 229.1 shows the correlation of the 4 year olds' index scores with those of their caregivers. Taking the caregivers' scores first, we note that they cover a very wide range. Four of the 16 have scores close to 0, indicating high-back rounded pronunciations characteristic of the north of England and Scotland. The remaining twelve are all from the south of England, and show different degrees of fronting. Like the adults, the children fall into two groups: those using high-back northern variants, and those favouring southern diphthongs. However, all the children are Milton Keynes-born, so we have here a case of some young children acquiring their parents' dialect, while others have either not acquired it or have already accommodated to southern

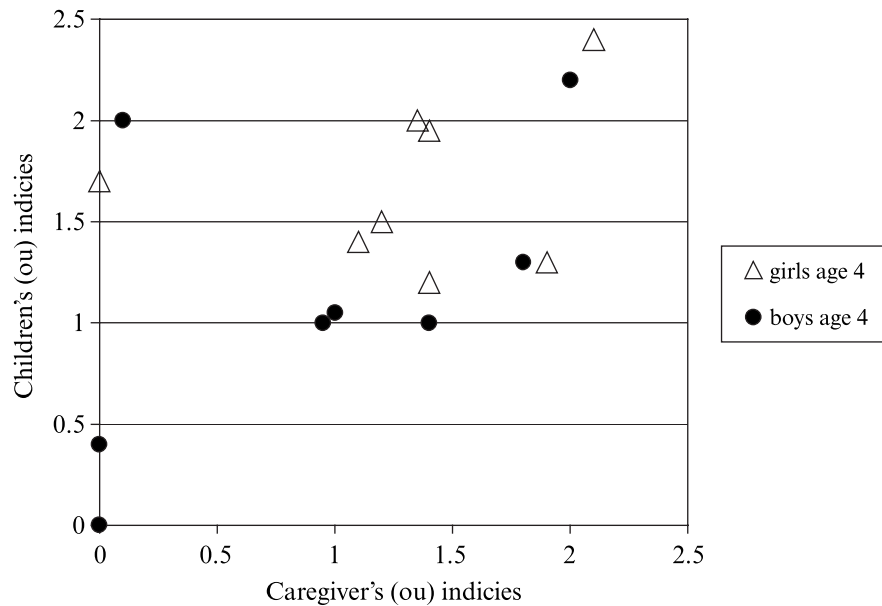


Fig. 229.1: Correlation of 4 year old children's and caregivers' (ou) indices

speech before the time of the interview. In fact, we have direct evidence of this type of accent mobility in this age group: one of the two boys at bottom left of the figure, the offspring of Scottish parents, was using a mainstream south-eastern accent by the time he was recorded for a second time eighteen months later.

For these four year olds, the choice between a high back variant and a central or fronted diphthong is a binary one. Some follow their parents, others turn away from them. However, there is a further, more subtle pattern in the data. Among the 12 children who have southeastern parents (represented by the large cluster in the centre and top-right of the figure), and therefore do not have a gross binary choice to make, there is a strong positive and significant correlation with the

degree of fronting of their caregivers, with an  $r^2$  of 0.355 (Pearson; significant at  $p < .04$ ). This suggests, of course, that these children match their parents' quality for this vowel very closely. The two children with non-southern caregivers, at top left, have made the binary choice away from their parents' pronunciation. Interestingly, they have then actually accentuated the difference by going for quite a fronted vowel. There is a great deal of diversity among the four year olds, reflecting the wider range of dialects spoken by the adults in the new town than would be the case in a longer-established town. In terms of finding out which age group is instrumental in the *process* of new-dialect formation, we need to look at older children. Figure 229.2 shows the same information for the remainder of the children, divided by age and

Tab. 229.2: Index scores for (ou): children and caregivers in Milton Keynes

Child age group	(ou) index: southeastern caregivers	(ou) index: children with southeastern caregivers	Standard deviation	Significance (paired t-test)	$r^2$
4 year olds	1.47	1.52	0.4887	$p=0.628$	<b>0.355 (<math>p=0.04</math>)</b>
8 year olds	1.44	1.80	0.3545	<b><math>p=0.004</math></b>	0.045 ( $p=.4$ )
12 year olds	1.31	1.70	0.3124	<b><math>p&lt;0.001</math></b>	0.23 ( $p=0.08$ )

Range of index: 0–3

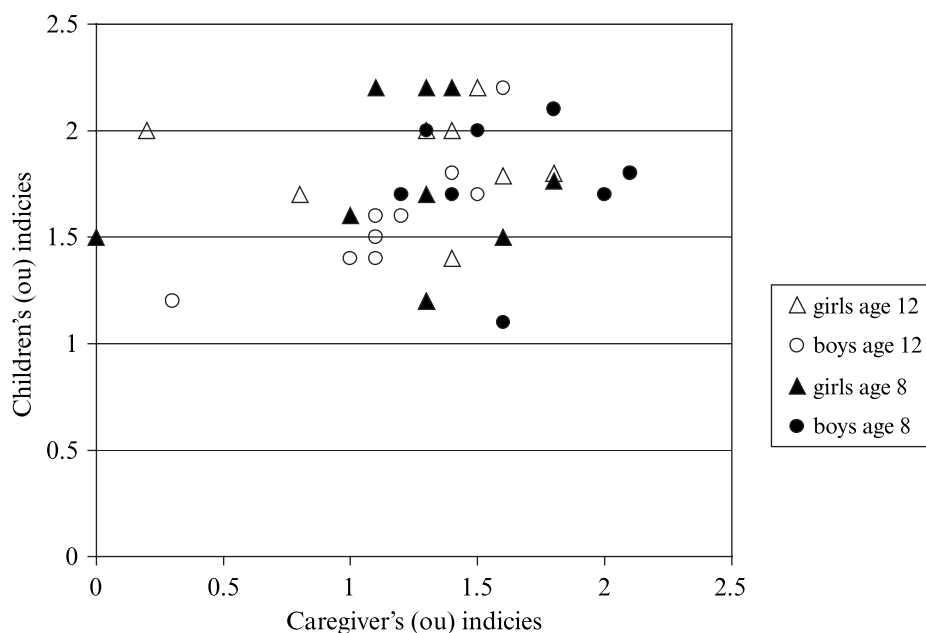


Fig. 229.2: Correlation of (ou) indices for 8 and 12 year olds and caregivers

sex. This time, once the three children from northern families have been removed, there is an almost complete absence of correlation ( $r^2 = .0532$  for the combined age groups). By the age of eight, the children are no longer affected at all by their parents' vowel articulations.

Not only is there greater homogeneity, but there is also focusing on a different norm even from that of the southeastern caregivers: the mean fronting is significantly greater than that of the parents, as shown in Table 229.2.

Thus, focusing on new norms in new-dialect formation is in the gift of older children, from (approximately) the age at which they begin to form friendship groups outside the home. This study therefore complements those investigating completed cases of new-dialect formation, in that it can shed light on the process itself.

#### 4. Conclusion

Migration and language interact in a complex, yet transparent way. Chiefly, migration leads to language or dialect contact, and is, indeed, the prime cause of such contact. Despite the fact that migration varies greatly in time, distance and motivation, this chapter has been able to show that, given a particular constellation of migration type

and language varieties in contact, it is possible to make generalisations, and even realistic predictions, about the sociolinguistic outcomes of the migration.

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## 230. Sociolinguistic Developments as a Diffusion Process Soziolinguistische Entwicklungen als Diffusionsprozesse

1. Introduction
2. Historical forerunners
3. Testing expansion diffusion: a computer simulation
4. Additional factors in explaining expansion diffusion
5. The gravity model
6. Concluding remarks
7. Literature (selected)

### 1. Introduction

For centuries linguists have been aware of the parallels between linguistic and social phenomena. They did not realize, though, until the sixties of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, that adopting the methodology and concepts of the social sciences in linguistics could help to understand the relationships between linguistic and social patterns of variation. Labov’s studies of the social stratification of sound changes in Martha’s Vineyard (Labov 1963) and in New York (1966) have given the impetus for adopting sociological concepts and models for the description and explanation of linguistic differences. The idea that spatial patterns of linguistic phenomena have to do with geographical factors such as roads, mountains, rivers, swamps, etc., is even older than the presumed co-variation of linguistic differences and social factors. Human geography made clear how geographical and social factors interact. In the seventies of the last century, sociolinguists applied tools and theories from human geography to analyse geographical distribu-

tion patterns of linguistic phenomena, including variation between dialects. The concept of diffusion turned out to be pivotal in connecting linguistic and geographical patterns. This article will deal with those so-called diffusion models, in which linguistic innovations are transmitted through space. A diffusionist approach emphasizes external, social sources for explaining language variation (Chambers 1995), which does not mean that internal, linguistic factors do not play a prohibiting or fostering role. Gravity models were included in this article, because they were applied in sociolinguistics to analyse spatial diffusion patterns of linguistic features. Hernadez-Campoy (1999) nevertheless states that the relationship between sociolinguistics and geography is far from being ideal. Bailey/Wikle/Tillery/Sand (1993, 360) state the sociolinguistic obsession towards the social structure of urban language communities in the following way:

“The lack of work of spatial diffusion is primarily a result of two things: the difficulty in obtaining reliable data over an area broad enough to allow for the study of the spread of a feature in space and the interest of variationists in isolating the locus of change in the social structure of the (generally urban) speech community.”

### 2. Historical forerunners

The first large dialect survey to study the spatial diffusion of linguistic variants was held in Germany between 1876 and 1887 by Georg Wenker. Data and maps are now-

adays available through internet ('Digitaler Wenker Atlas'; www.diwa.info). Wenker was presumed to be motivated to test the Neogrammarian claim of regular sound change (cf. Niebaum 1983, 30). Since the first results of this dialect survey already contradicted the neogrammarian claim, most dialectologists left linguistic theories for what they were and confined themselves to the description of geographical patterns of individual linguistic features. The resulting dialect maps were for most dialectologists the ultimate goal they had set themselves. Some, however, moved a step further and wanted to explain the spatial patterns observed. The types of explanations given can be roughly divided into internal and external explanations.

The famous example of an internal linguistic explanation in dialectology is Gilliéron's observation that for the concept 'cock' words were used in the whole of France derived from the Latin word 'gallus', except for the south-western part, Gasconne. He ascribes this geographical pattern to the fact that Gasconne is the only region in France where both the sound changes  $g > c$  and  $ll > tt$  have taken place. In combination, they

would have changed 'gallus' variants into 'cattus', having the consequence that 'cat' became homonymous with 'cock'. This rather inconvenient merger was counter-acted by adopting a different word for 'cock'. Comparable internal linguistic explanations were not very frequently put forward, since spatial distributions of linguistic phenomena often do not coincide in such a perfect way. And, in addition, if they do, one can most of the times not be sure whether the occurrence of phenomenon A indeed caused the occurrence of phenomenon B. Dialectologists will have to resort far more often to external factors to explain spatial diffusion patterns of specific linguistic features. Two different types of diffusion need to be distinguished (a) migration or colonization, and (b) borrowing. The spatial re-distribution of a linguistic feature (or, in the extreme case, of a complete language variety) caused by migration or colonization is called relocation diffusion in human geography. Figures 230.1a and 230.1b visualize this process. The spatial pattern changes because the 'carriers' of the linguistic feature involved move.

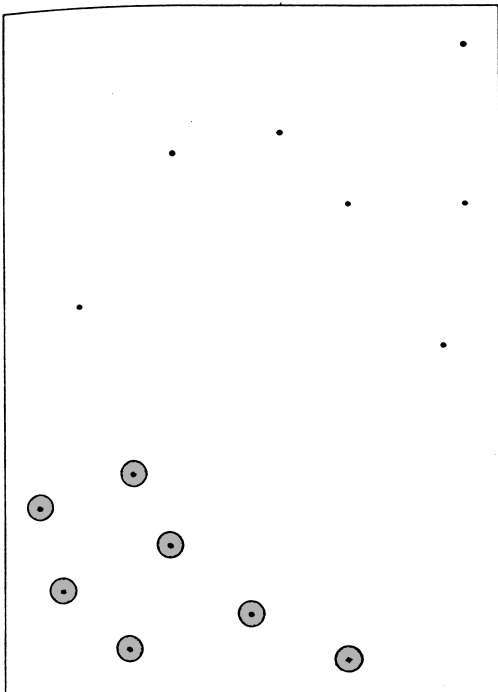


Fig. 230.1a: Relocation diffusion: the initial stage (from Abler/Adams/Gould 1977, 391)

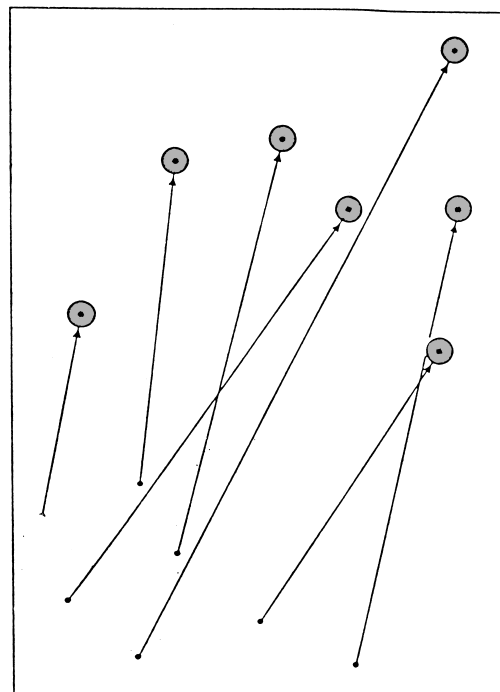


Fig. 230.1b: Relocation diffusion: a later stage (from Abler/Adams/Gould 1977, 391)

The second type of diffusion proceeds by speakers adopting through contact linguistic features from other speakers. The feature is spreading, not its 'carriers'. Such a process is called expansion diffusion in human geography. Figures 230.2a and 230.2b visualize this process. This type of diffusion is also known in sociolinguistics as the wave model. It is related as well to epidemic models as developed in biology.

A beautiful dialect-geographical example of both relocation and expansion is shown in map 230.1 from Kloeke (1927). Map 230.1 shows the geographical distribution of three variants of the vowel in the word 'muis' (= mouse) in the Dutch language area and part of Germany.

The oldest variant is the  $[u.]$  (= Westgermanic  $\hat{u}$ ), which can be found in the eastern part of Map 230.1, including Germany. Its successor, the  $[y.]$ , can be found in the middle of the map, in an area neighbouring the  $[u.]$  area. Secondly, it can be found in the southwest area, bordering the sea. The youngest variant, which is the variant used in standard Dutch as well, is the diphthong  $[oey]$  and this variant is found over the

whole middle area of the map. The map configuration seems to be caused by expansion diffusion by which the oldest variant  $[u.]$  is superseded by the  $[y.]$ , succeeded by the expansion of the youngest variant  $[oey]$ . There are two problems in the spatial distribution of Map 230.1. First of all, the middle area is a complete  $[oey]$  area which raises the question why this distribution is running from up north to down south. Here relocation diffusion comes in. The change  $[u.] \rightarrow [y.]$  originated probably in Flandres and spread in the Middle Ages over a large parts of the Dutch language area. The change  $[y.]$  to  $[oey]$  originated in Flanders, but at the same time it appears in the area of the provinces of Holland, including Amsterdam. A point of discussion is whether the diphthong variant is exported to Amsterdam and other cities after the fall of Antwerp in 1585 when many people from the Antwerp area moved to the Netherlands (the United Low Countries in that time). The further expansion of the  $[oey]$  can be attributed to the provinces of Holland, by far the most powerful provinces in that time. Expansion diffusion of changes is explained by Kloeke (1927) as the outcome of a pro-

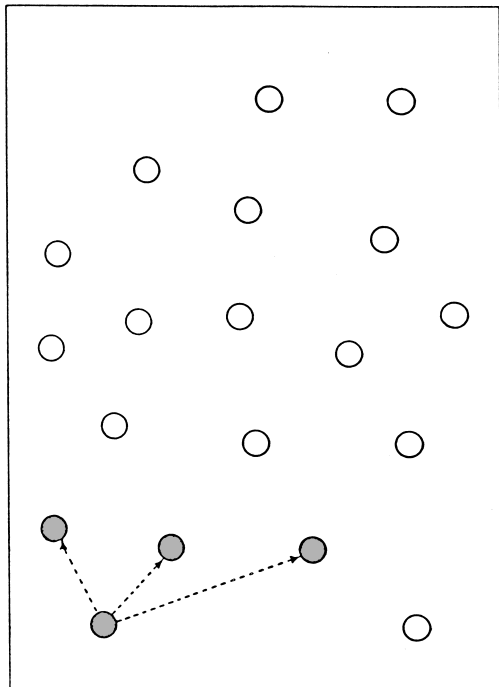


Fig. 230.2a: Expansion diffusion: the initial stage (from Abler/Adams/Gould 1977, 390)

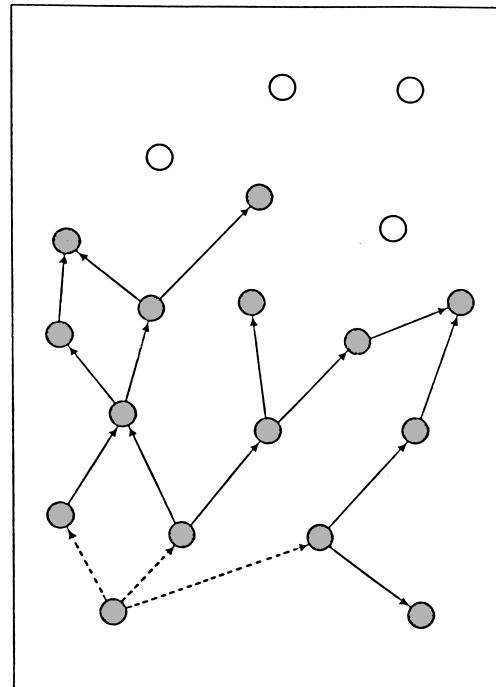
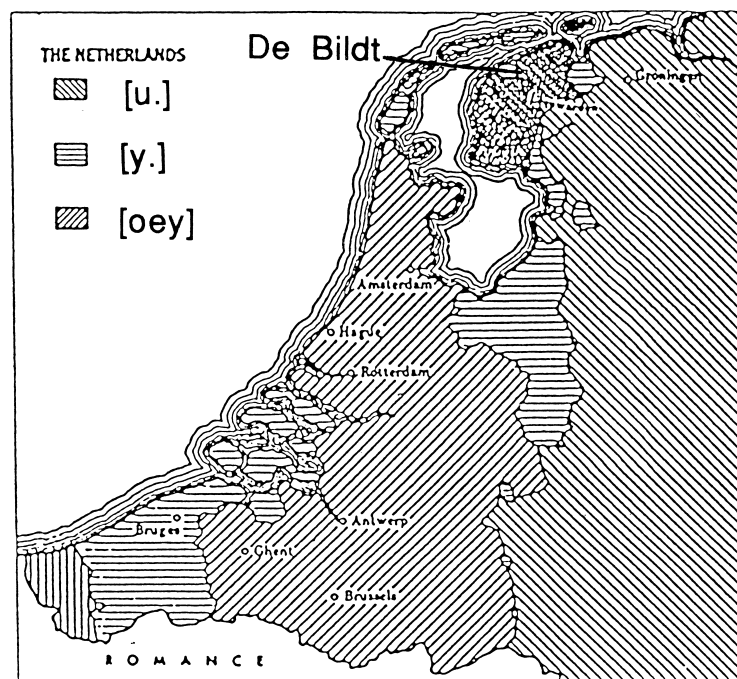


Fig. 230.2b: Expansion diffusion: a later stage (from Abler/Adams/Gould 1977, 390)



Map 230.1: Distribution of the three main variants of the vowel in the word 'muis' (= mouse) in the dialects of the Dutch language area and the neighbouring part of Germany, after Kloeke (1927).

cess where less powerful speaker copy linguistic features of more powerful speakers. He borrowed the concept from his friend Frings who wrote the German masterpiece in the field of dialect expansions (Frings 1926). The second problem in the spatial configuration of Map 230.1 is De Bildt, an *[y.]* speaking area in on the north-west coast of the province of Frisia. This can be explained by migration. De Bildt was diked in and settled under the leadership of Hollanders at the beginning of the sixteenth century. The Hollandish people used at that time an *[y.]* and took it from Holland to the Bildt. Since these immigrants earned a good reputation, the autochthonous population adopted this and other Hollandish linguistic features. As it turns out, expansion and relocation often go hand in hand. Language change as a result of relocation is discussed in the articles 223, 226, 229 and 231. This article focuses on expansion diffusion in the context of dialect-geography and sociolinguistics. Dialect geographers like to explain expansion diffusion on the basis of straightforward geographical factors. Linguistic in-

novations would travel easily along highways, railways and rivers, but would not cross over mountains and swamps.

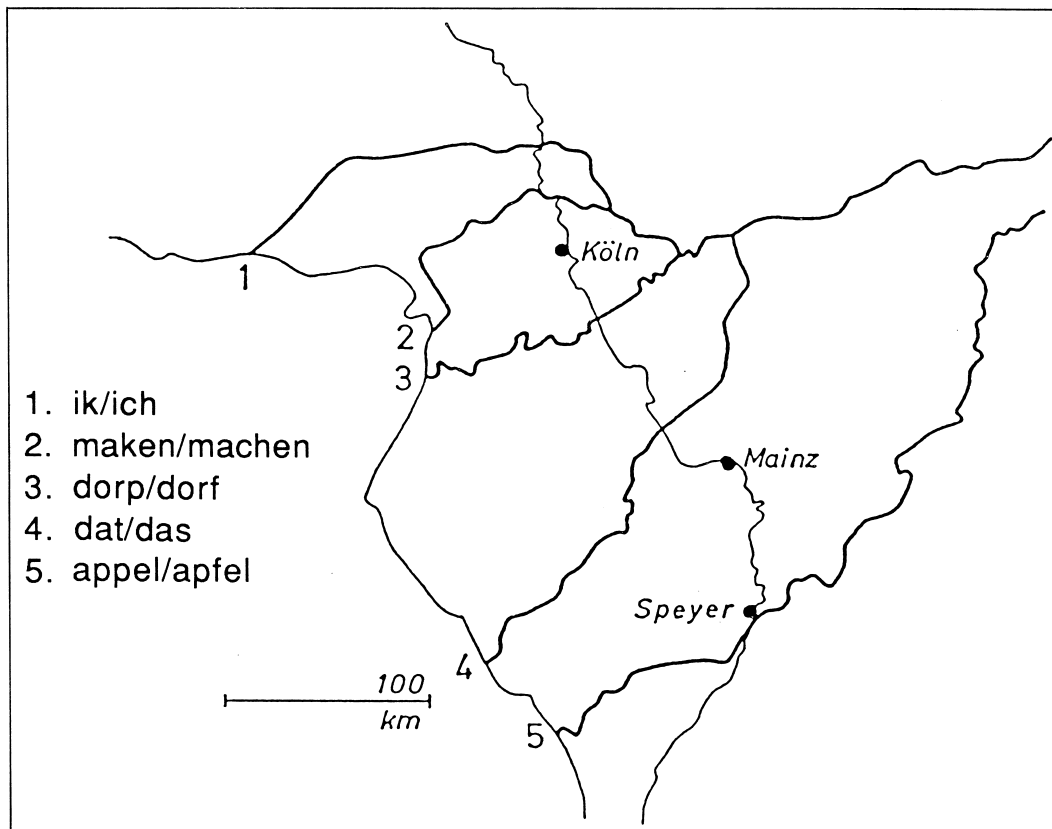
Dialectologists often conclude directly from the spatial configuration of a linguistic phenomena which geographical factors must have been at work and in which direction the diffusion process is taking. A circular configuration around a town, for example, is ascribed to borrowing from that town, due to the prestige of the city, and to contact between its citizens and the inhabitants of surrounding villages. There are a number of linguistic landscapes that according to dialect geographers can be interpreted along such lines of argumentation. Colourful names are made up for specific linguistic landscapes, like mushroom, funnel, pineapple, shattered block, pierced block, crone, ribbon, and terrace formation (Weijnen 1977; Goossens 1977). Goossens (1977, 76–93 passim), however, points out that straightforward geographical explanations need to be corroborated by additional sources of evidence, especially historical linguistic sources.

### 3. Testing expansion diffusion: a computer simulation

Several programs on the internet quickly show how competing forms can diffuse over an area of communicating entities. With a simple rule that neighbours prefer to be alike and that they inform each other, stable borderlines between fixed areas evolve (see also Keller 1994, 101 ff). Such computer simulation models have a history, going back to the work of the human geographer Hägerstrand (1953, 1967). Computer simulation models have the advantage of making it possible to compare spatial patterns predicted by some model and the spatial patterns observed in reality. Hard (1972) was the first who draws dialect geographers' attention to such models from human geography. He used a computer simulation model to test Frings' theory about the origins of the so-called Rhenish Fan, an implicational spatial pattern of related sound changes. The spatial pattern spatial is given in Map 230.2.

The Rhenish Fan in Map 230.2 comprises the geographical distribution of the reflexes of Germanic *\*p*, *\*t* and *\*k* in Rhineland in Germany. Those sounds remained stops in Low German (spoken in the Northern part of Germany), but have changed into fricatives and affricates in High German (spoken in the southern part of Germany). The *p/pf/f*, *t/s* and *k/ch* isoglosses coincide going from east to west Germany, but at a certain point in the west of Germany, they take different tracks, splaying out like the spokes of a fan. According to Frings (1922), this spatial pattern is the outcome of an innovation originating from the southern part of Germany in the tenth century after Christ. Hard (1972) uses a simulation model developed by Hägerstrand (1953, 1967) to test this hypothesis. Hägerstrand's model has several core characteristics (cf. Abler/Adams/Gould 1977, Chapter 11):

- a. The potential adopters of an innovation are spread evenly over space and an innovation can move with equal ease in any direction.



Map 230.2: The Rhenish Fan (from Hard 1972, 48)

- b. An innovation is only adopted in face-to-face interaction (direct contact with neighbouring persons).
- c. When a person comes into contact with an innovation in face-to-face interaction, he will adopt it with a certain probability.
- d. The probability of passing an innovation from one person to another is smaller the larger the distance between them.

The model is implemented as follows. Each person (or entity) is the center of a so-called Mean Information Field (MIF), a communication field that is strong close to him, but gets weaker as distance decreases. The precise values in this Mean Information Field are calculated by taking into account factors as distance, kind of society, etc. (see Abler/Adams/Gould 1977, 413). Figure 230.3 shows how the estimate of the MIF is translated into an operational form.

The Mean Information Field in Figure 230.3 takes the form of a small, square grid of twenty-five cells, the sizes of which are the same as those of the grid lying over the map. Assuming that the teller is located in the middle of the cell, for each of the twenty-five cells in the MIF a probability of adoption of an innovation is calculated on the basis of distance. The center cell in Figure 230.3 received for example a value of 0.4432. This means that every time that the teller passes a message there are 4432 chances out of 10000 that the message will go to someone else within the same middle cell. The corner cells of the floating grid are far away, though, and

the chances of a message passing to people in these remote locations are much lower. A probability of 0.0096 is calculated or 96 chances out of 10000. The centre cell of the Mean Information Field is placed exactly above the cell where according to actual data an innovator is found. Subsequently a number is drawn at random and this number locates the cell of the next adopter. A person in this cell adopts the innovation and the MIF moves on, continuing to scan each of the cells of the map in turn, stopping over each innovator and generating a new adopter of the innovation. One complete pass over the map constitutes one time period or generation of the diffusion process. Then the MIF starts again, stopping twice as often during the second generation and so on. As one generation follows another, a pattern of diffusion develops from the initial assignment of the first few innovators to the population cells. In this way, the model simulates diffusion through time and space. Notice that every time we run the model we can get slightly different results because of its probabilistic nature. We simplified the description of the model to clarify the core characteristics. With the help of computers the model can be refined easily: geographical and psychological barriers can be introduced, populations can be varied from cell to cell, and so on. Before Hard (1972) could apply Hägerstrand's model to test Frings hypothesis on the second Germanic sound shift in Rhineland, the Rhenish Fan, a number of decisions had to be made on further spatial details. He had to locate where and when the innovation had begun.

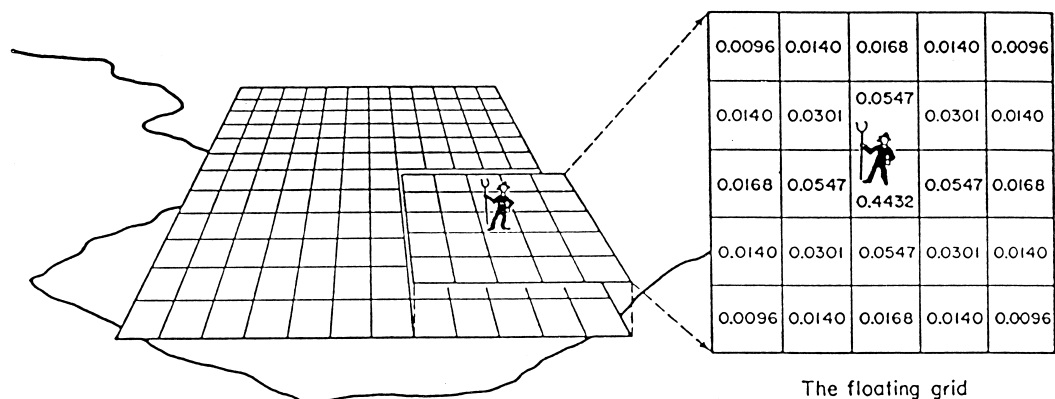
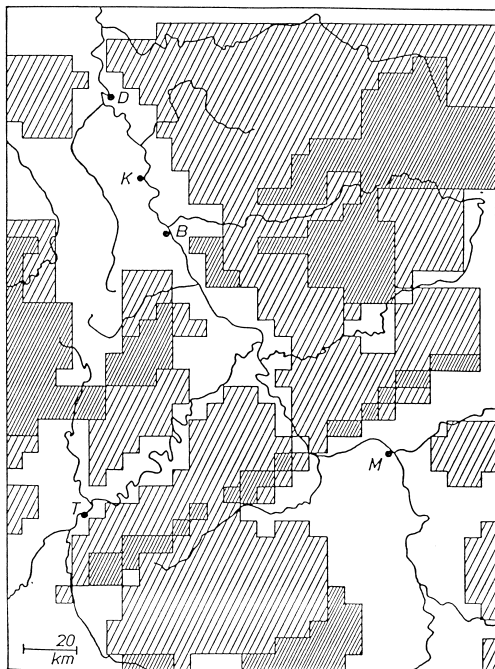


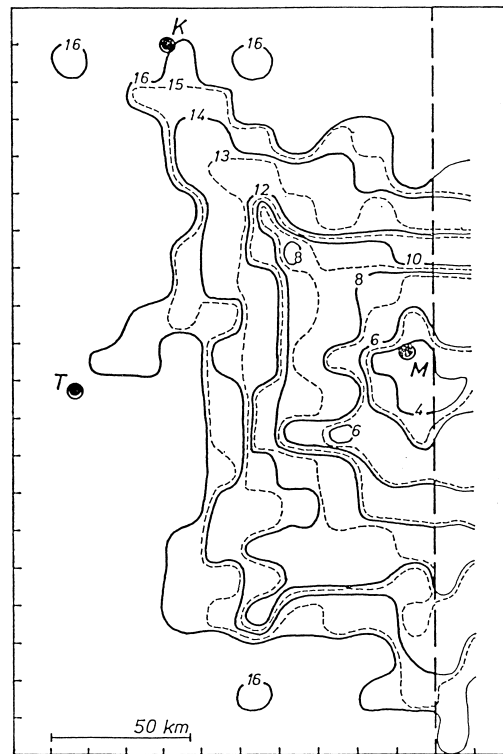
Fig. 230.3: The mean information field as a floating grid of twenty-five cells with the probabilities of communication assigned (from Abler/Adams/Gould 1977, 414)



In accordance with Frings' theory Mainz and surroundings were taken, in the early Middle Ages. Next, Hard had to fix the number of generations. Again in line with Frings' theory he took the period from the early to the late Middle Ages (16 generations). Thirdly, he had to determine in how many cells the area under investigation had to be divided in order to be able to simulate Frings' claims as faithfully as possible. Hard took 1500 to make the simulation detailed enough. Finally, it was decided to use barriers in the map of the model, which meant that a map of Rhineland in the early Middle Ages with barriers had to be constructed. Hard did so by investigating the data of a number of existing maps and historical studies of this area. The result was Map 230.3, in which the cells with barriers are hatched. He distinguished hard and weak barriers. This was incorporated in the model as follows. Persons in cells without barriers adopted an innovation as soon as the model had sampled them, but persons in weak barrier cells had to be sampled twice before they adopted the innovation, and those in hard barrier ones had to be sampled four times.



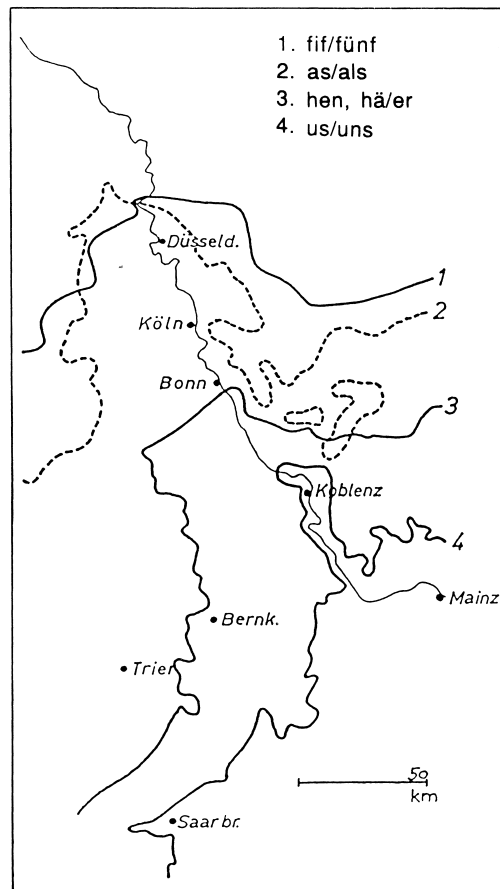
Map 230.3: A 'model map' of Rhineland for the early to late middle ages. 'Weak' and 'hard' barriers are characterized by lighter and darker hatches (from Hard 1972, 51).



Map 230.4: Results of the simulation of the factors that caused the Rhenish Fan according to Frings (from Hard 1972, 57).

The result of the simulation is given in Map 230.4. The so-called isolines in Map 230.4 indicate the areas in which the innovation has been adopted. The isolines range from from the 4<sup>th</sup> (the inner area, only Mainz plus surroundings) to the 16<sup>th</sup> generation (the largest area, just not including Köln) and they show how the innovation is spreading over the area according to the simulation model.

Frings' theory about the Rhenish Fan could be accepted if Map 230.4 would have a spatial configuration that resembles the configuration of Map 230.3. This is anything but true, though. In such a case one has an option between repeating the simulation with a more refined model, hoping that the resulting map will resemble better or conclude that the factors incorporated in the model have nothing to do with the spread of the phenomenon under investigation. Hard gives two reasons for taking the last option. The differences between the actual geographical distribution and the map predicted by the simulation model are too large to be remedied by refining the model. Furthermore, Hard presents Map 230.5 with four other isoglosses.



Map 230.5: Diffusions from the southern part of Germany (from Hard 1972, 47).

The isoglosses in Map 230.5 are changes of which it is well-grounded that they originated in the south in Middle German. These patterns clearly resemble the patterns found in the simulation model as can be seen in Map 230.4. This additional source of evidence leads to the rejection of Frings' theory. Hard (1972) rejects Frings' theory about the origins of the Rhenish Fan. Schützeichel (1961) has an alternative theory. He ascribes the Rhenish Fan to an autochthonous development in the Rhineland at the end of the 8th century after Christ. To test this theory, a new simulation model need to be implemented and, again, maps predicted by the model, need to be compared to the observed geographical distribution. Simulating geographical expansion diffusion seems to offer attractive possibilities to test theories of expansion in dialectology. Unfortunately, despite Hard's appealing example, no other

human geographer's or dialectologists have implemented complex simulation models. From a sociolinguistic viewpoint, one would like to have simulation models that could somehow incorporate more complex social configurations.

#### 4. Additional factors in explaining expansion diffusion

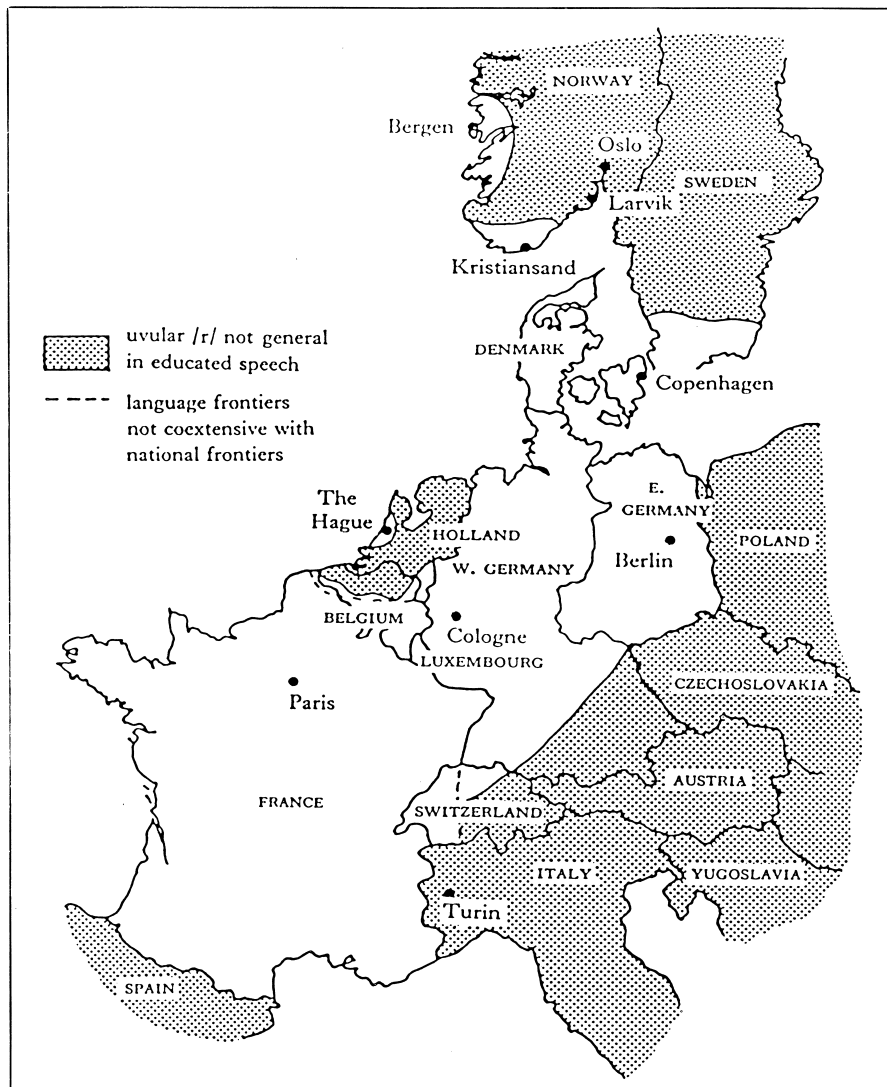
Although dialect geographers had uncomfortable feelings about their explanations of expansion diffusion, more precise points of criticism were only formulated in the seventies. Dialectologists tried to get dialectology out of this dead end (Hard 1972; Trudgill 1974; Trudgill 1983; Thomas 1975; Gerritsen/Jansen 1980). Particularly the points raised by Trudgill (1974) are still relevant today, because an overall model of language contact and the origins and diffusion of language changes is still lacking. The points of criticism centre on the incorporation of sociological and social-psychological factors in processes of geographical expansion diffusion.

4.1 The geographical factors fostering or inhibiting diffusion are too loosely defined. All geographical factors that are given to explain spatial diffusion can de facto be reduced to one: the easiness with which inhabitants of different localities may have contact with each other. For a convincing explanation of a linguistic map it is necessary to define contact more precisely and to show that it occurs or occurred far more often between the people of the expansion centre and the inhabitants of the area that adopted the linguistic feature than between the expansion centre and the population of an area that did not adopt the linguistic feature. The spread of a linguistic phenomenon can only be ascribed to borrowing if contact actually took place. Intensive contact, however, does not guarantee that borrowing actually will take place, since adoption of a new linguistic form requires specific sociological, linguistic and psychological conditions.

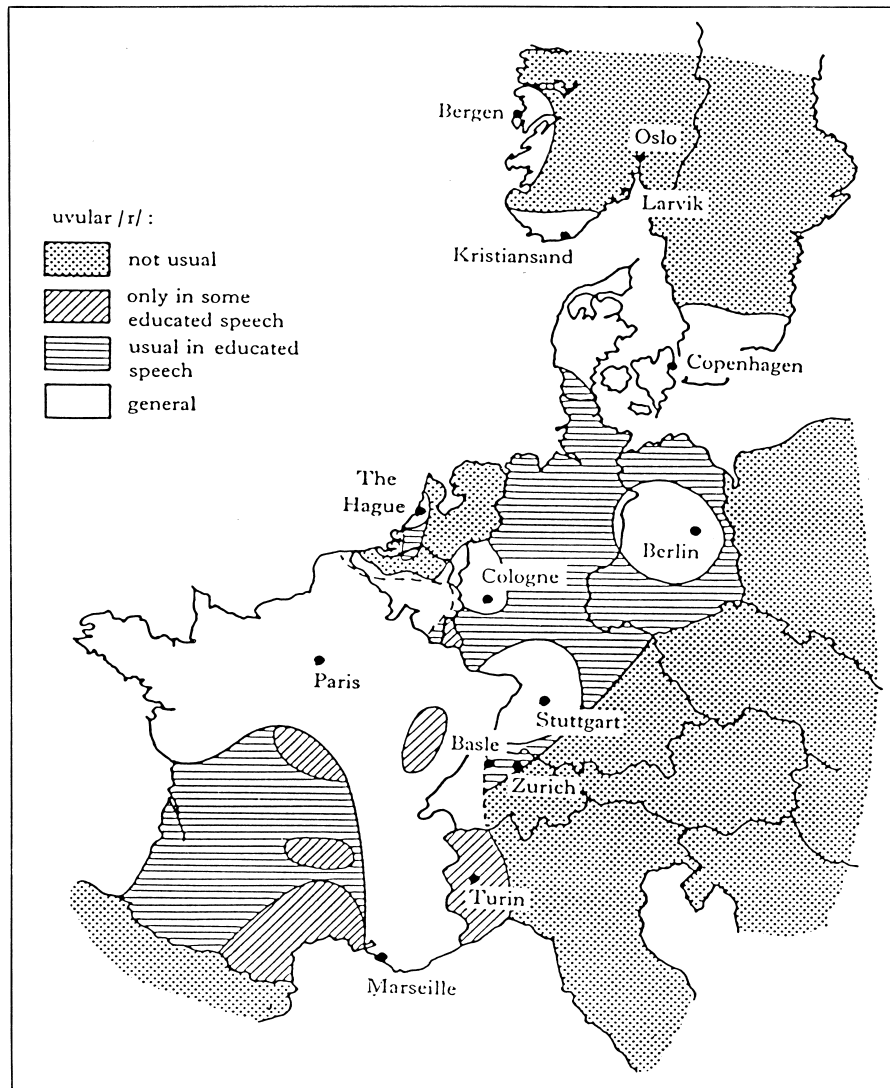
4.2 Social and stylistic factors that may play a role in the spread of linguistic phenomena are neglected. Dialect geographers restricted themselves traditionally to the study of the dialect of the 'best dialect speakers of the place'. Trudgill (1974, 217-221) shows that spatial distribution patterns could not be explained because of the lack of social or stylistic details. The distribution of

the uvular /r/ in Europe in educated speech (see Map 230.6), for example, is hard to understand, but additional socio-stylistic information as given in Map 230.7 gives a better insight in the patterns of diffusion. Map 230.7 shows that urban centres have played an important role in the spread of the uvular /r/. The change has taken place through a gradual diffusion process around major cities in France, Belgium, Switzerland and Germany; elsewhere it seem to have jumped from one urban centre to another: The Hague, Cologne, Berlin, Copenhagen, Kristiansand and Bergen. Jumping between cities is a process well known in human

geography and it is called hierarchical diffusion. Trudgill gives evidence for a process of hierarchical diffusion, a diffusion type well-known in human geography, and often added to expansion and relocation diffusion. It is in fact seen as a variant of expansion diffusion. Britain (2002) points out that urban hierarchical diffusion is found in several studies (e. g., Bailey/Wikle/Tillery/Sand 1993; Horvath/Horvath 1997), without accepting that hierarchical diffusion is a special variant of expansion diffusion. Hernández-Campoy (1999) mentions the central place theory in human geography to account for processes of hierarchical diffusion.



Map 230.6: Uvular /r/ in Europe (from Chambers/Trudgill 1980, 186).



Map 230.7: Uvular /r/ in greater social details (from Chambers/Trudgill 1980, 191).

4.3 Speakers' and listeners' attitudes are not sufficiently dealt with. Dialect geographers did hardly pay attention to attitudes. It seems reasonable to assume that attitudes are important and that positive attitudes towards a linguistic feature will stimulate adoption, whereas negative attitudes will prohibit it. Metropolitan areas usually are centres of linguistic expansion, but many typically New York City forms are confined to the city itself. Labov (1966, 499) writes that New York City linguistically is 'a great sink of negative prestige'. We need, however, more research on the relationship between

linguistic attitudes and language behaviour. Research results are far from being equivocal, even not in social psychological research in general on the relationship between attitudes and behaviour. A different aspect to be mentioned here is the way linguistic features are mapped. Traditional dialect maps are straightforward, using plain symbols or isoglosses. They do not incorporate other sources of information or information on the presence of variation in the linguistic feature investigated. Quantitative maps, containing information on the frequency of occurrence of a certain phenom-

enon, can be found more and more in modern dialect geography, which is interesting especially when social processes are involved. Britain (2002) gives several examples of quantitative maps. An important publication is Kretzschmar/Schneider (1996).

### 5. The gravity model

Gravity models are common in human geography for explaining a wide range of flow patterns, e.g., migration, telephone traffic, passenger movements, and commodity flow. Such models can be used to explain the flow of linguistic features as well. Gravity can be defined as the degree of attraction between places. The gravity model is attractive as a geolinguistic model because of the relative simplicity of its application. Trudgill (1974) was the first to use a gravity model to explain processes of linguistic diffusions in Norway and England. Callary (1975) did so in Illinois and Gerritsen/Jansen (1980) applied it to explain the spread of an Amsterdam dialect feature in the Netherlands. The gravity model in its simplest form is given in (1).

$$(1) \quad M_{ab} = (P_a P_b) / (d_{ab})^2$$

where  $M_{ab}$  = the number of interactions between a and b during some time period

$d_{ab}$  = the distance between a and b

$P_x$  = size of population x

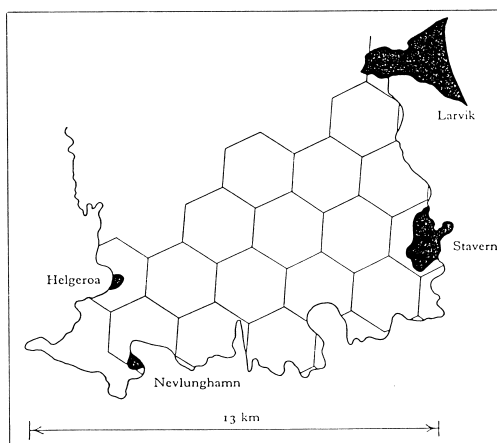
Formula (1) states that the degree of interaction or exchange between place 'a' and place 'b' can be expressed as a function of the population sizes of both places divided by their squared geographical distance. Data about distance and population sizes are often easy to obtain. Model (1) can be specified, to determine the influence (= I) of place a on place b, which is different from the influence or impact of place b on a. The formula is given in (2).

$$(2) \quad I_{ab} = (P_a P_b) / (d_{ab})^2 \cdot (P_a / (P_a + P_b))$$

In addition, it is possible to incorporate that linguistic features are most easily adopted from dialects that resemble each other than from dialects which are linguistically dissimilar. A factor s, expressing linguistic similarity, can be added. This gives the formula given in (3).

$$(3) \quad I_{ab} = s \cdot (P_a P_b) / (d_{ab})^2 \cdot (P_a / (P_a + P_b))$$

Trudgill used the gravity model in combination with a human geographical and sociolinguistic methodology of data collection to explain the geographical distribution of linguistic phenomena in Norway and England. The Norwegian study was carried out in Brunlanes, a small rural peninsula on the south coast of Norway, surrounded by the sea on three sides and bordered in the north by a wooded area with no roads of any consequence. Thanks to this isolation it is an ideal location for the study of linguistic diffusion. He explored the influence of the rather big town Larvik on the other towns of the peninsula. For this investigation, Trudgill divided the landscape under investigation into areas of uniform size and shape by applying a hexagon grid. This technique has been successfully employed by human geographers. The result is shown in Map 230.8.



Map 230.8: Brunlanes, Norway (from Chambers/Trudgill 1980, 193).

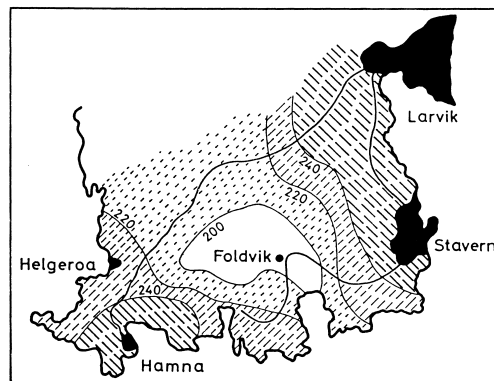
Subsequently, he selected at random one locality in each cell and recorded casual speech of a sample of speakers of three age groups in each locality. In examining the influence of Larvik on the other cities of the peninsula, he investigated among other things the realization of the linguistic variable /æ/, which has the following variants in Brunlanes:

(æ)-1	= [ɛ]	score 000
(æ)-2	= [ɛt]	score 100
(æ)-3	= [æ]	score 200
(æ)-4	= [æT]	score 300
(æ)-5	= [a]	score 400

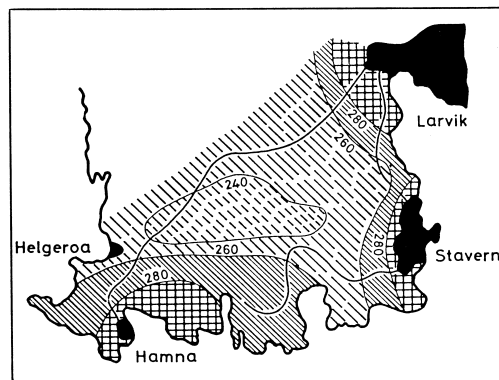
Variant (æ)–1 is the oldest pronunciation, (æ)–5 the most recent one. Index scores were calculated for each informant, ranging between a minimum of 0 – only use of (æ)–1 and a maximum of 400 – only use of (æ)–5. The average scores for all cells of the map were worked out, for three different age groups: 24 years old and younger; between 25 and 69; older than 69. Subsequently, maps were drawn.

Maps 230.9, 230.10, and 230.11 were drawn for the three age groups, after the manner of geographers producing maps with height contours. These maps do not show isoglosses in the traditional sense but rather isoglosses relating to the average index scores. This method is, briefly, as follows. If two hexagonal grids with centre points a and b have, respectively, (æ) index scores of 150 and 75, and if, on our map, a and b are 15 millimeters apart, then a 'contour line' is drawn representing an index score of 100 that passes between a and b at a point 10 mm from a and 5 mm from b. If we take a look at Map 230.9 for the 70+ age group, we see three isoglosses indicating four different areas. In the central area around Foldvik the score is less than 200, around that area is a district with an average score higher than 200 but less than 220, then follows an area with a score higher than 220 and less than 240, finally there is the district around Larvik, Stavern and Hamna with a score higher than 240.

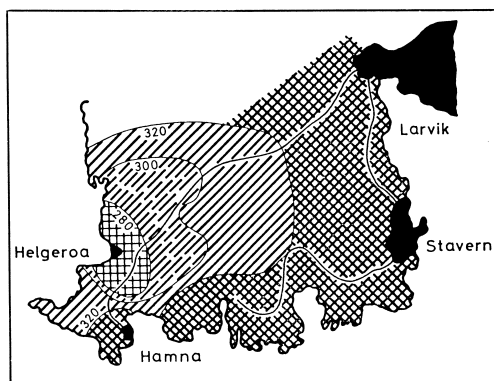
Map 230.9, 230.10, and 230.11 together provide a demonstration in apparent time of the linguistic change of the (æ) in Brunlanes. First of all, the scores are higher the younger the group of speakers is. Moreover, these maps show that the spatial diffusion of the newer variants is spreading outwards from Larvik, Stavern and Hamna. All three maps show further that the area around Helgeroa is most resistant to the innovation. The map of the (æ) pronunciation of the age group 24 and younger is striking because it shows that Hamna, while itself still receptive to innovation, has much less influence on its surroundings than in earlier periods, whereas the influence of Larvik and Stavern on its surroundings appears to be much greater. Trudgill presumes that the differences in spread of the new variant between the generations are due to the changes in the Brunlanes transport. At the times that the 70+ generation learned to speak roads had not



Map 230.9: Brunlanes (æ), speakers aged 70+ (from Trudgill 1974).



Map 230.10: Brunlanes (æ), speakers aged 25-69 (from Trudgill 1974).



Map 230.11: Brunlanes (æ), speakers aged 24- (from Trudgill 1974).

yet been constructed and therefore travel by sea between Larvik and the cities on the coast was far more important than over land travel, but at the time that the 24+ generation learned their language road traffic was far more important than sea traffic. This explanation is plausible, but it is as vague as the ones of traditional dialect geographers. Therefore Trudgill has applied the gravity model to test the correctness of this explanation. In order to implement the factors that caused the distribution of this innovation among the 70+ generation, he used the model as in (2) to produce indices of the linguistic influence of Larvik on Stavern, Hamna and Helgeroa using distances by sea. In addition, scores for the influence of Larvik on Foldvik, lying in the centre of the peninsula, were calculated by land. Assuming that certain types of movement by land were relatively more difficult than by sea,  $d^3$  was used instead of  $d^2$  for calculating the influence over land. Since the dialects of Brunlanes are very similar to each other, no linguistic factor needed to be included. The indices of linguistic influence from Larvik on the other towns are shown in Table 230.1.

Tab. 230.1: Indices of linguistic influences from Larvik (first stage)

	sea model	land model
Stavern	10416	
Hamma	97	
Helgeroa	47	
Foldvik		18

Comparison of the figures in Table 230.1 with the pattern of Map 230.9 shows that the hierarchy of linguistic influence from Larvik predicted by the gravity model fits the data obtained for the older speakers. Where a high influence is predicted, high influence is attested, and where no influence is forecasted, none is found. This is a strong indication that the diffusion is due indeed to influence from Larvik by sea. In order to explain the map of the second generation (Map 230.9), Trudgill assumes that Larvik and Stavern together will influence the adoption of the innovation in Hamna, Helgeroa and Foldvik, and that the influence from other centres on those three towns have to be subtracted from the influence from Larvik and Stavern on them. Table 230.2 shows the results of calculating the linguistic influence.

Tab. 230.2: Indices of linguistic influence from Larvik and Stavern with subtraction of influence from other cities (second stage)

	sea model	land model
Hamma	107	
Helgeroa	42	
Foldvik		20

If we compare Table 230.2 with Map 230.10, we see that the adoption of the new feature was indeed greater in Hamna than in Helgeroa and Foldvik – as the model predicts –, but that – contrary to the model's predictions – it was greater in Foldvik than in Helgeroa. This exception can be explained by taking into account the switch in dominance from land to sea transport. Table 230.3 shows the indices of influence from Larvik and Stavern on Hamna, Helgeroa and Foldvik by land (with the subtraction of the influence from other cities on those three).

Tab. 230.3: Indices of linguistic influence from Larvik and Stavern with subtraction of influence from other cities (second stage)

	land model
Hamma	0
Helgeroa	14
Foldvik	20

The land model predicts a higher influence on Foldvik than on Helgeroa and that is exactly what we find on Map 230.10. In order to be able to explain the distribution of the innovation among the middle-aged speakers we have to reckon with contact by both sea and land. Map 230.11 of the younger generation can be explained in the same way as Map 230.10. It appears only that traffic by land has had more influence than traffic by sea.

The predictions made by the gravity model do not only correspond with the data in this Norwegian instance, but also for word initial h-deletion in east England (Trudgill 1974), the spread of the Chicago variants of the *(ae)* in Illinois (Callary 1975), and the spread of the Amsterdam variants of the standard Dutch *[Ei]* in the Netherlands (Gerritsen/Jansen 1980).

Gerritsen and Jansen (1980) propose a refinement of the linguistic part of Trudgill's model, the factor *s*. Although the predictions done by the gravity model about the spread of Amsterdam monophthongs for

standard Dutch [Ei] were almost entirely accurate, there were a number of exceptions of two different types. In the first place Amsterdam monophthongs came out where the standard gravity model did not predict them. The vowel systems in these places, however, could have developed monophthongization as a natural change, which can be reflected in a high structural similarity. Secondly, there were places where monophthong Amsterdam variants were expected, but where they were not found. In those cases the phonological system did already have a vowel like the Amsterdam monophthong. Adopting the Amsterdam variant would have led to a vowel merger and a loss of contrast. This can be rendered by a low structural similarity score.

## 6. Concluding remarks

Tobler (1970) stated as the first law of geography, that everything is related to everything else, but near things are more related than distant things. The same can be said for speakers, but that does not imply that social and spatial analysis coincide. Britain (2002) concludes that the analysis of spatial and social structure is far from being integrated (see also article 170). In this contribution, we focused more on the past than on the present. A good reason to do so is that existing patterns of variation ask for explanation on the basis of the past. The amount of data collected by dialectologists is enormous, and sociolinguists can make a crucial contribution in explaining the dialect-geographical diffusion patterns. There are several important aspects that deserve further attention:

- More experience need to be developed to apply diffusion models from human geography. The lack of experience means that new applications are too laborious. The consequence is that nowadays nobody any longer tests diffusion models.
- Existing diffusion models are too global and too much directed towards implementing simplified models; more analytically oriented models have to be developed, in which different factors can be incorporated.
- How can the study of ongoing processes of variation and diffusion be reconciled with an orientation towards the past? Britain (Article 170) concludes that sociolinguists fail to incorporate the notion of spatiality in their research.

- Despite the recognition of the impact of spatial factors, sociolinguists fail to implement space in their research designs in an integrative way. They focus on communities, networks and face-to-face interaction.
- Many sociolinguists prefer linguistic, structural explanations instead of external, social explanations.

The grand scheme of research in the study of language variation and change is to integrate the classical four dimensions of time, space, social structure and linguistic structure. From a linguistic point of view, one can observe that language contact is again a topic in which linguistic questions outweigh, as can be observed in Thomason (2001). In the field of language contact, a link is made between linguistic outcomes and kind of bilingualism. It is the task of sociolinguistics to keep the external factors, however complex they are, part of the explanatory framework, including the spatial dimensions of language and speech.

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## 231. Language Spread/Sprachverbreitung

1. From Europe to the globe
2. Instruments of language spread
3. The age of globalisation
4. Europeanisation
5. Literature (selected)

### 1. From Europe to the globe

Languages have typically been spread to new territories as a result of military and commercial expansion. Religious missionary activity also necessarily entails language use. The 'spreading' of a language requires human agency, and is often orchestrated through an explicit policy for disseminating the language. The presence of European languages worldwide confirms a pattern of dominant powers exporting their languages, through colonisation (see art. 226) and the adoption of the dominant language by those

who see it as in their interest to use it. This occurs often at the expense of the original languages. The vast majority of the languages in settler states in the Americas and Australia have been exterminated as a result of linguistic genocide, and the remaining ones are endangered. Language and cultural rights figure prominently in the demands of indigenous groups worldwide for greater autonomy (see art. 257). Cobarrubias (1983) has elaborated a taxonomy of policies that a state can adopt towards minority languages:

- attempting to kill a language;
- letting a language die;
- unsupported coexistence;
- partial support of specific language functions;
- adoption as an official language.

Each type has been widely practised both within states and in empires. There is sub-

stantial documentation of the spread of many languages, to which scholars from many different language backgrounds have contributed, see, e.g. Cooper 1982, and thematic issues of the *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, volume 95 (1992) and volume 107 (1994), both edited by Ulrich Ammon. These facilitate comparative analysis, and underline the need for a multi-disciplinary approach within the broader perspectives of language planning, language policy, language dominance, and language rights (e.g. Skutnabb-Kangas 2000). The diversity and complexity of linguistic hierarchies necessitate both adequate theoretical foundations and strong empirical description of language spread in the past and in the contemporary world of globalization and redefinition of the nation-state. Hierarchies of language are constantly being renegotiated and legitimated. Imagery, or to put it in contemporary neoliberal terms, the marketing of a language, has therefore always been the significant ideological accompaniment of cruder forms of language spread, military and political brute force (Bailey 1992). French spread as the primary international language of the modern period as a result of its adoption as the language of many royal courts throughout Europe from the late 17<sup>th</sup> century. France had the largest population of any country in Europe. The dissemination of French elsewhere was facilitated by several factors: emigration from France as a result of religious persecution; significant numbers of governesses training aristocrats to speak French from Madrid to St. Petersburg; and the belief among elites that French civilization and language were intrinsically superior to others (Frijhoff, in Chaudenson 2000). Language policy was an essential feature of the 'civilizing mission' of colonial empires. Although the British are generally regarded as being less active than the French in claiming superior merits for their language, English is no exception to the rule of an ideology of linguistic superiority accompanying political power. By the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century English was being projected as "a strong, a harmonious, a noble language [...]. Before another century has gone by it will, at the present rate of increase, be spoken by hundreds of millions [...]. That language is rapidly becoming the great medium of civilization, the language of law and literature to the Hindoo, of commerce to the African, of religion to the scat-

tered islands of the Pacific" (Edwin Guest 1838, quoted in Crowley 1989, 71–72).

In the British empire there was throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries a recurrent debate about the merits of using English or the languages of colonised peoples in their education (Pennycook 1998). It is also significant that curricula developed in a colonial context, such as the teaching of English literature in India, were implemented in British schools after they had proved their worth in the school subject *English* as an instrument of social control in a racist, socially stratified, colonial system (Viswanathan 1989). British literature still dominates the curriculum of departments of English in universities in India. In like fashion, in US colonies such as the Philippines, there was an insistence on an exclusive use of English in education from 1898 to 1940, and Filipinos had "the literary taste of an American" imposed on them, with lasting consequences (Martin 2000). Russian was an instrument of ideological control in the Soviet empire from Stalin's time onwards, with concepts such as bilingualism and international language involving the replacement of other languages by Russian (Rannut 1994). The language policies in place in most former colonies perpetuate the hierarchy of languages of the colonial period, though some modernizing states have invested heavily in language planning, for instance for the promotion of Bahasa in post-colonial Indonesia and Malaysia. There are many analyses of processes of cultural and linguistic spread, and their lasting impact on the language ecology: on Latin America, see Hamel 1994a and b, and volume 127 of the *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 1997, edited by Rainer Enrique Hamel; for postcolonial states in Africa, see, e.g. Bamgbose 1991; Ngũgĩ 1986; and for Asia Pattanayak 1981; Rahman 1999. There are also many studies of how language spread internally within states serves to deprive speakers of minority languages of their linguistic human rights, for instance Kashmiri (Tickoo 1994) and Kurdish (Skutnabb-Kangas/Bucak 1994). There is also an increasing flow of significant books describing the inappropriacy of the former colonial language English to the needs of Asia (Dasgupta 1993), the gap between British norms for English and locally valid norms (Parakrama 1995), and the devising of pedagogical strategies to empower

learners of English and resist linguistic imperialism (Canagarajah 1999). English is spreading in such contexts in locally determined ways as well as serving as an elite language that links economies and cultures to dominant international and global interests.

## 2. Instruments of language spread

International promotion of a language is funded by many governments, as a central dimension of cultural diplomacy and international cultural relations. The standard instruments of language spread include language teaching (including use of the former colonial language as the medium of education), scholarships for study in the metropolis, academic links, the dissemination of information (libraries, subscriptions to newspapers and magazines, films, ...), broadcasting, and promotion of the arts (theatre, writers, music). These are significant means for facilitating cultural and linguistic links, and are the mainstay of such bodies as the Goethe Institut, Instituto Cervantes, the Dante Alighieri Institute, Japanese language promotion schemes, and Saudi funding of centres for the diffusion of Islam and Arabic. The governments which have devoted most funds to such activities since 1945 are those of France, the United States and the United Kingdom. The British Council was established in 1935 to promote British interests and English, partly in response to the success of the fascist governments of Italy and Germany in using language teaching and higher education scholarships to promote their national interest. The British Council is a para-statal body that promotes British cultural, educational and linguistic interests worldwide. A wartime book by an adviser to the British Council on "the diffusion of English culture outside England" (Routh 1941) sets out a strategy for a profession that will "lay the foundations of a world-language and culture based on our own." During the post-1945 period of decolonisation, the strategic importance of language promotion as a means of retaining influence and the value of investments was a paramount concern of western powers. A confidential report prepared by an *Official Committee on the Teaching of English Overseas* for the British Cabinet in 1956 (cited in Phillipson 1992, 147) states: "Within a generation from now English could be a world language – that is to say, a universal second

language in those countries in which it is not already the native or second tongue."

The British government saw a need for the expansion of English to "take place mainly under Commonwealth and United States auspices" (ibid.), and wished to ensure that potential competitors such as the Germans and Egyptians should be circumvented. A series of British government reports in the 1950s resulted in investment in an academic infrastructure for the promotion of English worldwide (Phillipson 1992, chapter 6).

Promotion of a language has remained a significant dimension of the foreign policy of the world's most powerful states. Thus the consolidation of English globally to further American interests was "greatly abetted by the expenditure of large amounts of government and private foundation funds in the period 1950–1970, perhaps the most ever spent in history in support of the propagation of a language" (Troike 1977, 2). At the time he was Director of the Center for Applied Linguistics, Washington, DC, which was established with Ford Foundation money, as were many programs in educational 'aid' (Arnove 1982). This was a continuation of a policy from the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century of American foundations investing heavily in influential research and higher education institutions in Europe, and thereby having a decisive impact on the evolution of scientific work in such fields as medicine and the social sciences (ibid.). This US funding and influence facilitated the shift from German to English as the dominant language of the natural sciences. British involvement in promoting English worldwide has been intensive since the mid-1950s, through the activities of the British Council, a major expansion of the infrastructure of universities and professional associations concerned with English as a 'Second' or 'Foreign' language (in parallel with developments in the USA), and countless activities designed to strengthen links between Britain and key people in the education, cultural and political worlds elsewhere. The goal was formulated in the British Council Annual Report, 1960–1961, as follows: "Teaching the world English may appear not unlike an extension of the task which America faced in establishing English as a common national language among its own immigrant population."

American foundations were not only vital in placing on the academic map such disci-

plines as sociolinguistics and applied linguistics. They were also instrumental in confirming a particular way of perceiving the language needs and problems of newly independent nations, as a representative of the Ford Foundation states: "The World Second Language Survey was undertaken as the first major task by the Center for Applied Linguistics (with separate Ford Foundation support) in cooperation with the British Council, and the then Bureau d'Étude et de Liaison pour l'Enseignement du Français dans le Monde (BEL). This program produced the first body of data on the worldwide role of English and French as second languages and significantly increased international contacts and cooperation and exchange of information and scholars. It set the pattern for collaboration on the language problems of developing countries that CAL sparked for almost a decade through cooperative establishment with the British and the French of annual meetings of the International Conferences on Second Language Problems" (Fox 1975, 37; emphasis added).

These language spread activities can be seen as involving structural and ideological links that constitute linguistic imperialism (Phillipson 1992) and discourses of the cultural politics of English as an international language (Pennycook 1994). Linguistic imperialism is a key constituent of North-South relations, interlocking with other dimensions of cultural imperialism, particularly in the export of education worldwide. It interlocks with imperialism in the economic, political, military and communication spheres in an asymmetrical world order. Linguistic imperialism is maintained and reproduced by an inequitable allocation of resources to English, and by an ideology that legitimates linguistic inequality. English can also be seen as a post-imperial language, in which the asymmetrical and exploitative world order consolidates the power of transnational corporations rather than states (Fishman/Conrad/Rubal-Lopez 1996).

The *Alliance Française pour la propagation de la langue française dans les colonies et à l'étranger* was established in 1883. It is one of many bodies supported by the French state that aim at strengthening the position of French worldwide. Massive funding since decolonisation has gone into 'development aid' in former French colonies and the consolidation of links between French-speaking

states. The *Direction Générale de la Coopération Internationale et du Développement* had a budget in 2000 of 11 billion francs (Chaudenson 2000, 169). The *Agence intergouvernementale de la Francophonie* brings together 47 states and governments as members, and an additional 8 states as observers. It is estimated that 170 million people use French regularly as a first or second language. The figures for English are substantially higher, especially for those using English as a second language or learning it as a foreign language, though statistics in this field are notoriously unreliable (see Skutnabb-Kangas 2000, 34–46 for comparison of numbers, from a variety of sources, of speakers of the most widely spoken and learned languages, as well as a range of types of demolinguistic data).

French is firmly entrenched as an official language in three European states and in Canada, but whether French will retain its dominance in former colonies in Africa is uncertain, partly because of major economic, political and social instability in such countries, partly because educational policies have failed to establish a healthy balance between local languages and French as the language of power, and partly because globalisation and audio-visual technology have opened up for the spread of Hollywood products (Chaudenson 2000).

### 3. The age of globalisation

The market economy and technological change (videos, digitalization, internet, distance education) are propelling American products and English forward in significantly new ways. There is an unresolved tension between globalisation and local cultural productivity and local languages in virtually every country in the world other than the United States. Throughout the Cold War, English was an integral accompaniment to American economic, military and political hegemony, entrenched in international organizations like the UN, NATO, the World Bank, and the OECD. Because the cold war was not only military and economic but also, and equally important, cultural, the Americans used a covert body, the CIA, to fund a wide range of activities aimed at intellectuals, academics, and the general public in western Europe (Saunders 1999). As soon as the Iron Curtain was wound down, the market economy, 'democ-

racy', 'human rights', and English were marketed in former communist states. The present chaos in most of what used to be the Soviet empire has multiple causes, but English was one of several panaceas that were marketed as the solution to the problems of the economy and civil society in post-communist Europe (explicitly by two British foreign ministers, Douglas Hurd and Malcolm Rifkind). The promise of what might be achieved in and through English was as much of a hollow sham as it has been in most post-colonial states, where English and French are the hallmark of corrupt, self-serving governments which are in league with transnational corporations, and where critical journalists, writers and scholars frequently find themselves in exile in the west. Language will continue to be significant throughout the contemporary phase of globalisation and beyond. Language policy has great significance globally, and not least in postcolonial and postcommunist countries, when military control has largely been replaced by economic and cultural relations for which language is the key medium. The English teaching business is now second in importance to the British economy, after North Sea oil. It also has a major ideological value in marketing a seemingly 'non-political' product. The British and American variants of TESOL (the Teaching of English as a Second Language) are significant agents in the spread of English, taking over where colonial education left off. Their origins and formative professional ideologies are well documented (Phillipson 1992; Pennycook 1994). The interlocking of English with wider commercial and cultural objectives is made explicit in the policy documents of the British Council. The English Language Teaching Scheme (ELTeCS) is proclaimed as promoting "the sustainable development of ELT to the mutual benefit of participating countries in pursuance of the British Council's long-term objectives", which are (according to the ELTeCS electronic List, 20 November 1998):

- to extend the use of English as the language of international communication and trade, and as an accelerator of development;
- to assist the professional development of British and international ELT.

'English Language Teaching Policy' was propounded even more frankly in December 1998 when it refers to the use of ELT for

- a better appreciation of modern Britain and its values ...
- to increase British influence and trade ...
- to enhance the position of the United Kingdom as the best global provider of ELT services and materials ... (see <http://www.britcoun.org/english/eltecs/page4.htm>).

The British Council refers to itself as the United Kingdom's "international organization for educational and cultural relations", and states that it is registered in England as a charity. Its 'charitable' status is mostly a matter of exploiting the subtleties of British tax law, but whereas the image of charities is that they disburse funds for honorable causes, the British Council in fact makes money out of its many centres for the teaching of English. Its task is also to promote British publishers, ELT know-how, and a range of service industries connected to the ELT business in Britain. The demand for English is such that by the year 2000 the British Council was generating one-third of its income through fees from students at their teaching centres worldwide and through contracts for bodies such as the World Bank. The British Council has also funded the production of a small book on *The future of English?* (Graddol 1997), which assesses whether changes in geopolitical balances of power, technology, and language policy will result in English losing its pre-eminent position in the years ahead. This book has been translated into Asian languages. When launching it in Beijing on 16 October 1998 (15000 copies in English, 10000 in Chinese), the chair of the Board of the British Council, Baroness Kennedy, proclaimed that English is a "language which no longer belongs to the English-speaking nations but to everyone". This position is apparently regarded as being compatible with English being a major industry for the British. On the falsity of arguments used to market English, see Phillipson (1992). While it is true that English is developing differently in a substantial range of countries, the idea that people worldwide can decide on their own norms for English is difficult to reconcile with the belief that English is a single language with universal norms, which is undoubtedly the case for written English. The influence of CNN, Hollywood and the BBC on spoken English should not be under-estimated, and some scholars antici-

pate the imminent evolution of World Standard Spoken English (see Crystal 1997, reviewed in Phillipson 1999), a notion that presupposes guardians of such a norm. At present there are many norms for English, some local, and some global. The spread of English worldwide is a key dimension of the current phase of globalisation, and in no sense a culturally neutral process. Globalisation is a term that is loosely used to refer to processes of the spread of a system of global power that is indissolubly linked to American interests, and that has widened the gap in recent decades between the global haves, most of whom are English-speaking (whether as a first or additional language) and the global have-nots, most of whom have no proficiency in English. Globalisation is [...] “a pseudo-concept that is both descriptive and prescriptive, which has replaced ‘modernisation’, that was long used in the social sciences in the USA as a euphemistic way of imposing a naively ethnocentric evolutionary model by means of which different societies were classified according to their distance from the economically most advanced society, i.e. American society [...] the word (and the model it expresses) incarnates the most accomplished form of *the imperialism of the universal*, which consists of one society universalising its own particularity covertly as a universal model (like French society did for a long time, as the presumed incarnation of the Rights of Man and the inheritance of the French Revolution, which was seen, particularly in the Marxist tradition, as the model for all possible revolutions)” (Bourdieu 2001, 96–97, translation RP).

‘Global English’ is the handmaiden and medium of globalisation as a reality and a project. It often represents the special pleading of the privileged in an asymmetrical world order. The globalisation of finance and the economy is relatively more complete – though immensely fragile and volatile – than globalisation in political and cultural domains, which powerful forces are working to achieve. The policies of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank have a decisive influence on education in post-colonial states, and serve to strengthen English (see art. 226). There is a US military presence globally. The World Trade Organization essentially promotes the interests of transnational corporations, and ensures western dominance through monop-

olising intellectual property rights. English is progressively becoming the language of elites in all states, whether as a first or second language, while local languages must serve to maintain order internally and maintain the functioning of the economy. English interlocks with all these immensely complex ongoing processes, including those of NGOs and champions of human rights who are trying to resist and modify globalisation. The analysis of language spread requires a focus on both the overt and the covert aspects of language policies at the global, supranational, national and sub-national levels. Much language spread is covert in the sense that its promotion is secret, or else occurs through language policies not being made explicit and being left to market forces. Thus the North American Free Trade Agreement that links the economies of Canada, the US and Mexico was formulated in three languages, English, French and Spanish, but the agreement is not explicit about language policy, which therefore follows the logic of the market (Labrie 1995).

#### 4. Europeanisation

The European Union (EU) in theory accords equality to the eleven official languages of the fifteen member states (since 2004, twenty languages and twentyfive member states), but in practice there is a hierarchy that reflects the Orwellian principle that some languages are more equal than others. In its early years, French was the dominant language of EU institutions (the European Parliament, and in particular the Commission in Brussels), but since the entry of Denmark, Britain and Ireland in 1972, and several later enlargements, English has acquired a comparable pre-eminence and is spreading in both internal and external communications. This outcome is due to globalisation pressures making themselves felt at the European level. The twenty-five countries have common policies in many fields, agriculture, the environment, the euro, foreign policy, etc., but no explicit language policy. There is a comprehensive translation service, which is vital, since EU regulations and decisions have the force of law in member states. There is also a complex interpretation service in the European Parliament and other EU institutions. In principle the EU is committed to maintaining the multilingual diversity of Europe, and

has financed schemes to strengthen foreign language learning and student mobility, but market forces seem to be pushing towards acceptance of a 'common language' policy that would privilege English. An article in an American law journal reports on a doctoral study of the regulations governing language use at the supra-national European Union level, and specifically explores whether the Loi Toubon in France, a law to strengthen French in France and counteract the invasion of English, represents national protectionism that is in conflict with EU law (Feld 1998). Central to the study is the tension between measures to implement a common market, and the principle of subsidiarity that entitles member states to legislate locally on, for instance, culture or language. The term 'globalization' is used in the study exclusively to refer to the harmonisation of the EU market. The law journal is presumably the kind of source that is used by American lawyers advising corporations on whether they need to consider using a language other than English anywhere in the EU. The study recommends that the EU should answer the call for uniformity on the issue of language business transactions and further protect itself against the potential onslaught of language regulation by each individual Member State. One potential action the EU might take would be to declare a common language in the EU market [...] so as to prevent one nation from frustrating the fundamental principles of the supranational governing body [...] adopting a single language would serve to unify, rather than divide, Member States (Feld 1998, 199, 202).

Here is the monolingual worldview of Americanisation being marketed a globalisation in a context of on-going europeanisation. The European Union is still a long way off from implementing what American lawyers might wish, but there is no doubt that the dominance of English is being consolidated, spread, progressively in countless ways. This may well be a development that suits transnational corporations, including those based in continental Europe, which are increasingly adopting English as the in-company language. The European Union has no explicit language policy, except for the provision of language services in the supra-national institutions, and a recommendation that two foreign languages are learned in school. When reform of the sys-

tem has been proposed, what has emerged is that the topic is so politically sensitive that no agreement can be reached. A *laissez faire policy* leaves the hierarchy of languages open to the full force of the market, which is likely to intensify the presence of English at the expense of other languages. It is also ironic that countries that are concerned about Americanisation representing a threat to local cultural values, where France has taken the lead, are investing heavily in the teaching of English in their school systems. The vast majority of children in continental EU schools are learning English, which clearly facilitates the spread of the language. The interlocking of processes of globalisation, Americanisation, Europeanisation (European Cultural Foundation 1999) and Englishisation is complex and relatively under-explored, but see Phillipson 2003. There is an urgent need to devise policies for the European Union that ensure a balance between the use of English for instrumental purposes and the maintenance of linguistic diversity.

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## 232. Language History and Historical Sociolinguistics Sprachgeschichte und historische Soziolinguistik

1. The scope of language change
2. Language change, society, and culture
3. Sociohistorical linguistics
4. The asocial profile of conventional, historical linguistics
5. Is there a 'sociohistorical linguistic' that is a part of general sociolinguistics?
6. Sociohistorical linguistics and language history
7. Conclusion
8. Literature (selected)

### 1. The scope of language change

There are three basic reasons why languages change: (i) Changes in language may come about through planned intervention on the part of groups, institutions, and even individuals. Such activity involves the manipulation of linguistic resources in accordance with prescriptive articulations (ideologies) that derive from beliefs and attitudes and with desired practical outcomes (e.g., graphization, standardization, and codification in the interests of elaboration of a variety to serve as an official medium of communication in a nation-state, promotion of vernacular literacy, or the translation of religious texts). Typically, the changes resulting from such undertakings are manifest in adlexification, the replacement or recombination of features, and the establishment of a privileged set of norms. (ii) Changes in language take place within monolingual speech communities without conscious effort on the part of speakers to bring them about. According to Lass (1997), the history of a language *qua* semiotic system is an account of its replication by subsequent generations. Perfect success in this endeavor would result in apparent stasis over time; yet, change belongs to the essence of language. A system capable of history or evolution has the property of variability, that is, imperfect replication, which produces differences over time. (iii) Changes in language may come about through contact with other languages, the results of which can range from casual lexical borrowing on the part of monolinguals to structural convergence on the part of polylinguals (e.g., in a linguistic area or *Sprachbund*), to extreme mixture and restructuring (pidginization, creolization), or loss of linguistic forms due to language

shift. It is assumed here that the distinction between cases (ii) and (iii) is primarily one of sociohistory. In pidginization and creolization, for example, replication of grammar is more imperfect, and restructuring more rapid and extreme, due to ecological factors.

### 2. Language change, society, and culture

Hoijer (1948, 335) stressed that in order to understand linguistic change, one must see it as a part of a wider process of cultural change. By this, he did not suggest a causal connection between sociocultural trends and specific internal changes. Rather, changes within the various aspects of culture cannot be regarded as distinct and unrelated but must be seen as different realizations of a single process. Obviously, linguistic change in the sense of case (i) is intimately connected to cultural and political developments. However, conventional historical linguistics has not followed Hoijer in adopting such a broad perspective for case (ii), for "periods of (relative) stability or instability [of linguistic systems], for instance, do not match neatly with periods of stability or instability in other aspects of cultural life – except [...] for vocabulary" (Lass 1987b, 35).

Nevertheless, the accumulation of long-term effects (intended or not) of deliberate human agency can be realized in marked shifts in language use and the social valuation of languages and their varieties. The political and (with the erection of the Wall in 1961) physical division of Berlin into East and West radically altered patterns of variation and attitudes toward the urban vernacular (*Berlinerisch*); with reunification in 1990, norms have again entered a state of flux (see Dittmar/Schlobinski/Wachs 1988a; 1988b; Schönfeld/Schlobinski 1995; Dittmar/Bredel 1999). Mühlhäusler (1996) has documented how the disruption of traditional linguistic ecologies in the Pacific due to European colonization, Westernization, and the introduction of foreign labor and cultural practices has led to grammatical and semantic convergence of indigenous languages with Standard Average European languages, resulting in the loss of lexical and structural diversity and language death.

Creole languages have a distinctive human-agent profile, having emerged from the sixteenth through the nineteenth centuries under similar geographic, demographic, and economic conditions, viz. in tropical colonies settled by Europeans who typically spoke nonstandard varieties of their metropolitan languages and made use of nonindigenous slave labor (Chaudenson 1992; Mufwene 2000). Although there are internal principles that govern the linguistic paths along which language will develop in extra-territorial settings, it is the external factors that determine how radically its structure will diverge from metropolitan norms. The intersection of linguistic and social changes has been surveyed by Mattheier (1988) and will not detain us further. Nowadays, most linguists would accept a more constrained version of Hoijer's postulate: Variation depends on factors that obtain from the cultural and social setting, and change originates in variation.

### 3. Sociohistorical linguistics

*Sociohistorical linguistics* (also *historical sociolinguistics*) proceeds from the underlying premise (section 2) that linguistic and social factors are closely interrelated in language change and must be studied in their mutual interaction, to the extent that this is practicable. Among the 'factors that obtain from the cultural and social setting' are socioeconomic status, occupation, education, age, ethnicity, gender, social mobility, communication network structure, contextual style, topic, and medium of expression (oral versus literary). Further to the task of sociohistorical linguistics in Romaine (1988) and Deumert (2004, ch. 1); on its historical antecedents, see Mattheier (1988, 1433–35). The question at hand is whether there can be a sociohistorical linguistics in a theoretically 'interesting' sense, that is, as the social dimension of a general theory of language change.

### 4. The asocial profile of conventional historical linguistics

From the perspective of conventional historical linguistic theory, the short answer to the above question is no. In the traditional conception of change, language is seen as a self-transforming object; as Sapir (1921, 150) famously wrote, "language moves

down time in a current of its own making." According to the neogrammarians, who were concerned principally with sound change, the bases of change lie in articulatory variability, as speech is characterized by minor deviations from an established linguistic norm. Most of the time, these deviations are imperceptible to ordinary speakers, random, and statistically self-canceling. Yet, under the right circumstances, they may be cumulative in some direction away from the original norm (phonetic drift). There was explicit recognition that variability is one of the immanent properties of language (e.g., Paul 1920, 39), that changes do not necessarily operate over an entire territory of a language (whence dialects, Sturtevant 1917, 70), that they may be confined to particular social classes (Sturtevant 1917, 71), that they may show age grading (Gauchat 1905), that regularity is characteristic mainly of the end-result of change and not of its instantiation (somewhat anticipating later notions of lexical diffusion, cf. Sturtevant 1917, 82), and that there are periods of vacillation between rival pronunciations of words (Sturtevant 1947, 80). As Labov (1972a, 260–70) richly documents, it is not hard to find incidental discussion of these points in the older literature. Sturtevant (1947, 80) recognized "that we shall not understand the regularity of the phonetic laws until we learn how rivalry between phonemes leads to the victory of one of them" and suggested that "it is necessary that one of the two rivals shall acquire some sort of prestige" (81). But neither Sturtevant nor his contemporaries had at their disposal a framework for describing linguistic developments in their social context.

Post-Saussurean European structuralism (represented, in particular, by the work of Roman Jakobson and André Martinet) considered sound change from the point of view of phonological systems and as partially determined by them. An extreme position was articulated by Kuryłowicz (e.g. 1964), who restricted diachronic explanations to the linguistic system alone. American structuralism (from Bloomfield 1933, 346ff to Hockett 1965) remained quite traditional in its treatment of diachrony beyond the application of the phonemic principle. Overall, the neogrammarian picture of language change – though refined and amended during the middle decades of the twentieth century – was not seriously challenged until the

mid 1960s, when change was reconceptualized as discontinuities in the internalized grammars of individual speakers. Classical generative phonology (to which the main contributors are Morris Halle, Paul Postal, Paul Kiparsky, and Robert D. King) repudiated structuralist notions of allophonic drift and diachronic comparisons of phoneme inventories and construed language change as differences in competence between successive generations, that is, the abstract system that characterizes the linguistic knowledge of an ideal speaker-hearer in a completely homogeneous speech community. In more recent generative work on diachronic syntax, the locus of change remains fixed in language acquisition, when children assemble their grammar based on the behavior of other members of the community in which they are reared but do not produce the exact same language. Of particular interest to Lightfoot (e.g. 1991) is how parameters (which are part of Universal Grammar) are set by triggers in the language learner's linguistic environment. Historical linguists have not always agreed with the assumption of abrupt reanalysis by new generations of language learners. Andersen (1973) argued that it is not enough to view language change as simply grammar change, as King (1969) had done. Innovations are explainable on the basis of ambiguities in the corpus of utterances from which language learners infer their grammars. Andersen's model distinguishes between logically different modes of inference (abduction and deduction) during the language-learning process that can lead to reanalysis. The transition between usages must be accounted for as well. Deviations from an established norm due to reanalysis might be tolerated in small children; but at some point in their development, children become aware of their deviant output and try to adjust it. Some might achieve this through revision of their original analysis, others by formulating adaptive rules, which acquire a stylistic motivation. Adaptive rules may be eliminated by a subsequent generation, paving the way for the generalization of new norms. Along another front, DeCamp (1971) attempted to work out a theoretical model that could incorporate variation by arranging variable features in Jamaican English along a continuum such that the use of one variant implies the use of certain others. This is done without recourse

to sociological categories (age, education, occupation, income), which "may then be used to interpret the continuum without circularity of reasoning" (1971, 355). Bailey (1973) and Bickerton (e.g. 1975) sought to add a dynamic dimension to their formal models by characterizing the competence of a speaker as polylectal; that is, it consists of a number of separate lects (isolects) – reflecting change in progress – that differ from one another in minimal ways and can be scaled implicationally on the basis of synchronic data. Variation is to be understood first and foremost as a linguistic, not a social phenomenon. Unidimensional continua, implicational scaling, and decreolization have met with serious objections in the literature (e.g., Romaine 1982, 170–82; Le Page/Tabouret-Keller 1985), and interest in these topics has waned. More recently, Kroch (1989), Pintzuk (1999), and others have examined instances of syntactic change that involve competition between alternates over time, which is manifest in synchronic variation until the change is fully diffuse. Gradualness and variability (which can in many cases be evaluated quantitatively) are not epiphenomena but must be seen as integral parts of a theory of syntactic change.

In sum, one fundamental postulate has prevailed in mainstream historical linguistics (even though the questions asked are not always the same), namely, the autonomy of linguistic systems alongside a corollary tenet that language change can be adequately accounted for in purely linguistic and cognitive terms. To put the matter another way, there are two complementary kinds of historical linguistics – structural and social – that form strictly separate chapters. Theorization of change starts with the former.

##### 5. Is there a 'sociohistorical linguistics' that is a part of general sociolinguistics?

In conventional historical linguistics the selection process whereby a change is propagated in a speech community – or a norm is maintained – is something to be abstracted away from. In sociolinguistics it is one of the main facts to be explained.

5.1. A sociohistorical linguistic research program is spelled out in a seminal essay by Weinreich, Labov, and Herzog (1968) and

in numerous studies by Labov (e.g., 1963; 1966; 1972a; 1972c; 1975; 1982) based on extensive field investigations. Structured heterogeneity is the basic assumption; it is “an integral part of the linguistic economy of the community, necessary to satisfy the linguistic demands of every-day life” (Labov 1982, 17). The occurrence of variants that are constitutive of linguistic variables often correlate with the features of the linguistic environment (though are not exactly predictable from them) and also with extralinguistic characteristics of the speaker and the situation. A speaker’s control of the variants and the constraints on their occurrence is part of competence, not performance. Our conception of language change must therefore provide for ‘orderly differentiation’ within the speech community (Labov 1972c, 103). Serious inquiry must account for the transmission, embedding, and evaluation of change; that is, its spread from an innovating subgroup within a speech community to other groups (which can be measured in real or apparent time), its correlation with other linguistic and extralinguistic factors, and its social valuation (speaker attitudes). Labov’s work has concentrated on speaker identity and contextual style as the principal independent variables. In order to understand the normative pressures that social structures exert on individuals, it has proved necessary to go beyond the classical Labovian approach to examine such factors as class consciousness and solidarity (Trudgill 1974; Rickford 1986) and patterns of interaction (e.g., Gal 1978, 1979, and especially the social network analysis of L. Milroy 1987, J. Milroy/L. Milroy 1985).

5.2. The strategy of ‘variationist’ sociolinguistics has been to investigate in detail linguistic change in progress in clearly demarcated speech communities, on the basis of data collected systematically through *in situ* participant observation or structured interviews. Representative studies are Labov (1963) on Martha’s Vineyard, Labov (1966) and Labov, Yaeger, and Steiner (1972) on New York City, Laferriere (1979) on Boston, Labov (1980; 1981; 1984; 1990) on Philadelphia, and Lippi-Green (1989; 1990) on a rural village in Austria. Moreover, not every linguistic variable represents a change in progress; in fact, variation may remain stable over long periods of time. Of equal importance to variationist sociolinguistics is the question of why some forms and var-

ieties are maintained while others change (cf. Labov 1989, 87; J. Milroy 1993, 220).

5.3. Conventional historical linguistics has studied changes that were completed in the remote past on the basis of data that are preserved in written corpora that happen to have survived the vicissitudes of time and/or in long-established dialect variation. A central methodological problem lies in the fact that historical linguists “have no control over their data,” which may be “fragmentary, corrupted, or many times removed from the actual productions of native speakers” (Labov 1972b, 100). The investigator cannot broaden the range of facts by using heuristic procedures ordinarily available to sociolinguists nor compensate for lacunae and representational biases in the historical record. When literacy is the exclusive province of elites, the source material may obtain from a restricted set of institutional domains, such as law, religion, or learned disquisition. Furthermore, the divide between spoken and written language raises the question of whether the variation observed pertains only to a particular written corpus or can be imputed to the actual speech community. Texts written deliberately in the vernacular of ordinary people (*vis-à-vis* the standard or literary language) by members of the local intelligentsia or by dilettante authors external to the speech community constitute “an important, albeit highly problematic source for sociolinguistic analysis” (Deumert 2004, 45), for one cannot automatically assume that “dialect literature” reflects actual usage. Raidt (1992) reports on lexical, phonological, and syntactic variation in some 500 Cape Dutch Vernacular texts culled from the South African periodical press between 1860 and 1875. As she rightly cautions, the representativeness of this material is compromised by such factors as the anonymity of the writers and the absence of writers of color. More generally, the entertainment value often associated with this text type may imply the undifferentiated preservation of linguistic forms: “While literary dialect is often useful in identifying the presence or absence of features, it frequently treats quantitative features qualitatively” (Bailey/Ross 1992, 519). Indeed, the prospect of stereotypical overgeneralization limits the usefulness of statistical methods of analysis.

5.4. There is thus not much reason to believe that a *sociohistorical linguistics* could be fitted in somewhere in general sociolin-

guistics. Nor is it really necessary. Variationist sociolinguistics connects diachrony and synchrony in a way that is different from the traditional conception. By using the present to explain the past under license of the uniformitarian principle (Labov 1975) and by giving equal weight to how speech communities resist change, the variationist enterprise adopts a panchronic perspective; cf. Labov (1989, 35); similarly, Stewart (1985, 78–79), B. Joseph (1992, 125–26).

5.5. It is possible to observe ongoing changes in language roles in multilingual speech communities, e. g., Gal's (1978; 1979) study of language shift in the bilingual (German-Hungarian) town of Oberwart, in Austria. However, such 'macrosociolinguistic' phenomena lie outside the three scenarios of change laid out in section 1.

## 6. Sociohistorical linguistics and language history

Sociohistorical linguistics deals with past language states. Like traditional 'philologies', its data base obtains from written source material of earlier periods. Yet, the enterprise is interdisciplinary (Traugott/Romaine 1985, 7); research is informed by current analytic methods that are applied to the spoken language of contemporary societies (viz. variationist sociolinguistics, discourse analysis, pragmatics), as well as by conventional historical linguistics.

6.1. The term *sociohistorical linguistics* has been used referring to the diachronic study of language status, choice, and attitudes in individual societies (case i); cf. Richter 1985. An exemplary study that is explicitly *historical sociolinguistic* in this sense is Deshpande (1979), which examines the history of Indian languages from the point of view of shifting and conflicting attitudes and prejudices the part of writers toward their own languages and toward the languages of others. This type of sociohistorical linguistic inquiry constitutes part of the history of individual languages (*Sprachgeschichte*), but it is not a well-defined one, for it could cover virtually any aspect of external language history and conceivably even attempts to theorize or generalize over situation-specific phenomena, along the lines of J. Joseph (1987) on the emergence of language standards and standardization.

6.2. More commonly, sociohistorical linguistics entails the application of sociolin-

guistic theory and methods of quantitative analysis to the study of change that has occurred 'naturally' (case ii), that is, "without self-conscious attempts being made by speakers to implement them" (J. Milroy 2001, 389). The objective is the extrapolation of patterns of variation from written source material and/or the documentation of linguistic changes across a stipulated temporal range, and their correlation with other linguistic and extralinguistic phenomena.

6.2.1. Social and stylistic variation may be inferred from text type (private versus public), hypercorrection, and authorial intent (see B. Joseph/Wallace 1992 on socially determined variation in ancient Rome). In some instances it may even be possible to reconstruct the social networks of individual writers, with a view toward laying bare the segments of society that were on the leading edge of change; cf. Raidt (1986; 1995) on the role of women in the formation of Afrikaans. Applied to past language states, the variationist research program is corpus-based and proceeds from the basic premise of Weinreich, Labov, and Herzog (1968), namely, that variability is affected by linguistic and extralinguistic factors and affords us the opportunity to observe the actual process of change. It is not necessarily the case that historical data are 'bad' in the sense that Labov (*supra*) originally opined; see Romaine (1982, 121–126) and – for a revised opinion – Labov (1982, 34–38). When adequate corpora can be marshaled, it is possible to conduct fairly sophisticated analyses of written data by means of quantitative methods. On the methodology of assessing literary representations of vernaculars for use in sociohistorical linguistic analysis, see Deumert (2004, 45–54) and Baker/Winer (1999, 103–18). Typically, the retrievable independent variables that favor or disfavor competing variants are linguistic environment, time, contextual style, and/or genre; see Romaine (1982) on relativization in Middle Scots, Kroch (1989) on *do*-paraphrase in Late Middle and Early Modern English, Pintzuk (1999) on word order change in Old English, and the heterogeneous studies collected in Rissanen et al., eds. (1997). Social factors are acknowledged, to be sure, but an explicit correlation of linguistic and social variables is often impracticable. Toon (1983; 1985; 1987; 1991), for example, examines sound changes in early

Old English against the backdrop of the rise of vernacular literacy and its political purport during the Mercian ascendancy. Orthographic variation observable in the source material is not simply random dialect mixture but rather diffusing changes constrained by phonetic environment and under social and political pressures. At the same time, the extant texts are representative of only a small segment of the population, being the output of a professional learned class about which little is known. Toon's study is variationist but *sociohistorical linguistic* only along the lines set out in section 6.1. In Europe, vernacular literacy becomes increasingly broad-based as we move through the Early Modern period, and the identities of writers are more likely to be available, along with some biographical detail. Thus, a wider sampling of the social spectrum can be achieved; see Ebert (1980; 1981; 1988), Lippi-Green (1994), and Fertig (1998; 2000) on, respectively, Early Modern German word order, consonantism, and verbal inflection; Gerritsen (1987) on control sentences in medieval and Early Modern Flemish; Kytö (1991) on modals in early American English; Kytö (1993) on 3 sg. present-tense inflection in Early Modern British and American English. Deumert (2001; 2004) investigates the social dialect continuum in Cape Dutch as reflected in a corpus of private documents written between 1880 and 1922, thereby keeping the stylistic variable constant and concentrating on the factors of class, age, ethnicity, and gender.

6.2.2. To the extent that sociohistorical linguistic inquiry in this vein seeks to account for the development of linguistic structures in a given variety, it is another aspect of *Sprachgeschichte*, specifically, internal language history. Historical linguists are generally not satisfied with simply describing change; they also want somehow to explain it. When a phenomenon or process can be identified not as an isolated case but as the result of more general linguistic principles, it is better understood. Some of the aforementioned work is simultaneously concerned with general theoretical issues that arise from specific descriptive problems, notably Kroch (1989) on the rate of change, Romaine (1982), who challenges the idea of quantitative linguistics as an empirical science, and Traugott and Romaine (1985), who deal with questions pertaining to the definition of style.

## 7. Conclusion

The question is posed whether sociohistorical linguistics could not have a *raison d'être* as part of a general theory of language change. Because the variationist position requires that such a theory be socially grounded, this proposal implies a tautology. Labov's broad objective is to theorize language change in a way that unifies internal (1994), social (2001), and cognitive (in preparation) principles. J. Milroy (1992a; 1992b; 1993) has stressed that language change is implemented by *speakers* and takes place in speech, which is a social activity; see also B. Joseph 1992. The epistemology underlying this view has been cogently problematized by Lass (1987a; 1997; 352–55; 371–76), but the fact remains that linguistic systems do not replicate themselves. Language contact situations (case iii) validate this point. Pidgins and creoles are in essence what those who constructed them wanted them to be and are not merely failed attempts at untutored second language acquisition (Baker 2000). In creole communities speakers exhibit the effects of communal and individual acts of identity; they direct their output so as to resemble or distance themselves from the various groups with which they interact (Le Page/Tabouret-Keller 1985). If one accepts the premise (section 1) that the mechanisms that mediate restructuring during language contact (case iii) are not different in kind from those that are operative in 'normal' change (case ii), then speakers must be conceptualized as active agents in both cases.

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## XI. Application Anwendung

### 233. Forensic Sociolinguistics / Forensische Soziolinguistik

1. Introduction
2. The language of the law
3. Communication problems and issues
4. Language crimes
5. Linguistic evidence
6. Conclusion
7. Literature (selected)

#### 1. Introduction

This entry is divided into four main sections. The language of the law, communication problems and issues, linguistic evidence, and language crimes. All of these are of potential interest to sociolinguists and can be viewed as sociolinguistics.

There are many different legal systems in use around the world. The most important of these, in terms of the number of people subject to them, are *traditional* legal systems; *Roman law* (which spread through continental Europe, and then to many other parts of the world, including much of Africa and the Middle East, and most of South America and Asia) – it is also sometimes known as the inquisitorial system, continental law or civil law; *Syariah*, the Islamic system which follows the Quranic view of law; and the *Common Law* system, which developed in England, and then spread through colonial influence to the USA and Canada, most anglophone countries such as Australia and New Zealand, and to other parts of the former Empire such as the sub-continent, Malaysia and Singapore, Hong Kong and many Pacific Island nations. It is common for the systems to blend or co-exist, for example China has a system based on Roman Law with influences from traditional Chinese law, but has recently introduced contract law based on Common Law. Malaysia is primarily a Common Law country, but also has *Syariah* courts which deal only with Moslems, often in areas such as family law. Several Middle Eastern countries blend Roman or Common Law with *Syariah* – even Saudi Arabia has non-*Syariah* traffic laws.

#### 2. The language of the law

The language of the law is a product of the relationship between language and a particular sociocultural context of its use, a core sociolinguistics concern; in Halliday's terms it is a *register*. <X-ref to register here> It is one of a range of institutional areas of language practice, such as medicine, business and education, a field which can be referred to as *institutional sociolinguistics*. <X ref here?>

All legal systems have their origins in the traditional law of orate cultures. Such traditional legal systems developed to meet the commonly felt social need for a code of social behaviour, and a means of imposing it, which might be seen as a basic element of human culture. The Justinian Code, from which Roman Law developed, was a written development from such an oral code. Common Law similarly developed from the oral system of Germanic tribes, and this is still evident in the fundamentally oral process of the Common Law trial. However the move from speech to writing <X-ref to literacy?> had important linguistic consequences.

The spoken word can survive only in memory, but memory works on the basis of meaning not wording. Spoken wording tend to be preserved only in ritualised circumstances or in proverbs. Writing has the opposite effect, because written texts retain their form and wording until their medium (e. g. paper) decays – at a later date it is their meaning that may become open to doubt. Since written texts can be stored and consulted thereafter, this produces greater stability and standardisation. In a legal system, wordings that have been accepted as fulfilling legal needs or performing certain legal speech acts tend to become frozen, because it is not in the interest of the lawyer to experiment with new wordings which may fail

legal testing. This means that legal language has a tendency to extreme conservatism. The linguistic outcome is the preservation of archaisms. For instance in legal English, the form 'shall' is used for obligation (person X *shall* do action Y), which has almost disappeared in the spoken language; similarly legal Spanish uses the future subjunctive (with *-ere*), which has virtually disappeared elsewhere. In English it has also led to the preservation of words from Norman French such as *estoppel*, and from Latin such as *ex facie*.

Since written language (particularly that of legal documents) is not produced in real time, it offers much greater potential for planning, revising and restructuring than the spoken language. Comprehension likewise does not take place in real time, which means that long complex phrases and sentences can be used, since the reader can re-read and rethink their meaning. A linguistic manifestation of careful planning is that legal documents tend to provide detailed indication of their conceptual structure, using numbers and formatting to reveal their parts ('clauses' and 'sections'). The links between elements may also be made evident by the use of archaic deictics such as 'herein under'. It is common for the speech act performed by each part of a text to be overtly signaled, for example in Common Law wills by placing the speech act expression in capitals.

Another effect of writing is that it can distance in time and space both the text and the reader from the context to which the text refers. So a report of an event may be read much later in another country. To achieve this and maintain comprehensibility, a written text must recreate in words the context to which it refers. The linguistic consequences of this is a high level of explicitness. For example "sustained" may be reported as "On 23 September 2001 during the Examination of witness Marshall, Moronovich JSC sustained an objection by Defence Counsel Mei to a coercive question from Prosecution Counsel Saba". The information that is assumed from the context in "sustained" needs to be made explicit in the report. Another consequence, outlined in more detail in Halliday (1988) is the phenomenon known as 'grammatical metaphor', in which word classes are changed from their base form (things may be referred to by adjectives instead of nouns, processes

by nouns instead of verbs, logical relations by verbs instead of conjunctions, etc.). This facilitates the packaging of information and smooth information flow in complex texts. For instance in the example above, 'coercive' is an adjective being used to refer to a process 'coerce', and 'question' is a noun being used to refer to a process; the complex concept 'coerce+question' has been packaged together by this means. In many legal documents most of the content words are grammatically metaphorical.

Another feature of legal language is that it is technical. The framework of the law conceives the world, particularly the social world, in a way that is different from everyday commonsense concepts (the legal notion of 'justice' is not the same as the everyday meaning). To construct the world in this different way requires language that likewise refers to the world in a non-commonsense way. Sometimes legal concepts need specific legal terms, such as (in English) 'deponent', 'intestate', 'clerk of the peace', (in Spanish) 'cuarta trebeliánica', 'usucapión'. On occasions everyday words are used with a different legal meaning, for example 'aggravating' (making an offence more serious), 'issue' (children), 'a mention' (a brief hearing), 'a stay' (a delay). An unusual feature of legal language is the regular pairing of terms (sometimes extending to three), in English often of different linguistic origins (OE=Old English; F=Norman French; L=Latin) e.g. 'will (O. E.) and testament' (F/L); 'goods (O. E.) and chattels' (F), 'final (F) and conclusive' (L), 'fit (O. E.) and proper' (F), however the fact that this phenomenon is also found in Spanish e.g. 'visto y examinado' (seen and examined), 'según mi leal saber y entender' (according to my faithful knowledge and understanding), 'debo condenar y condeno' (I must condemn and I condemn), would indicate that the reason for this is not an attempt to meet the needs of a bilingual audience. Legal language also shares with other specialist languages such characteristics as: specialist abbreviations and acronyms, e.g. 'JSC' (Justice of the Supreme Court); and slang e.g. 'a verbal' (Australia), 'a sidebar' (USA), 'a silk' (UK). One way in which legal language establishes specialist terms is to define words at some point in the text, often in an appendix or glossary, but also at the beginning of a contract, for example the University of Sydney consultancy agreement has near its beginning:

### 1. DEFINITIONS

“Parties” means Dr Thyme and the Client and “Party” means either one of them as the context requires

Most of these characteristics are shared by the legal register of many languages, even when there has been little interaction between the legal systems and their languages during their development, as is the case with English and Spanish. This indicates that these characteristics are to a substantial degree a product of the communicative demands placed upon language, so lawyers’ jargon is not just a plot to make lawyers and their fees indispensable. The communicative need in this case is mainly to reduce the range of possible misinterpretations, to make the language as ‘watertight’ as possible. Given the history of litigation based on differing interpretations of legal wording, the success of this may be questioned, but by contrast it should be noted that the great majority of legal cases do not contain linguistic challenges.

The final characteristic of legal language is that it manifests power relations. The legal system is based upon the ceding of power to judges, police and prison officers. In democratic societies this is done by elected representatives of the people, since there is a widespread consensus that this is necessary to retain an orderly rather than a chaotic society. To do their work, judges, police and prison officers must have their authority recognised, and their decisions and orders acted upon. In practical terms this means that a lawyers and police officers are among the most powerful people encountered in daily life. Courtrooms have a hierarchical power structure with the judge at the top, and this is manifested in a range of ways, such as forms of address: *Your Honour*, or *Your Worship*, followed by the third person of the verb e.g. ‘If Your Honour pleases’. In other languages such as Spanish the same applies with *Ilustrísimo*, *Excelentísimo*. There is also a tendency in the third person to refer to people by their role rather than their name, e.g. *the Counsel for the Defence*, *the Crown*, *the bench* (meaning the judge), *the clerk*. This hierarchy is also manifested in the right to take turns at talk. The judge may interrupt at any time. Lawyers turns are more controlled and rationed, and witnesses for instance are usually given a single opportunity to give evidence, and the lawyers have

control over when and how they may contribute. In the police and prison service the hierarchy is even more explicit, with military style ranks and forms of address, such as *Sergeant* and *Governor*. O’Barr (1982) and O’Barr/Conley (1990) did an important series of studies which revealed a set of linguistic markers of power (such as hesitation, low coherence, and use of emphatics and mitigators), and demonstrated that witnesses and defendants whose language is less powerful were less likely to be believed – a worrying indicator of the linguistic means by which social injustice may be reproduced.

Another important arena in which power relations are manifested is questioning in courts and police interviews. Among others Danet, Hoffman, Kermish, Rafn & Stayman (1980), Harris (1984), Phillips (1987) and Shuy (1998) have shown that questioning in legal contexts can be coercive, and a search for proof rather than truth. Among the linguistic means used for coercion are question tags, and grammatical embedding to make information presupposed rather than open to challenge.

Finally mention should be made of the many complex genres that are used in the legal system. Maley (1994) describes most of the major legal genres that are used in the court process. In addition to this however, the process of establishing competing versions of the same events in the Common Law courtroom has been described in terms of competing narratives, usually analysed in terms of their genre structure (Bennett/Feldman 1981; Papke 1991).

The forces mentioned above, literacy, technicality and formality, combine to make the language of the law complex. This can lead to difficulties in understanding and producing this language, one of the themes of the next section.

### 3. Communication problems and issues

The most common problem that is found in legal communication is that legal documents and lawyers do not communicate well to the general public. The fundamental problem with this is that the law presumes that ‘ignorance of the law is no defence’. If the law is presented in language that cannot be understood by the people to whom it applies, this presumption can lead to grave injustice as

well as logical absurdity. This means that legal language should be intelligible to the audience for that language, including the people affected by it. This objective may prove unachievable, but its pursuit is imperative.

Effective communication involves choosing the best *linguistic resources* to communicate an intended *meaning* to a particular *participant* in a particular *context*,

The unintelligibility of the language of the law has been the object of much criticism and satire in most Western countries. There is an extensive psycholinguistic literature showing that it can be both impenetrable and misleading – see the references in Lieberman/Sales (1997). The result has been a substantial Plain Language movement, which has gained the support of US presidents, and most recently has led to the sweeping reforms of legal language in England and Wales introduced by Lord Woolf. Many legal terms have been replaced – for instance a *plaintiff* is now a *claimant*, a *pleading* is now a *statement of case*. Law Latin has been replaced with English – *ex parte*, *inter partes*, *in camera* and *sub poena* have become *with notice*, *without notice*, *in private* and a *summons*. Proper names such as an *Anton Piller order* have been replaced with more transparent titles such as a *search order*.

While vocabulary is a major issue, other aspects of legal language cause communication problems, and have the potential for improvement. Among these are lay-out, including the use of spatial positioning, headings, and variations in the style of the print. Written legal language also, as we have noted, tends to use extreme complexity at the level of the phrase, sentence and the complex sentence. There is an over-reliance on passives and complex syntactic structures to organise the information with precision, which makes legal language difficult or confusing. The use of these features can be substantially reduced without losing precision – see the Law Reform Commission of Victoria (1987). An important area of research in the USA is jury instructions – for instance Diamond/Levi (1996) show that juries' misunderstanding of the word 'aggravating' has led to unjust death penalties. The problem is often a 'two audience dilemma', in which language designed by and for lawyers is inappropriate to a lay audience. Other areas in which language needs to be plain is in legis-

lation, and in contracts such as credit card agreements and transport tickets. Police language, particularly scripted 'cautions' or 'warnings' also need to be made as clear and simple as possible. Without public understanding of it, the law may become a mechanism for oppression rather than order, for injustice rather than justice. Most work in this area has assumed that only propositional information is communicated by, for example, police cautions. It is clear, however, that complex and technical language also carries a social message concerning the power and authority of the person using it. Resistance to a lessening of this power and authority is not surprising.

The difficulty of understanding the language of the law is compounded for those who have a low proficiency in the language of the legal process, such as many second language speakers or the deaf. Writtensness and technicality will reduce effective participation in legal processes by the illiterate, children and the mentally handicapped. It may also affect speakers of other dialects or sociolects. Power asymmetries may impact particularly on the traumatised, children, women and already disadvantaged minorities. The law is a cultural field, and the disadvantage suffered by cultural minorities is documented by Eades (1994) and Stygall (1994). Partial solutions have been sought in new legislation, revised procedures (such as video cameras in private rooms for children), and the education of legal professionals and the public.

An important means of addressing legal communication with second language speakers is legal interpreting and translation <X-ref translation/interpreting here?>. There are three main issues that arise in the interpreting and translation area: (1) when (and indeed whether) interpreters and translators are required for legal purposes, and if interpreters are needed; (2) what access there is to an adequate level of interpreting/translation; (3) what the processes of legal interpreting and translation look like. In many parts of the world, the evidence is overwhelming that interpreters are under-used in courts, police stations and prisons. Reasons for this include poor understanding of the need for interpreting, and a dislike of intermediaries during examination or interrogation. Access to interpreters can also be denied because there is a lack of adequately trained bilinguals, or a lack of funding to

provide such a service, even when there is international and national legislation giving the right to an interpreter. The process of legal interpreting is a difficult one, because on the one hand there is a requirement for a high level of accuracy to meet legal requirements, but on the other hand there may be a lack of parallel legal concepts in other legal systems, and a consequent lack of equivalent legal terms. Legal interpreting in the courtroom is extremely demanding, because the exactitude is required in real time and sometimes in unfavourable circumstances – legal interpreters may be required to interpret for some hours without a break – conference interpreters are normally expected to work for only 20 minutes at a time. Hale and Gibbons (1999) show that much of the reference to the legal process is changed by interpreters, as are forms of address, discourse markers, and passive constructions, among other language elements (see Berk-Seligson 1990).

#### 4. Language crimes

There are a number of speech acts <X-ref> that may be illegal, such as offering a bribe; accepting a bribe; threats; extortion; perjury; suborning a person to a language crime; soliciting an illegal act (e. g. hiring a hitman); using offensive language. Shuy (1993) describes cases involving many of these. The first issue is to discover how law and precedent define these language crimes, and perhaps also to use corpora and concordancing to examine differences between legal and everyday definitions of them. Then the linguist needs to examine the language behaviour that is the object of the litigation, to see whether it performs the illegal speech act in the context in which it occurred. Often this will entail checking the conditions required to perform the speech act, following the procedure developed by Searle. Shuy (1993) demonstrates that bribery does not involve a single speech act, but rather a genre <X-ref>, whose stages must all be successfully completed for the bribery to take place. Threats too may be difficult to prove on linguistic grounds, since they are often indirect or inexplicit, for example “I’m watching you”. The speaker’s intent is at issue, but it may be difficult to prove.

Offensive language is an offence which is often used to prosecute socially disadvantaged groups, and there is significant evi-

dence that the police who bring such charges are prone to use this language themselves. Taylor (1995) gives examples of police and prominent public figures using such language without prosecution. However the related language crime of group vilification <X-ref to hate speech?> can be more serious in its implications. It can be the way people talk people into killing each other, as occurred in the Balkans in the 1990s. It may also cause severe emotional pain to the target person or population. A major linguistic problem is that this offence may be difficult to prove, since much of the most damaging vilification is coded. While most European countries have legislation banning vilification, the USA does not, giving primacy to freedom of speech. For similar reasons, it is difficult to obtain prosecutions for the related offences of slander and libel of individuals in the USA.

#### 5. Linguistic evidence

This field is sometimes also referred to as Forensic Linguistics, narrowly defined. The volume of linguistic evidence is growing rapidly, but its admissibility is by no means assured. For her/his evidence to be accepted in court as conforming to the rules of evidence, the forensic linguist will need to demonstrate that this evidence is *expert* (that it does not fall within the domain of everyday knowledge), *valid* (that it is relevant to the issue), and *reliable* (that it conforms to scientific criteria such as replicability, and uses sound methods).

Linguistic evidence is mostly provided in two broad categories. These are evidence on communication (this includes evidence on language crimes), and evidence on authorship (in its original sense of both written and spoken language). Within both categories it is helpful to classify the linguistic evidence by linguistic levels: phonology, lexis, grammar, discourse, register, genre and social variation.

##### *Communication*

At the grapho-phonetic level, Oyanadel/Samaniego (1999) describe the means they used in several tradename cases, where an existing tradename holder challenged a new tradename, for example ‘Sal de Fruta’ vs. ‘Sal Disfruta’. At the graphophonetic level they examined both the likely pronunciations of the two names, and did a comparison of the

typeface, colour and special organisation of the new trademark. Writing or print can also cause communication problems. There has been expert evidence in court on how handwriting can be read, on the legibility of handwriting, typefaces and actual handwritten or print material. In one case in which I was involved, the fact that there were public notices was discounted in court because evidence was given that the notice was given in small letters at ankle height, so the likelihood of it being read and understood was small.

Another area of miscommunication is the interface of written and spoke language – in the transcription of testimony and surveillance material by police and courts. Prince (1990: 281–283) gives some powerful examples of omissions and errors in the transcripts of FBI surveillance tapes which make elements of recorded conversations appear incriminating, when they may not be so. For example she suggests that (Prince 1990: 283) a

“change ... from ‘Do you *nknow* anything?’ to ‘Do you *need* anything?’ quoted from ... local gamblers to the ... the chief of police, inserts an implicature of collusion, of special ‘shared knowledge’ between them.”

At the lexical level, Coulthard (1994) suggests the use of corpora and concordancing. These computer based techniques permit the rapid retrieval of all occurrences of a particular word in a large number and range of texts, revealing the company they keep, and thereby much of their usual meaning. Coulthard reports that Sinclair was able to testify concerning the normal meaning of the word *visa* by examining 5 million words of text from *The Times* newspaper, supplemented by reference to the Birmingham Corpus of 28 million words.

Concerning morphology, Lentine/Shuy (1990) describe their role as expert witnesses in the case of *McSleep Inns*, a new line of budget motels. This name was challenged by the McDonald’s hamburger chain, who claimed a proprietary interest in the Mc-prefix, because of their use of it in McFries, McNuggets, etc. In other words they were claiming exclusive rights to the productive use of a prefix, despite its long history in Scottish surnames. Lentine and Shuy did a trawl of magazines, and came up with many extant productive commercial uses of the Mc-prefix, with a source that was not

McDonalds. The case was lost despite this evidence.

One case in which I was involved was that of a criminal family that used a secret language, a kind of ‘pig Latin’ to frustrate police surveillance. The code was fairly simple, involving the insertion of a neutral vowel plus /p/ before every vowel, so for example ‘because, in a couple of months’ was pronounced [bɛpɛkɔs ɛpɪn ɛpɪ kɛpɪpɛpɪ ɛpɔv mɛpɪnɔs]. The main problem was proving that my interpretation of the unintelligible language was correct.

Eades (1993; 1994) documents the poor communication that may occur between speakers of Aboriginal English and the legal system, particularly in the area of pragmatic differences between the two varieties. She shows how on a number of occasions people who have been proved to be innocent have been imprisoned on the basis of police interviews and courtroom testimony where a significant degree of cross cultural communication difficulties were in play. To give just two examples, Eades has testified in court that (1) in traditional Aboriginal culture direct questions are normally unacceptable, and there is no obligation to answer them – insistent questioning is therefore met with silence or a change of subject; there is a fundamental mismatch between these pragmatic behaviours and the norms of police and courtroom questioning (2) Aborigines frequently agree to statements that they do not understand or that they do not believe – ‘gratuitous concurrence’ – (Gumperz, 1982, also noted this for a Filipino doctor).

#### *Authorship*

Turning to authorship, it is important to note that the more reliable evidence that linguists can give is likely to be negative, i.e. that a certain person did NOT produce a particular spoken or written piece of language. The phonological area is the best developed area of linguistic evidence (see Hollien, 1990; Baldwin & French, 1990, among others). After some exaggerated claims in the early years, the spectrogram has re-established itself as an important tool in voice identification, albeit with reduced levels of certainty. Measurable features such as vowel formants, fundamental frequency and speech rate when combined have strong identificatory potential. Hollien (1990) detail the range of identificatory phonetic features that may be found in speech. Despite

popular and legal preconceptions, identification by the expert ear can be more accurate than identification by machine.

Writing, too may contain identificatory features such as idiosyncratic spelling or punctuation. Eagleson (1994) for instance was able to demonstrate authorship of a disputed letter through (among other features) spellings such as "assult" (for assault), "caring" (carrying), "thier" (their), and "treat" (threat).

Uses of a particular word or words may contribute to the profiling of an author. This may identify the language of second language speakers, or technical or specialised jargon. Coulthard (1997) and elsewhere has presented evidence that when police fabricate evidence, they sometimes slip into the vocabulary of police jargon and hyper-elaboration.

A sociolinguist may be able to give evidence on a speaker's likely social class, geographical origin, sex, age and level of education, which aid in speaker profiling, and will often exclude certain speakers from consideration. For instance Labov/Harris (1994) describe the Prinzivalli case, in which Labov says that there was no doubt that Prinzivalli could not have made a bomb threat phone call because the bomb threat voice had an unmistakable New England (Boston area) accent, while Prinzivalli had an equally unmistakable New York accent. His main problem was convincing the court of this. The evidence was accepted and Prinzivalli was acquitted. It is unlikely on the available evidence that most speakers can consistently feign an accent sufficiently well to trick a linguist who controls the accent.

## 6. Conclusion

The law forms the framework within which we manage our daily lives, including our family lives, housing and transport, study and work. The study of it provides insights into the nature and structure of society, since the law represents a society's value system, in that it attempts to impose both rights and obligations, proscribing and punishing behaviour that goes against a society's norms. Yet the law is an overwhelmingly linguistic institution. Laws are coded in language and the concepts that are used to construct the law (such as 'guilt') are available only through language. Legal processes such as court cases, police investigations and the

management of prisoners take place overwhelmingly through language. Given this, the rapid growth experienced by forensic sociolinguists in recent years is to be welcomed.

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## 234. Discourse Analysis and the Law / Diskursanalyse und Recht

1. Discourse analysis in the legal setting
2. Early research on language and law
3. The development of discourse analysis and the judge, or the attorneys.
4. Preparing a transcript
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8. Speech act analysis
9. Ambiguity analysis
10. Speech event analysis
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12. Conclusions
13. Literature (selected)

### 1. Discourse analysis in the legal setting

Although discourse analysts address the structure of units of language larger than a sentence (Tannen 1982), they also rely on and use the linguistic tools and analytical procedures of phonology, morphology, semantics, and syntax as well. As one does discourse analysis, one also necessarily does linguistics at all levels. Discourse analysts who address issues of law determine language structure, account for variation, and

deal with predictability with the same goals as phonologists, morphologists, syntacticians, and semanticists. The major difference is that their subject matter, their data, is situated in continuous discourse. A holistic perspective suggests that the analysis begin with the largest unit of analysis, discourse, before applying other linguistic analyses to deal with smaller portions of the data.

Discourse analysts often focus their attention on specific settings of continuous language, such as medical communication or the language of diplomatic exchanges. Another such area is the discourse found in legal contexts. The field of law is carried out both in written and spoken language, but the latter is usually transcribed and preserved as a written record. Whether spoken or written, linguists have an opportunity to assist lawyers and judges in such matters as clarifying ambiguities in documents, identifying speakers or writers, aiding in the comprehensibility of legal writing, and determining clues to the meaning or intentions of the speakers or writers that reside in their use of spoken or written language.

## 2. Early research on language and law

Linguists had used other analytical procedures to assist in legal matters before discourse analysis came onto the scene. A useful summary of the early attention given to language and law is O'Barr's (1981) survey of the study of legal language by social scientists and lawyers up to the date of that article. In the sixties, there is also evidence of the hand of dialectologists in the courtroom (Svartvik 1968; McDavid, personal communication), who called upon their knowledge of regional speech patterns to help identify speakers in various court cases.

Major research projects in the seventies include a study of the comprehensibility of jury instructions (Charrow and Charrow 1979). The ongoing Duke University project headed by Conley and O'Barr, began with an ethnographic study of language variation in the trial courtroom (Conley, O'Barr and Lind 1978), and continues to the present time with numerous other research projects. Danet first contributed her analysis of the language of the Watergate hearings (1976) but even more important was her seminal effort to bring the fields of law and language together and discover areas of needed research on spoken language in the legal context (1980). The major attention given to language up to that time had been on written legal language (Melinkoff 1963).

But the most common use of linguists in the courtroom from the sixties to the nineties was to identify speakers, often by means of spectrographic analysis. Tosi (1979) identified about a hundred such cases between 1966 and 1978. The more recent research and practice of acousticians is described fully by Hollien (1990), Sharpe (1989), Baldwin and French (1990), and, especially in Great Britain, by various issues of the journal, *Forensic Linguistics*.

## 3. The development of discourse analysis and the law

It is only logical that discourse analysis in legal settings would not come forth until the procedures of discourse analysis had begun to develop. Levi's annotated bibliography of the work by American linguists in all areas of language and law (1994), includes many references to the uses of discourse analysis, all dating from the seventies to the nineties,

the formative period of discourse analysis as we now know it.

As noted earlier, some of the early discourse analyses on legal issues paid attention to the more easily accessible written records. This practice has been continued with more recent discourse analysis of court proceedings (Conley and O'Barr 1990; 1998; Stygall 1994), judge's language (Solan 1993; Shuy 1995; Philips 1998), and product warning labels (Dumas 1990; Shuy 1990). But in the late seventies and early eighties, when law enforcement agencies began to make use of tape recordings to capture crimes as they were happening using wire taps, telephone, or body microphones, the door was opened for linguists to analyze naturally occurring spoken conversation as well.

Of central importance to the analysis of spoken discourse is first the need to obtain naturalistic samples of discourse to analyze. Linguists often tape record dinner conversations (Tannen 1984), sales encounters (Tsuda 1991), medical interactions (Roberts 1999), and other speech events as an initial step in the analysis of spoken discourse. In the seventies, when law enforcement agencies began to tape record conversations, this difficulty in gathering data was considerably reduced. The already existing recorded conversations were used as evidence in criminal trials and presented to linguists as a *fait accompli*. There could be no question about the completeness of such data, since completeness was established by the courts. There was no need for analysts to wring their hands about the quality of the data, since the quality was what it was and could not be changed. Thus a goldmine of naturalistic data that otherwise would not be accessible to linguists was suddenly made available. It is at this point that both the prosecution and the defense often sensed the need for the help of linguists, since lawyers' ability to analyze vast quantities of language evidence was doubtful even to themselves.

Even the ethical constraints normally imposed on social scientists to not collect surreptitious language data were altered. The government agencies that recorded conversations of suspected criminals operated under different ethical constraints, ones that were said to be necessary to capture such crime in the first place. But once such language becomes part of the public record of a trial, it is then available for dissemination, albeit with special care to preserve the dig-

nity and, in some cases, the anonymity of the speakers.

Since such data consist of continuous spoken discourse, the linguist's logical approach is to first carry out a discourse analysis, starting with the broad, holistic picture and later dealing with the narrower, individual points. Such analysis is especially critical to the defense, since the prosecution normally relies heavily on isolated passages of the tapes that present the defendant in the worst possible light. If the language evidence merits, the defense can mitigate some or all of these isolated passages by examining the overall context in which the alleged criminal's statements were uttered. Context, which is so essential in discourse, can thus be reintroduced by the defense after it has been dismissed by the prosecution.

Perhaps the greatest contribution of discourse analysis to legal issues, however, is that it provides a multitude of lenses through which the language can be viewed. The court system relies heavily on the common sense understanding of everyday listeners to spoken or written language. The problem is that this common sense understanding of everyday listeners is done after the fact, by people who were not a party to the language as it occurred, who are presented with opposite adversarial and selective schemas by both the prosecution and the defense (to say nothing of their own personal schemas). Jurors must listen to, digest, analyze and often make conclusions in one listening to the language evidence.

In contrast, the linguist can make many passes through the language evidence, stand apart from any schema, and take the time to view the data through the lenses of various analytical procedures involving topics, responses, interruptions, speech acts, and ambiguity, speech events, and other routines not available to the jury, the judge, or the attorneys.

#### 4. Preparing a transcript

To begin a discourse analysis of tape recorded speech, the linguist must first make a jury-ready transcript of the tapes. Juries often face the daunting task of not only listening to the lawyers' arguments about physical or verbal evidence at trial, but also to the tape recordings presented as evidence. To assist the jury, attorneys often give them a written transcript to aid them in understand-

ing and keeping track of things as they occurred. It is normally the case that juries may use such transcripts only while they listen to the actual tapes, and they are not normally permitted to take the transcripts with them when they deliberate. Transcripts are of equal usefulness to discourse analysts, since spoken language goes by so fast and is so complex that even linguists need to have an accurate written guide to what is happening.

Initial transcripts presented by either the prosecution or the defense are invariably faulty. They are most commonly prepared by secretaries or transcript services, then checked for accuracy by one or more of the persons who appear on the tape. In addition to suspicions about the relative non-objectivity of the participants who check and correct the transcript, there are usually many transcript errors. Speakers are often mis-attributed, some of the spoken language is omitted, and critical errors are made in representing pronouns, negatives, tenses, and many other things. A linguist, trained and experienced in regional and social dialects, speech registers, the significance of pause length and intonation, and equipped with high quality listening equipment and ear-phones, usually has little difficulty finding a multitude of transcript errors in the initial transcript. Not surprisingly, many such errors favor the party who made the transcript, probably since it was "checked and corrected" first by the participants in the original conversation, who may have their own schemas of what was said, in contrast to what was actually said. A classic example of this occurred in a case in which I testified in Reno, Nevada in 1982. The major dispute in the transcript occurred over a sentence which the government transcribed the one defendant saying to the other, "I would take a bribe, wouldn't you?" Careful linguistic analysis of the sentence, revealed that what was actually said was, "I wouldn't take a bribe, would you?" (Shuy 1993).

A more problematic version of transcript production occurs when a police official writes down the suspects' words during interrogations and/or confessions. In Australia, this practice, called 'verballing', was common for many years (Gibbons 1995; 1996). In the U.S. it appears commonly in criminal cases in which critical parts of the interrogation and confession are not tape recorded, leaving the police in the position of presenting their interpretations and mem-

ories of what was actually said by the suspect. When police officers claim that they wrote down “exactly what the defendant said”, the discourse analyst can compare the language used by both the suspect and the officer in other contexts, such as depositions, with the alleged confession statements to determine the extent to which the officer’s claim of verbatim recording is accurate or truthful.

In a case in Louisiana, for example, I analyzed the language of the defendant, a 16 year-old African American boy, in his tape recorded interrogation that was cut off before he is reported to have confessed (Shuy 1998). The police officer then produced a confession statement allegedly dictated and signed by the boy. The discourse and other language features of the confession were in sharp contrast with the boy’s speech. I obtained a tape recording of his speech taken while he was in prison and matched his language on it with the tape recorded portion of the interrogation. These matched but contrasted greatly with the alleged verbatim written statement. I then analyzed the language of the interrogating officer in his deposition and found it to match the written confession statement perfectly. I presented this information at a hearing and the case against the boy was dismissed.

### 5. Topic analysis

To produce an accurate transcript, the linguist has already applied considerable skills in phonetics and grammar before the work of discourse analysis even starts. To get a holistic picture of the context of the conversation, the discourse analyst next carries out a topic analysis. This means marking exactly who introduced which topic throughout the conversation. Topic analysis provides useful information about both the agendas of the speakers and the relative dominance of the interactants. A person’s agenda is simply what they tried to get on the table for discussion in a given conversation, while one measure of the dominance can be seen in the difference between the number of topics the conversants managed to get discussed. Agenda and dominance are significant issues in criminal cases such as those in which a person is accused of masterminding a plot to commit a crime.

For example, in the case of *U.S. vs. John DeLorean*, a critical tape recording used by

the government consisted of a conversation in which the undercover agent brought up 77% of all the topics discussed while DeLorean introduced only 23% (Shuy 1993). From this distribution alone it is not difficult to tell who was guiding or dominating the talk. DeLorean was accused of soliciting an interest in the drug business that the agent claimed to represent. For two months previously, however, DeLorean had been discussing a loan with the alleged representative of a California bank (actually the undercover FBI agent) to save his sinking automobile company from bankruptcy. In this meeting, the agent now told DeLorean that he could not give him a loan but that he could either personally finance him through his illicit drug business or he would keep on trying to find people who will invest in DeLorean’s ailing company.

Although DeLorean never brought up the topic of his personal investment in the drug scheme, he was tried (and eventually acquitted) for doing so. Had the government been linguistically sophisticated enough to pay attention to who introduced which topics, the case may never have seen the courtroom at all.

The disputed evidence in this conversation was whether DeLorean agreed to invest in the drug business or whether he simply expressed a continued interest in a loan or an investment in his company by outsiders. The agent clearly represented that he was in the drug business. DeLorean’s only topic related to the drug business was “it is dangerous”. The major topic introduced by both speakers was that of investing, but neither party made clear who was investing in whom.

Topic analysis is also useful in discovering clues to the meaning and intentions of written documents in civil cases involving product liability, defamation, or contracts. For example, a product liability case centered on a adequacy of a warning label for tampons, which consisted of 9 topics (Shuy 1990):

- (1) information about toxic shock syndrome
- (2) instructions to read and save this information
- (3) the warning signs of toxic shock syndrome
- (4) if warning signs appear, remove the tampon
- (5) the risk of tampon use for toxic shock syndrome

- (6) how to avoid the risk
  - (7) see your doctor if there are warning signs
  - (8) this information is in the public interest; The U.S. Federal Drug Administration does not maintain that tampons are the cause of toxic shock syndrome
  - (9) if you have questions, see your doctor
- At issue in this case was whether or not an average reader could be sufficiently warned about the association of tampon use with the possibly fatal disease, toxic shock syndrome. The topic flow indicates that although the disease is fronted in the message, mention of any association of tampon use with it does not appear until the fifth topic, halfway through the message. Even this warning is muted by the eighth topic, in which it is pointed out that the Federal Drug Administration has not been able to say conclusively that tampon use is the cause of the disease. The government requirement for the warning is that it clearly show the association of the disease with tampon use in a prominent and legible fashion. At trial, the court ruled that putting the required topic in the middle of the warning statement did not meet this burden.

## 6. Response analysis

People also respond to topics brought up by other participants. One can respond in many ways, including agreeing to all or part of the topic, disagreeing with all or part of it, saying nothing at all about it, or changing the subject without commenting on it. The response of agreeing or disagreeing to an inculpatory topic can end the matter then and there. But things are not usually that simple. What does agreement or disagreement to part of the inculpatory topic really mean? And what meaning can one deduce from the fact that a suspect says nothing at all, changes the subject to something else, requests clarification, or provides an off-topic response? To address these questions the discourse analyst examines the entire context of the conversation.

Most of these response strategies are illustrated in a criminal case that took place in the early eighties in Nevada. Two men who served as brothel commissioners suspected that a woman who came to them applying for a brothel license was actually from the San Francisco Mafia. Not being intellectual giants, they decided that the only way they could be certain about her Mafia

connections was to request a bribe from her. They reasoned that if she would agree to give a bribe at their next meeting at a local restaurant, they would turn her application down flat. Meanwhile, after their first meeting, she reported to the F.B.I. that they had asked for a bribe. She was given a hidden body microphone and told to get them to say as much on tape. The following sequential topics and responses illustrate their evasive response strategies (Shuy 1993: 39f):

Applicant's Topic	Commissioner's Response
I need something more reasonable	(changes subject)
How about paying in 2 to 6 months	Why don't you put it in a trust?
\$50000 is too high	Could you put that in writing?
Is there anyone else I should pay?	Nobody
Do I pay something each year?	No.
\$50000 is high	(no response)
I want to cooperate	You won't be the first one to try that.
I want to come in right.	What's "right?"
How about \$35000?	No, I wouldn't take a bribe, would you?
You want to wait?	I would wait.
How about \$30000?	(no response)
There'd better not be any extras.	We'll come by and see you once in a while.
Just take it! Here!	What do you mean?

At this point the conversation ended. One of the commissioners had already left the table to pay the check and as the remaining two got up to leave, the woman said, "Here," placed \$5000 in cash on the seat of the second commissioner. She then rushed out. The remaining commissioner saw the money there, picked it up, and walked to the car to meet his partner. They started to drive away, then quickly turned around and went back to the restaurant, where they were immediately arrested for soliciting a bribe.

Disregarding the fact that they never asked for a bribe, their response strategies included changing the subject, giving no response at all, requesting clarification, deferring any action, and doing the unheard of thing of asking the woman to put her bribe offer in writing. The clearest response the men gave was that they wouldn't take a

bribe. Despite this, the government contended that their rejection was actually an agreement, and recast what they said to "I would take a bribe, wouldn't you?" The first trial ended in a hung jury but, on retrial, the government's version of the critical words was accepted and the men were convicted.

A response strategy that often causes the courts difficulty is the one in which the suspect responds with "uh-huh," to an inculpatory topic brought up by the other person. Is this total agreement or even partial agreement? Or is it a feedback marker indicating that the respondent has heard the proposition, is not yet ready or willing to take the floor, perhaps waiting to hear more, and has not yet made up his or her mind about it? Maybe the inculpatory proposition was not even heard.

In the impeachment trial of a U.S. federal judge, a tape recording of the judge speaking with another man was central to the case (Shuy 1997). The U.S. Congress alleged that this tape, which on its surface seemed benign, was actually a spontaneously constructed coded conversation between the two men. When they used expressions like, "I've drafted all those, uh, uh, letters, uh for Hemp," the government contended that "letters" really meant bribe money. The role of the feedback marker, "uh-huh," was important in the analysis of this conversation, since the hastily constructed code had to be processed as they went along. The feedback marker was used to give up a turn of talk, shifting the talk back to the other speaker for whatever amplification he might want to add to make things clearer, to explain the code. This led to an awkwardness that was unnatural, especially between two old friends such as these. And it always appeared after a word which was highly likely to be a code word. That "uh-huh" did not mean agreement was no better illustrated than in the greeting part of the tape:

Judge: Hey, my man.

Other man: Uh-hum.

Judge: I've drafted all those, uh, uh, letters, uh for Hemp.

Other man: Uh-huh.

Judge: Did you hear if, uh, you hear from him after we talked?

Other man: Yeah

Judge: Oh, okay.

Other man: Uh-huh.

A few years ago, most prosecutors assumed that "uh-huh" could mean only agreement.

Over time, perhaps from being stung by linguistic testimony about such hasty conclusions, they are now considerably less eager to assume that interpretation. Asian defendants caught on tape pose an even more difficult problem for those who claim that "uh-huh" always indicates agreement. In many criminal cases involving Japanese or other cultures who give what Westerners believe to be agreement, it has been found that they do so out of politeness conditions far too complex for most courts to understand without the assistance of linguistic expertise.

## 7. Interruption analysis

The significance of interruption in a conversation is often missed by the legal system. People interrupt each other for a number of possible reasons, including disagreement with what has been said by the other person, lack of interest in the topic, or out of extrovertish habits. But people also interrupt when they agree and are impatient to get on with the subject and lead it to some sort of conclusion. Obviously, the prosecution and the defense will see interruption quite differently, if they notice it at all.

Much of the linguistic literature on interruption considers it a sign of dominance (West and Zimmerman 1983; Tannen 1989). Males are found to interrupt females commonly, supporting the thesis of male dominance in gender comparison studies. Tannen's work (1993), however, also suggests that interruption can also suggest solidarity, high involvement, and cooperativeness, especially in the New York subjects she studied. Interruption cannot always be understood in the same way, depending on geographical area, ethnicity, or other social differences. Like everything else, understanding interruption must be grounded in the social and linguistic context in which it occurs.

An example of interrupting a potentially exculpatory statement occurred in a 1979 criminal case involving a New Jersey casino commissioner, Ken McDonald. The undercover F.B.I. agent had already co-opted an unsuspecting New Jersey mayor in his alleged bribery plot. The mayor told the agent that he could bribe McDonald to get a favorable vote on their new casino project. One night the mayor invited McDonald to a downtown dinner, but explained that he would need to stop at an office along the way to "pick up something." That "some-

thing” turned out to be a briefcase full of cash that the mayor had already told the agent would be given to McDonald for his favorable vote. The agent, unaware that McDonald knew nothing about the mayor’s scheme, tried to involve him the conversation. At the office, McDonald stood on the other side of the room, looking out the window as he waited for the mayor to finish his business. Finally, somewhat exasperated at McDonald’s indifference, the agent finally turned directly to him and said:

Agent: I hope, Ken, that there won’t be any problem with you –

Mayor (interrupting): No, there’s no problem.

Agent (finishing his sentence): – licensing or anything in, uh, Atlantic City as a result of this.

Mayor: (answering on behalf of McDonald) Okie dokie, in regards to licensing, if I may just bring that point out, just recently I talked to him on the phone, so there’s no question about that. You’re in first place.

After two more failed attempts to involve McDonald in the discussion, the agent concluded the conversation, once again addressing McDonald directly:

Agent: Thank you very much Ken.

McDonald: Good to see you and I’m sure –

Mayor (interrupting): I’m sure we’ll do alright, huh?

Agent: I don’t –

Mayor (interrupting): Won’t be any problems.

Agent: No problems?

Mayor: No problems.

McDonald: I’m, I have nothing to do with that.

The corrupt mayor, sensing that McDonald might blurt out that he had no idea what they were talking about, interrupted first McDonald and then the agent to assure that it would appear to the agent that McDonald was a co-conspirator in the bribe scheme. As it turns out, the mayor, conning the government, actually kept the bribe money himself.

Interruption can be complicated by the way linguists define it. Tannen observes that the “phenomenon commonly referred to as ‘interruption’ is more properly referred to as ‘overlap’” (Tannen 1993, 175). Such a definition combines simultaneous speech with its ultimate effect on the dialogue. There are points in conversation when two or more

participants talk at the same time. There are other points in which one or more of the participants stop their overlap and yield the floor to the other speaker. Thus overlap, whether competitive or cooperative, does not always stop the other person’s train of speech in the way the mayor did above. This competitive effect of blocking what the other person is saying is just as important as the cooperative effect of some types of overlap. In fact, the difference between them may have a profound bearing in determining whether an undercover agent is trying to elicit inculpatory information or is actually blocking what may have turned out to be an exculpatory statement. For this reason, some discourse analysts distinguish between overlap (simultaneous speech, whether cooperative or not) and interruption (blocking the flow of the statements of another).

## 8. Speech act analysis

Some linguists consider speech acts as an integral part of discourse analysis. Others assign it to semantics. Its proper home is irrelevant here, however, for when one analyzes the discourse of language in the legal context, speech act analysis is one of the most useful tools for resolving legal issues. If a person is accused of offering a bribe, for example, a careful speech act analysis of what was actually said may determine whether the utterance actually meets the linguistic criteria of an offer. The same can be said about the need to identify accurately a threat, a warning, an advisory, an agreement, a promise, or an admission.

Speech act analysis of written documents of contracts, warning labels, or alleged defamation provides another useful lens to the clues to meaning and intention. For example, various government agencies send out thousands of notices to beneficiaries of Medicare and Social Security each year. One such notice from a state Department of Social Services had as its purpose to tell recipients that they had been “overissued” food stamps and that they must now repay the agency for this error. The standard format for such notices is tripartite. First it should explain the problem, then tell the recipients their options for action, and finally, show them explicitly how to accomplish such action.

In this particular case, 40% of the speech acts in the agency’s notice were the negative

speech acts of threatening, warning, and complaining. Negatives are known to be more difficult to process and comprehend than positive ones, yet this notice was couched largely not only in negative grammar but also in negative speech acts. More positive speech acts, such as advising and reporting facts can easily replace threatening and warning. There is no place in government writing for complaining by the agency. Not only is the use of negative speech acts bad public relations but using them also produces incomprehensible text, especially to older and less sophisticated recipients. Speech act analysis is one of the several analytical routines used to show a message's weaknesses or strengths.

### 9. Ambiguity analysis

In both criminal and civil cases, language ambiguity is often pivotal. In the U.S., for example, government undercover agents are supposed to follow the guideline of making clear and unambiguous to the target any proposition that is illegal. Such language use is often central to the success or failure of a prosecution. In cases involving perjury, defamation, and product liability, explicit versus ambiguous language is equally salient. Analysis of the discourse often clarifies the potential ambiguity or clarity of isolated passages selected as evidence.

In one criminal prosecution, for example, an undercover agent met with a state legislator who was in charge of insurance contracts for that state, telling him that he represented a large insurance company that could save the state millions of dollars if they would switch to his company (Shuy 1993). The legislator naturally listened to the proposal, since it is his job to try to save the state money. After presenting the benefits, however, the insurance agent said, "I want to give you a little something tonight for your up-coming campaign re-election." The legislators responded, "Let's take care of this thing and try to take care of it first ... and, uh, then, uh, then let's think about that." The insurance agent then said, "I will put in whatever you want to run, \$100,000 going in and we can prepare to put a half a million." The legislator next replied, "Anytime you can show me where you can save the State money I'll by God, I'll go battle for you. I think that's what part of my job is, to try to save the State." The insurance agent

took these words as agreement that the legislator would accept the money then and there, saying: "That's all the commitment we want out of you. There's \$600,000 every year. I'm keeping 600 and 600 whatever you want to do with it to get the business." Finally sensing what is going on, the legislator responded, "Our only position is we don't want to do anything that's illegal or anything to get anybody in trouble and you all don't either." Disregarding this directive, the insurance agent then pulled cash out of his pocket, saying, "I wanna make sure you're gonna do it now, okay ... if that includes the introduction of the legislation (to select his company)." To this, the legislator replied, "I'll report it as a campaign contribution." The insurance agent then tried to dissuade any reporting of the contribution but the legislator remained firm that he would do so.

Note that it was after the cash was delivered, labeled as a campaign contribution, the insurance agent redefined it as a bribe. Ambiguously reclassifying past events inaccurately, however common this may be, simply does not make them true. Had the legislator agreed with the agent's reinterpretation of what had happened, he would have gone to jail. As it turned out, he was eventually acquitted, although he had to suffer the expense and indignity of a court trial.

### 10. Speech event analysis

Sometimes one party in a law suit will claim that the event in question is one thing while the other party will claim that it is something else. For example, it may be asserted that the conversation was a business meeting whereas the structure of that conversation may reveal it to be only a social event. In one lawsuit, a business proposal event was described as having the following six phase structure.

- (1) Introduction, greetings, small talk. This phase establishes one's authenticity, mutual acquaintances or past business deals are discussed, and sometimes flattery occurs.
- (2) The needs are presented and responded to. One party expresses what is needed or what the problem is. Both parties attempt to gain assurance that the other has the appropriate control or power to complete the transaction.
- (3) Proposal offered by one party and considered by the other. Both parties may



negotiate, present conditions, and make counter offers. Promises are made and payment may be discussed.

- (4) Completion of proposal (verbal agreement with handshake or signing of a contract)
- (5) Extensions (further possible deals are discussed)
- (6) Closing, small talk, celebratory actions

The structure of a business proposal event is not unlike that of a sales event. In a 1988 civil suit brought by a deaf customer against an automobile dealership, analysis of the structure of the sales event was central to the case, based on the notes passed back and forth during the encounter (Shuy 1998). The dealership claimed that the salesperson and customer had actually reached phase four (agreement to a deal). The customer claimed that he had indeed presented his needs (stage two) but had also made clear that he was only price shopping and said that he did not intend to deal at that time. At one point during their discussion, the dealership printed out an offer and considered this to be the evidence that negotiation (phase three) had taken place, especially since the customer made no counter offer. During their discussions, the salesperson requested the keys to the vehicle that the customer had driven in, just to see what a trade-in value might be. Through smooth talking, the salesperson also convinced the customer that he would get a better cost estimate from his boss if a personal check were included. He explained that the check would be promptly returned if the customer asked for it back. Thereafter, the customer reiterated that he did not intend to buy today. In fact, he kept asking that his keys and check be returned, but to no avail. After four hours of being held captive, he finally rummaged through the salesperson's desk, found his check and marched toward the door, only to be blocked by the salesman dangling the car keys but refusing to return them. The customer went straight to an attorney's office and a suit was brought against the dealership for, among other things, gross negligence, false imprisonment, infliction of emotional stress, and fraud. At trial, the dealership contended that they had reached the completion stage of the sales event. They did not prevail, however, for the jury found against the dealership and awarded the customer six million dollars.

Analysis of speech event structure played a very significant role in this trial.

## 11. Discourse style analysis

Stylistic analysis is usually thought to be based on language features such as frequency of letters or words, punctuation, phoneme frequency, consonant types, spelling errors, lexical variation, morpheme patterns, word type and token frequencies, prepositions, pronoun types, participles and other verb forms, clause type and length, sentence type and length, phrase types, and many other language features that operate at the level of the sentence or smaller (McMenamin 1993). Often overlooked are the discourse features that also can help identify authorship issues.

Discourse analysis takes stylistics beyond the sentence by focusing on frequency and type of discourse markers (Schiffrin 1987), the use of cohesive ties (Halliday and Hasan 1976), discourse organization patterns (Tannen 1984), types of greetings, closings, and small talk interludes, and alternatives to representing information in ways other than sentences, such as lists, headings, and the bulleting of important ideas.

## 12. Conclusions

Discourse analysis has clearly established a visible presence in the legal setting. This has been accomplished through research on issues of discourse and law, through analyses and reports produced for specific law cases, and through expert witness testimony at trial. There are important differences in these three arenas of forensic discourse analysis which set them apart: time pressures, the audience's knowledge about language, restrictions of how things can be said, as well as the usual difficulties scholars face when trying to contribute to a discipline in which they are not formally trained.

Research on legal issues, such as the language of judges, jury instructions, or courtroom speech patterns, can be conducted at the convenience of the researcher, when there is no particular pressure to finish under severe time deadlines. When a discourse analyst is asked to work on a specific court case, however, such time constraints are always present. No matter how early or late an attorney calls on linguistic help, the analyst must accomplish the work within prescribed time limits. There are short deadlines for which a witness list must be submitted, short deadlines for the production of reports, and

short deadlines for trial testimony. The customary time lines for producing papers for conferences or manuscripts for journals may seem leisurely by comparison.

The discourse analyst also faces the unfamiliar situation of dealing with a daunting ignorance about how language works. Things that linguists take for granted are often almost totally new thoughts to some judges, attorneys, and juries. Complex ideas must be rendered comprehensible, even simplified beyond what one would prefer, in order to make a point. One faces the paradox of needing to sound like an erudite expert while, at the same time, communicating linguistic ideas so simply that can be understood by laymen to our field. It is necessary to use vocabulary, concepts, and images that communicate, if not match, those of the audience.

In addition, the discourse analyst also has to learn to distinguish between what can be said and what cannot. The ultimate questions of guilt versus innocence in criminal cases or responsibility and rights in a civil cases remains the sole territory of the attorney advocates. Discourse analysts are not advocates and should try very hard not to even give the appearance of being one. It should be the case that the data will yield the same analysis no matter which side of the case calls the linguist.

The linguist who appears as an expert witness must also learn that the comfortable status acquired in academia means a great deal less under cross-examination. Experts have some control over what can be said in direct examination by the attorney with whom they are working, but the opposition's side can be merciless, even cruel. There are times, in fact, when cross-examination can feel like one is taking the doctor's oral examination all over again. The witness must be on guard at all times for trick questions such as the one asked me when I testified for the first time. The prosecutor asked me, "When you did your subjective analysis of this conversation, what brand of tape recorder did you use to listen to it?" Fortunately, rather than leaping into the main clause of his question, I listened to the dependent clause and answered it, "I didn't do a subjective analysis; it was objective."

Finally, the rules about when an expert can be qualified to testify may change, as they have in U.S. federal courts during the past twenty years. Recently a Florida judge

refused to permit me to testify in a criminal case based on a recent U.S. Supreme Court ruling that expert witness testimony is not reliable if the theory used has not been tested. The attorneys in the case asked me to advise them whether or not a certain tape recording occurred naturally or was a "staged" conversation. One of the participants in that conversation claimed that both parties knew that it was being taped as part of a conspiracy to make it appear that they were innocent. The other party violently disagreed, claiming that the conversation occurred naturally, without his knowing that it was being tape recorded.

I began by trying to find extant research on staged versus naturally occurring conversation. There appeared to be none. Since the characteristics of natural conversation are fairly well known, I decided to look for these characteristics in a different tape of the same men for which there was no claim of staging, then compare my findings with the language of the alleged staged tape. The comparison showed virtually identical occurrences of the characteristics of natural conversation: interruption, topic recycling, vagueness, fragmented ideas, complaining to each other, disagreements with each other, accusations of each other, contracted forms, simple syntax, sentence fillers, feedback markers, and varied natural intonation.

As is often the case, I had to be examined in court about what my testimony would be before the judge decided whether or not to permit me to testify before the jury. After hearing my testimony, the judge asked me if there were any other occasions in which a comparisons were made of natural versus staged tapes. I had to admit that I knew of no such cases and that, as far as I knew, nobody had ever thought of this unique issue before. Upon hearing this, the judge ruled that I would not be allowed to testify because "the theory on which my analysis was based had not been tested." In the judge's view, I had satisfied the U.S. Supreme Court's criteria requiring that the techniques used are accepted in the scientific community, and that this theory has been subjected to peer review. But I had not satisfied the criterion that required the theory to have been previously tested. Based on the wording of the judge's written opinion, I can only assume that if a discourse analyst had carried out this comparison in another case, this would have met the criterion of having been tested.

Whether the discourse analyst's goal is to research issues of the intersection of language and law, to consult with attorneys on specific civil and criminal law cases by analyzing data and writing reports, or to serve as an expert witness at trial, the analytical procedures of topic analysis, response analysis, interruption analysis, speech act analysis, ambiguity analysis, speech event analysis, and discourse style analysis are important tools provided by discourse analysis.

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## 235. The Sociolinguistics of Ageing/Soziolinguistik des Alterns

1. Social ageing and sociolinguistics
2. Ageing and patronising talk
3. Discourse analytic studies of ageing
4. Towards a sociolinguistics of ageism
5. Literature (selected)

When sociolinguistics has concerned itself explicitly with ageing, research has tended to focus on the early part of the lifespan. Studies have begun to fill in social-contextual aspects of language development (a topic in which psycholinguistic emphases have dominated), and an independent perspective on language variation and use in childhood and adolescence has come to the fore (see Cheshire, this volume; Eckert 2000; Romaine 1984). When sociolinguistics has dealt with adult data, adulthood has tended to be conceptualised as an unmarked demographic condition, relative to youth, within which variation by gender, class, ethnicity or other social dimensions can be investigated. Our starting point for this short review is, therefore, the belief that sociolinguistics has entertained an impoverished view of social ageing. Until recently, it has had little to say about the social experiencing of age, and of old age in particular, or about the socio-political and cultural contexts of ageing. It is still rare to find studies designed to explore the sociolinguistic complexities of ageing through adulthood and into late life – studies that can take us beyond the bland assumption that human sociolinguistic development is a matter of acquiring ‘normal adult usage’ within a particular speech community.

This position, in our view, leaves sociolinguistics strikingly out of phase with modern social science, where gerontological issues are recognised to have a high priority. Reasons for this include (a) the rapidly changing demographic make-up of western societies (longer lives, earlier retirement, new conceptualisations of life-stages); (b) new challenges for social cohesion and policy (competition over limited resources, new potential for intergenerational conflict and ageism, the mobilising of political power amongst older people); and (c) a general loosening of social norms governing ‘age-appropriate’ lifestyles (reflecting the shift out of ‘modernist’ conformity into the more negotiated identities of ‘late-modernity’). Sociolinguistics has been slow to engage with this range of new and pressing social is-

ssues, although some important first steps have been taken.

Our first aim in this chapter is to problematise the treatment of age in variationist sociolinguistic research, which has set the parameters of ‘traditional’ sociolinguistic engagement with ageing. Secondly, we review the recent wave of socio-psychological studies of intergenerational communication, centring on styles and contexts of ‘patronising talk’. Although this research remains weak in its descriptive aspects, it presents one coherent paradigm for understanding how societal ageism can be mediated by language use. Thirdly, we examine discourse-based sociolinguistic research on late life. This growing tradition of analysis can again reveal how language is central to people’s experience of age and ageing, and especially to the negotiation of age-identities. In a final section we attempt to overview the ideological forces that impinge upon language use, and, briefly, suggest how sociolinguistic research can contribute further to ideological critique.

### 1. Social ageing and sociolinguistics

Age is a core ‘factor’ taken into account in variationist sociolinguistics. Age stratification of linguistic variables (how, on average, one age cohort differs from another in terms of quantified frequencies of use) is taken to reflect change in one or both of two senses: (a) change in the normative speech of the community over time (indicating historical change); (b) change in the speech of individuals as they move through life (age grading) (Cheshire, this volume; Eckert 1997).

The methodological decisions made by variationist researchers generate a distinction between ‘real time’ and ‘apparent time’ (see Chambers 1995; Labov 1994). The apparent time device used in studies of language change involves sampling the speech of different age cohorts at one point in time. Its validity – whether apparent time sampling predicts change in real time – depends on the extent of the comparability of the samples, but also on whether particular socio-cultural factors might intervene to influence trajectories or extents of language change in particular respects. Sampling in apparent time also predicts community change only to the extent that age grading does not exist. Eckert

(1997) shows that, in community studies of variation, increasing age has sometimes been found to positively correlate with increasing conservatism in speech. Therefore, if we only obtain evidence in apparent time, we cannot know whether the language patterns of the community are changing in real time or whether the speakers are becoming more conservative as they age, or both.

The apparent time device is clearly an efficient, if theoretically compromised, method for studying language change in progress. What is more worrying for the sociolinguistic study of ageing is its basal assumption that, “for change in apparent time to regularly reflect change in real time, the speech of an age group would have to correspond in a predictable way to the state of the language at some fixed life stage” (Eckert, 1997, 151). This is to assume that an individual’s language use is stable and predictable through adult life. However, as Eckert notes, a vast array of social contextual changes during adulthood, such as changes in family status, in employment status or place of residence, is to be expected, and these will inevitably impact in some ways on sociolinguistic patterns. The language change paradigm is exclusively concerned with social dialect features, and the assumption of adult language stasis may be more feasible within those bounds. But a cohort continuity model (see Coupland 2001, for a more detailed discussion) has important deficiencies as a general model of adult sociolinguistic development. Indeed, the assumption that people are communicatively unchanging and ‘set in their ways’ is part of the pernicious mythology of old age.

Age-grading, in the variationist conceptualisation, is a developmental process which allows individuals to escape their (presumed) historical rootedness. Age-grading refers to “regular, maturational change repeated in successive generations” (Chambers 1995, p. 147). Age-grading implies that a chronological age designation, such as ‘being 47’, may not reflect membership of a cohort born 47 years ago and which has maintained its socialised speech characteristics, but the difference between how one is at 47 and how one was at, for example, 27. According to Chambers, this kind of change is relatively rare, or at least infrequently reported. One example is the use of glottal stops in Glasgow (Macaulay 1977): middle-class 10-year-olds use stigmatised glottal stops but lose

this feature by the age of 15. Labov, on the other hand, suggests that “many well-established sociolinguistic variables exhibit ... age-grading, where adolescents and young adults use stigmatized variants more freely than middle-aged speakers, especially when they are being observed” (1994, 73), and exemplifies this by the (dh) variable (in words such as *these, them, those*) in Philadelphia and New York City. Clear examples of age-graded prosodic and paralinguistic features are vocal creak and pitch which probabilistically mark advanced age (see Coupland, Coupland and Giles 1991a for a review).

Overall, the two theoretical possibilities of cohort shift and age grading offer remarkably sparse coverage of the interface between human ageing and language. They allow us no perspective on how multiple socio-cultural forces, both synchronic and diachronic, impact on speakers – dynamically and variably. Equally, they constitute a highly deterministic model of sociolinguistic ageing, wherein speakers are seen to be conditioned – either by a rolling cultural juggernaut or by a pseudo-biological internal mechanism of human ageing. They also depoliticise ageing as a ‘natural’ process, whereas, as we see in the next section, the role of language in social ageing can be to symbolise and promote intergroup conflict.

## 2. Ageing and patronising talk

‘Patronising talk’ is an elusive and complex attribution. Although many intergroup relationships can be an arena for patronising talk, the one that has been most vigorously researched is intergenerational talk involving old people, usually as recipients. Patronising talk to old people has been defined as talk involving speech modifications that are based on age stereotypes of incompetence and dependence (Ryan, Hummert and Boich 1995). The phenomenon has mainly been explored within the framework of Communication Accommodation Theory (CAT) (e.g. Giles 1973; Giles and Coupland 1991) and using the so-called Communication Predicament of Ageing Model (Ryan et al., 1986). Put simply, CAT predicts that speakers are motivated to reduce communicative differences between themselves and their conversational participants in search of social approval or communicative effectiveness. When approval and effectiveness are less important, and when difference and distance

are foregrounded, speakers will be motivated to resist 'attuning' or 'accommodating' and may even accentuate differences between themselves and the hearers. The Communication Predicament of Ageing Model builds on CAT to predict that younger adults will *over*-adapt their talk to older people, designing their talk to stereotyped norms of dependency and incompetence.

The Predicament Model further specifies that when old age cues are available in the environment of talk – such as physical characteristics (facial features or posture), social roles (grandparent), or the physical context of an interaction (a nursing home) – speakers are likely to assign cognitive and/or physical deficits to the older hearer. The result is an 'over-accommodated' or patronising style of talk, which may well be maladapted to the recipient's actual communicative or other competences. The 'predicament' consists of a negative feedback cycle: patronising communication reinforces age-stereotypical behaviours in older recipients, resulting in lower levels of cognitive and physical functioning and lower self-esteem (Hummert and Ryan 2001). In this literature, many discursive features of patronising communication are identified, but rarely analysed in detail in naturally occurring instances: simplified vocabulary, simple grammatical structures, pronoun modifications (e.g. over-inclusive *we*), repetitions, brief imperatives, diminutives and nicknames, limited topic selection and topic reinforcement and exaggerated praise for minor accomplishments; non-verbal features include aspects of voice (e.g. high pitch, exaggerated intonation and pronunciation), gaze (e.g. low eye contact or staring), proxemics (e.g. either standing too close or too far off), facial expressions (e.g. exaggerated smile, raised eyebrows), gestures (e.g. head shaking, hands on hips) and touch (e.g. patting on the head, hand, arm or shoulder) (Ryan et al. 1995, p. 154). These features are in many ways similar to those found in babytalk directed at infants (e.g. Snow 1995). In fact, Caporael (1981) coined the term 'secondary baby talk' for extreme patronising talk that she found being used by staff towards older residents in long-term care institutions.

Although much of the initial work in patronising communication in intergenerational encounters was conducted in institutional and medical settings (Caporael 1981 was an agenda-setting study, followed by, for

example, Grainger 1993; Sachweh 1998), patronising communication has also been researched in non-institutional (e.g. Kemper 1994) and community settings (Harwood et al. 1993; Ylänne-McEwen 1999). The question therefore arises of whether many or even most social encounters between younger and older people can be said to be characterised by patronising styles and the dynamics of over-accommodation. If so, then the regular ascription of reduced competence, intelligence, memory, independence, strength and so on (Hummert and Ryan 2001) would constitute a powerful interactional component of ageist practice.

In fact, several caveats need to be voiced. Even in Caporael's early studies it is clear that not all speakers who engage in patronising talk do so intentionally. In fact, patronising talk may stem from very positive relational goals such as showing care, concern and nurturance. Even so, when such talk is evaluated by the recipient as depersonalised and overcompensating (for example speaking with far greater amplitude than is necessary for understanding) it nevertheless meets the recipient's evaluative criteria for 'patronising'. As Ryan et al. (1995) say, "Although patronising communication often derives from well-intentioned efforts to adapt communication style to the needs of the older individual (i.e. to convey caring and nurturance), it inevitably conveys a lack of respect" (p. 148). But equally, what to observers may appear patronising or over-accommodative talk might actually be evaluated positively by the (older) recipient (Caporael 1981) and even accepted as an institutional register in caring contexts (Hummert et al. 1994). Again, we might expect patronising talk to feature more in first-encounter situations than in longer-term relationships, where there are greater opportunities for individuated orientations. Future studies will also need to attend in greater detail to the evaluative and interpretive processes involved. The social circumstances of old people are extremely diverse, not only in socio-economic terms but in terms of lifestyles, social integration and self-categorisation (Coupland 2001). Feeling that one has been patronised may be most prevalent among groups of active older people who reject the designation 'elderly' and feel they are being corralled into that category discursively. Older people with much more circumscribed lifestyles may perceive the same

disenfranchisement but contextualise it differently. Being over-accommodated may be deemed preferable to being under-accommodated, for example.

Despite these caveats, patronising talk does echo a more general western discourse of ageing that has been commented on outside of sociolinguistics. This is the discourse of infantilisation (Hockey and James 1993). Infantilising practices construct an image of old age as a second childhood (cf. 'secondary babytalk', above) with associated characteristics of immaturity, vulnerability and asexuality. A dominant metaphor of the lifecourse is the 'inverted U', where physical and emotional strength and competence are viewed as waxing and waning over time. Earlier social theories of late-ageing construed retirement as a natural and indeed an inevitable retreat from society – into a condition of 'rolelessness' and by a process of social 'disengagement' (e.g. Rosow 1974; Cumming and Henry 1961; Phillipson, 1987, p. 178ff) – such that old people were seen to inhabit many of the social circumstances of childhood. Myths about the 'natural affinity' between the very old and the very young still abound. Sociolinguistics needs to develop a more open programme of research into social ageing which can connect with these wider social processes. Discourse analytic studies are beginning to explore this connection, although they also need to fill out the under-specified account of how 'old people's talk' and 'intergenerational talk' are constituted.

### 3. Discourse analytic studies of ageing

We suggested above that age and ageing in traditional sociolinguistic research has been viewed deterministically. A discourse-based approach, on the other hand, begins with the assumption that age – in the sense of the meanings and values that age holds for us – is socially negotiable. As we have previously argued, who we are, at the various points in our passage through the life course, must bear some systematic relation to our experiences of, and our participation in, language and social interaction (Coupland et. al. 1993). But even *a priori*, a discourse analytic approach is hostile to the assumption that age is in any simple way a determinant of language behaviour or competence. It draws on constructivist notions of self and identity (e.g. Gergen 1985) and challenges the traditional view

that social categories (such as age categories) can be taken for granted or predicted from demographic data. Instead, it expects so-called objective criteria for identifying age to be complicated by personal, historical, cultural and other contextual factors, and social interaction to be the domain in which these influences come to impact on people's identities. It may well be an exaggeration to claim that age identity, as part of an individual's personal identity, is exclusively constructed through talk. But it is surely correct to argue that articulations and ascriptions of age identities are always situation-bound, and that a close examination of talk-in-interaction gives us the best empirical purchase on processes of identity construction.

Discourse studies of age identity have typically been concerned with how conversational participants engage, through discourse, in identification work (Boden and Bielby 1986; Schiffrin 1996; Taylor 1987). They use various means to locate themselves or their speaking partner in a particular age-salient role or as a participant in some network of people (Hadden and Lester 1978). This may also be done through differentiating the self or other as *not* belonging to a specific group. Speakers may, then, selectively display identifying information at the micro-level of conversation. Coupland et. al. (1991b) established a corpus of 40 video-recorded, face-to-face, first-acquaintance conversations, involving females in two age bands (30–50 and 70–85). Half of the interactions were within-group and half between-groups. Two broad types of age marking processes were apparent in the data: those which constitute 'age categorisation' and those termed 'temporal framing processes', and both occurred much more frequently in the talk of the older participants. Age categorisation was done by disclosure of chronological age (e.g. "I'm seventy last October"), by invoking an age-related category or role reference (e.g. "I think us pensioners are very lucky really" or "I'm a great grandmother of two"). Age-categorisation was also expressed in relation to health, decrement or death through so-called 'painful self disclosure' (e.g. "I'm not very well these days too, I'm seventy last October ... so I find I can't do it so good"). Temporal framing processes included adding time-past perspective to current or recent states or topics (e.g. "I'm a widow nearly seventeen years ago"), self association with the past (e.g.

"I wouldn't recognise the place, it's years since I've been up this part of the city ... years ago I used to come up here scrubbing floors"), or recognising historical, cultural or social change (e. g. "we're lucky today because our parents didn't have a pension").

Particular elements of this basic template of age identity marking devices can then be examined in detail, and tendencies can be revealed which hint at wider cultural patterns. For example, the data showed that telling troubles is far more prevalent in older than in younger adult's talk. But also, younger females showed a propensity to elicit accounts of personal troubles from their older partners, suggesting they assumed questioning rights that might be considered intrusive in other contexts. Again, older people sometimes manufactured discursive contexts in which to tell their age, seeming to claim credit for old age. Their younger partners showed they had a ready repertoire of credentialising responses to age telling moves, along the lines of "gosh you don't look 75!". The study showed that intergenerational talk does have some distinctive sequential characteristics. Also that these feed off and feed into culture-wide beliefs and assumptions about social ageing. (For extensions of this work into the arena of geriatric medical discourse, see Coupland and Coupland 2000.)

Ageidentity negotiations are predictably a part of self introductions in various contexts. Dating advertisements are a revealing site for such work. J. Coupland's (2000) study of dating advertisements placed by people over 50 found that they tended to express restrained, modest and non-sexual relational goals. The advertisers were seen to be responding to ageist assumptions that "to be, to act and to look older is to be less relationally marketable ... Older advertisers often opt for proposing companionable recreation rather than for marketing themselves" (Coupland 2000, 28), unlike younger advertisers. Older people were found to make mitigatory references to age and to give physical appearance less emphasis than younger people. But older advertisers also found ways to (sometimes humorously) comment on ageist assumptions of elderly lifestyles. One example reads:

"Unbelievably youthful, widow, 65+, intelligent, well-travelled, frustrated by local geriatrics, reluctant to miss good things in life, WLTM [would like to meet] similar, professional man" (Coupland 2000, 25).

This advertiser seems to be distancing herself from her age-peers, referring to them playfully as "geriatrics" (a term which probably itself connotes infirmity and dependency) and invites the readers to consider the ageist assumption that people of her age "miss the good things in life". "Unbelievably youthful" is also a conscious effort to counteract a negative connotation of her chronological age, "65+", which is followed by two very positive personal qualities. We again see how wider cultural discourses of ageing form a background to local self-representations, and a focus for intertextual reference.

Discourse analytic studies have also investigated representations of ageing in the mass media, for example on TV. One study (Harwood and Giles 1992) examined age representations in a popular television series *The Golden Girls*. Although this popular series has been praised for presenting older people (all four main characters are women over 50 years) on television in a positive light, the study concluded that much of the humour in the programme is achieved through various age marking devices and in fact perpetuated stereotypes of the elderly. Counter-stereotypical portrayals of age were presented as laughable. For example, one of the characters, Blanche, is constantly seeking romance and her sexual exploits are a continuing source of amusement for the other characters. In one episode Rose says to Blanche: "you haven't drowned yourself in young men since this time last year when you brought those twins from the Jimmy Smith look alike competition". All agree that Blanche engages in "cradle robbing" each year around her birthday. As Blanche herself says, "alright yes damn it it's almost my birthday. And I intend to forget all about it" (Harwood and Giles 1992, 423). Her dating behaviour is, then, portrayed as a reaction to ageing and, implicitly, as a response to an acknowledged decline of sex with ageing (what the authors termed "problems-of-ageing marking").

Bringing old age into view in popular media, humorously or otherwise, at least breaks the silence about old age that was previously a characteristic of those media. Even so, programmes seem to find it impossible to escape stereotyping in the themes they address and in the representations of older people. They recycle assumptions about later life that presumably impact on our beliefs about ageing and on individuals'



self construals. The link between media representations and individual self-representations can sometimes be observed rather directly, for example in older people's use of advertising material of various kinds. The 'over fifties' are becoming a heavily targeted consumer group because of their increased demographic presence and consuming power and there are many products specifically produced for them. One of these is the branding of 'holidays for the over fifties'. In a discourse analytic study of brochures of such holidays, Ylänne-McEwen (2000) notes how the brochures are effectively selling a lifestyle package filled with activity, the company of age cohort peers, adventure and sometimes glamour in ways that dissociates the target consumer group from negative stereotypes of 'poor pensioners'. But the at times infantilising ways in which the holidays and their associated extra services (such as holiday hosts and chaplains) are marketed in the brochure texts may prove problematic in actual service encounters in travel agencies and may result in patronising by the travel agent should he or she present them without adequate contextual sensitivity. Again, it can be suggested that through identifying with the images of these brochures, people may engage in self-stereotyping: "those who are ageing learn how and what it is they are to be and become" (Chaney 1995, 217).

#### 4. Towards a sociolinguistics of ageism

Earlier in this review we criticised the apolitical stance that sociolinguistics has adopted vis-a-vis social ageing. This is partly a function of its dominant concern for social dialect variation, where class and race are much more obvious foci (than age) for socio-political and ideological conflict and debate. However, as several of the instances we have examined above show, ageing brings its own agenda of potential social exclusion and constraint that warrant further investigation. To a large extent, ageism (a term coined by Butler in 1969) can be explained as the perpetuation of modernist strictures about age-appropriate behaviour in an era where fewer constraints need apply. There are many ways of 'being old' in contemporary life, even though societal discourses of old age force us into outmoded versions – having troubles to tell, being in-

competent or in other ways childlike, being on the fringe of society, being sexually inactive and, for that matter, talking in the voices of yesteryear. Sociolinguistics needs to be as vociferous in the age context as it has been in the contexts of gender and race. Sociolinguists are uniquely placed to provide the theory-linked empirical analyses of ageism that will be most telling.

As in other social dimensions, it would be easy to oversimplify and overplay the politics of age. To approach analyses with the preconception that the sociolinguistics of ageing must always and only be driven by ideological considerations would be naive and in its own way blinkering. We still know very little about how ageing and the various life positions of adulthood are realised sociolinguistically, and about how these patterns may vary across cultures. But the evidence this far is that language and discourse are active in the articulation of ageist ideologies, even in older people's self-representations. The social implications for youth-fetishising societies which define one third of their own adult population as 'elderly' are considerable.

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## 236. Sociolinguistics and Mother-Tongue Education Soziolinguistik und Muttersprach-Didaktik

1. Introduction
2. Educating the public
3. Educational resources, materials and programmes
4. Research on language variation at school
5. Conclusion
6. Literature (selected)

### 1. Introduction

This article deals with the application of work in social dialectology and pidgin and creole studies to some of the problems faced by teachers and pupils in mother-tongue classrooms.

The problems I will consider stem from the coexistence in society of nonstandard varieties, spoken by the majority of the population, and a standardised variety, which is the language of education. Sociolinguists disagree about whether a standard variety is best seen as an idealised set of abstract norms about language (Milroy and Milroy 1998) or as a dialect with a written form that is also spoken by educated members of society (Trudgill 1984:32). But however it is defined, the fact remains that for some children, albeit a relatively small number, the language of their home is the same as or similar to the standard variety, whereas for the majority of children the home language is a nonstandard variety with a range of grammatical and lexical features that differ from the standard.

Social tensions between standard and nonstandard varieties come to the fore in the school because educational policies endorse the use of the standard. Sometimes they do this implicitly, as in Germany, where the traditional though unspoken aim of the school is apparently for standard German to be substituted for dialect (Rosenberg 1989:79). Sometimes, on the other hand, there are explicit statements about the use of the standard, as in England and Wales. Here a National Curriculum for English was implemented in 1995 with clear directives concerning the use of standard English in listening, speaking, reading and writing: for example, at Key Stages 3 and 4, which cover the years between 11 and 16, the orders are that “pupils should be ... confident users of standard English in formal and informal

situations (DFE and Welsh Office 1995 18).“ Even where language policy is apparently liberal, as in Dutch primary schools where dialect is explicitly allowed as a medium of instruction, the school is usually a straightforward standard language domain (Hagen 1989:52; see, however, van den Hoogen and Kuijper 1989 for description of an initiative in the Kerkrade area of the Netherlands). In all these varied circumstances, then, children who speak a nonstandard dialect at home are likely to be at some kind of educational disadvantage (Trudgill 2000, 200).

It might be thought that the main issue for the classroom would be how best to teach the standard to speakers of nonstandard varieties, but the situation is complicated by social attitudes towards standard and nonstandard language. Stereotypes about ‘incorrect’, ‘careless’ and ‘ugly’ speech persist, despite 40 years of sociolinguistic work demonstrating that dialects and creoles are well-formed language systems. Ignorance and prejudice still exist amongst teachers – they have been found, for example, in recent studies carried out in Britain, Canada, New York City, the Caribbean and Australia (Siegel 1999). Furthermore, speakers of the nonstandard languages themselves often hold the view that their language is ‘broken’ or ‘poor’; and if they have more positive attitudes towards their home variety they may reject the standard as the language of the elite (again, see Siegel (1999) for discussion). A further problem lies in the fact that learning is known to be better and more efficient when it is done through the medium of the mother tongue (UNESCO 1968), which suggests that dialects and creoles rather than standard varieties should be used in the classroom, at least in the early years of education, and for the initial acquisition of literacy. This issue has been considered for nonstandard varieties that are noticeably very different in their phonology and syntax from the corresponding standards (notably creole varieties), but it has not been taken into account in educational policies directed at speakers of nonstandard dialects.

Sociolinguists have responded to these problems in three main ways, each of which will be briefly reviewed in this chapter. Firstly, they have sought ways to educate

both the general public and teachers about sociolinguistic issues, especially the nature of standard and nonstandard language; secondly, they have produced resources and materials that can be used in education, and have been involved in educational programmes that give a place to creoles and dialects; and thirdly they have carried out research in classrooms to determine how children use standard and nonstandard features of language in their speech and writing at school. Because of space limitations I will mainly review work arising from research on English social dialects and English-based creoles; however there has been a great deal of relevant work in many European countries, some of which is summarised in Ammon and Cheshire (1989) and Cheshire, Edwards, Münstermann and Weltens (1989).

## 2. Educating the public

From the early days of social dialectology researchers recognised the relevance of their work to education, and published books and articles aimed at teachers and educationists (see, for example, Labov 1969; Trudgill 1975). Most continue to acknowledge a social responsibility to disseminate knowledge about language variation and linguistic prejudice to the public, to teachers and, through teachers, to children (Edwards 1989a, 321; Labov 1982). This responsibility has been publicly acknowledged by the American Association for Applied Linguistics (AAAL), which in 1997 issued a position statement regarding the application of dialect knowledge to education. The Association resolved that members of the association should “seek ways and means to better communicate the theories and principles of the field to the general public on a continuing basis” (AAAL 1997, 7–8). Cheshire (1996) discusses the measures that might need to be taken if other associations of applied linguistics were to adopt a similar objective.

Among recent books aimed at informing teachers and other practitioners about dialects and linguistic variation are those by Milroy and Milroy (1993), Wolfram, Adger and Christian (1999), Baugh (1999), and Wheeler (1999). Books written for the general public include Bauer and Trudgill (1999) and Wolfram and Schilling-Estes (1997). In some countries linguists have worked with teachers and teacher trainers to produce books giving information about the linguistic issues that

have the most direct relevance to the classroom. These include not only the linguistic differences between standard and nonstandard language, but also the grammars of spoken and written language: see, for teachers of French as a mother tongue, Béguelin (2000), and for teachers of English as a mother tongue in New Zealand, Gordon (1995), Gordon et al (1996). In Germany teachers are able to consult booklets setting out the main differences, for some areas of the country, between High German and the local dialect (Ammon 1989); in Britain the books by Milroy and Milroy (1993) and Hughes and Trudgill (1987) contain relevant information of this kind.

Social attitudes towards standard and nonstandard varieties, however, make it difficult for linguists to inform the public about the nature of language and language variation. It is relatively straightforward to address teachers and other language practitioners with experience of dealing with standard and nonstandard varieties of language. It is a different matter altogether when linguists attempt to address the general public since, as Graddol and Swann (1988) have shown, professionals cannot control the meanings given to their discourse in the public domain. In the UK, for example, journalists misreported linguists’ reactions to John Honey’s (false) claims that sociolinguists are attempting to foster non-standard dialects and deny working class children access to standard English (Graddol and Swann *op.cit.*). A further example comes from the Ann Arbor case in the USA, when linguists testified against the Ann Arbor Board of Education under the Equal Opportunities Act, for failing to overcome language barriers which obstructed the equal participation of African-American students (Labov, *op.cit.*, Wiley 1996, 133–6). The case was frequently misreported by journalists as an attempt by the courts to force the teaching of AAVE upon unwilling and innocent victims who would as a result be confined to an educational, social and linguistic ghetto. Further distortions of linguists’ positions made by journalists in Switzerland and the UK are given in Cheshire (1996).

## 3. Educational resources, materials and programmes

One of the earliest moves by linguists in the USA who were interested in educational is-

sues was the preparation of initial reading materials using the students' own dialect. Reading books might contain multiple negation, for example, or alternative tense forms as in *we went to the fiesta and we have a good time* (Wolfram, Adger and Christian 1999, 154). The idea was that once word-recognition skill had been established, children could begin to read standard English and dialect conversions side by side.

The original intention was to produce dialect readers for all vernacular dialects, but in fact the only materials ever prepared were in AAVE. Reactions to dialect readers from parents and educators were often negative. There was concern, for example, that Black children would be disadvantaged and held back from acquiring proficiency in standard English; and many people resisted the notion that any differences should be made in teaching black and white children (Wardhaugh 1992, 340). Research on the effectiveness of dialect readers has been limited, though one study reported a gain in reading ability of 6.2 months for a 4 month period versus a 1.2 month gain with regular materials (Wolfram, Adger and Christian 1999: 155). Dialect readers are no longer much used, but Rickford and Rickford (1995) contend that they should not be discarded before proper empirical research on their effectiveness has been carried out. Rickford and Rickford further argue that it is worth experimenting with new ways of presenting dialect readers that might allay people's wariness. Their own preliminary small-scale research in California suggested that vernacular dialect readers did enhance comprehension in one of the two cases in which they were tested, and that they might be most effective with middle school boys.

Dialect readers suffer from the same problems as the IPA (Initial Phonetic Alphabet) readers that were used in some British primary schools in the 1970s: children cannot use the writing they encounter in daily life – on cereal packets and billboards, for example – to reinforce the reading they do at school. Goodman (1965) maintains that allowing children to read out materials in their own dialect is preferable to producing dialect materials. In the same vein, Goodman and Goodman (2000) concluded after a longitudinal study of six African American children over seven years in 22 sessions of reading and retellings that the main problem is not dialect differences but rejection of dia-

lect: "given appropriate opportunities and experiences with a range of content and texts, speakers of any dialect of a language are capable of learning to read. All readers are capable of using their language flexibly to become literate members of their communities" (434).

A different kind of involvement by linguists in materials used in the classroom has come from research projects aiming to increase children's language awareness. One such project was the Survey of British Dialect Grammar, which involved a national network of teachers in inner city schools who agreed to take part in collaborative teacher-pupil projects on language use in the local community (see Edwards and Cheshire 1989 for details). The Survey had the dual aim of obtaining information about the regional distribution of morphological and syntactic dialect features, and incorporating sociolinguistics directly into the classroom by inviting pupils to explore their own personal reaction to linguistic diversity and to investigate linguistic variation in their local community. Cheshire and Edwards developed a series of lesson outlines and materials on topics such as multilingual Britain, language variation, language change, standard English, and 'talking proper', tried these out during the pilot stage of the research, and then sent the modified version to the teachers who participated in the survey. A questionnaire on local dialect usage was presented as the end point of the work on language awareness, with the intention of consulting pupils as the experts on their local variety of English in order to find out whether the forms listed on the questionnaire were used locally.

Cheshire and Edwards (1998) give specific details of ways in which the pupils explored in their lessons their personal reactions to linguistic diversity, and describe how they discovered that their local dialect was part of a wider pattern of linguistic variation. Through their participation in the national survey the pupils had also learned how research adds to an existing knowledge base, and that their knowledge about their own language was of value to the wider research community. Although there was no direct link to the acquisition of standard English, it could be argued that this kind of exploration of linguistic diversity paves the way for direct teaching of the differences between standard and nonstandard grammar (Cheshire and Edwards 1998:

210). It constitutes a valuable educational experience in its own right, empowering children to face the attitudes towards sociolinguistic variation that they will encounter in the adult world (Fairclough 1992).

A further initiative of this kind comes from the work of Wolfram and his colleagues, who designed a series of experimental dialect awareness programs for primary school students in the United States. These, they say, have both humanistic and scientific goals (Wolfram and Friday 1997). The humanistic goals include tackling social myths about language variation and prejudices about socially disfavoured varieties of language. The scientific aim involves students examining carefully described sets of dialect data, forming hypotheses about the language structures and then checking them out against usage patterns. Another aim of the curriculum is 'cultural-historical': students may learn, for example, the historical development of various dialects or they may inductively learn to appreciate the circumstances giving rise to pidginization by making up a skit about how communication could take place between groups with no common language.

One such dialect awareness curriculum, described in Wolfram (1998) was piloted in the Baltimore City Public schools (Wolfram, Adger and Detwyler 1992). The programme is not intended to provide the teaching of standard English, nor is it intended as a step that will necessarily lead to the eventual teaching of standard English. Instead, Wolfram and his associates feel that students "deserve the truth about dialect diversity and exposure to the rich dialect heritage of the United States whether or not they ever choose to buy into the mainstream values that lead to the acquisition of a standard variety" (Wolfram 1998, 182). As Wolfram points out, however, such a programme may well position students to learn standard English more effectively. In their later work Wolfram and his colleagues have moved beyond in-school programs on dialect awareness to community-based programmes which include television and radio documentaries, museum exhibits and presentations to a wide range of community organisations such as churches, civic groups and preservation societies (Wolfram 1999, 62–4).

Siegel (1999) discusses three types of programmes in which creoles and minority dialects are used in education: instrumental, accommodation and awareness programmes.

Unlike the dialect awareness programmes mentioned above, in these programmes the goals are explicitly to enable students to acquire the standard language while maintaining their own way of speaking and thus their linguistic self-respect (op.cit., 517). In an instrumental programme the home variety is used as the medium of instruction and for initial literacy, with the standard language introduced at a later stage. Instrumental programmes using a creole exist in approximately a dozen countries (516), and the research that has been done suggests that they are helpful for the subsequent learning of English and other school subjects (op.cit; see also Siegel 1997). Accommodation programmes accept a creole or minority dialect in the classroom, although they are not used as a medium of instruction or subject of study; some basic sociolinguistics is also taught, and students examine linguistic and pragmatic differences between their own dialects and the standard variety. Different types of accommodation programmes have been used in Hawaii (see Boggs 1985), in Australia with speakers of Aboriginal English (Malcolm 1992, 1995) and in the Caribbean (Winer 1990). Awareness programmes of various kinds have been carried out in Britain and the USA, as we saw above: see further Siegel 1999, Thomas and Maybin 1998, Jones 1989. Instrumental and accommodation programmes have been used only with speakers of creoles and other nonstandard varieties that diverge enough from the standard variety to be recognised as a discrete variety. With social dialects that have a smaller number of differences from the standard, only awareness programmes have been used. In all three cases, however, the success of the programmes has resulted from linguists and teachers working together.

Other ways in which linguists have been involved in the production of resources for teachers or materials for use in the classroom are discussed in Siegel (1999); see also Edwards (1993).

#### 4. Research on language variation at school

##### 4.1. Linguistic variation in speech

Standard and nonstandard dialects are sometimes so different from each other that variation in people's speech can be conceptualised as switching between discrete systems.

This is the case, for example, for variation between standard English and most English-based creoles, standard (High) German and the Swiss German dialects (Rash 1998, 50), standard English and AAVE (Rickford 1999) and standard English, or a local white variety of English and the Patois spoken by members of the British black community (Edwards 1989b; see also below). Elsewhere, however, especially in the major urban areas of the western world, the linguistic variation between dialect and standard is better seen in terms of a continuum along which speakers shift as they adjust their relative proportions of standard and nonstandard forms in response to different aspects of the social situation

Research on both types of situations has shown how pupils adjust their use of standard and nonstandard language at school, probably unconsciously. For example, Cheshire (1982a) presents a quantitative analysis of eleven nonstandard morphosyntactic variables in the speech of eight working class boys aged between 11 and 14. The boys were recorded talking to their friends and the fieldworker in adventure playgrounds in Reading, England, and then when talking to their teacher at school. Some nonstandard features, such as *ain't* and the past tense verb forms *come* and *done*, were invariant, occurring 100 per cent of the time in the boys' speech in the playground as well as in the classroom. Most nonstandard grammatical features, however, including nonstandard verbal *-s*, nonstandard *was*, negative concord and demonstrative *them*, occurred less frequently in the boys' classroom speech than in their talk at the playground. Two further groups of four boys and four girls also used the nonstandard forms less frequently with their teacher in school than with their friends in the playground, and they used the nonstandard forms still less frequently in their school written work. These pupils had not been explicitly told that they should use standard English at school, nor had they been taught the differences between the grammar of their local dialect and that of standard English; thus their style-shifting was presumably an instinctive response to the norms of the school.

Lucas and Borders (1994) similarly found that the presence of the teacher resulted in African American students using a lower proportion of AAVE features. Lucas and Borders examined language use during both

academic and non-academic events within a kindergarten class, a fourth grade class and a sixth grade class. All the children used both AAVE and standard English variants, but the older children (grades four and six) confined their use of vernacular AAVE forms mainly to work done in small groups where the teacher was not present. In teacher-led lessons they consistently used fewer or no AAVE variants. This linguistic behaviour, then, appeared to be a maturational aspect of language use, found only with older children, and again apparently directly reflecting their conscious awareness of the role of standard English in the school. When interviewed, in fact, both children and teachers said that in their view AAVE was inappropriate for instructional discourse (Lucas and Borders *op. cit.*, reported in Adger 1998, 152).

Adger and Wolfram's research in five elementary schools in Baltimore City adds an additional dimension to our understanding of the use of standard and nonstandard forms at school. Unlike Lucas and Borders, they found that AAVE did occur in the classroom, in the speech of teachers and students alike, but standard English was associated with literacy and with speaking with an authoritative footing. The teachers mainly used standard English, but they occasionally shifted to vernacular forms to achieve a specific interactional effect (Adger and Wolfram 2000, 397). The students generally used AAVE forms in class, without sanction from the teacher; they did so during both whole-class and small-group work, and when addressing teachers as well as other students. However when classroom tasks were related to literacy the teacher insisted on the students using standard English variants, and the students were careful to do so: this occurred, for example, when they dictated a written sentence for the teacher to write on the board, based on a story they had just heard. The students also used standard English forms when they were speaking with authority. Examples include a situation when a student was called on to explain a diorama to his class, role plays of radio advertisements, and an occasion when a student took the teacher's place at the blackboard to demonstrate how to complete an order form. Scripted discourse at school assemblies or multi-class presentations also called for the use of standard English, whether the discourse was memorized or read (Adger 1998, 164; Adger and Wolfram 2000, 400–01).

Thus both the AAVE speaking children in these studies and the dialect speaking children in Reading, England shifted towards a higher use of standard English forms in situations where they appeared to consider it appropriate to do so. Adger (1998, 167) suggests that in the case of the AAVE speaking children their shared ethnicity with an African American teacher contributed to their maintaining the norms of their speech communities, where standard English is the language of literacy events and of authority. It is important, she argues, to give children opportunities to adopt an authoritative footing in the tasks they are required to perform at school, since this is where community expectations call for standard English; by increasing the discourse tasks and activities in which students are offered authoritative footing their experience in using the standard will become more extensive (see also Adger and Wolfram 2000, 405).

The association between standard English and speaking with authority demonstrates how speakers manipulate linguistic variation in the projection of different identities. Sometimes, however, the results are less harmonious. The study in Reading found that those boys who liked their teacher and had established a good relationship with him accommodated to his speech by increasing the proportion of standard forms in their speech, whereas those boys who disliked both their teacher and the school increased the proportion of nonstandard forms in their speech when they were talking to him. One boy even used a higher proportion of dialect features to a teacher that he despised than he did with his friends in the playground (see Cheshire 1982b for details).

Edwards (1989b) discusses a similar phenomenon in the classroom behaviour of some British-born black adolescents. The first generation of immigrants from the Caribbean, who arrived in Britain in the 1950s and 1960s, spoke a variety of English that was very different from the local varieties, but British-born black children now tend to adhere very closely to local white speech norms, at least until adolescence. However they can usually understand the variety that they refer to as Patois; they use it in at least some settings and they understand its social meaning as a marker of group membership and a positive assertion of black identity (op.cit., 371). Only a small number of speakers use Patois in the classroom, and they do

so in only a small number of exchanges; but the social meaning of Patois in the school context means that these exchanges can demonstrate hostility towards the school or the teacher. Edwards gives examples of interactions where black pupils wish to exclude their white, non-Patois speaking teacher, both in asides to other pupils and in more confrontational comments addressed explicitly to the teacher.

The research indicates, then, that educational programmes that recognise the associations that standard and nonstandard English have for speakers, and that build on these, are more likely to result in children becoming proficient in using standard English than are policies which assume that acquiring the standard language is simply a matter of substituting one variant for another. Programmes of this type were discussed above. Policies that insist on a blanket use of the standard variety at school risk alienating pupils who are perfectly able to adjust their use of standard and nonstandard features at school if they wish to do so.

#### 4.2. Linguistic variation in writing

Where a local spoken variety is very different from written standard English, learning to write may be like acquiring a second language. Tyndall (2000) argues that this is the situation for students from rural areas in Guyana and Barbados, where neither teachers nor students are under any pressure to speak standard English in oral communication. Students from urban areas, on the other hand, are likely to be from a language environment that is close to the acrolectal end of the Creole continuum; their spoken language, therefore, will be closer to the written standard and the problems that they may encounter in school writing will be different in nature. Research on other Creole varieties, however, has tended to downplay the effect of the spoken Creole on students' written performance. Winch and Gingell (1994), for example, argue against the almost unanimous assumption of educationists and sociolinguists in St. Lucia that poor standards of written competence in St. Lucian standard English are due to interference from St. Lucian Creole English or Creole French (op. cit., 158). They analysed 309 examination scripts, consisting of narratives and letters, from 9 to 11 year old children in low-achieving schools. The most common errors that could be attributed to



creole interference also occurred in a comparative sample of writing from a British school, casting doubt on the role of interference from the creole varieties (177). Some categories of error that might be assumed to relate to the creoles could more plausibly be attributed to a misunderstanding of the relationship between speech and writing. Furthermore, many mistakes seemed to relate to the increasing risks with sentence construction that children took as they became more ambitious in their writing. Winch and Gingell conclude that studies of children's writing carried out in other Creole-speaking areas and in Creole-speaking communities in Britain should consider whether they might be confounding developmental factors with the factor of dialect interference.

Williams' quantitative analysis (1989) of the written personal and narrative accounts of 9 to 10 year olds also stresses the role that developmental factors play in the process of learning to write. Williams analysed all the extended pieces of writing in the exercise books and creative writing books of 40 children over a six month period. Twenty children were from a school in a working class area of Reading and twenty were from a school in a middle class area. All the dialect speaking children used some nonstandard forms in their school writing, though the specific forms that individual children used varied, reflecting, Williams points out, the many different factors that come into play when a child is learning to write. Interestingly, the standard English-speaking children also used features that appeared to be dialect forms, though the number of forms was smaller, and they occurred less frequently; furthermore, these forms coincided, in most cases, with developmental features of children's English (such as the overgeneralisation of the *-ed* suffix to the past tense forms of 'irregular' strong verbs). The working class children used fewer of the generalised *-ed* forms than the middle-class children, and more of the forms that could only be attributed to the influence of dialect. It could be argued, therefore, on the basis of their written work, that the working class children were more advanced in their language development since the past tense forms they used in writing more closely resembled the forms used by the adult members of the local community (op.cit.: 190). Williams' study also showed that dialect speakers and standard English speakers

alike used features associated with informal colloquial spoken English in their writing. The use of dialect in writing, then, can be seen as just one aspect of the close relationship that exists in children's early writing between spoken and written language (see also Perera 1984). Children who wrote less fluently or who had difficulty with the mechanics of writing included fewer features of speech in their writing.

Williamson (1990, 1995) argues, in fact, that very few of the problems that children encounter in writing are due to dialect. His 1990 study involved the analysis of two pieces of written work, one report and one letter, from 28 pupils aged 11 in an inner-city school in Newcastle upon Tyne. Their errors fell into six categories: punctuation, spelling, other orthographic features (such as misuse of apostrophes, incorrect segmentation into words, incorrect use of capitals), grammar, lexis and omissions. There were frequent errors in the individual pieces of work, ranging from one error every 2.7 words to one in every 26.9 words, but 80 per cent of the errors were covered by the categories of spelling, punctuation and 'other' orthographic errors. Only about 10 per cent of the errors were of a grammatical nature and only about 1 per cent involved lexis. By no means all of the grammatical errors could be attributed to the influence of nonstandard dialect: with verb forms, for example, the majority of errors came from using stem forms where a past tense or past participle was called for. The remaining grammatical errors seemed to arise from problems in handling the complexities of written structures: for example, *it* and *them* occurred with no antecedent, or with the wrong antecedent.

In his later study Williamson (1995) analysed two essays from 23 students aged 16, again from an inner city school on Tyneside. The written pieces were longer than those of the 11 year olds and, encouragingly, there was a much lower incidence of errors. Again, the majority of the errors were in spelling, punctuation and other features of the orthography, with the commonest form of grammatical error arising this time from difficulties in handling subordination – a feature, Williamson points out, that is both more sophisticated and more prevalent in writing than in speech (op.cit., 9). Even at this age, then, pupils seem still to have difficulty in handling the written form as an alternative means of expression to speech. Tyneside dia-

lect features again accounted for only a small proportion of the errors and, interestingly, their frequency remained the same in the work of the 16 year olds as in that of the 11 year olds. Williamson's explanation for this is that although nonstandard dialect forms appear to be a relatively minor problem in writing, a core of dialect forms may persist that are very difficult to eradicate entirely, perhaps because it is impossible for a teacher to draw attention to the entire range of 'inappropriate' usage, or because the core forms are such an ingrained part of children's speech patterns that they will tend to recur in their writing (op.cit.,11).

Williamson and Hardman (1997a; b) examined school writing in three further areas of England, analysing between 38 and 50 examination scripts, involving a wide range of writing tasks, from 11 and 15 year olds from Merseyside, the Southwest and London, as well as Tyneside. These areas were those for which Hudson and Holmes (1995) had previously analysed the incidence of nonstandard forms in the formal spoken English of 11 and 15 year olds. As expected, the frequency of nonstandard dialect forms was lower in the written sample than in Hudson and Holmes' spoken sample, with just one occurrence every 381 words for the 11 year olds and one occurrence every 569 words for the 15 year olds. Again, then, the occurrence of dialect forms in school writing is found to be a relatively rare phenomenon, and one which shrinks into insignificance when compared, for example, with errors in spelling and punctuation (op. cit., 298).

Williamson concludes that if we look at the issue of writing from the standpoint of the teacher rather than from that of the dialectologist we see that the problem for the children, and their teachers, lies in mastering the writing system, not in dialect variation (1990, 260; see also Williams 1989, 189–90). Williamson and Hardman (1997b) also found that the nature of the writing task affected the incidence of nonstandard forms, with the highest number occurring in personal anecdotes. Thus it is possible that those children who use nonstandard features in writing may, given a different task, be capable of writing exclusively in standard English.

Research into nonstandard language and writing, then, has indicated what teachers could usefully focus on in their teaching. Rather than worrying about the influence of nonstandard features of grammar and lexis,

for example, they would do better to emphasise punctuation and orthography in their teaching (Williamson and Hardman 1997b, 255). If teachers do decide to focus on nonstandard grammar, the research suggests that the most profitable area to focus on could be the verb phrase: nonstandard verb forms accounted for more than half the total number of instances of nonstandard writing in the scripts analysed by Williamson and Hardman (1997a, 168). Verb forms are also singled out as problematic for Creole speakers in the Caribbean (Tyndall 2000; Winch and Gingell 1994).

## 5. Conclusion

Much of the research described in this chapter concludes that speaking a nonstandard variety is not as detrimental to educational success as might be thought. In speaking, writing and reading children can often adjust their use of language to accommodate the standard variety if they wish to do so. The situation for English seems to resemble the situation in the Netherlands: Hagen says with reference to this that although "dialect can be a problem, it is not a drama" (Hagen 1989, 72). Nevertheless public attitudes towards nonstandard language continue to be ill-informed and prejudiced in most countries (Norway, Switzerland and Luxembourg are notable exceptions, as Trudgill (2000) points out), despite the work of linguists who have done their best to inform teachers and the general public about the nature of sociolinguistic variation. Edwards (1989a, 320) reminds us of the difficulty of the task ahead: although there is much to criticise in the earlier work of Bernstein, she says, it is hard to argue with his observation that education cannot compensate for society.

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## 237. Discourse in the Classroom/Diskurs im Schulunterricht

1. Introduction
2. An synoptic overview of basic research on language in context that has influenced
3. Basic and applied research on classroom talk
4. A sociolinguistic perspective on school failure
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6. Language and reasoning differ across different content domains
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### 1. Introduction

Classrooms tend to be crowded, complex social arenas where “discourse” – broadly defined – is the primary currency of exchange. To the extent that discourse can be captured (in audio, video, and written text), we find in classrooms the visible nexus of linguistic, cognitive, cultural, institutional, and societal forces. Classrooms are thus strategic research sites where socialization, evaluation and assessment, face-to-face conversation, cultural capital, identity, conversational inference, cultural reproduction, and resistance can be captured in sound, image, and text. Classrooms are also sites where the lives, histories, and voices of teachers and children come into contact, and where social futures are forged or broken. Classroom discourse, and by extension, research on classroom discourse, thus has important individual, institutional, and societal consequences.

Researchers of classroom discourse draw on many, sometimes incommensurable, intellectual traditions, using tools, techniques, and analytic constructs from a range of disciplines, academic sub-fields, and research traditions. A brief review or overview of classroom discourse within a handbook on sociolinguistics is therefore bound to be selective and neglectful of many significant studies and even entire traditions of work.

Fortunately, handbook chapters which provide helpful, if also selective, summaries of recent research already exist (Cazden 1986; Cazden 1988; Gee et al.). There are a number of anthologies of classroom studies within a variety of different intellectual traditions (Cazden et al. 1972; Green & Wal-

lat 1989; Bloome 1998; Wertsch 1985; Moll 1990; Cochran-Smith et al.; Wells 2000; Cope et al. 2000). Many journals (such as *Linguistics and Education*, *Discourse and Society*, *Anthropology and Education Quarterly*, *Discourse Processes*, *Language Arts*, *Language in Society*) regularly publish work and reviews of work on classroom discourse. Finally, the second edition (fully updated) of Courtney Cazden’s book, *Classroom Discourse*, was published in 2001. We will not attempt to cover the same ground in this chapter, as these excellent resources are readily available.

Instead, we hope to take something of a different tack – looking at some of the intellectual traditions and fundamental sociolinguistic principles underlying much of the applied research on classroom discourse, and then looking at recent work that attempts to characterize more specifically “what works” to promote powerful talk and learning in a wide variety of classroom settings. This review thus moves from a traditionally “descriptive” approach to what might be thought of as a “prescriptive” approach – an approach long shunned in linguistic and sociolinguistic studies. But in this particular area of sociolinguistics, research knowledge impacts directly on the lives of children and teachers, and we now know a great deal about what is happening in classrooms to support inclusion in the conversation, and high levels of engagement and learning. A neutral or disinterested description of the status quo – given the many well documented problems, challenges, and disparities we find in classrooms around the world – is, in our view, neither intellectually nor socially responsible.

A second point about how this review diverges from others: We write for teachers as well as academics or students of sociolinguistics. Expert practitioners know a tremendous amount about language and what makes for productive or unproductive talk, but often know little about academic research in sociolinguistics. In the end, we need to put practitioner and academic perspectives together more effectively as we think about promoting productive talk in the service of access, equity, and high levels of academic learning.

## 2. An synoptic overview of basic research on language in context that has influenced classroom discourse studies

There is no simple, agreed upon typological mapping of work in linguistics, sociolinguistics, and discourse studies. In the 1960's and 70's, a number of collaborations among discipline-based scholars led gradually to the identification of new interdisciplinary or hybrid sub-fields. Anthropologists, such as Dell Hymes, John Gumperz and colleagues forged the field of ethnography of speaking (Gumperz & Hymes 1972). Work by sociologists Goffman, Sacks, Schegloff, Garfinkel spawned the sub-fields of ethnomethodology and conversational analysis (Garfinkel 1984; Heritage 1984; Schegloff 1972; 1986; Sacks 1992), which are now often associated with the domain of "interactional sociolinguistics."

The trend of hybridization continues today. Sub-fields within established domains grow, merge, and spawn new fields of association. Work by Fairclough, Edwards and others is associated with the area of "critical discourse analysis" (Fairclough 1995; Edwards 1976). Seminal work by Foulcault, Bernstein (1971), and Bourdieu (1991), has been extended by Gee (1987; 1992) Collins (2000), Street (1999), and others and is congealing into a sub-field increasingly referred to as "the new literacy studies." Work by Halliday has led to a tradition of work in Britain, the US, and Australia that applies systemic linguistics to studies of social interaction is often referred to as "social semiotics" (Hodge & Kress 1988; Kress & van Leeuwen 1996; Lemke 1990; Martin & Halliday 1993;).

Over the past half century, as sociolinguistics has developed into a stand-alone discipline, and as new hybrid sub-fields have emerged, merged, and spawned new ones, we have accumulated basic and applied knowledge about how language works – in context. Our goal in this section is to provide some principled ways of thinking about language *in context* that have had important implications for work in classrooms. These ideas grow out of many different scholarly traditions (work in sociolinguistics, ethnography of communication, philosophy of language, systemic linguistics or social semiotics, ethnomethodology, and socio-cultural psycho-

logy) and the work of many different individual scholars. Our selection is selective, schematic, and largely unattributed to individuals (unless technical terminology is mentioned, so as not to privilege some and offend the many).

### 2.1. Key Principles of Language in Action

#### 2.1.1. Discourse is multi-functional – and carries many levels of meaning at once:

- *Content meaning (sometimes referred to as "ideational" or "informational")*
- *Social interactional meaning (sometimes referred to as "interpersonal")*
- *Attitudinal/affective/expressive meaning (sometimes referred to as "ideological")*
- *Text or structural meaning (relating to the modality and genre of the text)*

Language that is organized as "text in context" is multi-functional. It encodes information about activity and purpose, as well as information about the participants and the stance or position participants are taking with respect to the topic or activity at hand. Moreover, in discourse, meaning, status, and power are inextricably linked. Discourse in context is never value neutral, conveying "just the facts, ma'am," and nothing more.

#### 2.1.2. Discourse is structured and patterned at many levels – lexical, grammatical, rhetorical.

Patterning in discourse has been looked in a number of different ways. The literature includes terms such as "language games", "forms of life" (Wittgenstein 1953); "social languages" or "speech genres" (Bahktin 1986); "speech activities" (Gumperz 1982); "Discourses-with a Capital 'D'" (Gee 1996); "speech events" (Hymes 1972); "genres" (Martin 1984); "registers" (Halliday 1978); and "orders of discourse" (Fairclough 1995). While each of these terms suggests elements of structural organization above the sentence level as well as recurring patterns in language use, these terms are not synonymous. Each entails a different level of description and has different implications for notions of socialization, learning, agency, power, and change. Some of these terms highlight general patterns with respect to recurring goal oriented activities (language games, speech events). Other terms index far

broader arenas of interaction linked to specific institutions, practices, and non-linguistic artifacts (Discourses; orders of discourse). Some focus more specifically on bounded units of text that are internally patterned (genres, speech genres) and some focus more on a set of co-occurring features that mark text as from a particular time, place, or participants (registers, social languages). Finally, the notion of “orders of discourse” focuses on the relationships and patterning within and across a set of Discourses within a given society or social group.

Different tasks within different domains and settings call for different kinds of discourse and activity. Discursive events are internally structured, rule governed, and therefore will structure what meanings are possible. People hold each other accountable for making sense, playing by a set of implicit rules or norms, even if they can't explicate the rules. These different “discourse spaces” (to coin a new term, while noting that any of the above terms could apply here) will entail different rules for turntaking, for participation, for what counts as an appropriate contribution. Words, images, and utterances mean different things depending on the nature of the speech event as well as the expectations and histories of participants. These differently patterned discourse spaces are sites for socialization and action. They engender and constrain participants with regard to what to say and how to say it (ways with words) and what it is possible to mean and do with discourse (agency) and what kind of person it is possible to be (identity). (Work in the field of conversational analysis, or ethnomethodology, has gone the farthest in uncovering the systematic, rule governed nature of everyday social interaction – looking at the kind of implicit social structuring – in openings, closings, such as in telephone conversations, how it is we know how to get a turn at talk or make repairs in conversation, and how it is we hold each other accountable moment to moment through talk.)

#### 2.1.3. Language and thought (or speaking and thinking) are complexly intertwined and interrelated

This principle might be thought of as a reflection of the Vygotskian (1978) “genetic” principle that claims that development moves from inter-individual plane to the intra-indi-

vidual plane”: We acquire intellectual tools – ways of seeing, varieties of reasoning, forms of representation, cultural tools for arguing, analyzing, generalizing – (i.e., the higher psychological functions that are valued in a culture) by first using them in social interaction with others.

#### 2.1.4 Language and meaning are not transparently related in any kind of a one-to-one mapping

Much of what is communicated is “implicit,” unsaid, read between the lines. And in different contexts, with different audiences, discourse participants read between the lines differently, and assume different kinds of things as shared, as “going without saying.” Paul Grice, a philosopher of language, argued that all well-intentioned participants in a conversation adopt, and are bound by, what he termed “the cooperative principle.” Simply put, the cooperative principle says, “make your contributions suitable to the purposes at hand.” As long as this cooperative principle is assumed to be in force, participants will actively try to “make sense” out of what has been said by filling in missing pieces, reading between the lines, generating meaning beyond what the words communicated, so as to make their conversational partner's comments sensible and hence cooperative contributions.

Work on “contextualization cuing” (John Gumperz 1981) adds an important dimension to work on conversational inference and implicature. Contextualization cues are verbal and non-verbal signs which help participants in a conversation – from moment to moment – know what kind of activity this is, what meaning was just intended, and what's likely to come next. These cues include word choice (e.g., stomach ache, tummy ache, vs. gastrointestinal distress); prosody (intonation, stress, or pitch register shifts); paralinguistic signs of tempo, pausing and hesitation, or tone of voice; code choice (e.g., a shift from English to Spanish); or even entire formulaic phrases (such as, “OK boys and girls, red rug time”). (In Gumperz' words, contextualization refers to “speakers' and listeners' use of verbal and nonverbal signs to relate what is said at any one time and in any one place to knowledge acquired through past experience, in order to retrieve the presuppositions they must rely on to maintain conversational involvement and assess what is intended” (Gum-

perz 1982, 230).) In order for participants in a conversation to make sense out of what gets said, they must be able to figure out what's going on, what activity is occurring, and where it's likely to lead. In Grice's terms, conversationalists first have to determine the "purposes at hand" in order to be cooperative. They do this by signaling in their talk what the current conversational activity is, and they look for evidence of this dimension in others' talk as well.

Contextualization cues are inextricably context-bound and cannot be analyzed apart from the talk (or writing) in which they are embedded. Moreover, inferences that result from "reading" or interpreting contextualization cues are largely subconscious. They happen automatically, immediately, and are not readily accessible to recall. Finally, contextualization cues are learned in the context of on-going activity; people from different cultural groups, even groups that speak the same language, learn different contextualization systems. Therefore, people from different ethnic or cultural backgrounds may differ in the way they signal their conversational intentions, how they signal connections in their arguments or narratives, and how they signal perspective, formality, irony, etc.

### 3. Basic and applied research on classroom talk

How do these sociolinguistic constructs and principles relate to research on classroom discourse? We turn now to a selective and strategic review of past and current studies of classroom discourse.

One of the most robust findings in studies of classroom discourse is that teachers have tremendous power – as both dominant participants and controlling orchestrators of classroom talk, and yet – classroom speech events are co-constructed, enacted, improvised, with and through students. Overwhelmingly, the research evidence is robust here: Teachers dominate talk (taking up 2/3 of all talk-time). Teachers have the right to talk at any time, to anyone, about anything. Courtney Cazden talks about teachers' role using theatrical metaphors, saying that in the classroom teachers are simultaneously the "stage director" and "lead actor."

Much of the sociolinguistic work in face-to-face communication assumes a fundamentally dialogic conception of the self,

treating prototypical interactions as dialogic in the sense of dyadic. For example, most of the work in conversation analysis (Garfinkel 1967/1984; Heritage 1984) explicitly addresses intersubjectivity as a predominantly two-party affair. And, as the simplest cases, examples in the literature are often drawn from dyadic conversational exchanges (face-to-face or over the phone) between relative equals.

But classrooms are not dyadic environments. They are prototypically polyphonic, multi-vocal environments and there are invariably critical divisions of role, interactional power, and interpretive clout. As Cazden (1988) writes,

"... [W]hereas utterances are psychological phenomena produced by a single person, speech events such as lessons are social events accomplished by the collaborative work of two or more people. In metaphorical terms, "school" is always a performance that must be constituted through the participation of a group of actors. But only one of them – the teacher – knows (or thinks she knows) how it is supposed to be played and so she assumes the dual roles of stage director and principal actor. She is the only native speaker in the classroom culture; yet she has to depend on her "immigrant" students for help in enacting a culturally defined activity." (p. 45)

"... In typical classrooms, the most important asymmetry in the rights and obligations of teacher and students is over control of the right to speak. To describe the difference in the bluntest terms, teachers have the right to speak at any time and to any person; they can fill any silence or interrupt any speaker; they can speak to a student anywhere in the room and in any volume or tone of voice. And no one has any right to object." (p. 54)

#### 3.1 Research on classroom "speech events" with different norms for talk and participation

One of the most productive lines of research on classroom discourse grows out the subfield of "ethnography of communication" (also referred to as "ethnography of speaking"). Much of this work has focused on recurring, patterned, recognizable events in classrooms, referred to as "speech events". (Hymes 1972 develops the often cited mnemonic device "SPEAKING" to characterize describable features of speech events – Situation, Participants, Ends, Act sequences, Key, Instrumentalities, Norms, Genre.) These are bounded episodes of interactions, carried largely via talk, with describable norms



and rights and obligations for speaking, acting, and sensemaking. These are well-understood events in a cultural community that have predictable and typically highly marked, beginnings and endings, and a pattern as to what comes in between. Members of the community know what to do, how to behave, how to get a turn, and how to participate fully in these events. In classrooms, speech events abound, often recognizable by their names: "OK, kids, read aloud time." "OK, red rug time."

In characterizing shifting norms for participation, within and across speech events, Phillips (1972) introduced the notion "participant structure." The term is used to describe different norms and rights for speaking that different group arrangements (such as whole group, small group, or one-on-one conferencing with the teacher) afford. This largely descriptive work suggests that we can identify different events and interactive formats within larger events that create very different socializing forums, and different opportunities to learn. Seminal work in this tradition by Erickson (1982), McDermott (1977), Schultz & Florio (1979) and others has shown that students can be shown to know the rules well, though this knowledge of the rules is largely tacit.

Within the tradition of ethnography of speaking, we have a few examples of large scale ethnographies of communities and the place that schooling plays in lives of children and families. Probably the most influential line of work is Shirley Brice Heath's. Over a ten-year period, anthropologist Shirley Brice Heath was an ethnographer in rural black and white communities in the Piedmont Carolinas and a professor at the local teachers' college, giving in-service courses for teachers. When white teachers in her class, who were working in recently desegregated schools, complained that their black students did not participate actively or appropriately in lessons, Heath was able to build on her own previous fieldwork on language socialization in these black children's community. For example, her work had shown that these children at home were rarely asked "known-answer" questions oriented to labeling and describing objects and past events. The question types so familiar in white middle-class homes (e.g. "What is that? Is that a bunny? What color is the bunny?") were largely absent in the black community Heath worked in. These children

found it strange to be quizzed on things they and the questioners already knew the answers to. As one child said to Heath, "Ain't no one can talk about things bein' about themselves." In contrast, these children were often asked more highly inferential questions calling for analogies and comparisons, such as "What's that like?"

Heath engaged the teachers of these children in systematic observation of questioning in their own homes and classrooms, and then worked with them to design new ways of interacting and asking questions at school. In the process of working with Heath, teachers were gaining strategies for assessing the language skills their students brought from home and designing activities that served as bridges to valued school-based literacy skills.

Moreover, Heath's methods for collaborating with teachers in doing ethnography of communication research were also used with students. They proved to be powerful methods for enculturating students into school-based ways of questioning, analyzing information, and writing. Students got involved in researching the use of language in their own communities. They had to break down research report writing into particular social practices: asking questions of non-intimates, where little shared background could be assumed; taking notes; having discussions and comparing notes with fellow learners; having to answer questions and defend points of view; communicating progress to the teacher and often to an absent teacher-colleague by mail; writing drafts and engaging in writing-conferences; and communicating the results, in oral presentations and in print, to others, often to community members – all the while focusing attention on language itself.

Such projects involve the students in their local communities and let them draw on the resources of their own communities (for interviews and observations). At the same time, they allow students to be coached in and to practice particular discursive tasks that are valued in class discussions as well as skilled expository writing and analysis. Others have developed this work further, emphasizing the value of supporting teachers and students as ethnographers and sociolinguists (Bloome & Egan-Robertson 1998; Moll, et al. 1992).

Like Heath's work, a great deal of this work has focused on how different partici-

parent structures interact with the cultural backgrounds of children, resulting in many important findings of cultural congruence or dissonance with respect to classroom talk. Here are but a few examples. Native American children in the Northwest (see Phillips 1972; 1983) do not perform well in speaking publicly in large group discussions. The use of small group or partner talk interactive format reduces the pressure to present as a solo speaker and supports these children to be more actively engaged in classroom talk and learning. Researchers in Hawaii, as part of the Kamehameha Early Education Project, have shown that part-Polynesian children perform much better in small group reading instruction if they are allowed to talk without waiting to be called on. Effective teachers allow them to overlap with one another the way they do in “talk story” – a common group story telling speech event outside of school. Ann Piestrup’s (1973) work on early reading showed that African-American children learned to read far more successfully with what she called ‘Black Artful teachers’. These were black and white teachers who did not correct black dialect features during reading instruction, and allowed for culturally familiar, playful language routines oriented to the content of the stories the children were reading. Taken as a whole, this work offers possibilities for changing situations, and in the process, changing the ways students are invited into the classroom conversation.

### 3.2 The IRE Sequence, Revoicing, and Participant Frameworks

Drawing on the traditions of ethnomethodology, sociolinguists have investigated the structure of classroom discourse at the level of turns, teacher/student exchanges, the organization of turns into larger thematic units, the organization of these units into phases, and into entire “lessons.” Hugh (Bud) Mehan’s careful analysis of Courtney Cazden’s teaching, written up in Mehan’s book *Learning Lessons* (1979), identified the dominance of the IRE (Initiation, Response, Evaluation) as the core interactional pattern organizing teacher led lessons. This work was done in the late 70’s but is still the most widely cited in the field.

Initiation – teacher  
Response – student  
Evaluation – teacher

This pattern creates two slots for the teacher, one for the student. In part, this accounts for the robust finding that teachers talk 2/3 of the time: they get 2 of the 3 slots, asking the questions, doing the evaluating. In everyday conversation among equals, a question is typically followed by an answer, without a follow-up evaluation. Classrooms deviate from everyday conversation in having, overwhelmingly, a tripartite structure.

Cazden, in her book *Classroom Discourse*, writes: “The three-part sequence of teacher initiation, student response, teacher evaluation (IRE) is the most common pattern of classroom discourse at all grade levels. ... All analyses of teacher-led classroom discourse find examples of this pattern. ... The classroom-speech event in which this IRE pattern is most obvious is the teacher-led lesson, or recitation, in which the teacher controls both the development of a topic (and what counts as relevant to it) and who gets a turn to talk” (Cazden 1988, 30). Cazden calls this IRE sequence the unmarked, or using a computer term, the default pattern – what happens unless deliberate action is taken to achieve some alternative.

A great deal has been written about the socializing impact of the IRE. Edwards and Westgate, for example, see the IRE sequence as creating in students,

“... [a] perception of the curriculum as sets of facts to be transmitted under pressure of time, and [as having] similar consequences for the shaping of pupils’ answer to questions toward predetermined and non-negotiable semantic destinations. ... Receiving knowledge – by students – involves a largely subordinate communicative role in which turns are allocated, answers evaluated, and “official” meanings formulated, at the discretion of the teacher.” (1987, 175)

Jay Lemke (1982), in studying high school science, suggests that when teachers ask questions they know the answer to, the entire lesson can be seen as an interactional transformation of a lecture. The teacher could have given the lecture herself but preferred to transform it into IRE sequences, with slots for student responses in order to keep their attention or test their knowledge.

But this work does not suggest that the sequence of moves in an IRE is in itself inherently unproductive. Edwards and Westgate point out that there are many times that “such direct instruction is necessary and appropriate and indeed unavoidable” (1987,

175). Newman, Griffin, and Cole (1989) even suggest that the tripartite IRE structure is particularly well suited for the collaborative construction of ideas with “a built-in repair structure in the teacher’s last turn so that incorrect information can be replaced with the right answers.” The structure of the sequence allows the teacher to maintain the necessary control over the flow of information and advancement of the academic content. Both the topic of the Initiation move (the teacher’s questions) and the content of the Evaluation move allow the teacher to advance the intended topic of discussion or learning. In addition, they allow her to check on the status of knowledge, awareness, and attention of students by calling on individuals and posing particular questions. Gordon Wells (1993) and others have noted that very different activities and goals can emerge from the same structural sequence.

Susan Stodolsky and her colleagues (1981) discuss the fit between discourse form and pedagogical function in their research on the distribution of math and social-studies lessons, which they call “recitations” (as opposed to “discussions”), in school systems serving children of three levels of socioeconomic status. They found more recitations for mathematics than for social studies, and more in the lower-SES schools. In spite of their finding that recitations emphasize lower mental processes, are teacher-dominated and “boring,” they call attention to the possible positive aspects of recitation. They say,

“Children’s attention is relatively high during recitations and a number of teacher purposes can be served in a recitation format. Particularly in a skill-oriented subject like fifth-grade mathematics, public practice, review, and checking work may facilitate learning as well as or better than for example, seat-work sessions in which the teacher can only interact with a limited number of children ... [It may serve particularly] for topics which are algorithmic and factual.” (Stodolsky, Ferguson & Wimpelberg 1981, 129.)

Over the past decade, as there have been increasing calls for more authentic investigations, discussions, sensemaking in classrooms – the IRE has gotten bad press. The known-answer or “test” question, and the IRE as a format is far rarer in Japanese mathematics instruction, apparently, (based on descriptive work of Stevenson and Stigler and the TIMSS study) and is often spoken of

disparagingly as a closed type question. Chikako Toma (1991) looked at Japanese elementary school classrooms and interviewed many Japanese teachers. She reports that they uniformly disapproved of the IRE, saying in many different ways that a good question was one that opened up dialogue, and one-right answer question closes down the conversation. Several Japanese teachers in her study wondered aloud why any teacher would ever ask a question that had one expected correct answer.

From work in conversation analysis, the notion of a “participant framework” has been developed and applied to talk in classrooms. It is a construct for looking at talk as a mechanism for socializing intelligence and academic identity (O’Connor & Michaels 1996; O’Connor & Michaels 1993; Resnick & Nelson-Le Gall 1999). The notion of a participant framework was originally coined by Erving Goffman (1974; 1981) and then developed further by Marjorie Harness Goodwin, in her book *He-Said-She-Said: Talk as Social Action*. In Goffman’s formulation, “When a word is spoken, all those who happen to be in perceptual range of the event will have some sort of participation status relative to it.” (Goffman 1981, 3). For Goffman, the participation framework is the amalgam of all members’ participation statuses relative to the current utterance. Goodwin painstakingly demonstrates how linguistic expressions open up roles and stances with respect to the content expressed in the utterance. Participant frameworks refer both to the way participants speak *to* one another and *about* one another (by animating one another in their talk). The notion thus gives us a way of showing in great detail the way participants are positioned (and actively position each other) with respect to one another (as investigators, knowers, learners, students, etc.), vis a vis the teacher, as well as with respect to the content being discussed.

Work by O’Connor & Michaels (1993; 1996) and more recently by Forman (1998) suggests that this is a helpful construct for looking closely at different talk formats and assessing their impact on students’ academic identities and ways of speaking. For example, the IRE sequence can be shown to create one kind of participant framework, one in which the student is positioned as learner, trying to “get” the correct answer the teacher has in mind. A different participant struc-

ture is created when the teacher “revoicing” what the student says, rather than evaluating it. Here the teacher asks a question and the student responds, but then the teacher repeats or reformulates the student’s contribution, in an attempt to clarify, rebroadcast it to the entire group, or compare it to someone else’s contribution. For example, in response to a student’s contribution, the teacher might say “So, let me see if I’ve got your theory right. You’re saying the balance will tip to the right because there are more weights on the right, kind of a counter argument to what Jenny was just saying?” The revoicing move then opens up a fourth slot for the student to agree or disagree with what the teacher has said. In contrast to the IRE, the revoicing move puts teacher and student on equal footing (Goffman 1981) for the moment, giving the student full credit for the content of the revoiced utterance. Moreover, in this move the student is positioned as a thinker, a theorizer, a holder of a position, not as being correct or incorrect as in the IRE.

It is possible to characterize classroom talk formats with respect to the patterning of participant frameworks. The notion of a participant framework thus gives us a way to explain, moment-to-moment, how contrasting uses of language in the classroom create different contexts for socializing thinking and students’ sense of themselves as thinkers, and how teachers’ moves work to align students with each other and with themselves, in building a shared world.

#### 4. A sociolinguistic perspective on school failure

A great deal of the work deriving from interactional sociolinguistics and ethnography of communication has focused on the problems of access and equity in classroom interaction and its relationship to student learning. As classrooms throughout the world become more diverse, an increasing number of students come from different ethnic groups, different language communities, and different neighborhoods from one another. All of these differences mean that the children in any particular classroom have had widely different experiences with talk, at home, in the community, in religious settings, after-school programs, and with relatives and neighbors. There is also a line of important research that emphasizes social status, affilia-

tion, identity, and resistance to schooling. In any school, there are students who are not aligned with the goals and practices of the institution. Researchers have referred to this phenomenon by different names, e. g. as “resistance” (Giroux 1992; Giroux & McLaren 1994, etc), as being unwilling to “do school” (McDermott 1977), as holding an “oppositional identity” (Ogbu 1988; Gibson & Ogbu 1991), as “not-learning” (Kohl 1991; 1995). Each of them draws different theoretical implications from this, but for the practitioner, the problem remains: a significant number of students are “not school-affiliated” (Eckert 1989; Gilyard 1991; Rodriguez 1982; Fordham 1993). These issues, often not looked at directly in terms of talk, will of course influence the nature of talk in classrooms.

A long line of anthropologists, sociologists, and sociolinguists of schooling have looked at why “at-risk,” “non-mainstream,” “non-dominant,” “non-middle class” students do poorly in school (Hymes 1996; Heath 1983; Bernstein 1996; Gumperz 1982; Cook-Gumperz 1986; Cazden 1988; Gee 1990; Michaels 1981; O’Connor & Michaels 1996; Delpit 1986; Bloome, Green, etc., among many others). The argument, in broad-brush strokes, has been labeled the “difference” – as opposed to “deficit” hypothesis and goes as follows: the “ways with words” (in Heath’s terms) of different home communities differ. Children are thus socialized into different home and community based “primary Discourses” (Gee 1989a). By a Discourse, Gee refers to the ways in which people align language with ways of acting, interacting, thinking, valuing, and feeling, as well as ways of coordinating (and getting coordinated by) people, objects, tools, and technologies, so as to display different socially-situated identities. We are all members of many, sometimes compatible, sometimes conflicting, Discourses. Gee’s notion of a capital-D Discourse resonates with and draws on the work of Foucault (1966; 1969), Wittgenstein’s (1953) notions of “language games” and “forms of life,” Bakhtin (1953/1986) and Voloshinov’s (1929/1986) notions of “social languages,” and “speech genres,” and Bourdieu’s (1991) notions of “habitus” extended by many other theorists of mind in sociocultural context (Halliday 1978; Wertsch 1991; Lemke 1995; Bernstein 1996; Hymes 1996, among others).

The primary Discourse of “mainstream” children prepares them well for the literacy-related tasks and performances valued in school. In *Beginning to Read: Thinking and Learning About Print*, Marilyn Adams argues that mainstream children, by and large, come to school with knowledge of phonics in place, garnered through literally thousands of hours of exposure to print, and reading and writing activities at home or at the preschool. Mainstream children come to school in substantive possession of, and already practicing and refining academically privileged discursive skills they have previously acquired at home. Gee calls these students “false beginners” (Gee 1996). By contrast, “non-mainstream” children must shoulder the full cognitive load of acquiring this complex set of skills *de novo*. Scollon (1981) says of his two-year old daughter, Rachel, that she “was already literate, except she didn’t know how to read or write.” That is, she had already “acquired” (not “learned,” in Gee’s well-known distinction) the ways of speaking (narrativization of self, perspective taking, etc.) that would position her as a literate speaker and thinker once she entered school.

Michaels (1981; 1985; 1987), Collins & Michaels (1986), Cazden (1992), Gallas (1995), Ballenger (1992), Warren & Rosebery (1996) have documented teacher student collaboration at sharing time, early reading instruction, writing conferences, and in math and science during the primary grades. This work suggests that the “ways of speaking” that middle class children bring with them to school make it easy for their teachers to “hear” and appreciate their sense-making. Teachers can understand these children’s stories as coherent, well planned, and “interesting.” They hear these students’ theorizing or conjectures in math or science as having at least a hint of cogency. All of this “perceived” meaningfulness provides a base from which to collaborate, to co-construct meaning and extend children’s thinking. Teachers are thus able to recognize these children as “intelligent,” and presume a shared understanding of setting, texts, and worlds outside of school. And, of course, the activities and skills introduced and practiced in school are then reinforced and extended at home (Adams 1990; Heath 1983). Built on a base of presumed coherence and shared worlds, teachers are able to scaffold these children into more and more complex school-based literacies (Sohmer 2000).

In contrast, teachers find it harder to recognize the narratives, theorizing, and arguments of “non-mainstream” children as relevant, well organized, and cogent. The consequence is that these children are perceived as and diagnosed to be deficient in a multitude of ways (Michaels 1981; Gallas 1994; Cazden 1988). This begins a long process of “remediation,” and multi-level evaluations of deficiency (assessing what these kids *can’t* do, rather than what they *can* do) – ultimately entailing a remediation approach of breaking content and skills down into component pieces so they can be taught, re-taught, reinforced, and practiced “out of context,” and never actually acquired.

The stories of school failure among poor and minority children are many and widely known (Heath 1983; Cazden et al., 1972; McDermott 1977; Phillips 1983; Hymes 1996; Holt 1964) and have something of a common refrain. At the heart of school failure is a breakdown in relationships of trust and intersubjectivity between student and teachers, and a breakdown in the building of shared worlds of meaning and co-constructed performances. It’s a breakdown in the conversation, and what Grice (1971) would call, conversational cooperation.

This is, of course, too simple a picture. As Ogbu and his colleagues (Ogbu 1988; Gibson & Ogbu 1991) have pointed out, cultural or linguistic “difference” alone does not explain the poor performance of minority students. Some minorities, those whom Ogbu refers to as “immigrant” minorities, do far better than “caste-like” minorities who are more likely to be victims of overt and covert racism. Opportunities available in society, after schooling, are a significant factor in students’ willingness to “play the game.” And there are significant personal and social costs in taking on an identity aligned with the dominant institution of schooling (Eckert 1989; Gilyard 1991; Rodriguez 1982; Fordham 1993; Giroux 1992; Giroux & McLaren 1994; McDermott 1977; Ogbu 1988; Gibson & Ogbu 1991; Kohl 1991; 1995).

But research in and out of classrooms has also provided us with principled knowledge about the resources students as language makers and language users bring to the classroom. Regardless of children’s race, culture, or socioeconomic status, ALL biologically intact children have well-developed “ways with words”, ways of telling stories,

giving accounts, providing reasons, arguments, and evidence. And all children have the capability to think abstractly about situations, concepts, and even about language itself. This has been robustly documented in the research literature on children's language and culture, in the fields of linguistics, sociolinguistics, anthropology, developmental psychology and cognitive science (Heath 1983; Taylor 1983; Gumperz 1981; Gumperz & Cook-Gumperz 1986; Gee 1996; Edwards 1976; Hymes 1996; Collins 1995; Resnick & Nelson-Le Gal 1999; Cazden et al., 1972; Foster 1987; Delpit 1995; Wells 1985; Miller 2000).

With very few exceptions (such as when a child has a serious neurological impairment), children come to school as extraordinarily adept language learners and language users. Linguists have shown – definitively – that all biologically intact children are grammatical speakers of their home language, that is, they use language in consistent and rule-governed ways (Labov 1969; Pinker 1994). While their dialects may be different from Standard English, all children speak their home dialects as native speakers, with fluency and correctness. Many children even bring a second language to the classroom – at a level of sophistication and fluency that few of their teachers can match.

If all children have such amazing linguistic abilities, why then does it seem that certain students are not adept language users in school? Why does it seem that some students don't bring much, if any, language from home, or don't talk well about academic subjects? Why does it seem that certain students are good at "talking science" and others are not? These are very common and widespread reactions that teachers have to a culturally and economically diverse group of students.

An extensive body of research suggests that the primary reason for this perception of linguistic "deficits" can be found in the phenomenon of difference itself. Differences – in dialect or discourse style – can easily lead to negative judgments (about intelligence, about the quality of one's thinking, about the sense of one's argument) that can affect a teacher's expectations or treatment of a child as a contributing, thoughtful participant in the classroom. Subtle and not so subtle mismatches with respect to language and culture in the classroom can lead to serious problems of equity and access. These differences in "ways with words" and

resulting negative judgments can become barriers to communication, to trusting relationships, and to the conditions which nurture active participation and effort. And this, in the end, can result in significant decreases in student motivation, participation, and ultimately in learning, creating *actual* deficits in knowledge and performance – with far-reaching real-life consequences. By the time non-mainstream children reach middle school, they typically have experienced years of disengagement, literally hundreds of hours of in and out-of-class remediation, failure, from year to year, to be perceived as smart by their teachers or tutors, and multiple official evaluations of deficiency. And they are, indeed, functionally disadvantaged in school. They lack foundational skills in reading and mathematics. They lack factual knowledge that comes from reading or attending to material presented in class. They lack procedural skills and practice in building intellectual arguments in any of the content domains. They do not think of themselves as "smart."

##### 5. From descriptive to prescriptive research on classroom discourse

There is a growing research base which examines the nature of productive classroom talk in relationship to academic learning in school. Researchers and experienced classroom teachers alike know that simply getting students to talk out loud or talk to one another does not necessarily lead to learning. "What matters is what students are talking about and how. When students are merely nattering at each other shooting the breeze about various social events – or if they are simply going through the motions of discussion without really working on the learning problem – the talk distracts from their learning rather than advancing it." (Resnick, *Accountable Talk* CD-ROM).

How has research on classroom discourse contributed to our understanding of what makes for productive, or, in Resnick's term, "accountable," classroom talk? First of all, the sociolinguistic principles as well as a great deal of empirical research suggests that focusing our attention on language "out of context" will not be particularly useful. Teacher questions is a good case in point. One common method for analyzing classroom discourse in cognitive terms has been categorizing teacher questions, something

all teachers learn about in their teacher preparation program. Teachers are encouraged to ask “higher order thinking questions.” But not surprisingly, in the real world of classrooms, the notion of higher order questions is understood differently and enacted differently in practice.

For researchers as well, categorizing teacher questions for their cognitive value is extremely hard to do. All categorizations depend on a distinction between questions that request factual recall, algorithmic knowledge, or literal comprehension – compared to questions that require more complex inferential work. Bloom’s (1956) Taxonomy of Educational Objectives for the cognitive domain has been the most influential scheme, a prototype for most others, and has been used widely over the past 50 years by researchers and practitioners.

But until only recently, we had no research validation of the educational benefits of teachers’ asking more “higher order” questions. It was not until Redfield and Rousseau’s meta-analysis of teacher questioning behavior that we could make sense out of a wide range of quite uneven studies and hard to interpret findings. Courtney Cazden writes about this, saying:

“The fact that it took a powerful meta-analysis to establish statistically what many teachers and researchers have long believed intuitively indicates that a lot of variation in cognitive impact is not caught by frequency counts of isolated question types. For the teacher, that variation includes the importance of optimal placement of higher-order questions, and the difficulties in following up more complex questions addressed to a single student in a group lesson. For the researcher, there is the analytical problem of trying to decide the import (to the student) and the intent (of the teacher) of any question considered in isolation [or in a domain that one is unfamiliar with].” (Cazden 1988, 100)

This is important for observers of talk – administrators – who might not be experts in the content. Even figuring out what is an open and what is a closed question, or what is a high level or low level response is highly context and domain dependent and depends on what the participants know and assume each other knows. While we know intuitively that teacher questions can be powerful influences on the quality of thinking that takes place among students, making generalizations with respect to types and frequency is highly problematic.

There is another reason that a focus on individual, isolated moves such as teacher questions (taken out of context) is problematic. In natural language, more is not necessarily better. Simple frequency of occurrence – of particular moves or particular types of questions – does not correlate with significance. An unusual move, made only once may have remarkably transformative effects. Most of the work in the process/product tradition (comparing counts of teacher behaviors with student learning outcomes) is largely uninformative – because language is so context specific and contexts and content and participants vary so dramatically. In this literature, one is comparing across classrooms, content areas, grade levels, activities, and it’s hard to make sense of findings.

## 6. Language and reasoning differ across different content domains

Over the last decade, there’s been an increase in classroom discourse research within specific content domains. Research on mathematics lessons has focused not simply on individual reasoning processes and problem solving, but on ways of “speaking mathematics” and participating in mathematics activities, acquiring what Cobb et al. (1993) have called “sociomathematical norms” (cf., O’Connor 1998; 2001). Research in science classrooms has focused on specific ways of reasoning and “talking science” (Lemke 1990; Warren & Rosebery 1996; Sohmer 2000; Rutherford 1995). Research in language arts has emphasized the particular discursive moves required in interpreting literature, and some of the ways that students’ home based ways of interpreting language can be harnessed in the classroom (Lee 1993). It is clear from research in diverse content areas that different domains or activities require different kinds of “reading between the lines”. Making predictions in literature calls for different kinds of evidence than making predictions in science. What counts as evidence, what counts as good or warranted evidence, and how explicit you have to be about the connections between claims and evidence differs across subject areas and particular tasks.

The notions of conversational implicature, inference, and contextualization relates directly to talk in classrooms where, over time, a great deal of shared knowledge and

shared experiences can be assumed, taken for granted, so that a great deal of information “goes without saying”. Members share a set of experiences, common references and terminology, and a shared set of remembered “texts”.

Research on informal argumentation (Resnick et al. 1993) suggests that students often leave implicit their underlying claims, assumptions, or premises in their arguments. On the surface (or to an outsider), their talk sounds imprecise, poorly argued, or even illogical. However, if you “fill in” all the implicit, assumed connections, premises, etc., then it turns out that these very same students are extremely coherent, consistent, and even impressively sophisticated in their arguments. The point of this research is that, especially in informal situations, a good argument does not have to be fully explicit in order to be compelling.

Because a great deal of meaning is left implicit, productive classroom talk is very hard to assess from the surface features of what gets said. If an outsider visits a classroom and notices that students are talking very elliptically – pointing at things around the room, using demonstrative pronouns such as “this” or “that,” leaving their premises implicit, or even responding to a teacher’s question with a very short answer – it would be hard to say, just from what got said, whether the talk evidenced rigorous thinking or not. In order to assess the quality of reasoning apparent in a student’s contribution, one has to have a clear sense of underlying academic purposes, audience, and a sense of the history of the activity leading up to this point in the conversation. It is also crucial to know what the planned trajectories of the current lesson and unit are. It is simply not possible to identify “good” or “productive” or “accountable” talk without taking into consideration the goals, topics, and content of the lesson, and the relationship of the learners to each other and to the task at hand.

In spite of the elliptical nature of talk, research on classroom discourse shows that, regardless of content area, one central purpose of schooling is to create a public arena where ideas can be explicated more fully and made public, looked at by others, interrogated, and developed further. Teachers expect students to make their ideas clear and compelling to others, in part by making their contributions elaborated and explicit.

Explicating one’s reasoning in words or in writing makes it public and available for others (or oneself) to assess, critique, question, or challenge.

But taking on particular “ways with words” means taking on particular social and intellectual identities (attitudes, values, beliefs about self and others). So in order for children to enter into these worlds of talk, they have to feel as if they belong, as if being a “member of this club” (Sohmer, 2000) is something they want to be. Partly what happens in successful and powerful events and talk formats is that students are assumed to be members of the practice – accorded all the rights and status of a full member – before they have full mastery of the discourse (Newman et al. 1989; Sohmer 2000).

Much research on successful curricular and pedagogical interventions suggests that a balance can be found between accepting implicit language when students are building upon shared “contexts of the mind” and pushing students to make their ideas clear and available to others in expanded forms. In these successful cases, classroom norms are created whereby students ask for clarification when something is not clear, take risks without fear of public ridicule, and build on one another’s contributions, crediting others while extending others’ ideas. Students are also expected to present their ideas to outsiders – as in science fair presentations, teaching younger students, or presenting exhibitions of work to interested but outsider adults. These are situations where shared experiences and terms cannot be assumed and explication is necessary and desirable.

In creating norms and expectations for talk, teachers find that students vary in their preferences for making arguments and terms explicit and vary in the ways they signal connections or highlight the main point. This is in part due to cultural differences in norms and expectations for talk that students bring from home. In some communities, defining your terms, explaining your underlying assumptions or premises, and then summarizing your claims would be considered overly didactic or even impolite or arrogant, akin to “hitting someone over the head with your point.” In other communities, this kind of formal explication, even in informal chat, is considered the hallmark of intelligent, persuasive commentary. Be-



cause students come to school with different expectations and preferences for explaining their thinking, successful teachers assume that students HAVE reasons even if they don't make them apparent. They find ways to bring out and build on their reasons, by revoicing or asking them to say more. They explicitly model and practice expected performances – in giving arguments, explaining one's reasoning, making connections or generalizations explicit, defining concepts, etc.

Successful teachers are skillful orchestrators of talk – building shared contexts of the mind (not merely assuming them), assuring that a classroom culture of respect and risk taking is created, and promoting equity and access to carefully designed, intellectually generative tasks and scaffolded talk about these tasks – for all members of the classroom. Over time, these contexts of the mind and collective experiences with talk lead to the development of an “academic discourse community” – with shared understandings, ways of speaking, and new discursive tools to explore and generate knowledge with. Much of the recent literature on successful classroom practices has been done, or centrally informed, by practicing teacher researchers (Gallas 1994; 1995; 1998; Ballenger 1992; 1999; Rutherford 1995; Lee 1993; Minstrell 1989; Paley 1986; Sohmer 2000; Lampert & Ball 1999).

Descriptive and prescriptive research on language can, and indeed should, go hand in hand, one informing the other, with theory and practice inextricably linked. It is here that the insights and expertise of teachers – critical “insiders” and lead designers of the classroom conversation – need to be more centrally included in sociolinguistic studies of classrooms documenting the social formation of mind (Wertsch 1985). In explaining the ways that a socio-cognitive “commonwealth” can be successfully built on a base of sociocultural diversity, the many sub-fields of sociolinguistics and the emerging field of teacher research are beginning to join forces in powerful and life altering ways.

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## 238. Sociolinguistics and Second Language Teaching Soziolinguistik und Zweitsprachunterricht

1. Introduction
2. The development and dissemination of communicative approaches to language pedagogy and subsequent critique
3. Second language pedagogy: Orientations to linguistic and cultural diversity in research and practice
4. Literature (selected)

### 1. Introduction

Behind the five word title of this contribution to the Handbook lies a complex and changing set of relationships between socially-oriented fields of research on language and a multifaceted area of educational practice. The purpose of this introduction is therefore to sketch out some of these complexities before getting into the main body of the review. I start with the shortest word in the title (the 'and') that is, with the interface between fields of academic enquiry in linguistics and language education practice. I begin, in section 1.1, with a brief account of early attempts to locate this interface within a field of applied linguistics characterised by increasing interdisciplinarity and increasingly divergent perspectives on language. In section 1.2, I then chart the development of the socially-oriented strand of applied linguistics, drawing attention to the fact that there is no longer any clear boundary between this strand of academic enquiry and the field of sociolinguistics. In section 1.3, I consider the scope of the professional practice of second language pedagogy and the range of educational provision that it has come to be associated with. I also note that, in particular contexts, there have been intense debates about what this field of educational practice should be called, resulting in the use of different labels to represent the field. Then, in concluding the introduction, I comment briefly on the changing relationship between second and foreign language education.

#### 1.1. The interface between fields of academic enquiry in linguistics and language education practice

In a historical account of theory-building in language education that was published in the early 1980s, Stern (1983) demonstrated

that there had been cross-currents of influence from a number of academic disciplines giving rise to different ideas about language, about learners, about teachers, about language learning processes and about the context of language teaching/learning. He identified linguistics, psychology, psycholinguistics, the history of language teaching, sociology, sociolinguistics and anthropology as having provided significant "foundations for theory development" (1983, 49) related to language teaching/learning. Stern also argued that applied linguistics had come to serve as a "mediating discipline" (1983, 50) between academic disciplines and language education practice and as a site for "interdisciplinary synthesis" (*ibid.*) This and other explicit attempts to demarcate an intellectual space for theory-building related to language pedagogy came as a response to a wider debate about the relationship between applied linguistics and other 'foundational' disciplines and about the degree to which applied linguistics could be said to be '*linguistics applied*' (see, for example, Widowson 1980).

Applied linguistics did indeed serve as a site for a good deal of interdisciplinary synthesis during the latter half of the twentieth century, but it began to diverge along lines not fully predicted in the late 1970s and early 1980s. Quite different strands of empirical work and theory-building have emerged. The most substantial divide is between two fields: (1) one that draws primarily on Chomskyan linguistics and on cognitive psychology, where theorising about natural orders of second language acquisition predominate and where the main concern is with the processing of grammar and lexis in the mind of the individual (and often idealised) learner; (2) one that has its roots in sociolinguistics and the ethnography of communication, where socially-oriented theorising predominates and where the main concern is with meaning, with culture, with identities and with the nature of the social context in which language learning takes place.

Clearly, for the purposes of this review, the strand of applied linguistic research that is of most relevance is the socially-oriented one. So, in the section that follows, I con-

sider some of the ways in which this particular strand has developed to date. I then touch on the changing relationship between socially-oriented applied linguistics and the field of sociolinguistics. I do this against the backdrop of the broad shifts in epistemologies that have been taking place across the social sciences since the 1980s.

### 1.2. Socially-oriented applied linguistics and sociolinguistics

By the early 1980s, the foundations of a socially-oriented applied linguistics had already been laid. Stern (1983) acknowledged this and, showing considerable foresight, he called for the development of a socio-cultural dimension of applied linguistics. He said: "As a generalization, one can say that language teaching theory is fast acquiring a sociolinguistic component but still lacks a well-defined sociocultural emphasis" (1983, 246).

In fact, the next two decades did see substantial efforts being made to extend and refine sociocultural approaches to language and there was a major theoretical and methodological shift in applied linguistics towards interpretive work: towards ethnography and towards close analysis of monolingual and bilingual discourse practices. This shift in theory and method echoed the growing interest across the social sciences in dialogic interaction and social constructivism. At the same time, the agenda for applied linguistic research was significantly broadened and encompassed new dimensions of professional practice (for further details, see Candlin 1990). Sociocultural approaches to literacy were also developed, building on seminal work by anthropologists such as Heath (1983) and Street (1984). In the sub-field of applied linguistics concerned with language education, we saw a reconceptualization of the role of culture in language pedagogy and new thinking about gender and ethnicity in second language learning. With the critical turn in applied linguistics, we saw the social, political and ideological conditions for language learning being given greater prominence in theory-building.

As this second edition of the Handbook shows, similar moves towards interpretive work took place within sociolinguistics during the last two decades of the twentieth century. The field has broadened substantially in scope over the last two decades. It has in-

corporated considerable interdisciplinarity and, latterly, has responded to the broad paradigm shift that has taken place across the social science. Because of the increased interdisciplinarity in both sociolinguistics and socially-oriented applied linguistics and because of the far-reaching changes that have taken place in both these fields, it is now impossible to identify a clear boundary between them. There is regular interaction between sociolinguists and applied linguists (they often attend the same conferences) and ideas flow in either direction. Socially-oriented applied linguistics could certainly not be said to be 'sociolinguistics *applied*' since there is no unitary theory in sociolinguistics. Moreover, as I will show in section 2 below, there have been major new contributions to theory-building on specific aspects of language in social life from applied linguists in recent years.

Due to the complex and changing nature of this conceptual landscape, there have been relatively few attempts, over the last two decades, to map out its contours and even fewer attempts to explore the interface between this combined body of research on language in social life and educational practice (examples include Preston 1989; McKay and Hornberger 1996; Young 1999; McCarthy 2001). Most of those who work at this interface would see themselves as applied linguists and would be committed to a "two-way dialogue" (McCarthy 2001, 4) between researchers and practitioners. This is a particularly significant characteristic of the sub-field of second language pedagogy that concerns us here.

### 1.3. Second language pedagogy

Second language pedagogy has been developed in very different social contexts and has come to be associated with very different forms of educational provision. Second language teachers work with learners of all ages at different stages of education: in pre-schools, in primary and secondary schools, in colleges and universities and in adult education programmes. They are involved in designing and delivering language education programmes of very different types for different groups of learners. These include: (1) second or additional language programmes; (2) bilingual education programmes for learners from linguistic minority groups (including learners from urban minorities established as a result of trans-

national migration patterns, learners from regional/national minority groups or learners from indigenous minorities); (3) immersion programmes for learners from dominant linguistic groups; (4) educational provision in post-colonial settings.

Second language pedagogy is only one of a number of labels that are used to represent this broad area of professional practice. There have been numerous debates about the term 'second language'. For example, in the British context, a range of terms have been adopted since the late 1960s when the teaching of English to adults and to children of migrant and refugee origin was first established as an area of educational practice. These shifts in terminology are the result of such debates and reveal changing views of learners' linguistic repertoires and changing views of language education provision. The term first used was 'English as a Second Language' (ESL). Now, the term 'English as an Additional Language' (EAL) is more widely used. Internationally recognised terms such as the 'Teaching of English to Speakers of Other Languages' (TESOL and ESOL) also have some currency in Britain, particularly the latter. The changing view of the role of the EAL practitioner and of language education provision is reflected in the use of terms such as 'English language support teacher' (ELS teacher) or 'bilingual support'. The latter terms first emerged in the 1980s when the focus of educational provision for bilingual learners shifted from withdrawal classes to the 'mainstream' classroom.

There have also been wider, international debates about the relative merit of terms such as 'teaching', 'teaching and learning' and 'pedagogy'. The first is the term that has traditionally been used. It evokes an image of teacher-led classes. The second term foregrounds the dialogic, interactive dimension of language education and the active role played by the learner in the learning process. The third term highlights the socially and politically-embedded nature of the activities that teachers engage in with learners in different contexts (Simon 1992). The second and third terms now have widest currency.

Before concluding this introduction, there is one final piece of ground-clearing that needs to be done. Traditionally, a distinction has been made between second and foreign language pedagogy, with the former being seen as oriented to linguistic and cultural

diversity within a particular nation-state and the latter as primarily oriented to the national, official languages of other nation-states. However, with globalization and with the shift away from a dominant discourse about nation-states and with the increase in linguistic diversity resulting from globalized patterns of migration, the distinction between second and foreign language pedagogy has become somewhat blurred. As Kramsch (1993) has observed: "The increasingly multicultural nature of foreign language classrooms ... [is] making the foreign language class as complex as the traditional ESL class" (1993, 43). As a result of this blurring of boundaries, there has been increased interaction between these two fields of language pedagogy.

## 2. The development and dissemination of communicative approaches to language pedagogy and subsequent critique

During the 1970s and early 1980s, while applied linguistics still played a primarily mediating role between language education practice and academic disciplines, the notion of communicative competence was espoused by those working within the socially-oriented strand. The term 'communicative competence' originates, of course, from Hymes' (1972a; 1972b) work on the ethnography of communication. The concept is discussed in some depth in Chapter 16 of this Handbook, so I will not elaborate on it here. The concept posed a major new challenge for language pedagogy, since it was now agreed that, in addition to fostering learners' linguistic competence, some account should be taken of the interactional dimension of language use and that learners should be oriented to the social and cultural meanings associated with linguistic choices.

The mediating work of applied linguists during this period ranged from establishing conceptual frameworks for the implementation of communicative approaches to language teaching, to the reshaping of language curricula and syllabuses according to functional or communicative principles and the development of teaching materials with a communicative component. A recurring theme in this substantial body of literature was that a key aspect of learning was participation in meaningful communication in

classroom activities and ‘tasks’ designed to simulate as closely as possible real life contexts of language use (i.e. ‘authentic’ communication). This theme was particularly pertinent to second language teaching because of the proximity of these contexts to the classroom.

One of the ideas harnessed to the communicative approach to language teaching at this time pertained to the use of the target language in the classroom. The insistence on sole use of the target language had been an essential part of the orthodoxy of the audiolingual approach in the 1950s and 1960s. With the advent of the communicative approach, in the 1970s and 1980s, the case for monolingual classroom communication was no longer made in terms of ‘avoiding interference’ or ‘developing good habits’ but in terms of the need to maximise opportunities for ‘authentic’ communication.

The promise of the early efforts to apply the notion of communicative competence, in its fullest sense, to language education curricula was not borne out (Candlin, 1984). In many contexts, attempts to move away from the straightjacket of teacher-controlled language classes and to define more emancipatory goals for communicative language teaching gave way to syllabi built around fixed inventories of functions. Thus, for example, in programmes for learners of immigrant origin, narrower functional approaches were adopted. As a number of commentators have shown, these placed an emphasis on ‘survival’ in a particular sociolinguistic environment and reduced the notion of ‘fostering communicative competence’ to imposing norms of appropriacy (Auerbach and Burgess 1985; Mukherjee 1986).

The early proponents of communicative language teaching did, indeed, pull off a major feat in the 1970s and early 1980s. They succeeded in transforming a good deal of language education practice. However, the ushering in of a social component to language education was to run into difficulties in the late 1980s and 1990s. The communicative language teaching movement eventually got caught up in a wider debate about the cultural politics of English language teaching (see Pennycook, 1994). One major shortcoming lay in the fact that many applied linguists, teacher educators and practitioners who disseminated the original idea of communicative language teaching, often in relation to the English Language Teach-

ing (ELT), thought of their role as sharing new ‘modern’ forms of knowledge about language teaching methodology that were essentially neutral and technical in nature. However, this new set of discourses about language education was, of course, value-laden and emanated primarily from higher education institutions in the English-speaking world.

The first and sternest critique of these discourses came from post-colonial contexts and from those working most closely with adult ESL learners in Britain, Canada and the USA (Malshe 1989; Norton Peirce 1989; Canagarajah 1993; Auerbach 1995; Norton 2000). They asked: “whose norms of appropriacy are being transmitted in language programmes based on communicative principles?” They also queried cultural values implicit in particular syllabi e.g. norms of politeness (Malshe 1989). In addition, the insistence on sole use of the target language in the classroom was called into question. It was seen as out of touch with the multilingual environments familiar to most second language learners around the world. It was also seen as disempowering for learners to have to communicate only in the target language, especially in the case of adult learners, and it was argued that this practice only served to increase the power asymmetries between teachers and learners. This debate continues and the force of the critique is levelled primarily at the spread and commodification of particular pedagogic practices, particularly in ELT, and about the ways in which they are represented as ‘modern and neutral’. At the heart of the critique is a call for a rethinking and deepening of the social and cultural component of language pedagogy, giving it a reflexive and critical turn.

### 3. Second language pedagogy: Orientations to linguistic and cultural diversity in research and practice

In this section, I turn to issues associated primarily with second language education practice, in different contexts. I show how these issues were addressed in research undertaken in two broad periods: from the early 1970s to the mid-1980s, and, then, from the mid-1980s onwards. I also trace the ways in which different views of linguistic



and cultural diversity were incorporated into this research and I discuss the implications for educational practice. I employ a useful distinction that was drawn by Ramp-ton, Harris and Leung (1997) between two orientations to linguistic and cultural diversity: (1) an orientation to “diversity as difference” (1997, 230); and (2) a discourse orientation, (“dominance and diversity as discourse” (*ibid.*)), one in which linguistic and cultural differences are seen as constructed in and through situated discourse and, at the same time, embedded within asymmetries of power in particular social and historical sites. (In their original analysis, these authors actually explore four main orientations to linguistic and cultural diversity, covering a wider historical period and referring specifically to educational debates in Britain. However, due to space constraints, I am unable to do justice to the depth of their account here).

### 3.1. Linguistic and cultural diversity as difference

Since the 1960s, there has been widespread concern about the educational underachievement of children from social groups who find themselves positioned towards the lower echelons of the social hierarchy. There has been ongoing debate about whether the pattern of under-achievement among such children can be attributed to the failure of education institutions to take account of the linguistic and cultural resources that the children bring to the learning process (Cazden, John and Hymes 1972). From the 1970s to the mid-1980s, this debate provided the central empirical focus for a body of interdisciplinary research that focused on language and literacy socialization practices at home and at school. This research was primarily grounded within the ethnography of communication and was conducted by anthropologists, socially-oriented linguists and literacy researchers. Most of the work focused on children who were in the early stages of acquiring literacy in the language of the school. The contexts for the research included indigenous education programmes in the south west of the USA (Philips 1983), in Hawaii (Au and Jordan 1981; Au 1993) and in Canada (Erickson and Mohatt 1982); schools in post-colonial contexts (e. g. Watson-Gegeo and Gegeo 1986) and urban schools in the USA and Britain (Michaels 1981; Gregory 1993).

The main concern was with documenting the differences between the children’s worlds of language and literacy, at home, in local community settings and at school. Detailed accounts were built up of children’s experiences of talk and texts in these domains, using key ethnographic concepts such as ‘speech event’ (Hymes 1972b) and ‘literacy event’ (Heath 1982). The latter concept, in particular, foregrounded the ways in which spoken and written languages were interwoven in the interactional routines of daily life.

There has been vigorous debate about this body of research. Some have rightly challenged the tendency in some studies towards “undifferentiated characterizations of learning styles” (McCarty and Watahomigie 1998, 81) and have cautioned against stereotyping children from specific minority groups as ‘all the same’. Others have criticised the proponents of the mismatch hypothesis for overlooking the ways in which wider social and institutional processes contribute to the shaping of teacher-student interactions in classrooms and eventually influence learning outcomes (Ogbu 1987; Singh, Lele and Martohardjono 1988; Heller and Martin-Jones 2001). Yet others have warned of the dangers of arguments about cultural mismatch tilting towards deficit thinking, since school ways of constructing and displaying knowledge are closely associated with those already acquired at home by children from privileged backgrounds and from dominant linguistic groups (Vasquez, Pease-Alvarez and Shannon 1994; Zentella 1997).

The debate among researchers has spanned several decades. It is difficult to provide a general assessment of the impact of this debate on second language education practice. The ‘cultural mismatch hypothesis’ was clearly congruent with the pluralistic thinking of the late 1970s and early 1980s and with the development of multicultural curricula. Some of the research cited above led to planned educational interventions with second language learners, such as the design of early reading materials that took account of different narrative styles. One example that is often cited is that of the Kamehameha Early Education Program (KEEP) in Hawaii (Au and Jordan 1981). As this research developed, it did begin to pose a substantial challenge to dominant definitions of school literacy instruction (Edelsky

1986; Gregory 1993). Constructive local efforts were also made, through research collaboration with teachers and parents, to bring “funds of knowledge” (Moll et al. 1992) from home to school, to support children’s school literacy learning.

### 3.2. Diversity as discourse

As the sociocultural component of second language pedagogy and bilingual education became more prominent, a new interdisciplinary debate began to emerge in the late 1980s. This revolved around the definition of concepts such as ‘culture’ and ‘identity’, around the links between language, cultural inheritance and ethnicity and the ways in which these links were represented in contemporary discourses about linguistic minorities and/or about multicultural education. This debate is ongoing. As we saw earlier, there has been a sharp critique of the tendency to overlook intra-group variation in some of the research on language and literacy socialization and warnings about the reification and stereotyping of difference. There has also been a critique of the essentialized view of culture implicit in both research and practice in multicultural education (e. g. Donald and Rattansi 1992).

In recent writing on ethnicity and culture, there is a new emphasis on human agency and on the fluid, processual nature of cultural production. Adults and young people are seen as not merely taking on the cultural mantle of their inheritance but as fashioning it in new ways in different social sites. As Ochs (1997) has observed: “members of society are agents of culture not merely bearers of culture” (1997, 416). The focus is now on the complex and plural ways in which culture and ethnicity are being cast and recast, defined and contested, in and through discourse (and other semiotic resources), in local contexts, especially in culturally diverse urban neighbourhoods. Hall (1992) wrote of “new ethnicities” emerging in these contexts.

The need to move away from essentialized notions of culture and ethnicity has also been a salient theme in recent socially-oriented research on language in multilingual settings. Most of the work in this area has been conducted with young people (predominantly adolescents), focusing on their local life worlds. It has been primarily ethnographic and discourse analytic in nature. The close attention to language in this work,

and particularly to codeswitching, has provided empirical evidence of the ways in which the construction of identity is situated in face-to-face interactions (e. g. Sebba 1993; Zentella 1997). New insights have also been gleaned into the role of language in the micro-politics of inter-ethnic friendship among adolescent peer-groups through recent empirical work on “language crossing” (Hewitt 1986; Rampton 1995).

The implications of this body of research for second language pedagogy have not yet been widely explored. However, there is clearly a need for second language practitioners to understand the language and literacy practices of the young people in their classes in terms other than mere ‘cultural differences’. There is also a need to understand the ways in which young people’s practices are situated in particular social and historical contexts (Heller 1994; 1999; Zentella 1997).

This emphasis on the social conditions for second (or additional) language learning is also a recurring theme in the literature related to adult education. In her work with immigrant women in Canada, Norton (2000) demonstrated that long established orthodoxies in SLA theory fail to provide explanatory accounts of the language learning experiences of many such women. She drew attention to the limited extent to which the women in her study had opportunities to interact with ‘native speakers’ of English outside class and described in close detail the nature of these communicative encounters. Drawing on biographical data and on interviews based on participant diaries, Norton showed that, in such encounters (e. g. with employers or with landlords), the women were often positioned in ways that severely constrained their contributions to the interaction and, as a consequence, constrained their opportunities to practice the language.

A further proposal made by Norton (1995; 2000), as a result of her empirical work, is that the concept of individual motivation should be revisited. She proposed that the socially-grounded notion of investment was more apt. As she put it:

“The notion of investment conceives of the language learner as having a complex social history and multiple desires. The notion presupposes that when language learners speak, they are not only exchanging information with target language speakers, but are constantly organizing and reorganiz-

ing a sense of who they are and how they relate to the social world. Thus, an investment in the target language is also an investment in a learner's own identity, an identity which is constantly changing across time and space" (2000, 11).

Drawing on feminist poststructuralist theory and on discourse approaches to language and gender (e. g. Cameron 1998), researchers such as Norton (1995; 2000), Goldstein (1995) and Pavlenko and Piller (2001) are beginning to sketch out new directions for research on second language pedagogy and gender. They have developed a robust critique of essentialist approaches to language and gender and of the gender blindness of much SLA research. In their work, the gender identities of second language learners are characterised as situated, socially constructed, contested and subject to change over time. In a recent review of research in multilingual settings, Pavlenko and Piller (2001) identify four key dimensions of research on discourse, gender and SLA that are likely to be carried through into future work in this area: (1) gendered access to linguistic resources; (2) gendered agency in second language learning and use; (3) gendered discursive interaction in multilingual contexts; (4) the development of a critical and feminist language pedagogy (2001, 24).

### 3.3. Domination as discourse

The socially-oriented research on language in institutional contexts, such as workplaces or schools provides fine-grained insights into the workings of domination as discourse and into the consequences for second language learners. This is research that builds on the ethnomethodological tradition in that it sets out to try to characterise the ways in which institutional orders are constructed by focusing on interaction. But, going beyond the original ethnomethodological project and taking a critical turn, it also aims to demonstrate how situated discourse practices are embedded in wider social and institutional processes and how this contributes to the reproduction of inequalities. In the school-based research, the focus has thus far been on two inter-related ways in which schools operate as institutions: (1) How they operate as spaces for selecting and categorising students, assessing performance (including linguistic performance) and providing credentials that are, ultimately, tied to posi-

tioning in the world of work. These institutional processes are, of course, bound up with wider processes of social stratification along the lines of ethnicity, class or gender. (2) The second research focus has been on how schools operate as spaces within which specific languages (and language varieties) and specific language practices (e. g. ways of speaking, reading and writing) come to be inculcated with legitimacy and authority, as spaces for the construction of legitimate language (Bourdieu 1977).

Empirical work on these school and classroom processes has taken place in a wide range of educational sites where a second or additional language is being learned, by children or adults. I will refer briefly here to studies that exemplify the two different foci mentioned above.

A small group of studies has provided insights into institutional categorization processes and into the ways in which the identities of learners are constructed in second language classes (e. g. Heller 1994; 1999; Mondada and Gajo 2001; Bourne 2002). I focus on one of these here by way of illustration. Bourne (2002) carried out a detailed ethnographic study of the daily cycles of teaching and learning in a multi-ethnic primary class in an urban setting in Britain. Her account provides detailed insights into the ways in which 8–9 year old learners were categorized as 'bright', 'average' or 'slow learners' through the discursive and organizational practices of the teacher. In addition, her close analysis of learner-learner interactions shows how the children were responding to these positionings, as they engaged in a writing task. Drawing on these empirical observations, Bourne argues that these pupils' sense of their identity as writers of English was emerging from the interaction between the knowledge resources they were bringing from home and the positioning that they were experiencing in the classroom. Furthermore, their sense of themselves as writers was continually being contextualized as they interacted with peer interlocutors and with the teacher about the writing that they were doing. She concludes that "it is to this social positioning that educators might more usefully look, rather than to constructs such as 'maturity', 'ability' or 'brightness' located with the child" (2002, 258).

Studies such as these are opening up promising new directions for the investi-

gation of the workings of domination in and through discourse in classrooms where children are learning a second or additional language. They also provide us with new ways of understanding how institutional processes of categorization can intersect with wider processes of social stratification along the lines of ethnicity, class and gender.

Turning now to the second focus mentioned above: Bourdieu's notion of legitimate language has been a salient theme in recent studies carried out in multilingual contexts, especially in contexts where, historically, there has been a struggle over language education policy (e.g. Heller 1994, 1999; Lin 1996; Bunyi 2001; Jaffe 2003). These include studies in post-colonial contexts, in second language classrooms, in bilingual education programmes and in minority language schools (see Martin-Jones 2000, for a review of research in this area). In a landmark study, Heller (1994; 1999) was the first to explore the ways in which legitimate language was being produced through the daily interactional practices of bilingual classrooms. Through her ethnographic work in a French medium secondary school in Ontario, Canada, she built up an illuminating picture of the interactional means by which teachers (and some learners) defined what counted as good French and as acceptable monolingual performances in standard French. Varieties of Canadian French were stigmatized, along with codeswitching between French and English. Heller shows how a particular symbolic order was constructed in this school, one in which some types of linguistic performances were accepted and others were disallowed. She also found that students in university-bound streams colluded with the symbolic order of the school through their own practices, while those oriented towards the job market either contested their placement or challenged the content of the school curriculum through their day to day practice.

Detailed ethnographic research of a longitudinal nature such as the study carried out by Heller (1994; 1999), in this French language minority school, lays bare what is at stake for second language learners as they cross the threshold of the school or adult education college, moving from the meaning-making resources of their life worlds to a new symbolic and institutional order. As the interface between research and practice in second language pedagogy continues to

be explored, the major challenge for both researchers and practitioners is to grasp the significance of these ways in which domination and difference are constructed in and through institutional discourse.

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## 239. Soziolinguistik und Fremdsprachenunterricht Sociolinguistics and Foreign Language Teaching

1. Einleitung
2. Die Entwicklung der Methoden und Modelle des Fremdsprachenunterrichts im Überblick
3. Impulse der soziolinguistischen Forschung auf den Fremdsprachenunterricht
4. Schluss
5. Literatur (in Auswahl)

### 1. Einleitung

Der Begriff Fremdsprachenunterricht beinhaltet das institutsgebundene und gesteuerte Lehren und Lernen fremder Sprachen, das im Gegensatz zum Zweitspracherwerb meist außerhalb der Zielkultur stattfindet. Der Fremdsprachenunterricht gehört zum Forschungsbereich der Fremdsprachendidaktik, die den Vorgang des Lehrens, den Lerner und den Prozess des Lernens fremder Sprachen untersucht. Um ihre Aufgaben erfüllen zu können, ist die Fremdsprachendidaktik auf die interdisziplinäre Zusammenarbeit mit anderen Wissenschaften angewiesen. Dabei haben seit je die allgemeine Linguistik und ihre Teildisziplinen eine große Rolle gespielt. Vor allem die Soziolinguistik hat in den letzten Jahrzehnten zur Grundlagenforschung des Fremdsprachenunterrichts beigetragen und einen entscheidenden Einfluss auf seine Entwicklung ausgeübt. Direkte und indirekte Impulse der Soziolinguistik auf Didaktik und Methodik des Fremdsprachenunterrichts, sowie die damit verbundene wissenschaftliche Forschung ergaben sich vor allem aus der Rezeption der funktionalen Linguistik, der Variations- und Varietätenlinguistik, der Ethnographie und -methodologie der Kommunikation sowie der Pragmatik und der Diskursanalyse. Ihre Vertreter widersprachen dem Konzept der

Idealisierung einer homogenen Sprachgemeinschaft (Chomsky) und wendeten ihre Aufmerksamkeit auf das „Heterogene“ und die „Varietäten“ der Sprache, auf die soziale Bedeutung des Sprachsystems und des Sprachgebrauchs. Die sprachlichen Besonderheiten sozialer Gruppen, Schichten und Klassen rückten in den Mittelpunkt des Forschungsinteresses und große Bedeutung wurde der Frage nach dem Sprachgebrauch beigegeben: „Who Speaks What Language to Whom and When?“ „Wer spricht was und wie mit wem in welcher Sprache und unter welchen sozialen Umständen mit welchen Absichten und Konsequenzen?“ (Fishman 1972, 15; 1975; zitiert bei Dittmar 1995, 38). Besonders die Veröffentlichung von Dell Hymes' (1972) Theorie der kommunikativen Kompetenz hat zu einer völligen Neuorientierung des Fremdsprachenunterrichts geführt, einem Unterricht, der sich an realen Sprachhandlungen und Kommunikationssituationen der Sprecher orientiert. In der Praxis zeigte sich die Umsetzung vorwiegend in der Entwicklung der Ansätze und Methoden zum kommunikativen Sprachunterricht und der verschiedenen Kurspläne, vor allem dem „notional/functional syllabus“.

### 2. Die Entwicklung der Methoden und Modelle des Fremdsprachenunterrichts im Überblick

Bis zum Ende der 60er Jahre waren Unterrichtsmodelle und -methoden vorherrschend, die sprachtheoretisch überwiegend auf der strukturellen Linguistik basierten. So zum Beispiel die Direkte Methode, das britische Situational Language Teaching und der Au-

diolingualismus in den Vereinigten Staaten (für eine ausführliche Beschreibung siehe Richards/Rodgers 1986, Kapitel 1,3,4). Nicht zuletzt auch die Arbeit Noam Chomskys (1957), die Theorie eines nativistischen Spracherwerbs im Sinne sprachlicher Universalien, führte zur fundamentalen Kritik am Strukturalismus und seiner Ablehnung als sprach- und lerntheoretische Basis für den Fremdsprachenunterricht. Aber auch an Chomsky entzündete sich Kritik, vor allem an der Konzeption des homogenen Sprecher-Hörer-Modells. Diese Konzeption der Sprachkompetenz wird außerdem auf die Muttersprache oder erste Sprache eingeschränkt, da Chomsky der Ansicht war, daß sich der Prozess des Erwerbs einer Muttersprache von den Prozessen der Erlernung einer Fremdsprache grundlegend unterscheidet. Statt einer abstrakten, idealen Sprachkompetenz forderte Dell Hymes (1972) die Entwicklung einer Konzeption der kommunikativen Kompetenz, die vom tatsächlichen, aktuellen Sprachgebrauch ausgeht. Man hatte erkannt, dass im Fremdsprachenunterricht das Erlernen kommunikativer Fähigkeiten wichtiger war als das bloße Erlernen von grammatischen Strukturen. Sprachlehrforscher wendeten sich zuerst den funktional orientierten britischen Linguisten J. Firth und M.A.K. Halliday zu und dann vor allem den Arbeiten der amerikanischen Soziolinguisten, W. Labov, J. Gumperz und D. Hymes, so wie auch den Arbeiten der pragma-philosophischen Richtung von J. Austin, J. Searl und der sozial-philosophischen Richtung von J. Habermas in Deutschland. Die „britische Linguistik“ seit Firth war zwar wegen der starken Betonung der sozialen, pragmatischen und situativen Komponenten und Funktionen der Sprache für die Entwicklung der Fremdsprachendidaktik und -methodik sehr wichtig, aber die grammatische Theorie dieser Schule, z.B. auch die Arbeiten Hallidays, sind von der europäisch-kontinentalen Fremdsprachendidaktik kaum rezipiert worden. Die Notwendigkeit alternative bzw. neue Methoden zur Erlernung von Fremdsprachen zu entwickeln, ergab sich in Europa durch die Ausweitung des europäischen Marktes und wurde vor allem durch den Europarat, der auch aktiv für die Gründung der „International Association of Applied Linguistics“ eintrat, gefördert. Bei der Planung von Sprachkursen müssen Struktur- und Wortschatzinventare erarbeitet werden, Themenkreise, typi-

sche Situationen und Sprecherrollen, aber auch sprachlich auszudrückende begriffliche Kategorien („notional categories“). Grundlegende Sprachfunktionen oder Sprachhandlungen dieser Art hat man im Zusammenhang mit der vom Europarat angeregten Erarbeitung von Leitlinien für den Fremdsprachenunterricht aufgestellt. In seinem Auftrag wurden Richtlinien für den Fremdsprachenunterricht im Sinne eines „unit/credit“-Systems (van Ek/Alexander 1980) bestimmt, aus dem dann später auch das „Threshold Level“ Inventar (Trim et al. 1973) und die „notional/functional syllabi“ hervorgingen (Wilkins 1972; 1976). Beide hatten einen starken Einfluss auf die kommunikativen Sprachlehrprogramme und Textbücher. Das „Threshold Level“ Inventar, ursprünglich für Erwachsene konzipiert, bietet einen ausgebreiteten detaillierten Rahmen für Lerner, die eine Grundkenntnis in einer Fremdsprache erreichen wollen. Es ist vor allem auch als Kurzzeit-Intensivprogramm geeignet. Nicht die Grammatik soll bei der Vermittlung im Mittelpunkt stehen, sondern die natürliche Kommunikationssituation, die der Lerner antrifft, Themen, Funktionen und Konzepte über die er sprechen wird, ebenso wie die Grammatik und das Vokabular, das er dazu benötigt. Die ersten „Threshold“-Systeme erschienen für die englische Sprache, danach „un niveau seuil“ für Französisch, „Kontaktschwelle“ für Deutsch und später erschienen weitere für andere europäische und auch außereuropäische Sprachen (Baker/Prys Jones 1998, 675). Wilkins maßgebende Arbeit stellt eine Umkehrung des üblichen traditionellen Verfahrens grammatischer Arbeit dar, indem er nicht von formalen Kategorien und Strukturen ausgeht, sondern von Bedeutungskategorien, den „notional categories“ (Zeit, Raum, Quantität usw.) und den Kategorien der „communicative function“ (Fragen, Bitten, Befehlen, Beklagen usw.). Eine generelle Beschreibung der „notional/functional syllabi“ findet man in Wilkins (1976), weitere Arbeiten bei Johnson (1982) und Kritik bei Wilkins et al. (1981).

Die kommunikative Didaktik und Methodik auch „Communicative Approach“, „Communicative Language Teaching (CLT)“, „Notional-Functional Approach“ oder „Functional Approach“ genannt, hatte ihren Ursprung und fand ihre Verbreitung zunächst hauptsächlich bei britischen Sprachlehrspezialisten (Richards/Rodgers 1986,

Kapitel 5). Später erweiterte und entwickelte sich das Konzept des kommunikativen Sprachunterrichts und wurde sowohl von britischen als auch amerikanischen und kontinental-europäischen und anderen Sprachlehrforschern mehr als Ansatz („approach“) denn als Methode betrachtet. Man kann kaum von „der“ kommunikativen Methode sprechen, da es kein einziges Modell gibt, das als repräsentativ gilt oder als solches akzeptiert wird, sondern es gibt viele verschieden realisierte Ansätze. So z. B. etwa der Natural Approach von Krashen und Terrell (1983) oder auch einige der eher problematischen alternativen Methoden, wie z. B. Community Language Learning von Curran (1972; 1976), Total Physical Response von Asher (1977) und andere enthalten einige kommunikative Elemente (Richards/Rodgers 1986; Omaggio Hadley 1993). Vor allem die Rolle und der Stellenwert der Sprach- und der Lerntheorie sowie die folgenden Faktoren haben Auswirkungen auf die Beschreibung der methodischen Prinzipien. Das betrifft: die Rolle des Lehrers und der Lernenden, die Sozialformen des Unterrichts, die Übungsformen, das Lehrmaterial und natürlich die Lernziele und den Syllabus. Zwischen der Methodologie und dem Curriculum, den Lehrplänen, besteht ein System gegenseitiger Abhängigkeit. Die Methodologie wird stark durch das Design des Syllabus beeinflusst. Neben dem „notional/functional syllabus“ entwickelten sich auch andere, wie z. B. der „process oder procedural syllabus“ und der „task-based“ Unterrichtsplan, bei denen sowohl der Inhalt als auch das Lernverfahren nicht mehr nur von dem Lehrer allein, sondern in Zusammenarbeit mit den Lernern bestimmt und erarbeitet werden. Man spricht von „schwachen“ und „starken“ kommunikativen Unterrichtsansätzen. Bei den „schwachen“ herrschen noch zum Teil audiolinguale, grammatische oder strukturelle Unterrichtsmethoden und -techniken vor und nur einige wenige Aktivitäten sind als kommunikativ zu bezeichnen. Bei den „starken“ kommunikativen Modellen dagegen wird die Sprache durch die Kommunikation erworben. Auch der „eclectic approach“ kann je nach Handhabung zu positiven und zu negativen Resultaten führen. Seine Vertreter sind der Meinung, dass kein einziges Modell allein genüge und geeignet sei, allen Bedürfnissen der Lerner gerecht zu werden. Unterschiedliche Methoden müssten daher ent-

sprechend der Lernziele und Inhalte auf den individuellen Stand der Lerner abgestimmt und im Laufe des Kurses immer wieder revidiert und neu ausgewählt werden. Nur in der Kombination und Balance verschiedener struktureller, funktioneller und interaktiver Methoden und Materialien könne man optimale Lerneffekte erzielen (Richards/Rodgers 1986; Baker/Pyr Jones 1998). Die Diskussionen, Kritik und Weiterentwicklung der kommunikativen Didaktik sind bis heute nicht abgeschlossen. Obgleich viele der Meinung sind, dass ihre Zeit abgelaufen ist, hat sie in den 80er und mehr noch in den 90er Jahren vor allem durch die interkulturelle Orientierung, „Interkulturelles Lernen“ oder „Interkulturelle Kommunikation“, neue Impulse bekommen. Auch unter diesen Begriffen versammeln sich sehr unterschiedliche Konzepte und so ist es kaum verwunderlich, dass es viele Definitionen gibt, die sich deutlich voneinander unterscheiden. Einen Überblick über die Fachdiskussion, die Vielfalt der unterschiedlichen Definitionen und Konzepte so wie über die didaktischen Konsequenzen geben Seelye (1993) und die Beiträge in Bausch et al. (1994). Einer der Autoren (Krumm, auch 1995, 159) betont, dass es ein Missverständnis wäre, „die interkulturelle Orientierung des Fremdsprachenunterrichts als ‘post-kommunikative’, eine neue Methode einleitende Phase zu deklarieren.“ Eher gehe es darum, unser Verständnis von Kommunikationsfähigkeit als einer universalen Fähigkeit zu revidieren. Ein Fremdsprachenunterricht, der sich an universalen Sprechakten, begünstigt durch den Einfluss der Pragmalinguistik, als Rahmen für die Entwicklung von Kommunikationsfähigkeit orientiert, sei problematisch, da sich herausgestellt habe, dass diese Sprechakte so universell gar nicht sind (vgl. Kramersch 1993; Kniffka 1995). Kommunikative Kompetenz in der Fremdsprache schließe, so Krumm (1995, 157), ein, dass man „in der Begegnung mit einer anderen Kultur die Grenzen des eigensprachlichen und eigenkulturellen Verhaltens“ erkenne und sich auf andere Verhaltensweisen einlasse. Für Krumm, und hier spricht er an, was wohl allen Definitionen gemeinsam ist, ist die interkulturelle Orientierung des Fremdsprachenunterrichts vor allem durch kulturkontrastives Vorgehen gekennzeichnet. Es gehe jedoch nicht mehr nur um die Information über die andere Kultur, z. B. durch Landeskunde, sondern um die Sensi-



bilisierung, die Sichtbarmachung und den Abbau von Klischees und die Entwicklung kritischer Toleranz gegenüber anderen Kulturen. Ein systematisches Wahrnehmungstraining rücke Prozesse des Selbst- und Fremdverstehens in den Mittelpunkt und zielen auf „die Entwicklung von Interkulturalität als der Fähigkeit Verschiedenheit zu akzeptieren, mit Hilfe von Sprache eine neue Kultur zu entdecken und die eigene neu sehen zu lernen“ (Krumm 1995, 159). Selbst eine nur annähernde Verwirklichung dieser Ziele und Desiderate erfordert ein Höchstmaß an Einsatz und Kompetenz vom Fremdsprachenlehrer. Die geschichtliche und praktische Erfahrung, so wie auch neuere Beobachtungen haben gezeigt, dass sich beim Fremdsprachenlernen nicht unbedingt interkulturelles Lernen einstellen muß. Interkulturelle Kompetenz kann sich auch unabhängig von der interlingualen fremdsprachlichen Kompetenz außerhalb des Fremdsprachenunterrichts entwickeln, da sie „weniger auf fremdsprachliches Können als auf alters- und erfahrungsbedingte moralisch-kognitive Voraussetzungen“ basiert (Buttjes 1995; Krumm 1995).

### 3. Impulse der soziolinguistischen Forschung auf den Fremdsprachenunterricht

#### 3.1. Variations- und Varietätenlinguistik

Die Variations- und Varietätenlinguistik beschäftigt sich auf mikro-soziolinguistischer Ebene mit linguistischer Variation als Folge und Funktion vieler ineinander greifender, mehrdimensionaler Faktoren. Die Beschreibungsmodelle untersuchen die Variation innersprachlich auf allen linguistischen Ebenen und außersprachlich als Funktion von Variablen wie Geschlecht, Alter, Gruppenzugehörigkeit, Formalität, Situation, Domäne, Region usw. Zu Beginn der siebziger Jahre spielte vor allem Basil Bernsteins Unterscheidung von einem „elaborierten“ und einem „restringierten“ Kode eine große Rolle, die für die unterschiedliche Sozialisation innerhalb der Mittel- bzw. Unterschicht oder für Sprachdefizite auch bei Dialektsprechern verantwortlich gemacht wurden (Bernstein 1972; Ammon 1977). Die Rezeption der Hypothesen der Defizitkonzeption führten in der Folge, unter anderem in Deutschland, zu sprachkompensatorischen Erziehungsprogrammen. Spätere Untersuchun-

gen, vor allem von Labov (1970), relativieren dagegen die Annahme der Existenz sprachlicher Defizite, indem sie die Funktionsäquivalenz dieser Varietäten herausstellen.

Auch die Beschreibung von Zwei- und Mehrsprachigkeit auf makro-linguistischer Ebene mithilfe der Begriffe und Modelle „Diglossie“ und „Bilingualismus“ (Fishman 1967), die die Distribution verschiedener Kode und Subkode in ihrer sozialen und sprachpolitischen Bedeutung, Funktion und Bewertung aufzeigte, hat die Fremdsprachendidaktik beeinflusst.

Vor allem aber haben die Untersuchungen und Arbeiten der Variationslinguistik dargelegt, dass Sprache vielfältigen Einflüssen und Veränderungsprozessen unterliegt, bei der sowohl endogene als auch exogene Faktoren eine wichtige Rolle spielen. Die Veränderungen der Gegenwartssprache sind im Neben- und Gegeneinander verschiedener Generations- und Gruppensprachen ja sogar, abhängig von Situation und Zeit, auch im individuellen Sprechen erkennbar. Sprachliche Äußerungen und jeder Sprachwandel ist natürlich auch stark in kulturelle und geschichtliche Prozesse eingebunden. Für den Fremdsprachenunterricht bedeutet dies, dass er vor allem auf die Angemessenheitsbedingungen der verschiedenen Sprachformen ausgerichtet sein muss. Im Deutschen ist die Standardsprache z. B. nur eine Varietät im Kontext einer Menge von Sprachvarietäten und erfüllt vor allem besondere Funktionen in formellen Sprachsituationen und in der Schriftsprache. Als Voraussetzung für das Erlernen und die Entwicklung der Kommunikationsfähigkeit in der Fremdsprache muss die Kenntnis der adäquaten muttersprachlichen Kommunikation gelten (Hartig 1985, 162). Dabei ist auch die Fähigkeit zur Anpassung an Veränderungen der sozialen Situationen verbunden mit einem Wechsel der angemessenen Sprachformen wichtig. Diese Fähigkeit oder Flexibilität bei Varietätenwechsel muss erlernt werden, sie stellt eine wichtige Voraussetzung für die Erweiterung der Kommunikationsfähigkeit in der Fremdsprache dar. Das Erlernen einer umgangssprachlichen Varietät der Fremdsprache im Ausland ist aber vielfach auf Grund der vorhandenen Textbücher und Grammatiken, die meist nicht vom sozialen Kontext des Sprachgebrauchs in konkreten Situationen ausgehen, sondern vielmehr ein abstrahierendes „normatives“ Regelwerk darstellen, sehr erschwert und oft nicht er-

reichbar. Hier müssen, besonders auch vom nicht-muttersprachlichen Lehrer, ständig vielfältige und authentische Materialien gesprochen und geschriebener Sprache in verschiedenen konkreten, sozialen Kontexten und Situationen als Ergänzung eingesetzt werden.

Die interdisziplinäre Zusammenarbeit der Soziolinguistik mit anderen Wissenschaften, besonders Psychologie und Soziologie und ihren methodischen Verfahren, führte auch in der Fremdsprachendidaktik im größeren Umfang zur empirisch-datenerhebenden Arbeit. Auf Grund empirischer Untersuchung konnten Forscher im Verhalten von Lernern nachweisen, dass auch entsprechend starke Varietäten in der „Interlanguage“ von Lernern bestehen (Selinker 1972; 1992; Preston 1989). So wurde die Variabilität im Zweit- und Fremdspracherwerb bzw. deren Erlernung (Varietätenforschung) zu einem sehr wichtigen Forschungsgebiet (Corder 1977; Preston 1989; Tarone 1988). Dies gilt auch für die Unterrichtsbeobachtung und die Fehleranalyse. Das unterrichtliche Lernen von Fremdsprachen ist das Ergebnis des Zusammenwirkens zahlreicher Faktoren, die sich sowohl auf die Lehr- und Lernbedingungen im Klassenzimmer als auch auf psychologische und soziale Komponenten außerhalb des Klassenzimmers beziehen und die selbstverständlich in engem Bezug zum Lerngegenstand zu sehen sind (Königs 1983). Zahlreiche Studien und empirisch begründete Analysen liegen vor. Sie reichen von Untersuchungen zu den im Fremdsprachenlerner ablaufenden mentalen Prozessen über Analysen zu den Wechselbeziehungen zwischen Lehrenden, Lernenden und weiteren Unterrichtsfaktoren bis hin zu Untersuchungen zum Komplex der Fehlerkorrektur, zu den lernerspezifischen Erwartungen, Attitüden und Interaktionsstrukturen, zur Rolle von Lehrmaterialien und Sozial-, Übungs- und Arbeitsformen des Fremdsprachenunterrichts. Durch die Ausdehnung des Interesses der Fremdsprachendidaktik von den schulischen Formen auf den Fremdsprachenunterricht in der Erwachsenenbildung und auch auf das selbständige, institutsunabhängige Lernen fremder Sprachen, haben sich die Forschungsaufgaben der Disziplin vervielfältigt.

### 3.2. Ethnographie der Kommunikation

Im Gegensatz zur Variationslinguistik beschäftigt sich die Ethnographie der Kommu-

nikation und die mit ihr eng verwandte Ethnomethodologie im Rahmen der Linguistik mit der Beschreibung von Formen und Funktionen verbalen und nicht-verbalen Verhaltens in kulturellen und sozialen Bereichen und bei entsprechenden Anlässen. Sie beschäftigt sich mit den Werten und Normen, den Sozialisationsmustern, den Traditionen und Konventionen einer Sprachgemeinschaft, mit speziellen Sprachsituationen, mit Sprachereignissen und Sprachaktivitäten. Aber auch Diskurs, stilistische Variation und die nicht-verbalen Verhaltensweisen, wie z.B. Gestik, Mimik, Körperhaltung werden untersucht und analysiert. Diese Richtung der Soziolinguistik hatte, wie oben schon erwähnt, durch Dell Hymes' Konzeption der kommunikativen Kompetenz einen starken Impact auf den Fremdsprachenunterricht. Hymes erweiterte den Begriff der Kompetenz, der bei Chomsky vor allem grammatische Kompetenz beinhaltete, um die soziolinguistische und kontextuelle Komponente. Für ihn sind grammatische Regeln ohne Sprachgebrauchsregeln nutzlos.

Seit Mitte der 70er Jahre steht die Frage nach der Bedeutung der kommunikativen Kompetenz als Lernziel des Fremdsprachenunterrichts und vor allem auch, was man in Theorie und Praxis darunter verstehen muss, im Mittelpunkt einer anhaltenden fruchtbaren fachdidaktischen Diskussion (Piepho 1974). Dabei verlagerte sich in der BRD der Schwerpunkt zuerst in die sozialphilosophische Richtung (Habermas 1974) auf eine emanzipatorische, handlungsorientierte Konzeption, in Großbritannien und USA bemühte man sich dagegen um eine eher pragmatisch funktionale Konzeption auf der Grundlage der Pragmalinguistik (Austin 1962; Wilkins 1972; Widdowson 1972; Littlewood 1975; und andere)

Der Begriff kommunikative Kompetenz wurde jedoch in der fachdidaktischen Diskussion recht uneinheitlich benutzt. Teils verstand man die gesamte sprachliche Kompetenz eines Sprechers darunter, teils stellte man die kommunikative Kompetenz begrifflich einer linguistischen Kompetenz gegenüber. Canale und Swain (1980) diskutieren die wichtigsten Arbeiten der 70er Jahre (Campbell/Wales 1970; Hymes 1972; Savignon 1972; Munby 1978; Widdowson 1978) und entwickeln ein Modell der kommunikativen Kompetenz (Canale/Swain 1980; Canale 1983), das aus vier Hauptkomponenten besteht: 1. grammatische Kompetenz, 2. lin-

guistische Kompetenz, 3. Diskurskompetenz und 4. strategische Kompetenz. Grammatische Kompetenz verweist auf das Maß der Beherrschung des linguistischen Kodes. Das beinhaltet auch Korrektheit des Ausdrucks und die Progression zu höheren Stufen der „Proficiency“. Soziolinguistische Kompetenz bedeutet die Fähigkeit grammatische Formen entsprechend der soziokulturellen Regeln der Sprache angemessen in verschiedenen Kontexten und besonderen kommunikativen Funktionen anzuwenden. Dabei sind Faktoren wie Thema, Rolle der Teilnehmer, Situationen, Attitüden u.s.w. für die Wahl von Stil und Register wichtig. Die Angemessenheit kann jedoch (Savignon 1983) nur aus dem vollen Kontext heraus beurteilt werden. Diskurskompetenz ist die Fähigkeit Form und Inhalt zu einem zusammenhängenden Text zu verbinden. Unter „Text“ wird hier sowohl die gesprochene Sprache, die einfache gesprochene Konversation als auch die geschriebene Sprache, auch Artikel und Bücher verstanden (Widdowson 1978; Hatch 1978; 1983; 1984; 1992; Brown/Yule 1983; Larsen/Freeman/Long 1991). Strategische Kompetenz zielt auf die Fähigkeit verbale und nicht-verbale kommunikative Strategien zu gebrauchen, die Lücken oder auch Zusammenbrüche in der Fremdsprachenkenntnis und im Gebrauch überbrücken und kompensieren helfen. Das Modell von Canale und Swain hatte einen sehr großen Einfluss auf die Fremdsprachendidaktik und wurde im Laufe der Jahre von anderen modifiziert und weiterentwickelt. Bachman (1990) erweiterte die Diskussion um die Frage, „What does it mean to know a language“ (Omaggio Hadley 1993). Sein Konzept besteht aus drei Hauptkomponenten: 1. Sprachkompetenz 2. strategische Kompetenz und 3. psychophysiologischer Mechanismus. Strategische Kompetenz sieht er nicht mehr untergeordnet als Teilkomponente der Sprachkompetenz, sondern eher als separate Funktion der kommunikativen Sprachfähigkeit (Brown 1993). Sprachkompetenz schließt Organisationskompetenz und pragmatische Kompetenz ein, die wiederum aus grammatischer und textueller (Diskurs-) Kompetenz besteht. Unter pragmatischer Kompetenz versteht Bachman den funktionalen Sprachgebrauch (illuktionäre Kompetenz) und die Angemessenheit des Sprachgebrauchs im entsprechenden Kontext. Soziolinguistische Kompetenz schließt dann den angemessenen Gebrauch von Dialekt und Registern

sowie das Verständnis für Redewendungen und kulturelle Bedeutungen und Beziehungen ein.

Die Feststellung und Bewertung von Lernfortschritten, so wie die Messung der kommunikativen Sprachkompetenz ist problematisch. Auf Grund seiner kommunikativen Zielsetzung kann im Fremdsprachenunterricht die grammatische Progression nur ein Teil der gesamten Kurskonzeption sein. Auch die Sequenzierung der Sprachmaterialien kann nicht ausschließlich von einer Progression von „leicht“ bis „sehr schwer“ ausgehen, sondern muss die Komplexität und Schwierigkeitsgrade berücksichtigen, die sich aus der Kommunikation, den Redeabsichten, Sprechakten, Situationen und Rollen, dem gesamten Kommunikationskontext, ergeben. Neben der traditionellen Leistungsmessung, das heißt durch geeignete Aufgaben die Beherrschung der Kode-Elemente der Sprache (Grammatik, Wortschatz, Stil, Orthographie, Aussprache) quantitativ und objektiv zu testen, müssen auch die kommunikativen Aspekte, das tatsächliche Kommunikationsverhalten im Sprechen und Schreiben mittels Schätzskaalen durch qualitative Analyse bewertet werden. In den USA hat man sich seit 1970 ausgiebig mit dem Problem des „Proficiency Testing“ beschäftigt. Beginnend mit dem „Common Yardstick“ Projekt (Liskin-Gasparro 1984) wurde es 1981 vom American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages (ACTFL) unter beratender Mitarbeit des Educational Testing Service (ETS) und der Modern Language Association (MLA) weitergeführt. Die Ergebnisse wurden in den ACTFL Proficiency Guidelines veröffentlicht. Abdruck und Diskussion auch bei Omaggio Hadley (1993) und Bachman/Savignon (1986).

#### 4. Schluss

Es ist schwierig, die Reichweite der jeweiligen Einflüsse der verschiedenen Richtungen innerhalb der Soziolinguistik auf die fachdidaktische Diskussion und die Entwicklung der Konzepte und Materialien des Fremdsprachenunterrichts im Einzelnen genau zu bestimmen, da sich die genannten Forschungsansätze in ihren begrifflichen und methodischen Instrumentarien auf Grund gegenseitiger Beeinflussung und Parallelentwicklungen teilweise stark überschneiden. Versucht man, den Einfluss der genannten

Richtungen und Forschungsgebiete auf den Fremdsprachenunterricht auf eine Formel zu bringen, so wird deutlich, dass die Kommunikationsbedürfnisse der Lernenden im Mittelpunkt stehen und zum Ausgangspunkt der didaktischen Überlegungen geworden sind. Mitteilungs- und Handlungsintentionen sollen in Sprechakten und Rollenspielen abhängig von den jeweiligen situativen, kontextuellen und kulturellen Gegebenheiten und Bedingungen mit Hilfe der Strukturen der Zielsprache realisiert werden.

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## 240. Language Planning: Standardization Sprachplanung: Standardisierung

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### 1. Language planning: history and definitions

While language planning (hereafter LP) may be called an old phenomena in human history, it is, however, a relatively new discipline. The term LP was launched by Haugen in 1958 (Haugen 1959) in connection with his work on Norwegian language policy and language reforms (Haugen 1987, 626). LP was there defined as “the activity of preparing a normative orthography, grammar, and dictionary for the guidance of writers and speakers in a non-homogeneous speech community”. The term was later elaborated and rephrased by Haugen, i.e. 1972, now also including “all forms of what is commonly known as language cultivation (Ger. *Sprachpflege*, Dan. *sprogrogt*, Swed. *språk-vård*), and all proposals for language reform and standardization” (Haugen 1972, 133), and even “the evaluation of linguistic change” (Haugen 1972, 162). His definitions have been modified by many others who have adopted the term. Rubin and Jernudd define LP as “*deliberate* language change: that is, changes in the system of language code or speaking or both that are planned by organizations that are established for such purposes or given a mandate to fulfill such purposes” (Rubin/Jernudd 1971, xvi). Tauli also adds the point of “improving existing languages” (Tauli 1968, 27) to the definition of LP.

1.1. Researchers of language planning often differentiate between two distinct types of LP activities, those that are concerned with modifying the language itself (*‘language corpus planning’*), and those that are concerned with modifying the environment in which a language is being used (*‘language status planning’*). According to this division, LP might be viewed either from a

societal or from a language focus. “The societal focus is called ‘status planning’ and consists of those decisions a society must make about language selection and the implementation to choose and disseminate the language or languages selected. The language focus is called ‘corpus planning’ and consists of linguistic decisions which need to be made to codify and elaborate a language or languages. These two foci form the basis for an overview of all the activities which make up the language planning process.” (Kaplan/Baldauf 1997, 29.) Although this binary classification of LP activities is widely encountered in LP research, the distinction is not, however, a clear-cut one, “because not all kinds of language planning activity can be neatly classified in this way” (Crystal 1987, 364). Kaplan/Baldauf consider the separation between *status planning* and *corpus planning* an ‘oversimplification’. As made clear by many researchers of LP, it is “virtually impossible, in practice, to separate the two activities. The fact is, that any change in the character of language is likely to result in the change in the use environment, and any change in the use environment is likely to induce a change in the character of the language” (Kaplan/Baldauf 1997, 28).

1.2. In accordance with Haugen’s first rather ‘narrow’ definition of LP, the discipline initially was concerned about government planning for national situations (cf. Fishman/Ferguson/Das Gupta (1968): *Language Problems of Developing Nations*). The tendency later has been in the direction of a more and more ‘broad’ or ‘including’ range of issues and approaches to language planning. Cooper (1989, 45) defines LP as referring to “deliberate efforts to influence the behavior of others with respect to the acquisition, structure, or functional allocation of their language codes”, whereas Kaplan/Baldauf (1997, 27) in their book on LP “use ‘language planning’ as the generic term for the discipline and use it to encompass everything from government macro-level national planning to group or individual micro-level planning.” In fact, LP is carried out by a variety of government departments and agencies, language committees, councils and academies, language interested groups and

even individuals. The LP activities may range from judicial, political and official to unofficial and also rather private efforts. As a new discipline within linguistics, it might still be in a “continuing need for detailed case studies of the widely differing situations in individual countries; few general theoretical principles have been proposed” (Crystal 1987, 364). In addition, although there is much literature concerning the various elements of language planning, there is a need for studies about language planning as a process (Mac Donnacha, 2000). A number of different linguistic and social factors (i. e. historic, political, religious, economic, attitudinal) have to be taken into account when LP issues are studied. As a consequence, it is probably not surprising that researchers within LP still find it difficult to explain why some LP proposals have succeeded, whereas others have failed. However, in spite of the view held among several linguists, that language change is a ‘natural’ process, LP studies have shown that it is quite possible – at least in some cases and under certain circumstances – to influence and alter the language development. This area continues to attract a great deal of interest, for both applied and theoretical reasons, and the discipline “also presents a fresh perspective for our understanding of linguistic change” (Crystal 1987, 364).

## 2. Why planning language?

The new name *language planning* was chosen “with the idea that it would be one aspect of a much-used modern term, *social planning*” (Haugen 1987, 627). To Haugen, the fact that language is a social institution and one of the chief instruments of social life, was important. In Scandinavia social planning and language planning had gone hand in hand, so he would not consider it unnatural also to do language planning. Others might have an opposite view about modifying and altering language behaviour in a community. At least there are some differences in the nature of social planning and language planning, for instance when one considers the time needed to fulfill the change: It may take several generations to alter the linguistic behaviour. The reasons for LP are complex – as well as the necessity – “ranging from the trivial notion that one doesn’t like the way a group talks, to the sophisticated idea that a community can be assisted in preserving its

culture by preserving its language [...] The language modifications are also complex, ranging from a desire to ‘modernise’ a language so that it can deal with the vast technological changes that are occurring, to a desire to ‘standardize’ a language” (Kaplan/Baldauf 1997f). Language planning is often considered to be a means of a language conflict solving and a help for the linguistic community as a whole, for example in establishing a new language standard. As a matter of fact, however, LP solutions may sometimes create new problems when solving other. As mentioned by Haugen in connection with the regulations of new and old languages for teaching purposes in the nineteenth century, many groups “awoke to discover that they were second-class citizens in their own country, excluded from public life by their unfamiliarity with the dominant standard. In some cases this led to the establishment or re-establishment of competing standards” (Haugen 1966, 12).

2.1. Many different social and ethnic groups have been interested in getting their own linguistic identity reflected in writing, and have therefore often fought for recognition. Governments must react to these demands, and then often try to solve the problems by ‘language planning’ or ‘linguistic engineering’. If several languages are spoken within a country, it might be considered natural to choose one of them for official, educational, religious, and other purposes. It might as well be necessary to construct a new variety. The language will need to be developed in order to serve as a means of national and international communication. If the language previously only existed as a spoken variety, a suitable writing system must be made, included rules for spelling and punctuation. An important aim is the codification of grammar and vocabulary, and a unification when there has been great variation between different varieties. This kind of LP has often been undertaken in several former colonial countries in Africa, but also elsewhere in the world.

2.2. Also languages with long writing traditions and a rich literature are undertaken LP, but mostly in other ways and with different goals than those mentioned under 2.1. Examples are language reforms, i. e. reforms concerning the spelling, changes in the orthography (for example in ‘nationalized’ spelling of loan words), or the writing system (the often quoted example is from

Turkey, where Kemal Atatürk in the 1920s changed the writing system to a romanised one). Language reform is a process that languages undergo, not at least traditional languages, perhaps especially because of the rapidly expanding technology. Other reasons for LP could be lexical modernization, language purification (external or internal), stylistic simplification, or terminological unification (see presentation in Kaplan/Baldauf 1997, 59–83, partly based on Nahir 1984). It might, however, be questioned whether all the LP is necessary and useful, in other words: what are the goals of LP? The answer can only be given with reference to the specific LP cases. Jahr suggests LP may have as a general goal the reduction of language conflict, but admits that LP activity itself also could be “the cause of serious problems as well as major conflicts” (Jahr 1993, 1). As mentioned by Vikør (1994, 42), LP might well function as a kind of ruling technique in the hands of a depressor or a social upper class, but also as a means of liberation and emansipation of a depressed language group. Before one undertakes a LP project, there should be a basic ideology or agreement on values. A ‘value neutral’ LP is hardly possible.

### 3. Models of LP processes

LP might be regarded as a process in which various stages and activities are included, although the degree of activities differ tremendously, as they may include anything from proposing a new word to a new language. One often differentiates two distinct kinds of activities in LP: *corpus planning* and *status planning* (see 1.1.). Although the distinction between corpus planning and status planning is not always obvious, it is widely encountered in LP research. After Haugen’s first basic model of the LP activities – developed in connection with his work on Norwegian language planning (Haugen 1966) – a number of attempts have been made by LP theoreticians to provide a descriptive model of the LP processes (i.e. Fishman 1974, 80–81; Karam 1974; Eastman 1983). However, Haugen incorporated much of the thinking in his ‘revised’ LP model after consideration of suggestions made by many followers and colleagues (Haugen 1983, also presented in Haugen 1987), and to some extent this model still seems to function as an overall model of the LP process.

	Form (Policy planning)	Function (Cultivation)
Society (Status planning)	(1) Selection (Decision procedures) (a) Identification of problem (b) Allocation of norms	(3) Implemen- tation (Educational spread) (a) Correction procedures (b) Feedback and evaluation
Language (Corpus planning)	(2) Codification (Standardization procedures) (a) Graphization (b) Grammati- cation (c) Lexication	(4) Elaboration (Functional development) (a) Termino- logical moder- nization (b) Stylistic development

Fig. 240.1: Haugen’s (1987, 627) revised language planning model

3.1. According to Haugen’s model one distinguishes attention to the form of the language as policy planning, with its emphasis on basic language and policy decisions and their implementation, from attention to the function of the language, which might be called language cultivation, with its emphasis on language teaching, development, and use. In addition, each of these can be viewed from either a society or a language focus. The societal focus is called status planning and consists of desitions concerning language selection and implementation, etc. The language focus is called corpus planning, and concerns the language itself.

### 4. The goals of LP

All languages change, and it is often discussed whether LP is really necessary. Many linguists have held the view that language change is a natural phenomenon and a result of linguistic and social forces that it is undesirably to tamper with. The language should be left alone, and not an object of language planners, politicians, educators, etc. However, many studies and examples from different languages have shown that it is possible to alter the language and language use, although it is still unclear how far and under which conditions languages can be influenced by LP programs and political decisions. As language might be considered a social institution it is natural to regard language planning as a part of a social planning. “In modern times social and language



planning have gone hand in hand. In Norway the connection between language planning and an expanding social democracy has been especially conspicuous. One cannot understand the development of modern Norwegian without taking into account the social, economic, and political changes in Norwegian life over the past 150 years" (Haugen 1987, 627).

4.1. The language planning processes can be described by the four cells in Haugen's model (i.e. selection, codification, elaboration, and implementation, see Fig. 240.1), but the model does not define the goals of LP, and how and to what extent the LP should be carried out, i.e. what goals is this process intended to accomplish? The language planning activities are in fact mostly done to meet specific types of goals, and they "range from the political and judicial, at one extreme, to the unofficial and illegal, at the other" (Crystal 1987, 364). Kaplan/Baldauf (1997, 59–83) list a number of specific goals or functions (mostly based on Nahir's (1984) study of an analysis of language planning agency activity, and other authors), which can be related to the language planning practice: *language purification; language reform; language spread; language revival; language standardization; lexical modernization; stylistic simplification; language maintenance; terminological unification; interlingual communication; auxiliary code standardization.*

Vikør (1994, 38–42) groups the need for LP according to type of linguistic community. Communities with a well established standard language with several centuries tradition – like many west European countries – mostly have a stable language situation, and the LP often concerns spelling and vocabulary/terminology. This also might apply to communities with standard language developed during the last two centuries in connection with a national and/or political movement or revolt. Multilingual nations may need a common communication means, together with a policy for integration of linguistic minority groups. A fourth type consists of new national states, formerly ethnic/linguistic minorities in bigger formation of government (i.e. The Soviet Union, Yugoslavia). These new states might want to develop a linguistic independency towards the previous dominating central power and dominating language. Vikør (1984, 40) admits, however, that this grouping can-

not cover all the language communities. The problems concerning language planning change from community to community and are so different and special, that most countries in one or other way are 'untypical' and 'a special case'. On the other side, certain linguistic challenges are general, although the solutions might be different and depend on the specific linguistic and social conditions in the particular country.

## 5. Who plans?

One often gets the impression that language planning is and has been done from within an objective, scientific, ideologically neutral and technologically perspective where the persons involved in the planning matter little, as long as they have the expertise required. However, to point out explicitly who the planners are might be an important factor in the language policy and planning situation (Baldauf 1982). Sometimes the LP is the product of individuals working largely outside the framework of formal organizations but LP might as well be the product of formal institutions – publishing houses, churches, schools, professional associations, and the like. In other cases LP is the product of governments – and LP is even often the product of both individuals, formal institutions and governments at once. Referring to the language situation in Malaysia, Kaplan/Baldauf conclude that "language planning participants have included politicians, powerful community leaders, bureaucrats, consultants and language experts and education planners and administrators" (Kaplan/Baldauf 1997, 198). When one focuses on the normative aspect of language planning, it is obvious that a large number of persons and interest groups – from single persons to terminology groups and language councils – are participating in different kinds of LP activities. Language policy development is complex, and it is often the case that a large number of people are involved. (See for instance Skyum-Nielsen (1979, 136f), who has listed several types of individuals, groups, and community institutions who to a minor or major extent are interested in influencing the LP in Denmark.) When one considers the fact that members of a community may have different varieties of language in their linguistic repertoire, and some varieties are associated with social variables such as socioeconomic status, education, sex, etc., one

also understands that there is a possibility (or risk) for elites in various countries to use language as a social mobilization strategy to establish or maintain their power and privileges. As a consequence, language planning might in a number of cases be considered a less democratic activity than LP idealists want it to be. In addition, many of the traditional participants in language policy and planning have according to Kaplan (1989) come from what he refers to as ‘top-down’ language planning situations – people with power and authority, often with little consultation with the language learners and users.

The language planning institutions with the highest grade of authority are probably the ones which are mainly linguistic, i. e. who are supposed to be specialists on language and linguistics. Examples are national language councils and terminology boards, lexicographic institutions, etc., which also function nationwide and are not limited to certain groups of language users or text types.

5.1. We do not know if the earliest language planners really intended to ‘plan’ the language, but it is not believed that they had any planning organizations behind them. They might, however, have kept an eye on the needs and traditions of their governments or of their church, but in the Renaissance “we begin to get evidence of actual theories, including the notorious Elio Nebrija, author of the first Spanish grammar (1492), which he presented to Queen Isabella as a ‘companion of empire’, designed to enhance the majesty of Spain” (Haugen 1987, 628). One could point at Dante and his *De vulgari eloquentia* (1304–5) when one looks for a start of a LP theory: “Dante pointed out the need for rules in establishing the new languages and suggested two approaches for overcoming the local variations that were especially troublesome in Italy: either to choose a prestigious dialect (in his case it became that of Tuscany and its capital Florence) or to create a language that would be a composite or a compromise between several dialects and suitable for all (or none)” (Haugen, *ibid.*).

5.2. Often advice concerning the use of ‘good’ language, given by the early grammarians from classical to early modern times, yielded to official establishment of norms. A transitional link was formed by the semiofficial institutions known as ‘academies’ (Haugen 1966, 9). The first example

of what might be called central LP institutions, is the Italian *Accademia della Crusca* (‘The Academy of Chaff’), which was established in Florence in 1582. This was a society of learned persons, and the idea was to clean out the ‘chaff’ of the Italian language. The Academy published a normative, puristic dictionary in 1612 (the *Vocabulario degli Accademici delle Crusca*) for the Tuscan based language, and the dictionary became normative for later Italian standard language. In this period of history several of the modern European national languages were codified, and the Italian example was followed by the French *L’Académie Française*, which was given official status by Cardinal Richelieu in 1635. The Academy should “work with all possible diligence and care to give our language exact rules and make it suitable for the treatment of art and science.” The French example was widely copied. Spain established its academy in 1713 (*Real Academia Española*), and Sweden in 1786 (*Svenska Akademien*).

It is probably fair to say that academies of this type did not play any important part as language planning institutions in the narrow sense – as they to a certain extent have tended to be literally institutions, and also came late in the process of standardization. And in some countries such academies have never been established. Examples are Great Britain (and later America). This does not mean that the English speaking countries never had any normgiving institutions, but they have entrusted the care of English to a kind of ‘privat enterprise’, however without admitting a ‘wider’ norm than the academies. In the Anglo-Saxon cases the big dictionaries (Samuel Johnson 1755; Noah Webster 1828) played the role as normgiving institutions.

5.3. In the nineteenth century there was a need for new orthographies for new languages, and at the same time many of the old were felt to be unsatisfactory. The school system established for the whole population also led governments to regulate the language of teaching, and the practical work and the language norm implementation could be entrusted to governmental departments of education. In modern time the regulation of language often is done by learned commissions, like in the Scandinavian countries, starting with *Svenska språknämnden* (‘The Swedish Language Council’) in 1944, and later similar language councils were set up in all the Nordic countries. Ac-

According to Vikør, we usually do not find language councils in the countries which have the most established standard language traditions, but have to look to smaller language societies and societies with new standard languages in order to find them, for instance in Israel, Tanzania, India, Malaysia, Indonesia and other not-European countries (Vikør 1994, 121). Although these institutions of language regulations and language norms hardly have achieved the same literary and cultural prestige as the traditional academies, they might have become respected as professional institutions. In addition to – and often as a supplement to – the language councils, one should consider the new institutions of terminology. In many cases they also represent another type of competence than the strict linguistic one, and may work on special areas and regulate the terminology for specific purposes, for example technical terms.

## 6. Language standardization

In Haugen's LP model (see Fig. 240.1), *codification* is one of the four main elements (besides *selection*, *implementation*, and *elaboration*) in the  $2 \times 2$  matrix, and is the 'form' part of 'corpus planning'. Haugen also labels the codification category 'standardization procedures', and suggests that codification consists of three areas: *graphization*, *grammatication*, and *lexication*. Codification of a language thus focuses on what is needed to formalize and develop a linguistic set of language norms. Ferguson (1968) also argues that standardization indicates the development of one variety of language becoming widely accepted throughout the speech community and as such overrides regional and social dialects.

6.1. In many Western countries, the existence of a standard language is often taken for granted, in linguistic studies as well as by common people. This does perhaps not mean that sociolinguists accept the criteria of which these standards have been postulated, but "even in order to ascertain possible trends in the change of normative attitudes in speakers, one defines variation with respect to its idealized standard" (Mioni 1988, 297). Of the different levels of the language system, there often seems to be most attention about changes and variation in the phonology. Among the 'letters to the editor' or telephones to broadcasting companies,

complaints about pronunciation details use to be among the most frequent ones. According to Mioni (1988, 297–298), however, the degree of tolerance might be larger in those levels whose evolution is more rapid and the variation wider. Although there can be attached important social signification even to minor pronunciation details, the variants in present day European languages only concern minor details compared with the degree of variation that is common in African linguistic communities, or in other parts of the world with a rather fluid language dynamics. Mioni also claims that in the Third World, where one often has many languages at one's disposal, this advantage is highly prized and there is less discrimination against non-standard speakers of prestigious language.

Standardization could be regarded as a continuing process, but in its typical form it is mostly thought of in connection with new nations and communities which are trying to identify and create a national language. Standardization has often been a goal of language policy and language planning, as for the Norwegian linguist Ivar Aasen. He early expressed his ideas and the conviction that a natural way to found a truly Norwegian language to replace the 400-year old imposed Danish, was to build on the living Norwegian dialects. Aasen himself became both the collector and the 'one-man-commission' that created a new Norwegian language (today called 'Nynorsk') in a grammar of 1864 and a dictionary of 1873, which are two fundamental tools of a standard language. However, the production of grammars and dictionaries for living languages is a time-consuming work which take many years to complete.

6.2. The standardization processes might be different both with regard to nature and degree when one compares the major languages in Europe with for example many African languages, where the standardization usually has a more recent tradition, and the interaction between the language users and authorities often is more relevant. As Mioni (1988, 303) pointed out – with reference to Kloss (1978) – a classification of standards might foresee six classes of *Ausbau*: (1) fully developed standard languages; (2) standardised minor languages; (3) archaic standards; (4) 'young' standard languages; (5) unstandardized written languages; (6) unwritten (or very seldom written) languages. The

three last steps of this scale are the most actual when one considers the African languages, because in this continent “standardization processes are very recent (with the major exception of Classical Arabic, an archaic standard): they date from the second half of the XIX c., in the best cases” (Mioni, *ibid.*). In addition, only a few languages can be regarded as fully developed standards; many of them are ‘young’ standards, and some of them have also undergone orthographic reforms in recent years. To become a standard language, feedback of a couple of generations of users is needed, “that is always necessary in order to test the viability of the proposed policy and to make the opportune modifications. Every standardization has some aspects of artificiality, because the process is mainly aimed at a written usage, and a written language, because of the very nature of written texts, can *never* be the same as its spoken variety” (Mioni 1988, 304). As a written standard also might be said to be a partly artificial choice among competing varieties, there will often be discussions whether one has made the most suitable decision. Therefore, the standardization processes in communities with ‘young’ languages are quite different from what is mostly the case countries with ‘old’ standard languages.

6.3. To maintain the standard in a changing world with new linguistic needs, i. e. defining new vocabulary and terminology, language usage in new language domains, etc., dictionary publishers provide new editions of their dictionaries with short intervals, and also new editions of grammar are published with updated language norms, changes in usage and spelling rules, and other regulations. In addition, there are often published numerous books by language councils or experts, telling the population what is the ‘correct language’.

6.4. There is a large variation of standard processes and of principles of standardization. These principles are very often connected with linguistic and political/social norms, which might be discussed or be taken for granted by language planners and members of the linguistic community. The underlying planning principles which are the dominating ones, depend on the time when language planning is or was conducted, and on historical or political circumstances. As Haugen (1987, 634) has pointed out, the discussions of language policy and problems

“go back into antiquity and can be traced under innumerable titles containing such terms as language standardization, language and nationalism, literary languages, national languages, language reform, language cultivation, the linguistic norm etc.”

The ‘corpus planning’ concerns those aspects of language planning which are primarily linguistic. Haugen labels the ‘codification’ category ‘standardization procedures’. Vikør (1993b; 1994) has presented a set of underlying corpus planning principles which might illustrate the ways a corpus can be planned. Vikør (1994, 143) admits that it is not quite easy to formulate and systematize the various principles for language planning and to give a uniform survey of them, as they are partly contradictory. His survey of corpus planning principles and attitudes which might be of importance in language discussion, could be looked upon as single elements upon which the language ideologies are built. His set of principles shows that language planners who are involved in the corpus planning process also are involved in alternatives and choices which have a social aspect and which must be resolved for such planning to be successful, and are not only applying technical linguistic knowledge. The principles can be grouped into four major categories: (1) *Internal linguistic principles* (including for example unambiguity, phonemicity, morpho-phonemicity, simplicity, shortness, etymologi, variation, stability and invariance); (2) *Principles concerning the relation to other languages/language varieties* (including rapprochement or adaption, reaction/purism); (3) *Principles concerning the relationship between language and the language users* (including principles of majority, optional forms/liberality, prestige, counter-prestige, usage, estheticism, rationalism); (4) *Principles related to societal ideologies* (including nationalism, traditionalism, democracy/egalitarianism, liberalism). The second and fourth category might be labelled ‘sociolinguistic’, the first category ‘psycholinguistic’ (cf. Skyum-Nielsen 1979), and the third category both ‘sociolinguistic’ and ‘psycholinguistic’ (Vikør 1994, 146).

This set of corpus planning principles demonstrates clearly that there is no single common strategy available for language planners. Various language planning principles together with changing language attitudes and ideologies have come into use in

different languages at different times through the LP history. Kaplan/Baldauf (1997, 38f) point at the great interest corpus planning has generated in the literature, and refer to studies of language standardization in a large number of different languages.

## 7. Development of standard languages

There seems to be a widespread opinion among common people – and even among some linguists – that the only kind of language variety which count as a ‘proper language’ is a *standard language*. ‘Standard languages’ compared to ‘dialects’ are interesting partly because they have a rather special relation to society. “Daß eine Varietät einer Sprache als (nationale) Standardsprache anerkannt wird, ist eine vorwiegend gesellschaftliche Tatsache (bei der selbstverständlich die sprachliche Materie auch ihre Rolle spielt)” (Daneš 1988, 1510). One often thinks of ‘normal’ language development as taking place in a rather haphazard way, partly below the threshold of consciousness of the speakers. Standard languages, however, might be the result of a direct and deliberate intervention by society. “This intervention, called ‘standardisation’, produces a standard language where before there were just ‘dialects’” (Hudson 1996, 32). It is fair to say that the notion ‘standard language’ is somewhat imprecise, and the amount of language varieties which are or have been labelled ‘standard’, is rather heterogeneous and therefore not easy to define. This relatively wide variation in the use of ‘standard language’ is clearly demonstrated by the terms occurring in different national traditions of science, i. e. ‘written language’, ‘cultural language’, ‘literary language’, ‘common language’, ‘Hochsprache’, ‘Einheitssprache’, etc. However, the notion *standard language* – which is based on the English model and has later been adopted by linguists in many countries – might have the advantage of being considered relatively ‘neutral’ (Daneš 1988, 1506).

7.1. When defining and deciding what is a standard language, some language researchers have pointed at both the different characteristics and the functions that constitutes this type of language. It seems clear, however, that one has to consider the functional aspects in this respect as the most important ones, although all the character-

istics and functions do not need to be present and play a role in all standard languages at the same time, as developing a standard language often has been a long process, and different features have been established as ‘standard’ at different times. There also are differences of the ‘standard’ category even among the well-established languages. According to Haugen (1997, 247) “French is probably the most highly standardized of European languages, more so than, for example, English and German.” About the definitory problem of the phenomenon *standard language* one could claim that even if the limits (the periphery) of the definition are unclear and uncertain, the essence (the centre) is relatively firm. Daneš (1988, 1507) claims that the two main characteristics of standard language are the two functional criteria: “(1) ein Instrument für die gesamtgesellschaftliche (überregionale) Kommunikation, (2) ein Kommunikationsmittel für höhere kulturelle und Zivilisationsbedürfnisse.” The criterion (1) separates the standard language from the local, regional and social varieties, whereas the criterion (2) draws the borderline between the standard language and the ‘Umgangssprache’, the overregional Koiné.

As to the typology of standard languages, Ferguson (1962) has proposed to classify them along two dimensions: (1) their degree of standardization, and (2) their utilization in writing. Daneš (1988, 1507) describes a three-dimensional typology: (1) “der Funktionsumfang”; (2) “Charakter der Einheitlichkeit”; (3) “Verhältnis der Standardsprachen zu den umgangssprachlichen Formen”. These and other suggestions for classifying standard languages could, however, be regarded as preliminary steps towards a real typology of standard languages.

7.2. If ‘standardization’ in its most typical meaning is the “process of levelling out local and class differences in language” (Pei 1966), the four aspects of language development that should be regarded “crucial features in taking the step from ‘dialect’ to ‘language’, from vernacular to standard, are as follows: (1) selection of norm, (2) codification of form, (3) elaboration of function, and (4) acceptance by the community” (Haugen 1997, 348). This analysis of the factors typically involved in standardisation has been quite widely accepted by sociolinguists (Hudson 1996). There are, however, so many different examples of language stan-

standardization processes and degrees of planning dealt with, and so many varieties and such a complexity of linguistic and social-historic conditions under which the standard languages have been developed, that one has to be content with examples of the main types. (1) A society without a standard language develops to a stage where such a communication means is needed. (2) The society is already fully developed, but the standard language is for various reasons regarded as unsatisfactory, disliked, etc.

7.3. The standard languages are mostly based on ethnic, regional or functional varieties (Daneš 1988, 1508f). The first standard language was in many cases an (over)regional variety, or a systematic selection of several varieties. The emergence of standard varieties of language in Western Europe started to take place from the fifteenth century. A major contributing factor was the rise of a print culture with increased access to mass media on the written and later the spoken word. As the common label 'written language' indicates, is the writing itself an important part of the development of the standard language, cf. for example Ferguson's (1968) three main components of language development: graphization, standardization, modernization. The writing also plays an important role for the standardization, stability and conservation of the language, and in addition writing is often considered a national cultural benefit by the language community. This fact might also explain the general resistance against writing and spelling reforms, as recently demonstrated in Germany in connection with the spelling reform 1998, and for the Norwegian reforms in the 20th century (see Haugen 1966; Vikør 1993).

Haugen (1997, 346) claims that it is "a significant and probably crucial requirement for a standard language" that it is written, and through the history there are not many examples of only spoken standard languages. It is, however, often questioned whether there also exists a spoken standard language in addition to the written standard – and what exactly is to be recognized as the standard (Daneš 1988, 1507), as it is well known that spoken language is more variable than written. It should be added that also the existence of a written standard might be highly disputed, or be accepted with a high degree of variation in word forms and spelling (as for example in modern Norwe-

gian). According to Hudson (1996, 33f), these problems belong to the "debate and disagreement about the *desirability* of certain aspects of standardization. For instance, it is not essential either that standardization should involve matters of *pronunciation* as well as of writing (Macaulay 1973), or that standard language should be presented as the only 'correct' variety (a point argued by many linguists and sociolinguists).

## 8. Standard language reforms

The standard language norm of a living language is due to change for various reasons. The need for reforms might be caused by changes in society and culture, which often are reflected in changes in language use. The degree of standard language reforms may vary from slight change in spelling of words to a complete reform on all levels of the language system. Other examples are simplification of orthography, lexicon and grammar with the aim of facilitating language use. Language reform is a process that all languages undergo, but "rapidly expanding technology has placed the greatest strain on traditional languages for reform" (Kaplan/Baldauf 1997, 64f). According to Daneš (1988, 1513), the different levels of complexity in standardization activities could be looked at as dependant of historic conditions, i. e. standard languages with a heterogeneous basis, with several variants of the norm, with a great difference between the written and the spoken language, the need for new national standard languages, and 'modernization' of an old standard language, which is now being used in a quite different way. Changes in the standard language norm might as well occur as a result of the interaction between the standard language and the 'Umgangssprache' with its different regional pronunciation variants. Such reforms are often labelled modernization, urbanization, simplification, purification, nationalization, liberalization, etc., and there are numerous examples of standard language reforms from many languages.

8.1. However, standard language reforms have shown to be more or less successful. This fact might partly have to do with which part of the language or language use the reform applies to. It is normally more difficult to change the spoken standard than the written one. In Norway, some of the spelling

reforms in the first part of the 20th century were successful. However, another reform of a special kind has turned out to be only a partial success: In 1951 the Norwegian parliament decided to adopt a new numeral system, i. e. *femtien* 'fifty-one' (as in English and Swedish) instead of *enogfemti* 'one-and-fifty' (as in German). When this numeral reform was discussed, nearly all institutions and experts claimed that this new numeral system after a short period of time would be used by most Norwegians, as people soon would be convinced of its simplicity and rationality. Today, half a century later, this new system is mostly used where clarity is required, for example in the media, while the traditional system is still very much alive. Instead of a new counting system, there are now two, and so far the clarity is not achieved. (see Vikør 1993, 208–209). This shows that changing language habits might be a difficult and risky task, in this case especially, perhaps, because the change applies to the spoken language.

8.2. A standard language reform may after some time either be accepted by the language community and practiced by the language users, or it may fail. Another possibility is that the reform only is being accepted and practiced by a part of the population and thus becomes a source of language conflict, or it may even stop on the half-way (Daneš 1988, 1513). The question then often arises whether it is reasonably to reverse a half-way accomplished language reform (for example in the Norwegian case mentioned above). Language planners have often been too optimistic when planning language reforms, and have not always considered all the factors involved in planning language and language attitude change. "Historical, political, economic, religious, educational, judicial, and social factors all have to be disentangled. As a consequence, it is hardly surprising that those who study this subject have not yet reached the stage when they can explain why some planning proposals succeed, whereas others fail" (Crystal 1987, 364). According to Daost (1997, 451) and others, language reforms rely on attitudes about language. When one knows the uncertainty connected to attitudes control and change, one is also forced to be careful when language reform is being planned. Otherwise an increasing task for language planners might be to redo und undo language planning (cf. the title of Clyne 1997).

As language planning often is a part of language policy and a function of the state, "language groups which are excluded from the institutions of state power are likely to see policy as a threat" (Tollefson, 1991, 201). Sociolinguists would probably claim that language planning and language policy never should be done without a democratic aim. As pointed out by Kaplan/Baldauf (1997, 82), those who have a language which "will be in some way modified must accept the proposed modifications as really being in their best interests, and those who are implementing the language change need to perceive that their proposals must be 'sold' not only to the recipients of change but to the entire population."

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## 241. Language Planning – Language Determination Sprachplanung – Sprachdeterminierung

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| <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. To choose a language: Language planning and language determination</li> <li>2. The how and why of language determination</li> <li>3. Impediments and challenges to language determination</li> <li>4. Perspectives</li> <li>5. Literature (selected)</li> </ol> | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. To choose a language:<br/>Language planning and language determination</li> </ol> <p>The term language planning was introduced to sociolinguistics in the late 1950s (Haugen 1959) and refers to future-oriented and conscious activities that are aimed at influenc-</p> |
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ing the linguistic repertoire and behaviour of a speech community. Some authors use language policy as a synonym for language planning (e.g. Weinstein 1990, 1); others separate language planning and policy, and use the latter term to describe the more general linguistic, political and sociolinguistic goals that underlie the activities of language planners (e.g. Cooper 1989, 29). Language determination (Jernudd 1973) describes a specific aspect of language planning, that is, the allocation of languages or language varieties to specific functions within a given society. Language determination is concerned with matters such as the choice of official or national languages, language education policies, the regulation of language use in court and administration, the work place, religious institutions and the media (newspapers, broadcasting and television). Other terms used in the literature to refer to this facet of language planning are selection (Haugen 1966) and status planning (Kloss 1969). Language determination typically interacts with processes of corpus planning (Kloss *ibid.*), codification/elaboration, (Haugen *ibid.*) or language development (Jernudd *ibid.*); that is, variant selection within a given linguistic system and the normative formulation of rules of grammar, spelling and items of the lexicon. Language planning decisions are typically made by governments or state departments, and are codified in constitutional clauses, legal decrees, circulars and regulations. However, decisions about language use are also taken by non-governmental agencies such as publishing houses, professional associations, religious organizations, supra-national alliances and private enterprises.

The choice of a national (standard) language is a central aim of language determination. Frequently an existing dialect or language is chosen to fulfill these functions. Thus, in the case of Italian the prestigious Florentine dialect was codified by Pietro Bembo in 1525 to replace Latin as the literary, official and national language (Scaglione 1984). In other cases language planners have deliberately created a composite national standard language which includes features from several dialects. The Basque standard language (*Euskara batua*, “Unified Basque”), for example, is a linguistic amalgam of the four main Basque dialects (Mahlau 1991). In multilingual societies a distinction is sometimes made between offi-

cial and national languages. Official languages (*Amtssprachen*) are the main statutory and working languages of government communication and education. National languages (*Nationalsprachen*) are symbols of group identity and authenticity, and define the national community (Kloss 1978, 112). In many post-colonial states the language of the former colonial power was retained after independence as an official language, and indigenous languages of wider communication were chosen as national languages. In Kenya, English is the main official language and medium of instruction; Swahili, the East African lingua franca, is promoted as the national language. It is used in parliamentary debates and is taught as a school subject. A different decision was taken by neighbouring Tanzania which selected Swahili as an official and national language, and attempted to limit the use of English to certain legal contexts (High Court) and higher education (Schmied 1991, 33–43). While many countries have adopted policies which assign official function to one or more languages in the entire territory, others follow the principle of territoriality (Laponce 1987). Belgium, for example, is divided into separate French and Dutch geographical areas (Wallonia and Flanders), and within the federal administration parallel unilingual structures were established. An alternative approach to multilingualism exists in Luxembourg where the different languages (French, Standard German and Luxembourgish) fulfill different functions: French is the language of post-primary education, the work place and higher administration, while German is the main written language of official correspondence, is dominant in the media and the church, and is taught at primary school together with Luxembourgish. Luxembourgish (a dialect-based koine with a codified written norm) is the first language of about two-thirds of the population, and since 1984 has been Luxembourg’s national language. It is the main spoken language of the country and is used in informal as well as formal spoken interactions (Weber 1994).

Next to the determination of official and/or national languages, the selection of languages as the medium of primary and/or secondary education is a central concern of language planners. Linguists and educators (cf. Cummins 1984) have argued that success at school interacts with the medium of in-

struction children encounter in their primary education: if children are educated in their mother tongue they were found (on average) to acquire the content of school subjects more easily, to be more motivated and to have greater self-confidence (cf. also the 1953 UNESCO recommendations re. the use of vernacular languages in education, reprinted in Fishman 1968). Governments, however, have often been reluctant to change existing policies as this is a costly enterprise. On the island of Curaçao, Papiamentu (a creole language based on Portuguese and Spanish) is the mother tongue of the majority of the population. In 1936 Papiamentu was banned from the schools. Dutch, the official language of the island, became the sole medium of instruction. Only in 1983 was Papiamentu re-introduced as a school subject at primary schools. From the early 1990s proposals for introducing Papiamentu as medium of instruction into the primary school system have been supported by the government, but implementation is slow and obstructed by lack of resources (Appel & Verhoeven 1995). Kriyol, on the other hand, an English lexifier creole spoken in Australia's Northern Territory, has been used as the medium of instruction in some primary schools since 1977. In these schools, English is taught as a second language. The comparative evaluation of the policy is positive: children who attended the primary school programme show a significantly higher level of language proficiency in both Kriyol and English than those who attended English-only primary schools (Siegel 1993, 306). Mother tongue education policies are often rejected for practical reasons (lack of trained teachers, lack of reading material, costs of implementation), especially in highly multilingual societies where many languages are spoken and an educational lingua franca (whether exoglossic or endoglossic) is felt to be necessary.

## 2. The how and why of language determination

### 2.1. Language determination: The limits of rational decision making

Language planning has been described as an orderly and systematic process of decision making, aimed at facilitating communication between groups and supporting socioeco-

nomic advancement (Rubin & Jernudd 1971; Eastman 1983). Linguistic problems (such as the lack of a common language, lack of a uniform linguistic standard or absence of adequate scientific terminologies) are identified, short- and long-term goals are specified, solutions are formulated by language specialists and assessed in terms of their costs and benefits. The most rational (i.e. politically viable and economically acceptable) solution will be adopted and implemented. The process of implementation will be carefully monitored and, if necessary, the policy will be modified. The description of language planning as rational decision making is based on three central assumptions: (1) the existence of a clearly defined decision making unit which (2) has the ability and willingness to collect the information necessary for formulating and evaluating the alternative proposals, as well as (3) the financial means and administrative infrastructure to implement the adopted policy. However, language planners have often only limited knowledge of the sociolinguistic facts of the country in question (i.e. speaker numbers, degree of bilingualism, patterns of language choice and linguistic attitudes). Available surveys are frequently outdated and/or incomplete, and financial constraints and an insufficient infrastructure obstruct both fact-finding and the implementation of policies. Under such conditions language planning decisions are often *ad hoc* and arbitrary (Cooper 1989, 40–42; Bamgbose 2000). In addition, language planning is not necessarily conducted by a central authority which oversees the process of decision-making and implementation. Language planning decisions are made not only at government level (e.g. Kenya's language policy), but also by authoritative national and local institutions (e.g. language academies, churches and school boards), and grass-roots social movements and individuals (e.g. the feminist movement in the US, Samuel Johnson in England). The goals and planning efforts of the different organizations and networks are diverse and often contradictory. The proposal of the Oakland School Board (California 1996) to implement a programme of English-based bilingual education involving African American Vernacular English (AAVE) and Standard American English, for example, was not supported by the US federal government (on AAVE in education see Clark 2001, 223–256).

## 2.2. Language determination: Motivations and goals

The identification of language problems which are believed to necessitate the intervention of language planners always takes place within wider social and political contexts, which influence the kinds of solutions and decisions made. Cobarrubias (1983) distinguished four main linguistic ideologies which shape and influence language planning decisions:

- (1) linguistic pluralism which aims to support the co-existence of different language groups in a state or society (e. g. Luxembourg, Belgium),
- (2) linguistic assimilation which asserts the status of a dominant language as the medium of government communication and education (e.g. the English-only movement in the United States),
- (3) vernacularization, that is, the elevation of one (or more) indigenous languages as an important (if not the only) medium of communication within the state (e. g. the use of Swahili in Tanzania), and
- (4) internationalization, i. e. the implementation of a (non-indigenous) global language which is not spoken natively within the speech community (e. g. English in Kenya).

Although these ideologies seem primarily concerned with linguistic issues, in particular the management of societal multilingualism, they also reflect non-linguistic, political goals. Policies of assimilation, for example, have been implemented to foster a homogenous national identity within ethnically diverse states, while policies of internationalization have been linked to the promotion of scientific and technological modernization. Pluralistic policies have been promoted to guarantee political participation of minority groups and to correct language-related social inequalities. Finally, vernacularization signals political independence from a colonial past and a strong indigenous national identity (cf. Rabin 1971; Ager 2001).

Identity-oriented language planning was wide-spread in the 19th century and numerous national languages were created and promoted to symbolize the unity of the nation state (Kloss 1978). In South Africa, Afrikaner nationalism (which was based on the belief of a common ancestry and a shared culture heritage) promoted the use and codification of a local Netherlandic vernacular, Afrikaans, as the national language

of the Afrikaner nation. The movement rejected Dutch and English as foreign tongues which could not symbolize the new colonial identity. The *taalstryd* ('language struggle') lasted from the 1870s to 1925 when Afrikaans was recognized as an official language of the Union of South Africa alongside Dutch and English. Afrikaner nationalist discourse established Afrikaans, despite its origins in language contact, as a *witmens taal* ('a White men's language') and a primary symbol of Afrikaner ethnicity, thus promoting a policy of exclusion and ethnic privilege. The political and cultural symbolism of Afrikaans made it the object of pronounced attitudes and sentiments among Black South Africans, culminating in the 1976 Soweto uprising which was ignited by students' protests against the use of Afrikaans as medium of instruction.

In other cases language planning has been informed by a desire to advance and support socioeconomic modernization. In Japan, the Meiji government embarked on a far-reaching modernization programme in the late 19th century, and Western science, technology, medicine, laws and literature were introduced to Japan. However, many of the reformers questioned the suitability of the Japanese language for the needs of modern society, and the idea of selecting a Western language for government communication, economic pursuits and science was, for a short while, entertained by some Japanese intellectuals (Coulmas 1989, 182–183). Eventually, however, Japan adopted a strategy of deliberate language development and modernization, including lexical elaboration and the gradual diffusion of a uniform written norm, Modern Colloquial Japanese, which finally replaced the multiple standards of classical Sino-Japanese after WWII (Takada 1989).

## 2.3. Language determination: Power and elites

Through their actions language planners can contribute to the reinforcement and maintenance of relationships of economic, social and political power, and struggles over language issues (including the definition of what constitutes a language rather than a dialect in a given society) often reflect struggles for symbolic domination (Cooper 1989, 183f; Tollefson 1991). The delineation and codification of Tsonga and Ronga (Harries 1995) by competing groups of mission-

aries shows how decisions about language can create social, political or (in this case) religious spheres of influence by imposing discrete subdivisions on linguistically continuous areas. Swiss missionaries arrived in the 1870s in north-eastern South Africa. The area had been settled by Nguni war refugees and a highly variable *lingua franca*, Gwamba, was used among different communities whose various forms of speech, although related, were often mutually unintelligible. In the 1880s, the missionary Henri Berthoud developed a common language for evangelization on the basis of some of the local (interior) dialects of Gwamba. The norms of literary Gwamba (or Tsonga as it came to be called) were controlled by the publishing monopoly of the mission, whose growing number of mission stations in the interior and at the coast were linked by the unity of the new literary language. The linguistic and organizational consolidation prevented competing mission societies from establishing themselves in the area. Dissent was, however, voiced by Henri Junod from the coastal Swiss mission in Lorenzo Marques, and in the 1890s Henri Junod began with the codification of Ronga, a second literary standard based on the coastal dialects which established the independence of the coastal mission and created the Ronga speech community. Today Tsonga and Ronga exist as two independent (albeit partially intelligible) standard languages in South Africa and Mozambique.

The interaction of language planning, power and the maintenance of inequality is reflected in monolingual language policies which marginalize non-dominant languages and their speakers. The continuing use of the languages of the former colonial powers as official languages by many African and Asian states after independence was believed to support national unity and economic integration with industrialized Western countries. At the same time these policies served to perpetuate old colonial inequalities as members of the former indigenous elite were often the only ones proficient in the foreign official language. By virtue of their linguistic skills, which set them apart from the majority of the population, the educated elite was able to consolidate its political power and access to the state machinery, and social boundaries were erected on the basis of linguistic knowledge (Griefenow-Mewis 1992). Comparable problems

of restricted political participation exist in many Western countries where migration has contributed to increased linguistic and cultural diversity, and where speakers of minority language varieties are expected to function in the dominant language. Skutnabb-Kangas (1988) has described such language policies as "linguicism", a concept analogous to racism or sexism. Linguicism (or language discrimination) involves the stigmatization of non-standard varieties and minority languages, and the reproduction of the unequal distribution of power and resources through the marginalization of their speakers. Policies of linguistic discrimination can be open, deliberate and action-oriented (e.g. Franco's efforts to eradicate the Basque language; cf. Cobarrubias 1983, 72); they are more often hidden, implicit and passive, showing a lack of support for linguistic diversity and minority languages, and granting social and economic privileges to those who master the dominant language. More recently, however, there has been a tendency in many countries to actively correct such language-related inequalities and to promote the linguistic rights of citizens, that is, their right to use their mother tongues in a range of official situations (including educational settings). In 1990, for example, the Norwegian government recognized the linguistic rights of the Sámi, the indigenous people of Arctic Scandinavia and north-western Russia (Corson 1995). Similarly the Native American Language Act of 1990 is committed to the preservation, protection and promotion of the Native American Languages in the United States. In both cases, however, one may ask whether these policy changes have not taken place too late, as language shift towards the majority languages (Norwegian and English respectively) is continuing because of social and economic pressures. Frequently the ratification of minority language acts is symbolic (and thus non-threatening to the majority culture), and does little to reverse the effects of prior policies (LoBianco 1999).

#### 2.4. Networks and social diffusion: Editing out sexism

Like most linguistic and social changes, the implementation of language planning decisions is rarely a sudden process which directly affects the speech community in its entirety, but gradually spreads through a society's social networks. This is particularly

true for non-governmental, grass-roots language planning which cannot impose linguistic changes on individuals and social institutions. The diffusion of an inclusive, gender-neutral language in the US can serve to illustrate this process. Despite the decentralized nature of the feminist movement, its activities to combat linguistic sexism and to promote gender-neutral variants have been very successful. A study of American periodicals (Cooper 1984) showed a dramatic decline in the use of masculine generic forms (*helman*) between 1971 and 1979. Today the use of androgeneric variants is a common practice of most publishing houses and governments. How did this innovation spread in the absence of a clear organizational centre and a lack of direct government support? Nichols (1999) has argued that the spread of gender-neutral terms occurred at a time in American history which was characterized by the formation of new social networks. These networks were connected to the civil rights movement and drew their heterogeneous membership from different ethnic and social groups. Newsletters and flyers, lecture tours and public discussions kept the members of these networks in regular contact and supported the spread of ideas across different local and social groups. In addition there existed important links between individual group members and the professional networks of university departments. Women academics organized conferences (e.g. the Conference on Women and Language, held at Rutgers University in 1973), and collaborated with one another across universities on studies about language and inequality. These studies provided material for those writing for the popular, non-academic press. In addition, academics and journalists used their connections to publishing houses and government agencies to promote actively the use of non-sexist language. The existence of a variety of links, encompassing different networks at different organizational levels, supported the spread of gender-neutral language use within society.

### 3. Impediments and challenges to language determination

#### 3.1. Linguistic culture, attitudes and the linguistic marketplace

In their linguistic interactions speakers always have the possibility of choosing be-

tween different linguistic forms. Speakers may shift between several varieties in their day-to-day interactions, but may also give up certain languages or varieties altogether. If a large number of individual choices runs counter to the goals formulated in the language planning documents, then the implementation of the language policy can be jeopardized.

The idea of linguistic culture has been developed by Schiffman (1996) as an explanatory concept for the analysis of the success or failure of language planning activities. A community's linguistic culture is reflected in the attitudes, beliefs and values, historical experiences, religious or mythological traditions that are associated with language. The cultural values and beliefs which constitute linguistic culture are reflected in public discourse and are embedded in a complex web of language behaviours and habits. Language policies are likely to be unsuccessful if they conflict with the community's general linguistic culture and (socio-)linguistic practices.

Language attitudes are expressions of a society's linguistic culture as well as responses to the "value" different languages command on the society's linguistic "markets" (Bourdieu 1991, see also Haugen 1987, 143–147). Languages and linguistic varieties (such as standard languages, dialects, majority and minority languages) can be understood as symbolic assets which are evaluated differently in different contexts (markets). Within the local community, for example, dialects or minority languages are usually highly valued, and they are maintained as long as the community's structures are communicatively vibrant. In such contexts minority languages can flourish and supportive language policies are usually successful (Fishman 1991). However, if there no longer exist active domains of use, or linguistic markets, on which the minority language commands prestige/value, language maintenance efforts are often unsuccessful and language shift towards the dominant language(s) seems inevitable. Frequently the aim of language planning is not simply to maintain the local languages in certain limited domains (daily interaction, primary education, the media), but their introduction to the formal linguistic market (e.g. post-primary education, government communication, legal system, science). Such policies of vernacular elevation are unlikely to succeed unless they are actively promoted and supported by those social groups

which dominate the formal linguistic market, i.e. the political and socio-economically powerful elite (Cooper 1989, 183f). Lack of direct elite promotion endangers the success of South Africa's multilingual policy which was implemented in 1994. South Africa's post-apartheid constitution recognizes eleven official languages at the national level (Afrikaans, English, Ndebele, Northern Sotho, Sesotho, Swati, Tsonga, Tswana, Venda, Xhosa and Zulu). Although supported symbolically by politicians and intellectuals, actual practices in high status domains strengthen the dominance of English. Pandor (1995, 73) notes that in 1994 87% of parliamentary speeches were still delivered in English.

### 3.2. The necessary interaction of status and corpus planning

Deliberate and organized intervention regarding the use and function of languages (language determination or status planning) sometimes fails as not enough attention is paid to equipping the language systems of the selected languages in a such a way that they will be able to fulfill these functions adequately (language development or corpus planning). The adoption of a language as medium of instruction in secondary and/or tertiary education, for example, makes it necessary to create scholarly registers in a wide range of subjects (medicine, law, physics, social sciences, etc.). Registers, however, are not simply lists of vocabulary which can be created *ad hoc* by language commissions, and which can be implemented by government decree. They also involve a range of rhetorical and syntactic devices as well as discourse strategies which are constructed and promoted in use (see Schiffman 1992 on register and repertoire in language planning). The development of a German scientific and mathematical register shows the slow and gradual nature of this process. Although first terminological innovations were already proposed in the 16th century, it took another 200 years before a non-Latin scientific style had developed in Germany, and only in the 18th century did scientists begin to publish regularly in German (Pörksen 1989).

### 3.3. The challenges of language contact:

#### Mixed codes and indigenized varieties

Decisions about language determination proceed from the assumption that languages

are more or less well-defined and homogenous entities which can be assigned unambiguously to linguistic functions. In complex multilingual and multicultural settings, however, this assumption is problematic and the stabilization of mixed codes and endoglossic varieties of exoglossic standard languages is a challenge to future language planning. Mixed language varieties have developed as a result of rapid urbanization in Asia, Latin America, Africa, the Caribbean and the Pacific. The sociolinguistic context of urban settlements, where speakers of diverse linguistic backgrounds come into contact, supports the emergence of new identities and ways of speaking. Code-switching and language mixing in particular reflect emerging culturally and linguistically complex identities. In Kenya, for example, relatively stable mixed languages have developed among the urban youth (Abdulaziz & Osinde 1997). The official education policy, which supports English and Swahili as well as (if feasible) the local vernaculars (during the first three years of primary school), has not led to the emergence of a stable bi- or trilingual speech community but "unstable multilinguals, whose primary, secondary, and tertiary languages, from a functional point of view are hard to determine" (*ibid.*, 45). Mixed codes have also developed in other countries such as South Africa, Tanzania and Cameroon (*ibid.*, 52–53 for a review of the literature). A similar phenomenon are indigenized varieties of European languages which have stabilized during and after colonization among second language speakers (e.g. Platt *et al.* 1984), and which have long been neglected by language planners. *Français Populaire Ivoirien*, for example, which differs from Standard French with respect to phonology, morphology and syntax, is used as a general lingua franca in Ivory Coast. Standard French, on the other hand, the official language, is known by less than 10% of the population (Chumbow & Bobda 2000, 46, 51f). Negative language attitudes towards such mixed and hybridized varieties, however, stand in the way of their adoption and development as additional official, national or educational languages (Siegel 1993, 300f).

## 4. Perspectives

Examples of language determination exist in many parts of the world, and explanations

of success or failure of individual language policies are achieved through careful (ethnographic) observation of the broad sociolinguistic context in which decisions are made (see Ferguson 1977; Tollefson 1991, Schiffman 1996). This includes the speech community's linguistic habits and practices, the cultural belief and value system, the socio-political conditions of language use and the interests of the different groups that are engaged in the language planning process. An important challenge for future language planning will be the management of global linguistic diversity and the support of minority language groups within larger speech communities. The international status of English will affect national language education policies world-wide as non-native speakers will find themselves under pressure to improve their proficiency in order to participate in international politics, business and science. Finally, it remains to be seen whether mixed and indigenized varieties will achieve codification and official status, or whether current diglossic situations will continue.

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## 242. Language Planning: Graphization and the Development of Writing Systems Sprachplanung: Graphisation und die Entwicklung von Schreibsystemen

1. Terminological preliminaries
2. Graphization and its relation to literacy
3. Parameters of graphization as a planning activity
4. Trends of graphization in the processes of historical and modern language planning
5. Research prospects
6. Literature (selected)

### 1. Terminological preliminaries

The four elementary terms in the title of this contribution require some explanation.

"Language planning" is still widely believed to represent a phenomenon of modern society. Even among sociolinguists, language-oriented planning is readily associated with the activities of modern state agencies, neglecting the historical aspects of this activity (Haarmann 1990). In his volume on the "first congress" phenomenon (1993), Fishman clarified the role of private circles in the promotion of planning activities. Additionally, the historical dimension of language planning has been explored for periods be-



fore the beginning of the modern era (e. g. Haarmann 1993b for Korean language planning as early as the 15<sup>th</sup> century).

The modern term “graphization” refers to the first application of a repertory of graphic signs to language in a culturally specific environment to facilitate the preservation of both information and knowledge-construction. Generally, graphization is associated with the elaboration of a writing system for a previously unwritten language. The initial phases in the elaboration of graphic systems (e. g. pre-cuneiform writing as in Sumerian pictography, ancient Chinese writing, sign usage in the ancient Indus civilization) illustrate that early writing was not necessarily linked to the spoken code of a given language. This means that rendering speech visible was not the primary goal of script elaboration in antiquity (Haarmann 1998). While early writing is oriented at conveying ideas rather than rendering the sounds of a language, the latter aspect definitely dominates later stages in the evolutive process of graphization (DeFrancis 1989).

“Writing system” refers to a set of graphic signs which produce a written code, with differing degrees of rigidity regarding its association with the spoken code of a given language. The major criterion for the functioning of a writing system is that sign usage follows a certain set of rules. A writing system is not necessarily standardized (e. g. English orthography in the pre-Chaucer period) although a general trend toward standardization can be observed in most graphization processes. Graphization is intrinsically linked to problems of standardization in those cases characterized by considerable dialectal diversity and thus by difficulty deciding upon a solid basis for the standard variety (e. g. the effort to standardize Romansh in Switzerland and Basque in Spain in the 1980s).

The term “development” of a writing system makes reference to the primary stage of graphization, that is to the initial application of a graphic code to a given language. In this sense, “development” is synonym with “elaboration”. “Development” is also used here in a more specific meaning to refer to the repeated elaboration of a writing system for a given language the script for which was changed (e. g. the successive changes from the Arabic to the Latin, and then from the Latin to the Cyrillic alphabets for writing Tatar during the 20<sup>th</sup> century). The ap-

plication of each of these graphic systems to Tatar was equal to a new process of graphization.

In this contribution, the subject of “script reform” will not be addressed as far as the reform of a script is associated with the updating of an existing writing system (e. g. the recent orthographic reform of German). Reform, in this sense, is a process of modernization of a writing system which had been previously devised as a product of graphization.

## 2. Graphization and its relation to literacy

To our modern understanding, processes of graphization are ultimately motivated by the drive to convey ideas in a fixed code that can be technically preserved. Consequently, the development of a writing system aims at the application of a specific technique to enlarge the limited capacity of memorization by means of spoken language. Modern conceptions of graphization are intrinsically interwoven with strategies for eradicating illiteracy; the development of a writing system for a given language is intended as a device accessible to every user of the language.

And yet, in the history of writing the motivation for creating writing systems which are meant for everybody’s use has fully developed only since the invention of western printing (i. e. printing with moveable characters) in the 1450s. Most of the earlier instances of graphization were not primarily concerned with the creation of a memorizing device for general use. The diverse relationship of language planning and graphization becomes evident only when being inspected along the horizon of time.

For the longest time in history, writing was a technology that was devised for specific functions and was used by professional scribes only. Some historical instances of this professionally limited use of literacy will be mentioned here to illustrate the kind of sociocultural embedding of writing which is no longer common.

The priests in pre-dynastic Egypt who elaborated the hieroglyphic script were not interested in proliferating their “secret” knowledge among common Egyptians. They used hieroglyphs in temple administration and, later, for ceremonial purposes. For more than two millennia, at least until the emergence of the Demotic derivation of the

hieroglyphic script in the 7<sup>th</sup> century B.C., writing was the privilege of a professional cast of scribes.

In the early Sumerian city states, writing was practiced by temple administrators. In ancient China, where writing emerged in a cultural milieu imbued with magical beliefs, members of the priesthood used the signs of the script for oracular purposes (Keightley 1985). Writing served the needs of the emperor and other representatives of the ruling elite to ritually communicate with ancestral spirits. This magical-ritual use of writing in the oracle-bone inscriptions continued for hundreds of years. During this time, the Chinese public had no access to literacy which was an imperial institution.

In the Hellenistic world and in the sphere of Roman civilization, reading and writing skills were achieved only by those who could afford to be educated, that is literacy was limited to the ruling class and to professional scribes. For the longest time in the European tradition of literacy, this cultural institution was an exclusive attribute of those forces that controlled knowledge in the contemporary societies (Harris 1989). Among the few exceptions was early writing in the republic of Novgorod with its Slavic, Baltic and Baltic-Finnic population. Judging from the contents of the birch-bark inscriptions dating from the 12<sup>th</sup> to the 14<sup>th</sup> centuries, reading and writing skills were accessible to all social classes (Zalizniak 1995).

The effort to elaborate a written code for a language in order to provide the speech community with a collective vehicle serving the proliferation of knowledge and efforts to boost public education through the means of a written language are relatively new aspects in the history of ideas. Graphization as an instrument for promoting literacy among a broader public is the overall theme of modern efforts. Given the limited space of the present contribution, I will outline graphization as a field of activity in language planning, concentrating mostly on modern trends, that is on language planning in the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

### 3. Parameters of graphization as a planning activity

The essence of graphization is that it is a notational process. Some basic implications of this process will be discussed in more detail, including some reflections on the object of graphization.

#### 3.1. Numerical versus language-oriented notation

The modern observer readily associates language as the object of notation. In such a view, graphization is understood as the transformation of spoken language into a written code. This, in fact, is the purpose of all modern writing systems. In addition to the linear sequence of linguistic signs, numerical concepts are rendered in writing. As for the history of writing, an interesting priority can be observed. The beginnings of graphization lie with the notation of numerical concepts which precedes the notation of linguistic signs.

Arguably, the notation of numerical concepts precedes the rendering of linguistic signs into writing by thousands of years. Marshack (1972) has presented an assessment of early human beings' capacities of recording numerical concepts such as basic numbers, temporal intervals such as the phases of the moon and calendrical concepts such as the changing periods of the year. The analysis of linear sequences of marks and notches on Paleolithic artifacts (i. e. antlers, bones) has revealed the richness of people symbolic activities in antiquity.

Another case illustrating the higher age of numerical notation over writing language is the accounting system used in Mesopotamia from the eighth to the fourth pre-Christian millennia. The use of the old record keeping system is closely associated with the trafficking of goods in the vast network of trade relations. The most elementary stage of accounting was to keep tokens (i. e. count stones made of clay) in a container (bullae). The shape of each token represented a picture of the merchandise that was transported. A token for each trade article was put into the container. The receiver of goods broke the container and checked whether the number of tokens inside corresponded to the amount of trade articles.

At a more advanced stage, there was only one token onto which strokes were made indicating the number of goods of the same sort. At a next step, the picture of the merchandise was incised on clay as was the number, so the token was no longer needed. The ancient Sumerian clay tablets with their incised iconic and abstract signs testify to this stage in the transformation of the old accounting system. When the Sumerian

script was introduced, the older tradition of signs and tokens declined.

It is tempting to construct a direct linkage between the system of count stones and early Sumerian writing. And yet, only some 30 signs of the some 770 signs of the Sumerian script – as it appears in the archaic texts from Uruk IV and III – can be shown to have equivalents in the token system (Schmandt-Besserat 1992/I, 140ff). In fact, signs such as those for ‘sheep’, ‘ewe’, ‘wool’ and ‘metal’ are distinctive enough as to convincingly illustrate their origin from the token system.

The notation of numerical concepts and writing the signs of language are in fact complementary processes. The duality of these notational systems is emphasized by distinct visual markers in many languages. All modern languages written in an alphabetic code use Arabic numbers which – as the name says – are written in variations of the original Arabic notation. Therefore, the English usage of linguistic signs in Latin alphabet and the convention of writing Arabic numbers in a distinct system remind us of the fact that we are dealing with two different conceptual systems.

### 3.2. The elaboration and cultural exploitation of an original script

The organization of the sign repertory of an original script is not accidental, but rather the product of a creative spirit and, thus, the result of planning. The planning processes of original scripts in pre-Christian antiquity are obscure, since their creators remain anonymous. There is one exception to this general picture, but this is highly speculative, namely the role of the biblical Moses as the creator of the Proto-Sinaitic script.

In all original scripts of the Old World, high-level skills in organizing graphic signs are revealed. Each of the ancient writing systems is comprised of different categories of signs. The properties of these sign categories may be compared to the oppositional features in phonological systems. In the sign repertories, one finds the following oppositions: iconic versus abstract signs (e. g. a pictograph versus a stroke sign in the system of ancient Sumerian pictography as used around 3000 B.C.), basic versus derived signs (e. g. a basic geometrical sign versus its variation in the Old European script), single versus compound signs (e. g. the U-shaped sign versus its compounds in the ancient Indus

script), independent versus auxiliary signs (e. g. a two-consonant sign versus an iconic sign functioning as a determinative in the system of Egyptian hieroglyphs), logographic versus phonetic signs (e. g. the combination of signs in ancient Chinese writing, where one element indicates the meaning, the other, the rebus sign, the pronunciation of a word).

Among the most sophisticated organizational techniques of original writing systems in the Old World is the use of diacritical signs for creating derivatives from basic signs. Diacritics (e. g. a dot, strokes in different positions, a small circle, an additional curve) are extensively used in the Old European script and in the ancient Indus script. This technique is also well documented in the ancient Aegean scripts (i.e. Linear A, Cypriot-Syllabic). Diacritics are used in many varieties of the alphabet, for example, in writing ancient Greek, French, Czech, Latvian, Cambodian, Vietnamese and other languages.

### 3.3. The adaptation of an existing script to a specific language

Most individual writing systems are adaptations of an original script to specific languages. The transfer of a writing system from its original sphere of use (e. g. cuneiform writing in the Sumerian milieu) to a different cultural and linguistic setting (e. g. adapting cuneiform writing to Hittite) poses manifold problems. Difficulties of a special kind arise from the need to transform an original system to make it fit into the molds of a language that may be highly divergent from the language of the donor culture (e. g. the isolated Sumerian versus the Indo-European Hittite; the morphologically isolating Chinese versus the agglutinative Japanese).

The transformation which an original script undergoes in the process of adaptation may be limited to sign selection and/or the integration of additional signs. This is typical of the transfer of cuneiform writing to write Old Persian and of Egyptian hieroglyphics to write Meroitic in Nubia. The adoption of a writing system by a foreign language may also result in changes in the writing principle. While, in Sumerian cuneiform writing, most signs do not have phonetic value, the majority of cuneiform signs for writing Akkadian, a Semitic language, are instead syllabic.

At a later date, cuneiform signs were even used as letters of the alphabet. The writing

system of Ugaritic is a unique example of how graphic signs were transferred from their original context (i. e. syllabic writing of Babylonian), integrated in a selective repository, and then used in a radical shift of the writing principle (from syllabic to alphabetic). The Ugaritic alphabet with cuneiform signs emerged in the latter half of the second pre-Christian millennium. It was always confined to the city port of Ugarit on the Syrian coast and had no effect on the elaboration of the Phoenician alphabet (Healey 1990).

In other cases, transformation may be substantial, as in the case of the derivation of Linear B from its base Linear A. Linear A was used for writing Eteocretan, the language of the Minoans in ancient Crete which, in all probability, was of pre-Indo-European affiliation. From this system was derived Linear B for writing Mycenaean Greek, an Indo-European language. Writing Greek with Linear B was a cumbersome process, and the syllabic signs fit Greek phonetics incompletely and inconsistently (Hooker 1980). Only half of the sign repository of Linear B is clearly of Linear A origin, the other half is innovations.

#### 3.4. Graphization as a renewed process:

The shift of writing systems for the same language

The choice of a given writing system for a given language generally depends on extralinguistic factors of cultural ecology in a given environment. The fact that Japanese is written with Chinese characters reflects Japan's cultural history under the impact of Chinese civilization. When Japanese started to be written no alternative was available to the monopoly of the Chinese script. The same situation was true in Vietnam in the pre-colonial era. Today's alphabetic writing of Vietnamese on the basis of the Latin script is a living heritage of the French colonial rule.

Under conditions of cultural change and renewal, there is a great probability that the cultural institution of writing will also undergo extensive change. The reorganization may result in something radical: the change of a writing system. There are many languages in the world which, in their history, have been written in different scripts.

Ancient Greek was written in three consecutive systems, in two syllabaries and in one variety of the alphabet: syllabic Linear B, Cypriot-Syllabic and the Greek alphabet.

The languages of Northern Europe (Old English, the Scandinavian languages) experienced a shift from the earlier Runic to the later Latin alphabet. In Moorish Spain, the Arabic script was used for writing Spanish (Aljaramía) and Portuguese (Aljamia), languages that have been traditionally written in varieties of the Latin alphabet.

#### 3.5. Multiple graphization: The simultaneous use of several writing systems for the same language

While a shift of the writing system is an event which is known from the cultural history of many languages, the simultaneous use of several writing systems in a speech community is a rather exceptional case. Such settings, nevertheless, are found in different parts of the world. Some are historical, others are living examples of bigraphism and even polygraphism.

Japanese is traditionally written in three scripts: Kanji (Chinese characters for writing the stems of words), Hiragana (syllabary for writing inflectional elements and particles), Katakana (syllabary for writing loanwords adopted from western languages such as English, German, etc.). The Japanese settings illustrate the rare case of polygraphism.

Bigraphism is a typical feature of literacy in the community of Lahndi speakers. Lahndi is sometimes called Western Punjabi, and the area of settlement of the Lahndi speaking people is the western part of the Pakistani Punjab. The majority of the Lahndi speakers are Muslims who use a variant of the Arabic script, while the members of the Hindu minority "employ their own variant of the Landa alphabet closely related to the Mahajani character of Marwar and to the Sharada alphabet used in Kashmir" (Smirnov 1975, 27).

In the European context, there is the historical case of Serbo-Croatian which was written in Cyrillic (by Serbians, Bosniaks and Montenegrinians) and in Latin script (by Croats). After the fall of the old Yugoslavian federation in 1991/92 there has been a marked trend toward separating the two major cultural regions (Serbia in the east, Croatia in the west) from each other. The contrast of Cyrillic versus Latin writing stands now symbolically for cultural and political separation.

Another historical case of bigraphism which actually was the product of language

planning is the writing of Tat, an Iranian language of Dagestan, in two scripts: the Latin alphabet which was adapted to Tat by Soviet planners in the 1920s for the Muslim mother tongue speakers of that language; the Hebrew script which was used by Tat-speaking Oriental Jews, the so-called “mountain Jews” (Russian: *gornye evrei*) of Dagestan (Haarmann 1986, 72ff).

There is no case of modern language planning where bigraphism would have been recommended.

### 3.6. Alphabetization as a specific type of graphization

Alphabetization refers to the process of applying a system of alphabetic writing to a given language and, it encompasses the consequences of this process: access to the world of literacy for the users of the script. The English term alphabetization has a much broader meaning than the Spanish *alfabetización* or the German *Alphabetisierung*. The latter two expressions denote the planning approach to provide literacy, but they do not refer to the process of script design.

Alphabetization can be understood in a general meaning as ‘providing an alphabetic script for a given language’. This general meaning, however, reflects a fairly narrow sense with respect to an overall typology of writing systems. The alphabet as such is not a writing system. It is a principle of writing, and this principle is the establishment of the “one sound – one sign” relationship. Most writing systems of the modern world function on the basis of the alphabetic principle.

Starting with the alphabetic tradition of writing in the Near East in the second millennium B.C., hundreds of alphabets have been created. Some of these have been very successful in terms of their proliferation in space and time. This is true for the Phoenician, Aramaic, southern Arabic, Brahmi, Greek, Cyrillic and Latin alphabets. Of all the alphabetic varieties in use, derivations from the Latin alphabet are the most common.

The names given to some of the historical alphabets are mere stereotyping labels. Arguably, the origins of the so-called “Greek” alphabet are not genuinely Greek. The earliest version of the Greek alphabet was elaborated in Crete and most probably dates to the ninth century B.C. This derivation of the Phoenician alphabet was devised in a bi-

cultural milieu, in which both Minoans and Dorian Greeks participated (Haarmann 1995, 131ff). The first alphabet on European soil was created for writing two different languages: Minoan and Greek. It is noteworthy that the oldest inscription that has survived in Crete, is not in Greek but in Eteocretan (Minoan).

The name of the Cyrillic alphabet points at Cyrill(os), the Slavic apostle as its alleged creator. Cyrill who lived in the ninth century A.D. did, in fact, create a script, but not the one which bears his name. The Glagolitic alphabet is Cyrill’s creation while the Cyrillic script was created by a pupil of his, Kliment of Ohrid, who wanted to immortalize Cyrill by attributing his own creation to his master.

The history of the alphabet is not only the history of derivations from basic scripts (e. g. Latin via Etruscan from Greek, Devanagari from Brahmi, Ethiopian from southern Semitic), it is also the history of independently elaborated graphic sign repertoires on the basis of the alphabetic principle. Most of these original alphabetic varieties are the creations of historical personalities who are known by their names, other creations remain anonymous such as the Ogham script for writing Archaic Gaelic.

The Armenian cleric Mesrop elaborated the Armenian alphabet toward the end of the fifth century A.D. The same Mesrop is said to have also created the alphabets for other languages of the Caucasus, in particular for Georgian (Grusinian) and for Agvanic (a historical Caucasian language in Daghestan in which Christian literature was produced between the fifth and ninth centuries). About 1375, Stephan of Perm, a Russian monk, created an independent alphabet for writing Komi (Zyrian), a Finno-Ugric language in northeastern Europe. In 1443/44 an alphabet was devised for Korean which is associated with the name of king Sejong (see below).

### 3.7. Graphization and the quarry principle

In any given writing system, graphic signs form a visual ensemble. The individual elements of this ensemble function in a regulated manner to produce a written code. The association of graphic signs and their functioning in one and the same system readily evokes an image of uniformity in the mind of the users of a script, and this image is also valid in a simplistic view on historical rela-

tionships. In many treatments of the history of writing we find pronouncements about the origin of the European alphabetic tradition of the following kind: The Greek alphabet is derived from the Phoenician alphabet as its prototype. This “truism” has been repeated for generations and it suggests that the complete inventory of letter signs in the Greek alphabet is of genuine Phoenician origin.

Although the bulk of the Greek letters is indeed derived from Phoenician prototypes, there is a wide consensus among scholars of the history of writing that the additional letters (i. e. phi, khi, psi) of the Greek inventory cannot be reasonably explained as derivations from Phoenician letters. Recent findings have highlighted the fact that these additional letters were inspired by graphic prototypes of the ancient Aegean linear scripts which, with the advent of the Phoenician alphabet, were in a stage of decay (Haarmann 1995, 136ff).

Thus, the graphic ensemble of the letters in the Greek alphabet have been inspired by two different sources, by the Phoenician alphabet and by the visual heritage of the Aegean tradition of pre-alphabetic literacy. The early varieties of the Semitic alphabet (i. e. Proto-Sinaitic, Phoenician) are themselves not “pure” but are comprised of graphic signs from various sources. Among the main determinants of the early Semitic varieties of alphabetic writing are Egyptian hieroglyphics which were selected and the graphic repertory of various Aegean writing systems.

The Cretan and Cyprian linear scripts were known in the Near East in the second millennium B.C., and derivations of these scripts were devised in Ugarit (Levanto-Minoan) and in the centres of Philistine settlements (Philisto-Minoan). It is noteworthy that the parallelism of Aegean with Semitic signs catches the eye particularly in the case of those letters for which there is no Semitic name.

The graphic inventories of the Phoenician and Greek alphabets with their multiple sources illustrate the working of a specific principle which has been termed “quarry principle” (*Steinbruchprinzip* in German) (Haarmann 1994). Where, in the milieu of a multicultural contact region, various older scripts have been in use, there is a great probability that new writing systems draw on various alternative sources for the elab-

oration of their graphic inventory rather than on one only.

The working of the quarry principle can be observed in many if not most derived writing systems of the world. In addition to the inventories of the Greek and Phoenician alphabets already mentioned, many other instances can be highlighted, such as the Cyrillic alphabet with its major Greek and minor Hebrew determinants, the survival of Runic letters in the Latin script of the Old English period, the integration of Latin and Runic signs in Icelandic writing, etc.

The sources of script signs may also be generally associated with the cultural symbolism outside the realm of writing. This is the case with many original writing systems which construct their graphic inventory by adopting visual symbols of various cultural domains. The Old European script integrated religious symbols of the Mesolithic (and even Palaeolithic) visual heritage, in the system of Egyptian hieroglyphics we find elements of pre-dynastic pottery marks, the sign inventory of the ancient Indus script continues major symbols of Neolithic rock carving, the ancient Sumerian pictography absorbed various signs from the older accounting system, the signs of the Georgian script reflect traces of an ancient system of ownership marks that were used in the Caucasus region; etc.

In an overall perspective, the quarry principle illustrates how the human mind reworks the visual impressions of its cultural environment. Visual signs of various domains – literacy-oriented or not – may fuse in the process of elaborating a new system, regardless of whether it is an original script or a derivation from one.

#### 4. Trends of graphization in the processes of historical and modern language planning

In the modern understanding of language planning, this associates state authority, in form of a state-supported agency (e. g. the Terminology Committee in Ireland that functioned from the late 1920s to the early 1960s) or of an individual who represents state authority (e. g. the role of Kemal Atatürk for the shift of Turkish writing from the Arabic to the Latin script in the 1920s).

The modern definition of language planning also applies for a number of historical

settings. Examples of this are the centralization of language use in France in the 16<sup>th</sup> century as the result of royal decrees, the modernization of Russian under the personal direction and guidance of czar Peter I, the Great (ruled 1689–1725) or the graphization of Korean in an alphabetic script as a royal project of language planning in the 15<sup>th</sup> century (see under 4.2).

Thus, language planning efforts in the domain of graphization have a fairly long history, reaching back several hundreds of years. Graphization has been on the agenda as an activity of language planning in many parts of the world throughout the 20<sup>th</sup> century. While most efforts are directed toward the adaptation of an alphabetic variety to a modern language, there are also cases of non-alphabetic graphization, for example the elaboration of a complex syllabary for the Yi-language in China in 1975.

In order to illustrate the impact of graphization on the sociocultural potential of languages, major trends and some case studies will be discussed here in more detail.

#### 4.1. The creation of the Hangul alphabet for Korean: An early case study of language planning

When Korean society encountered the world of literacy around the middle of the first post-Christian millennium, Chinese writing was the only available alternative. Adopting the Chinese script to Korean posed serious problems, due to the entirely different structures of the two languages. The Chinese characters (called *hanja* in Korean) are ideographs which, in ancient Chinese, render individual concepts. Since ancient Chinese was a genuinely isolating language, an ideogram corresponded to a monosyllabic word structure. Adapting these characters to an agglutinative language such as Korean with words consisting of various syllables and including inflectional endings required considerable creativity to succeed.

The way in which Chinese writing was adapted to render Korean, a hybrid variety of writing and reading, is called the *ido* system (*ido* ‘clerk reading’), and it has been termed “a genuine Korean invention” (Coulmas 1989, 116). Korean scribes tried to surmount the difficulties of the Chinese ideographic system by utilizing Chinese characters for rendering individual phonetic values, mostly syllabic, of Korean. This method consisted in giving priority to the

sound equivalent of a character and, at the same time, diverging from the meaning of the original lexical item in Chinese. As a result, the Korean scribes created a way of applying the Chinese iconic inventory by fundamentally deviating from the Chinese principle of writing.

The *ido* system which actually is “a mixture of *hanmun* and Korean in which *hanmun* sentences are more or less integrated into Korean syntax, and Korean grammatical markers, sometimes even adverbs, are supplied” (Lee 1975, 22) was perfected by Solch-ong, one of king Sin-mun’s officials, in the latter half of the 7<sup>th</sup> century. An even closer adaptation of Chinese characters to the structures of Korean was elaborated in a subvariety of the *ido* system, called *hangch’al*. The lexical stems of Korean words were written in *hanja* and read according to Korean phonetics. On the other hand, inflectional endings which were also written in *hanja* were pronounced in the Sino-Korean manner. This subvariety of a Koreanized use of Chinese characters was confined to poetry and quite rare.

The Korean way of adapting Chinese writing was also “exported” to Japan where, from experimenting with an older version of syllabic writing, called *Man’yogana*, the two syllabaries Hiragana and Katakana emerged (Haarmann 1992a, 396ff). Eventually, the Japanese refinement of the phonetic adaptation of Chinese characters became more successful than the original Korean invention.

The *ido* system always remained inconsistent and insufficient. The easier way of responding to the omnipresent formative influence exerted on Korean culture by the Chinese worldview would have been to abandon Korean as a written means altogether and adapt to the high culture language Chinese as the exclusive written means. This choice was made by many learned Koreans, and it was true for the ruling elite in the Choson kingdom of the Yi dynasty. Notwithstanding the shortcomings of the *ido* system and its lack of standardization, its application is closely associated with the emergence of an early literature in the mother tongue.

Although the *ido* system meant a break with classical Chinese standards, the writing of Korean was still difficult. Most members of the Korean learned elite made use of this system only for rendering Korean names

and specific local terms in Chinese texts, without writing entire texts in Korean. For them, the *ido* system had the value of an additional, though inconsistent technique to get along with writing Chinese in their home country.

The fact that ordinary people did not share the privilege of literacy with the elite had always been a typical feature of society in both Korea and China. But this was considered a factor of alienation by the fourth ruler in succession of the Yi dynasty, king Sejong, who was interested in the raising of popular education. In an edict of 1434, he encouraged his subjects to look for instruction, especially in the fields of agriculture and medicine. In the edict, girls and women were also specifically addressed, this being the first encouragement of female education in the Far East.

The king soon noticed that his plans of popular education could not be effectively implemented because there were too few literati interested in such an enterprise. Moreover, it was felt that the instruction of Chinese writing would be too difficult a task to achieve for the benefit of a broader public. The radical reform of writing which eventually came about has to be evaluated against this “deadlock” in cultural affairs in Korea at the times of Sejong’s rule. He assumed the role of the revolting spirit against the alienation caused by the Chinese cultural dominance.

In fact, the revolt against the inconveniences of Chinese writing and the Korean variety of the *ido* system in the 15<sup>th</sup> century did not originate from circles of educated Korean aristocrats, but rather was initiated by one single person. In other words, it came about “through the stubborn insistence of a monarch” (DeFrancis 1989, 188). The effort to simplify and standardize writing for the purposes of recording the mother tongue was due to the ruler’s far-sighted perspective, a perspective which the aristocratic elite seemed to lack altogether.

Finding a solution to the problem of literacy which could meet the educational intentions was a difficult task. The alternative chosen by Sejong, based on the alphabetic principle, was thus radical and revolutionary because it deviated fundamentally from the Chinese way of writing which had been practiced for more than a thousand years in Korea. The name given to this new system of writing was *hunmin chong’um* (see below).

The derogatory term for it being used by the aristocratic elite was *onmun* (‘vulgar script’) which was later changed into *han’gul* ‘great script’ (in a simplified rendering *hangul*). It has been claimed that the new system of writing Korean was Sejong’s brainchild, and there is some historical evidence that this is true and does not only reflect a mere deferential attitude among the Koreans toward this important ruler.

In the early 1440s, king Sejong assembled a group of literati in a “Bureau of Standard Sounds”. They were members of the king’s school for translators and interpreters who seemed to have followed Sejong’s instructions as how to implement his plans of a script reform, rather than to produce original ideas of their own. During the years 1443/44 most of the work on the new writing system was completed, and its results were publicized in a document two years later. The title of the Royal Edict of 1446 was *Hunmin Chong’um* (‘The Correct Sounds for the Instruction of the People’). Following the standards of literacy in Korea, the text of the document is written in classical Chinese, this being considered the appropriate way of making people acquainted with the new script.

The king felt the need to rectify his deviation from the classical tradition, and he argued in the following way: “The sounds of our country’s language are different from those of the Middle Kingdom and are not confluent with the sounds of our characters. Therefore, among the ignorant people, there have been many who, having something they want to put into words, have in the end been unable to express their feelings. I have been distressed because of this, and have newly designed twenty-eight letters, which I wish to have everyone practice at their ease and make convenient for their daily use” (quoted after Ledyard 1975, 124).

In its original version, the *onmun* script was comprised of 28 letters of which four were dropped later in the modern *hangul* alphabet. These simple letters, however, are inadequate for writing Korean properly. Out of the simple signs were formed additional complex signs as to form a system of altogether 44 letters, 40 of which are used nowadays (figure 241.1). Modern statements have been given about the *hangul* script in which the exceptional properties of this system have been emphasized. Reischauer and Fairbank (1960, 435) evaluate *hangul* as



“perhaps the most scientific system of writing in general use in any country”, and Watanabe and Suzuki (1981, 137) consider it “the most rational of all writing systems”. The *onmun* (*hangul*) script shares basic features with other alphabetic systems in that one letter stands for an individual sound of the language which, in the case of *hangul*, mostly corresponds to a phoneme of Korean (Sampson 1985, 120ff). On the other hand, there are several features which make this writing system a genuinely Korean pattern, and not only because it was devised by a Korean in Korea.

The modern observer, and especially the Westerner, has become accustomed to the idea that the letters of the alphabet are arbitrary in a multiple sense. Firstly, the shapes of the letters in the Latin alphabet, for instance, do not resemble any items in the cultural milieu of their users. Secondly, the arbitrary shape of each letter is associated,

arbitrarily, with an individual sound. Thirdly, arbitrariness is also present in the etymological reminiscence of some modern orthographies as in the case of the English, French or Irish spelling.

At first sight, also the *hangul* letters seem to share the features of arbitrariness outlined above. And yet, there is a fundamental difference between *hangul* as an artificially created system and alphabetic scripts with a historical affiliation. The horizontal and vertical strokes of which the *hangul* letters are comprised are not combined arbitrarily. A closer inspection reveals that, in the signs, the place of articulation of the corresponding sounds is depicted. Take, for example, the sign for /k/ which depicts the position of the tongue as it touches the palate. Those signs of the Korean alphabet in which the place of articulation is depicted are therefore equal to icons, not arbitrary symbols. There is good justification for considering

Vowels		Single consonants	Double consonants	Spirants
ㅏ a	ㅑ ya	ㄱ k, g	ㄲ ㄲ kk	ㅋ k'
ㅓ ۆ	ㅕ yۆ	ㄴ n		
ㅗ o	ㅛ yo	ㄷ t, d	ㄸ ㄸ tt	ㅌ t'
ㅜ u	ㅠ yu	ㄹ r, l		
ㅡ ۆ	ㅜ wa	ㅁ m		
ㅣ i	ㅟ ۆi	ㅂ p, b	ㅃ ㅃ pp	ㅍ p'
ㅝ ae	ㅞ yae	ㅅ s	ㅆ ㅆ ss	
ㅚ e	ㅜ ye	ㅇ <sup>ng</sup>		ㅎ h'
ㅜ oe	ㅞ wae	ㅈ ch	ㅉ ㅉ tch	ㅊ ch'
ㅟ wi	ㅠ wۆ			
	ㅡ we			

Fig. 242.1: The system of *hangul* signs, following the system of McCune and Reischauer (1961)

the *hangul* system an early result of experimental phonetics.

Taking into consideration the socio-cultural background of the dominating Chinese pattern of writing and the considerably scarce practical experience with alphabetic writing in Korea at the time of Sejong's reign, the final result of the *hunmin chong'um* was, from the standpoint of its technical perfection, a remarkable degree of success. One has to bear in mind that the sound system of Korean was and is fairly complicated. This is the reason why it was so difficult to compromise, in our century, on a standard system of Romanization of the *hangul* script, something that was achieved for Japanese easily. There are several competing systems of Romanization which have been in use for transliterating Korean in Latin letters such as the Yale, the McCune/Reischauer, the Lukoff, the South Korean, and the North Korean spellings. "Controversies over spelling are usually concerned with the extent to which morpho-phonemic spellings should be used and with specific details of the grammatical analysis" (Martin 1983, 289; including an overview of systems of Romanization).

However, the aspect of experimental phonetics in the elaboration of the *onmun* script has to be evaluated as a consequence of the diligence with which the Korean sounds were studied, rather than as a pragmatic attitude toward writing as a means for practical communication. The myths in which the origin of Chinese writing was shrouded, are also reflected in the explanatory text of the Royal Edict. In his explanations of the new script, King Sejong makes explicit reference to the Chinese tradition by claiming that the magical principle of five was kept up in the design of the *onmun* system. According to Chinese cosmogony, basic categories in nature appear in sets of five, this being true for the directions (i. e. East, South, West, North and Center), for the elements (i. e. water, fire, wood, metal, clay), for the basic virtues, moral qualities, holy trees and books, etc. (Haarmann 1992b, 261ff). As a secondary principle, the magical principle of three (e. g. sky, earth, man) is also relevant (see figure 242.2).

The latter principle is apparent in the choice of the basic constitutive elements of the sign inventory, the horizontal and the vertical strokes, and the small circle. As for the principle of five, Sejong argues that,

- a) The Principle of Three in vocalism
- the round sky; round form of the tongue; deep sound (no longer used in *hangul*, sometimes substituted by a short auxiliary stroke)
  - the flat earth; broad form of the tongue; central sound
  - | upright walking man; no backward movement of the tongue; flat sound
- b) The association of five basic consonants with the Five Elements
- ⌈ /k/ with "wood"
  - ≡ /t/ with "fire"
  - ⊞ /p/ with "earth"
  - ⋈ /ch/ with "metal"
  - ⊖ /h/ with "water"
- c) The Principle of Five in consonantism
- ⌒ sounds of the tongue; the tongue touches the upper palate; example: /n/
  - ⌋ sounds of the back teeth; the root of the tongue closes the throat; example: /g, k/
  - ⊞ sounds of the lips; form of the mouth; example: /m/
  - ^ sounds of the front teeth; form of the front teeth; example: /s/
  - sounds of the throat; form of the throat; example: /ng/ (silent consonant)

Fig. 242.2: The reflection of the magical principles of three and five in the graphic structures of the *onmun* script

given the fundamental nature of this principle, the vowels of the Korean language also reflect the basis of five (i. e. a, e, i, o, u), and they are written with basic vertical and horizontal strokes. As for consonantism, the principle of five is respected by associating five basic consonants with the five elements. Furthermore, the choice of the basic articulatory positions of the throat, the tongue and the lips is five. The distinction of the articulatory bases is illustrated in the iconic material of the sign inventory. The association of the sound structure of the mother tongue with the magical worldview, and with the magical principle of five in particular, is illustrative of the deference toward the Chinese cultural heritage which, despite the experimental character in the elaboration of the script, could not be neglected altogether. Obviously, the Korean mentality had assimilated

lated the ideas of the magical principles to a degree that it formed a firm part in Korean people's identity.

There is another basic property of the *onmun* system by which it distinguishes itself clearly from other alphabetic systems and this is its lack of linearity. The usual way of using the letters of an alphabet in writing is to align them in a linear sequence, as in this text. Korean writing does not follow this principle, and one does not "spell" Korean words as an alphabetic sequence. Instead, the letters are organized according to the syllabic structure of lexical items and inflectional elements. In order to achieve the syllabic structuring in writing, a number of specific rules as regards the way of positioning vowels and consonants have to be observed (see Lewin/Kim 1978, 9 for details). The vowel signs dominate the syllabic complex, and they are written bigger than the consonant signs. In the case of vertical strokes, consonants may be placed on the left or right side, with horizontal strokes, there is the alternative of positioning the consonant above or below it. The signs "are grouped into syllable blocks that resemble the equidimensional frame of Chinese characters" (Martin 1983, 289).

In fact, *hangul* is the only script in the world which makes a clear distinction between the paradigmatic aspect of alphabetic writing and the syntagmatic aspect of a grouping of letters in syllable blocks. Since the alphabetic principle dominates the whole system, one may wonder how this idea became known in Korea. Most probably, the knowledge of alphabetic writing was introduced to the country after the Koreans had experienced, with the Chinese, foreign supremacy, that is the Mongolian reign of the Yuan dynasty between 1231 and 1356.

Mongolian then was the official language of Korea. The Uighur alphabet which the Mongols had adopted from this Turkic people in the thirteenth century, was in use for writing Mongolian until the fifteenth century. An earlier writing system among the Mongols was the Passeba script which was a derivation from the Tibetan alphabet and which was not used after the fall of the Yuan dynasty in 1368. At the time of Sejong's reign, in Mongolia, the Galik script was in use, this also being affiliated to the Tibetan alphabet (see Haarmann 1992a, 509ff for the Mongolian varieties of the alphabet).

When comparing the Mongolian writing systems with the *hangul* script no sign convergences can be established. Thus, although the alphabetic principle became known to the Koreans via the Mongolian varieties of writing, the shapes of the *hangul* letters are of genuinely Korean design. From the standpoint of the evolution of writing, the introduction of *hangul* meant radical progress leading from the logographic principle of writing Chinese to the alphabet, with only the syntagmatic aspect of a syllabic alignment of letters remaining as a reminder of the intermediate stage of syllabic writing known from Mesopotamian and European antiquity (e.g. Akkadian cuneiform writing, Cretan Linear B). In this respect, *hangul* was a much more progressive writing system than the contemporary Japanese syllabaries. In addition, the high degree of distinction and the specific features make *hangul* a typically Korean script. As regards cultural identity *hangul* fulfills all the requirements of a "national" pattern, it being unequivocal, and unique.

#### 4.2. The historical experiment of Soviet language planning and alphabetization: A case study of script control under state authority

The former Soviet Union was a country with a multinational, multicultural and multilingual population. Interethnic relations in the Soviet Union developed on a scale which was different from other countries with multinational settings, but clear majorities. In the Soviet Union the major nationality, the Russians, accounted for slightly more than half of the total population, i.e. 50.9% according to the last Soviet census (1989), numbering 145.2 million. Altogether 140.6 million (49.1%) of Soviet citizens were non-Russians, belonging to about 160 nationalities differing in their demographic size, their racial features, their religion and their language.

The most numerous nationality were the Ukrainians with 44.2 million, third in demographic ranking were the Uzbeks with 16.7 million. Other large nationalities were the Belorussians (10 million), the Kazakhs (8.1 million) and the Tatars (6.6 million). Small groups were also found among the Soviet nationalities with only a few hundred or some dozens of members. Examples of this category were the Enets, a Samoyedic people in the Siberian north, the Saamic people in

the Kola peninsula, the Archin, a North Caucasian people in southern Dagestan, and others (see Comrie 1981 for a linguistic survey).

For seven decades, Soviet politics had to deal with the multiculturalism and multilingualism of its society. Since planning was the cornerstone in the building up of the Soviet state and of all its institutional functions, the Soviet peoples and their languages were also objects of social planning. The Soviet experiment with this type of planning, language planning in particular, ranks by its sheer volume among the major political efforts in modern European history (Haarmann 1993a, 303f). Regardless of any criticism of the Soviet political system, the instances of its language planning, of its successes and failures, are among the valuable lessons which history can teach us.

The disruption of earlier political and social patterns from the czarist to the Soviet period was not as rigid as has been often claimed. Amidst a general Russification drive the revolutionary movement of 1905/06 had already effected a trend toward democratization among a number of non-Russian speech communities. This is true for the Komi and Udmurt communities who speak Finno-Ugrian languages. After initial efforts at establishing an original literature in Komi and Udmurt during the latter half of the nineteenth century the 1905/06 movement ensured the participation of philologists and writers in the formative process of a national literature (Hajdú/Domokos 1987, 524f, 532f). In these and other settings, Soviet language planning continued a progressive trend toward the consolidation of a non-Russian language against the dominance of Russian.

As a pragmatist, Lenin did not underestimate the importance of the "national question" although he was never ultimately convinced of its permanent relevance in human affairs. For him, the national question had to be solved not for the sake of people's conflict-free ethnic identity, but rather for preventing it from becoming a stumbling block to the most important issue of all, the "social question" (Haarmann 1992c, 31f).

The key concept for any kind of planning was that of the individual ethnic group, the nationality (Russian: *natsional'nost'*). The most prominent factor for the definition of nationality was seen as language. This view not only reflected the typical European

tradition of the nineteenth century, it was also in accordance with the reality of self-awareness among most of the speech communities in the Soviet State. In addition to language-related group membership, nationality was defined in terms of parental descent. In ethnically mixed families, the national affiliation of the mother was seen as decisive for the national registration of children.

The most challenging task for language planning lay in the modernization of literacy. Following the principle of democratization, planning efforts were not meant to favor Russian unilaterally as the dominant vehicle of Soviet culture. Instead, they were directed primarily toward the consolidation of non-Russian languages. Modernizing the languages in the Soviet Union consisted in a dual approach. An important aspect was the raising of standards to the level at which a given language could serve the social functions of a modern society. The other aspect of modernization, specifically Soviet, was the adaptation of these languages to the needs of a political system which deviated from all others in contemporary Europe and in the world.

Modernization, in the Soviet context of the 1920s, encompassed a wide array of planning activities, from the alphabetization campaign among illiterate people to the elaboration of specialized political terminology. In sociolinguistic categories, language planning concentrated on the following tasks: the abolition of illiteracy, the standardization of old and new written languages, education programs in non-Russian languages, the elaboration of general social functions for all Soviet languages. In the following, an outline of the first two domains of planning is given.

The greatest impediment to progress in language planning was the high rate of illiteracy. According to the only census of czarist Russia, carried out in 1897, not more than 28.4% of the population were literate. The minimum criterion for literacy was a person's ability to write his/her name. In many cases, literacy was restricted to just this ability, and only a smaller portion of those who claimed to be literate could read and write fluently. There was, however, a great disparity within Russia. Siberia, central Asia and the Caucasus region had the lowest rates (e.g. Uzbekistan: 3.6%, Kazakhstan: 8.1%, Armenia: 9.2%), and in the European part also, there were regions

which fell below the average (e. g. Moldavia: 22.2%). On the other hand, the Baltic regions showed a remarkable distinction with their comparatively high degree of literacy. In Estonia, the rate was exceptionally high (i. e. 96.2%). In Latvia, 79.7% of the population were registered as literate, while in Lithuania there was 54.2% literacy.

By the mid 1920s, the joint efforts of Soviet language planning and school education had already raised the level of literacy in the Soviet Union to an average rate of 56.6% (1926) and to 87.4% by 1939 (Lewis 1972, 174f). The alphabetization campaign was successful especially because, among most speech communities, basic adaptation to the world of literacy could be offered, not only in Russian, but alternatively in a non-Russian mother tongue. Concurrent with the drive to eradicate ('liquidate' in Russian terminology) illiteracy (*likvidatsiya bezgramotnosti = likbez*) was the thrust toward the training of local educational personnel with a good knowledge of the local language. This campaign was called *korenizatsiya* 'rooting, taking roots'.

The consolidation of written standards for the Soviet languages was a necessary correlate to promoting the spread of literacy. The legacy of czarist Russia was not as bleak as Soviet ideology claimed it to be. Alongside Russian, there were a considerable number of written languages which, in the terminology of Soviet language planning, are called "old written languages" (*staropis'mennye yazyki*; Desheriev 1973). Among these are the oldest written languages in Europe, Armenian and Georgian, the literary tradition of which dates back to the fifth century A.D. Other pre-Soviet written languages are Tatar (12<sup>th</sup> century), Aseri (13<sup>th</sup> century), Ukrainian and Belorussian (14<sup>th</sup> century), Yiddish (17<sup>th</sup> century), Komi (18<sup>th</sup> century), Moldavian (19<sup>th</sup> century), etc.

While the languages of certain national minorities such as German which had served wider communication in czarist Russia continued to be promoted by Soviet language planners, others such as Arabic and Hebrew were neglected. The main reason for this was that as the local religious traditions of the Russian Empire (e. g. Islam, Judaism) were discarded by official ideology, so were their sacred languages.

The task of Soviet language planning consisted in the reform of existing orthographies for the old written languages and

the consolidation of their grammatical norms. In the early phase of language planning, non-Russian languages were not deprived of their traditional writing systems. Armenian continued to be written in its original script as was the case with Georgian, which also adhered to its tradition of writing. The Mongolian orthography (Zaya-Pandit variant) was preserved for Kalmyk until 1924. The Arabic script served for writing Tatar until 1927 and Bashkir until 1929. It was even newly introduced for writing Adygey (1918), Avar and Lezgin (1920) and Chechen (1923); (Isaev 1979, 41f). The Mordvin and Cheremis (Mari) literary languages (i. e. Moksha and Erzya Mordvin, lowland and mountain Mari) continued to be written in the Russian variant of Cyrillic.

As to those languages which had been illiterate in czarist Russia and for which a written standard was elaborated by Soviet planners, the Latin alphabet was chosen as the basis of their orthography (Isaev 1979, 59f). This trend dominated the early phase of literacy among the so-called "young written languages" (*mladopis'mennye yazyki*) in northern Siberia (e. g. Yurak, Sel'kup, Evenki), in central Asia (e. g. Kazakh, Kirghiz, Turkmen), in the Caucasus region (Dagestan, in particular; e. g. Abazin, Karatchai-Balkar, Tat) and in the eastern hinterland of the Baltic Sea (e. g. Izhorian, Veps, Saamic). Besides the advantages resulting from its simplicity and practical use, the Latin script offered prestige values which were appreciated by language planners. Lenin had called the Latin script the symbol of the "revolution in the East". Its core value was that of a symbol of modernity, of Europeanization.

In 1926, the concept of a unified Latin script (*Novyi Tyurkskii Alfavit = NTA*) for all Turkic languages was discussed on the occasion of the first Congress of Turkology which was held in Baku. The shift of the writing system from the Arabic to the Latin alphabet that was implemented in neighboring Turkey in 1928 strongly relied on the NTA. In the late twenties and thirties, most Turkic languages were written in Latin characters, among them Tatar, Bashkir, Uzbek, Kazakh and Yakut (Baldauf 1993). Turkic languages which were not written in this script are Chuvash which has always been written in Cyrillic and Karaim, the language of the Jewish Turks, who wrote their mother tongue in Hebrew letters until about 1940. In the 1930s,

the Latin alphabet was introduced for writing non-Russian languages such as Komi and Komi-Permyak, two Finno-Ugric languages spoken north of the middle Volga.

During the whole era of Soviet language planning, a continuous contrast between Russian and all other languages existed, particularly with respect to social functions. As far as non-Russian languages had a status as a written language their range of functions was wider than that of unwritten languages. In Soviet categorizations of the social functions of languages in the Soviet Union (e. g. Bertagaev et al. 1961, 35), the following basic distinctions are made which are in fact indicative of a functional hierarchy (Jachnow 1977, 74f).

- A) Status of an international (= interethnic) language  
(*yazyk mezhnatsional'nogo obshcheniya*); reserved for Russian as the all-Union language
- B) Status of a literary and national language  
(*literaturnye natsional'nye yazyki*); represented by the languages of the titular (eponymous) nationalities in non-Russian administrative territories, the Union republics  
(e. g. Ukrainian, Moldavian, Estonian)
- C) Status of a literary language  
(*literaturnye yazyki*), represented by the languages spoken by people living in the autonomous republics (e. g. Chechen, Karelian, Yakut)
- D) Status of a written language  
(*pis'mennye yazyki*); represented by the languages spoken by ethnic groups living in national districts (e. g. Koryak, Yurak, Mansi)
- E) Status of an unwritten language  
(*bespis'mennye yazyki*); represented by the languages of ethnic groups without any administrative or educational rights (e. g. Izhorian, Enets, Tofa).

The drive toward the promotion of non-Russian languages continued into the 1930s. The development of sociocultural pluralism as the basis of Soviet society as expressed by means of the national languages, however, was overshadowed by an increasing tendency toward centralism, which had been favored by Stalin from the beginning of his reign. During the years of liberal Soviet language policies, the awareness of the values of the local national culture had increased

among the non-Russian speech communities. It was against this decentralizing factor that in 1930 Stalin directed his sharp criticism of what he called the "deviation towards local nationalism, including the exaggerated respect for national languages" (quoted after Lewis 1972, 71).

Symbolic of the shift in national politics in the direction of a centralizing drive was the radical change of the local writing systems from the Latin to the Cyrillic script. In 1935, the common Latin alphabet for fifteen languages of northern Siberia had been already criticized as too "formalistic". This comment started a campaign to abandon Latin script. By 1941, all the languages which had been newly Latinized in the 1920s or 1930s were being written in Cyrillic (Isaev 1979, 236f). Only some older literary languages with traditional Latin writing (i. e. Estonian, Latvian, Lithuanian) were allowed to keep it. The most recent to change its writing system was Dungan, which used the Arabic script from 1928 until 1953 when Cyrillic was introduced. Whenever new written standards were created for hitherto unwritten languages, the Cyrillic script was adopted (e. g. for Gagauz in 1958, for Saamic in 1984).

The unification of writing on the basis of Cyrillic was doubtlessly a decisive step toward cultural unification and, moreover, it facilitated school education. On the other hand, Cyrillicization of the writing systems was an obvious instrument of cultural-political centralism. In addition, it was an ideological means to isolate Soviet citizens from the world of Latin-based literacy outside the Soviet Union.

An illustrative example of how far ideology influenced language planning is the frequent shift of the script for Moldavian (Haarmann 1978, 259f). Until the early 1920s, Moldavian was written in Cyrillic, between 1924 and 1929 in Latin, again in Cyrillic between 1930 and 1933, was shifted again to Latin in 1933 and, in 1937, the Cyrillic alphabet was reintroduced. During the following decades, Cyrillic remained in use, with a reform in 1957. The most recent change happened in 1989, when the Latin alphabet was once again reinstated.

Even if more than ninety percent of the Soviet languages had been written in the Cyrillic alphabet since the 1940s, unification was still a relative concept. Altogether 177 additional signs are in use as variants of the basic 32 Cyrillic letters (figure 242.3).

Basic Sign	Additional Signs	Basic Sign	Additional Signs	Basic Sign	Additional Signs	Basic Sign	Additional Signs
А а	ä á æ aa аь	И и	й й ки і ї	П п	п' п пп пъ пІ	Ц ц	ц цъ цə цə цІ
Б б		Й й			пІу ппІ		ци пу
В в	в'	К к	к' к ж к̄ ѳ къ кь кв кІ кк кх ку кь къв къь	Р р	р'		ци цу
Г г	г' ғ г гъ гь гв гу гІ гь гъь гъь гъу гІв		к' к ж к̄ ѳ къ кь кв кІ кк кх ку кь къв къь	С с	с с	Ч ч	ци цу ци
Д д	дж  дъ дə дз джь джь дзу		к' к ж к̄ ѳ къ кь кв кІ кк кх ку кь къв къь	Т т	т' т тт ть тл тə тə тш тІ тІу		д дъ ч ч' ч̄ чь чв чІ чч чІв чІчІ
Е е	е' ё ə ə' е е	Л л	л' ль ль ль лІ льль	У у	у у у у у у уу уь У УУ У	Ш ш	ш ш ш ш ш ш шІ шы
Ё ё	ё	Н н	н' н' н' нг нъ	Ф ф	фІ	Щ щ	щ ь
Ж ж	ж ж жъ жв щə щъу	О о	ñ н' н' н' нг нъ	Х х	х х' хь хь хі хх ху хə хІв хъу хъь	Ы ы	ы ь
З з	з з		ñ н' н' н' нг нъ			Э э	э
			ñ н' н' н' нг нъ			Ю ю	ю
			ñ н' н' н' нг нъ			Я я	я h h' h̄ h̄ j q w І Π , з зə

Fig. 242.3: The Cyrillic Script with Additional Signs for Non-Russian Languages

#### 4.3. Graphization processes in developing countries: Language planning in campaigns against illiteracy

Graphization serves a dual purpose. On the one hand, the elaboration of a writing system for a hitherto unwritten language enlarges its sociocultural potential, offers a precondition for language use in higher social functions, and enables the users of the language to gain literacy through the channel of the mother tongue (and not through a foreign means). On the other hand, the establishment of a written code for a given language is a means to strengthen its vitality and, it can also be a measurement for guaranteeing survival. This aspect is particularly relevant in the case of graphization for lesser used languages or for languages with only a small number of speakers.

In modern language planning, these two major purposes materialize, with the latter gaining more and more importance under the auspices of a growing awareness of the cultural values of regional and marginalized languages. As a tool of language planning (mostly carried out by authoritative bodies of individual states), graphization has been effectively applied in many parts of the world during the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

The greatest collective enterprise of graphization in the European context was the large-scale Soviet experiment (see 4.2). In post-colonial Africa, campaigns to eradicate illiteracy have been intrinsically interwoven with efforts to provide unwritten languages with scripts. So, the campaign against illiteracy is associated with a trend in language politics to promote indigenous languages. Efforts to provide indigenous African languages with a script were already made during the colonial era, particularly in the British colonies.

By 1955, writing systems for more than 90 languages had been devised on the basis of the Latin alphabet. In 1966, an international conference was organized under the patronage of UNESCO to be held in Mali. The result of the joint efforts was the standardization of writing systems for Manding, Ful, Tamashek (Tuareg), Songhai-Zarma, Hausa and Kanuri. These writing systems reveal the structural make-up of the "Africa" alphabet that had already been elaborated as a standard form in the 1930s and further refined after the war.

Since 1979, the International African Institute (IAI) has carried out a project for

further standardizing the graphic systems of African languages. "The 'Africa' alphabet was a brave attempt to standardize the orthographies of African languages. Its aims and principles are still being debated in the early 1990s" (Dunstan 1994, 48).

Providing writing systems for indigenous languages as a tool for eradicating illiteracy has also been a major trend of language planning in the Americas, particularly in Latin America where local Indian languages have been elaborated as *Ausbau* languages (i. e. varieties of Quechua in the Andean region, of modern Nahuatl and Mayan varieties in Mexico and neighboring countries).

Whereas graphization is of a considerable importance in Africa and Latin America, in Australia, such projects are not among the major activities of language planners. Still today, immigrant languages enjoy much more attention in language planning than do aborigine languages (Fishman 1991, 258ff). Until the 1960s, the Australian government followed a language policy which accepted the assimilation of aborigines to English as a natural course of language death.

As late as the 1970s, a change in educational policies occurred. Efforts were made to secure language maintenance for at least those languages with a sizeable number of speakers. Graphization programs were devised for making aborigine languages eligible for educational programs. Today, about 30 languages are used in primary school education. A local language functions as the primary medium of instruction in the lower classes while, in the upper classes, there is a shift toward English. About 30 local languages have been integrated in school instruction, especially in the Northern Territory, in Western Australia and in South Australia (Schmidt 1994).

While, in Africa, America and Australia, the Latin alphabet has a monopoly in the modern graphization process, the situation is different in Asia. Here, the Latin alphabet is a late-comer. In modern language planning, especially in graphization projects directed toward lesser used languages, the indigenous alphabetic scripts dominate in India (Pattanayak 1979). The most widely applied alphabet in India is Devanagari, which is the script for Sanskrit, Hindi, Sindhi and a number of smaller languages.

In China, Chinese characters provide the basis for writing minority languages of the south. Among the recent graphization pro-



jects is the elaboration of a unified script for the Yi-language. Several hundred signs were derived from original characters. The Yi script is a syllabary and each sign has the phonetic value of a syllable. The Yi syllabary is the most complex system in the history of syllabic writing. Its repertory is comprised of 819 signs with syllabic value (DeFrancis 1989, 143ff).

In many parts of the world where there is graphization for smaller languages in progress, this specific language planning activity is closely associated with the Christian mission. In this context, the provision of an unwritten language with a script does not only aim at raising the sociocultural status of it or at reducing illiteracy among its speakers but also (if not primarily) at transferring the message of the Scripture in the native tongue.

Some areas of the world have attracted the special attention of missionaries in recent years. A favorite field for experimentation with graphization in the Latin alphabet is provided by the smaller languages in Papua New Guinea. Of the more than 800 languages in this country, most are unwritten. Since the 1960s, ever increasing efforts have been made to translate portions of the Bible into local languages. Mostly, the translation project itself has been accompanied by a project of graphization since there had been no literature in the target languages previously.

Among the languages of Papua New Guinea that have undergone graphization in this process are the following:

- 1960s: Abu, Adzera, Alekano, Angal Heneng, Guhu-Samane, Kanite, Wiru;
- 1970s: Alamlak, Ampeeli-Wojokeso, Baruya, Beami, Gimi, Komba, Uri;
- 1980s: Ama, Aneme Wake, Burum-Mindik, Girawa, Manam, Nagovisi, Sulka;
- 1990s: Arifama-Miniafia, Aruamu, Gumawana, Kuot, Mekeo, Pele-Ata, Tai.

## 5. Research Prospects

Nowadays, the prominent forum of language planning efforts focusing on graphization are minority languages in developing countries. Complimentary to the drive toward the eradication of illiteracy is the elaboration of written standards for lesser used languages. The planning efforts directed to-

ward smaller languages is motivated by the generally acknowledged insight that the process of achieving literacy is most successful and stable if it evolves via the means of the mother tongue and not via a second language (World Education Report 2000, 29f).

In many, if not most developing countries with a sizable number of smaller unwritten languages, the rates for illiteracy are particularly high among speakers of those non-dominant languages which are themselves under the pressure of languages of wider communication. In such settings, access to literacy would be best provided via the sociocultural "upgrading" of minority languages to make them operational as media of primary instruction in school education, and this requires the graphization of unwritten languages.

The efforts to provide access to literacy via the elaboration of a non-dominant language fall in line with a growing consciousness of the cultural values of smaller languages for the identity of their speakers and with an increasing awareness of the urgent need to preserve smaller languages as items of world cultural heritage. As long as there are campaigns against illiteracy, there will be graphization projects for establishing mother tongue access to literacy. In other words: graphization will remain on the agenda of language planning.

Still missing is a sociolinguistic assessment of such efforts in a world-wide comparison of settings, focusing on the transition process from minority language literacy to second language literacy. Such an assessment could provide valuable insights into the relationship between graphization planning and the acceptance of such planning on the side of the users of a newly written language. In addition, comparative data would become available for the understanding of how much mother tongue literacy in reality facilitates the access to second language literacy.

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## 243. Language Planning: Modernization Sprachplanung: Modernisierung

1. Introduction
2. Language planning theory updated
3. Treatment of term
4. Language planning implemented
5. Bahasa Melayu
6. PNG: experiment in vernacular education
7. Conclusion
8. Literature (selected)

### 1. Introduction

#### 1.1. A matter of terminology

It has been over four decades since Einar Haugen launched the term of *Language Planning* (Haugen, 1959), not knowing at that time that it would eventually evolve into a full-fledged scholarly field with a greater impact on distant new nations than on the European-American world that was the object of his research when he traced the historical development of the Norwegian language. Haugen defined at that time Language Planning as “the activity of preparing a normative orthography, grammar and dictionary for the guidance of writers and speakers in a non-homogeneous speech community”. His definition of the field was then updated by reference to the work of the Estonian Tauli (1968) and a brief – too brief in fact – mention of the work of the American Joan Rubin (1971). His treatment of Language Planning can be found in the first edition of the *Handbücher zur Sprach- und Kommunikationswissenschaft: Soziolinguistik*, Volume 1 (1987). Much has been written since then on the theoretical framework that bears on the language development of new nations in Asia and Africa. However, this writer has some difficulties with the very term that he has been asked to discuss. Alisjahbana (1976) alternates this term with that of *Language engineering* where the latter describes more succinctly how an existent language is standardized to meet the exigencies of the modern world. On discussing the modernization of Malay (Bahasa Indonesia/Malaysia), he points out that “the modernization of Indonesian or Malaysian should be quite different from the construction of a new artificial language [Language Planning]. First of all the language engineer or planner did or does not have the power or right to shape the modern language. [...] The

development of the modern language cannot wait until official planning institutions have executed their plans and programs” (Alisjahbana 1976, 60). By continuing to use the term suggested by Haugen – rather than using a different term – this writer will interpret it as a way of adapting an existing language to meet the challenges of the world abroad.

#### 1.2. Cultivation vs. engineering

Haugen’s vision of Language planning was Indo-European-centered and diachronic in perspective. That was appropriate at the time as not much was known a few decades ago about the language struggles in Africa and Asia, although Haugen did cite the Malaysian scholar *Asmah* when he referred to some facts concerning the standardization efforts of her country. Most of what was available then would concern the language development – or language cultivation – efforts to be gleaned of from a western perspective: the standardization of the King’s/Queen’s English, the banning of foreignisms in French, the rise of the Norwegian language, the spread of Florentine Italian and so forth. Language planning in those settings was more akin to the history of the language rather than the concerted effort to guide the development of a language in a given direction, although the various language academies – where they existed – did their share in blocking undesirable [!] developments.

The difference between such cultivation efforts in Europe and the engineering efforts in countries like Indonesia, Malaysia, Brunei, Singapore and Papua New Guinea is that the former (Europe) reflects a gradual transition over centuries, and the latter (Southeast Asia/Oceania), a conscious process of change over only decades. Alisjahbana (1976, 55) Says in respect to Malay that “[i]n contrast to the development of the older modern languages such as English, French, etc., the development of the Indonesian and Malaysian language is a *guided and planned* development for which conscious human initiative and decision, thus human evaluation, plays a very important role”. It is this latter view that eventually triggered the evolvement of a series of theoretical re-

finements to the language planning field that had not existed before.

## 2. Language planning theory updated

The architects of modern language planning theory include, among others, Das Gupta, Jernudd, Rubin and at a more fundamental level, Fishman. Some of their postulates represent the current theoretical framework for language planning. Jernudd (1973, 13) provides a historical explanation as to how modern language planning originated when he writes “[t]oday’s language planning was born within the sociolinguistics of the sixties in reply to the mounting evidence of the need for immediate practical solutions to the language problems of developing countries. Its direction was also influenced by linguists’ and social scientists’ experience of and familiarity with immigrant and refugee problems rather than by initial academic interest in the treatment, cultivation or planning of languages.” As for the actual purpose of language planning, Jernudd and Rubin (1971, xvi) tell us that “[l]anguage planning is focused on problem solving and is characterized by the formulation and evaluation of alternatives for solving language problems to find the best (or optimal, most efficient) decision. In all cases it is *future-oriented*; that is, the outcomes of policies and strategies must be specified in advance of action taken.” It is this *future-orientation* that makes the new language planning so different from the earlier approach of past-orientation. Rather than being an exercise in historical linguistics, it becomes a means to pragmatically decide what must be done. By the same token, it is not an exercise of planning from point zero a code like Esperanto or Volapük but to upgrade an already existing code to meet the expectations of national or international needs. When dealing with many of the language decisions, one finds himself of course in the realm of linguistics. The exact extent to which language planning is the responsibility of the pure linguist has been a matter of contention. Jernudd and Das Gupta (1971, 195) point out that “language planning [may be] identified with an expert enterprise motivated by abstract ideals of a selected, albeit deeply concerned linguist” but instead it should rather be thought of as “the desirability of approaching language problems in their *social* [italics mine] reality

with specific methods and with a desire to acquire knowledge that may help mankind to improve communication” (ibid.). Later, in that same study, the authors identify the *goals* of language planning as desired consequences for the future and list classes of such goals in aggregate economic terms as (1) allocation of resources, (2) distribution and (3) stabilization (1971, 207f). Although the limitation in space prevents this author from discussing the cited goals and classes of goals any further, this approach discloses a greater specificity in terms of what must be done to engage in this kind of engineering. Rubin (1971) even identifies for the reader what the work of a language planner actually involves and distinguishes there between *fact-finding*, *planning* (goals, strategies and outcomes), *implementation* and *feed-back* (1971, 218–220). In another approach to language planning theory, Jernudd (1971, 264–266) places language planning into an entirely economic perspective when he describes his *Generalized Cost-Benefit Model with Consequences: costs and benefits on margins, Productivity versus efficiency and Cost-benefit evaluation* as major determinants. His model lends even further specificity to the field as it allows the planners, not only to project what changes to implement, but also to determine how costly and profitable such changes actually are.

## 3. Treatment of topic: the in-depth option

Whether one is dealing with the cultivation type of language planning or its engineering kind, hosts of examples are found in the literature. One can deal with them on a *horizontal* plane – as Haugen has done – or on a *vertical* one. In other words, one may look at language planning panoramically describing as many instances of language planning as can be found all over the world or one may wish to deal with just a few such instances but in greater depth to show in detail how language treatments have actually been performed. For the panoramic view, the reader is referred to the excellent exposition by Haugen that appeared in the first volume of the *Handbücher*. This writer has chosen the vertical perspective, that is, he will describe in depth the language planning or language engineering efforts of a selected number of countries. One of the best examples of language planning activities is the treatment given to the Malay language,

treatment that was designed to elevate that language from the level of *lingua franca* to that of the national language of four South-east Asian countries. This lingua franca was spoken by roughly 140,000,000 people on the Malaysian peninsula and the islands south and east of it as well as in some parts of Thailand and the Philippines covering an overall area of approximately 871,000 square miles, thereby becoming the sixth largest language in the world. A high variety of the Malay language thus became the national language of Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore and Brunei, although for Singapore it merely functioned as one of its four national languages. Another valuable example is the implementation that was carried out in Papua New Guinea, henceforth PNG, and can serve as a basis for examining the efforts with merely intranational goals of upgrading the educational status of its people. There is no doubt that language planning has also been carried out in many other parts of the world. However, the Malayo-Polynesian and Melanesian situations have been selected here because of their variable approaches to the language efforts. The efforts of language planning in Indonesia have been discussed in detail by S. Takdir Alisjahbana (1976), those in Malaysia by Asmah Haji Omar (1992), those in Singapore by Anne Pakir (1986), those in Brunei by Mahmud Bakyr (1968) and those in PNG by Robert Litteral (1999). As for the Malayan context, this writer will mainly rely on the work of Alisjahbana and Asmah as Indonesia and Malaysia have been the most active participants in the language planning process. For PNG, Litteral's study presents a vigorous attempt to show how a multiplicity of different languages can all be channeled into a limited set of *linguae francae* and/or official languages to allow for a successful multiethnic co-existence.

#### 4. Language planning implemented

Before going any further, the reader may wish to consider two of Fishman's most significant concepts, *nationalism* and *nationism*. Asmah (1992, 66) summarizes Fishman's views quite succinctly in one of her chapters by saying that "[t]he concepts of *nationalism* and *nationism* in language planning and language use have been posited by Fishman (1968). He defines nationalism as 'the process of transformation from frag-

mentary and tradition-bound ethnicity to unifying and idealized nationality'. On the other hand, *nationism* is the process 'where the political boundaries are most salient and most efforts are directed towards maintaining and strengthening them, regardless of the immediate character of populations they embrace'." (ibid.) The distinction made by Fishman is crucial for the study of language planning as it explains why the cited countries selected – or in the case of Thailand and PNG maintained – regional codes as their common or national language (nationalism) but allowed the presence of an international language like English to linger on – at least to some extent – in order not to sever a relationship with the broader world but rather for this country to be considered one of its more accountable members (nationism). Thus, *exoglossia* and *endoglossia* work together creating a member of the modern world that cooperates with culturally and technologically advanced countries without losing its own identity. The presence of the Malay language in the region was a fortunate circumstance for the creation of a national language, since it possessed the necessary qualifications for such a task. Malay had existed as a language – although somewhat fragmented due to the specific sites where it was spoken – not only as a lingua franca for trade and business but also as a *high* language in use at Malay courts of the various sultanates and at the official quarters of the Straits Settlements (Melaka, Penang Island and Singapore). Hence, one is not dealing here with a situation where language planning is called upon to create a language *from scratch* but one where some specific aspects of the existing language had merely to be codified, unified or in some special cases adapted and changed. In other words, it was definitely a case of language engineering. The kind of Malay, whether *high* or *low*, was then the material with which language planners had to work and the final outcome and the implementation of such a standardization process was obviously contingent upon several political events in the region. More specifically, the rise of Malay as a national language was closely tied to the obtaining of independence from the colonial powers. Independence was first attained by Indonesia in 1945, by Malaysia in 1957 – with the states of Sarawak and Sabah of Borneo (Eastern Malaysia) following suit in 1963 – by Singapore in 1965 when it separ-

ated from the Federation of Malay States, by Brunei in 1967 when this independent sultanate under British protection became a free nation and by PNG in 1950 when the colonial powers (Britain, Australia) relinquished their control of part of the island. In the subsequent sections 2.1., 2.2. and 2.3. the writer hopes to shed some light on how the Malayan countries went about fitting the existing vernacular into the straightjacket of four national languages, i. e., *Bahasa Indonesia* 'Indonesian language', *Bahasa Malaysia* 'Malaysian language' and – for Singapore and Brunei – *Bahasa Melayu* 'Malay language'. The rationale for selecting Malay as a national language differed however for each of the countries. For Indonesia, it was the desire to elevate the status of a language code *not* natively spoken by the majority – the true majority code being Javanese – in order to avoid the selection being interpreted as a political mandate of the governing party. For Malaysia, it was the desire to bond together ethnicities often belonging to unrelated language groups, such as the speakers of different Chinese and Indian varieties and of aboriginal languages. For Singapore, it was the desire to grant each major ethnic language national status – English, Mandarin and Tamil enjoying equal status – and for Brunei as the most homogeneous region to make the *de facto* a *de jure* language. All this is actually reflected in the label by which these languages are known, i. e., the language of Indonesia, the language for all Malaysians, the Malay language spoken in either Singapore or Brunei. The end result for the region turned out the same: a variety of High Malay has become the medium of instruction in schools and is at present the appropriate code for conducting governmental affairs' with some limitations applying to Singapore however (see below, section 4.2).

#### 4.1. The planning of Bahasa Indonesia

##### 4.1.1. Two cultural processes

S. Takdir Alisjahbana (1976) makes considerable efforts in his book to focus on culture change as a powerful tool when the process of language change is underway. In effect, he makes the meaningful distinction between *expressive* and *progressive* cultures, two processes that, he says, marked in Europe the transition from the religious and aesthetic to the theoretical and economic

during more than half of the second millennium (from the Middle Ages to Modern Age). A similar transition is now underway in Asia but the time factor involved has changed – not centuries but decades – and this reduced time element is what has created the chaos that few language planners are aware of, a chaos that has created a special burden on them to unify the existing code.

##### 4.1.2. From Jawi to Rumi

The romanization of Malay had already been carried out prior to Indonesia's independence so that by 1945 Bahasa Indonesia could already be written with Roman (Rumi) rather than Arabic (Jawi) characters. So, the above-mentioned chaos did not consist in the choice between one or the other script but rather in the way that the romanized spelling could be reformed so that Indonesians would all write their language in the same way because of the country's special concern for the writing skills of school-bound children. The emerging standardized form of Indonesian writing contained only few adjustments to the spelling of Malay words but the incorporation of foreign words of Arabic, Sanskrit or English origin required some changes in the phonemic/phonetic inventory in order to symbolize with Roman characters the foreign sounds or sound clusters that had not previously been part of that inventory. We are told of the various stages of that renewal beginning with Van Ophuysen's spelling of 1896, Suwandi's in 1947 and continuing with the first Malaya spelling reform in 1904 to finally arrive at a joint Indonesia/Malaysia orthography in 1972. The writer will say more about this reform in the section on the Malaysian reform in section 3.2.1.

##### 4.1.3. Coining of terms

The second concern, one of much greater consequence, was the coining of scientific terms that would allow the language to be used in education and technology. If a transition from expressive to progressive processing was to be accomplished, terms had to be made available in order to allow speakers to address scientific and technological topics as well as to write about them in Bahasa Indonesia so as to assist students, educators and the general public in their desire to expand everybody's knowledge. It was not the language inferiority that was here at

stake but rather the exploration of new frontiers. There had been in the past no need for Malays to discuss *nationality, citizenship, speed, fertilization, digestion* or *sensation* but these new ideas had to be conveyed by utilizing existing roots in the creation of words like *kebangsaan, kewarganegaraan, kecepatan, pembuatan, pencernaan* and *penginderaan* (Alijahbana 1976, 73). Not only Malay roots were used in the coinage but whenever domestic resources were unable to convey the most accurate meaning of a term, Arabic, Sanskrit or English roots were allowed – in this order of preference – to create the new word. In only fifteen years of existence at the time of Alisjahbana's report, the Committee on Terminology of the National Language Institute in Indonesia had coined 321 710 terms (Alijahbana 1976, 25), a figure that allows the reader to grasp the complexity of this part of the language planning process.

#### 4.1.4. Grammatical specificity

As spelling reform is an instance of unification and adaptation, terminology expansion may be seen as a means of extending the intellectual horizon toward new fields of knowledge. Grammatical reform, in turn, is the singling out of grammatical options with the intent of making the best choice in terms of which option should prevail. Accordingly, what the reader is seeing here is the presence of a three-pronged effort of unification-expansion-selection based on *available* resources and not one depending alone on the imagination of an individual planner. Let me give the reader one example of grammatical selection that may illustrate this standardization process. It is important to first understand that one of the grammatical idiosyncracies of the Malay language is the highly sophisticated system of affixation in the sense that the more specific a writer wants to be, the more he depends on the appropriate use of prefixes, suffixes and infixes. Koh Boh Boon (1982, 4) discusses affixation in Malay as follows:

“Pentingnya imbuhan Melayu dalam Bahasa Melayu berpunca bukan saja dari daya membina-katanya tetapi juga kekerapan amat tinggi imbuhan wujud dalam berbagai jenis ayat. Sebenarnya, makin kompleks dan tepat suatu idea yang hendak dilahirkan atau disampaikan, makin besar keperluannya untuk membubuh imbuhan pada kata-kata yang digunakan untuk mengeluarkan makna yang hendak disampaikan itu. Umpamanya, marilah kita mengambil satu ayat mudah:

Pada hari itu, Alias *dikatakan bersama-sama kakaknya* hendak mandi di perigi itu apabila *kejadian* itu *berlaku*.” [The importance of Malay affixes in the Malay language originates not only from the power of word construction but there also exists a very high frequency of affixes in several kinds of sentences. In reality, the more complex and precise an idea that shall be borne out is, the greater is its need to attach the affix to the words that are used to reveal the meaning that will be conveyed there. For an example, let us take one easy sentence: On that day, Alias was told at the same time [when] his sister wanted to swim in the well, [that] the event occurred.] (The writer's translation)

The prefixes *di-*, *ber-*, *ke-* and the suffixes *-kan* *-nya*, *-an* serve this very purpose of precision that Koh Boh Boon mentions, although the exact nature of each might have escaped the earlier Malay speaker because of some phonetic overlap between the affixes and some free forms, e. g., the affixial *di-* is the passive marker, whereas a free form of *di* is the preposition ‘in’ (*dikatakan* vs. *di rumah* ‘in the house’). By the same token, the prefix *ke-* must be distinguished from the preposition *ke*. The former is part of the nominalization affix, the latter is the preposition ‘to’ (*kejadian* vs. *ke rumah* ‘to the house’). Even the nature of affixes may differ as is the case between the suffix *-nya* and the suffix *-kan*, the former being a pronominal suffix ‘his/her’ and the latter, a verbalizing suffix with causative intent (*kakanya* ‘his sister’ vs. *dikatakan* ‘told’). These subtleties of grammaticality could not have been appreciated prior to the grammar reform and the careful selection of an appropriate affix has now become the attribute of educated Malay speech (High Malay).

#### 4.2. The planning of Bahasa Malaysia

There is hardly a scholar that has written more on the language situation in Malaysia than Asmah Haji Omar. In one of her books (1992) the Dean of the *Fakulti Bahasa dan Sosiolinguistik* gathers together the research earlier published elsewhere in sources less accessible for Malaysian readers and provides us with an insight as to how the Malay language had become Bahasa Malaysia. Her emphasis differs from that of the frequently cited Indonesian scholar (see above) in that she focuses less on the cultural aspect and more on the intervention of official agencies as instruments of Language planning. Congresses, specialized committees, activities of the *Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka* (the Lan-

guage and Literacy Agency) seem to have had a greater impact on Malaysia than the potential cultural shock suggested by Alisjahbana as a factor responsible for the change from an expressive to a progressive orientation. And in effect, the accomplishments of the Agency have truly been impressive. The foundation of the Agency goes back to pre-independence days when it was proposed at the First Congress for Malay (1952) that a bureau be established to carry “the responsibility of controlling, enriching and disseminating the Malay culture and literary heritage internationally” (1992, 196). This Congress chose the motto *Bahasa Jiwa Bangsa* ‘Language is the soul of the race’ which eventually became the motto of the Agency. Its activities encompassed the publication of textbooks for the schools and numerous editions of Malay literature but its greatest contribution was to produce a corpus of legal terms that enabled the Government to pressure the legal profession to use Bahasa Malaysia rather than English in the administration of justice at most courts. For this purpose the Agency established a committee consisting of lawyers and academics who in 1970 published a first edition of a terminology book named *Istilah Undang Undang* that in its revised edition of 1985 contained 3404 English entries each with its equivalent in Bahasa Malaysia (op. cit., 112).

#### 4.2.1. Spelling reform

In general, one observes in Malaysia, because of the later date of its independence, some similarity with what had already occurred in Indonesia some years earlier. Two differences however can be singled out, (1) the much greater reluctance to part with Jawi script as the Arabic writing system seemed to be the very embodiment of Islam and Malaysia as a Muslim country was reluctant to do away with the association between script and religion. As a matter of fact, some Jawi inscriptions still adorn some Malaysian buildings today as the home of the Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka can attest. (2) As a result of the British colonial rule, the English language was still in the minds of most Malaysians, so that many borrowings reflected English usage, whereas Indonesian borrowings were leaning toward Dutch, the language of that country’s previous colonial masters. The mutual desire however to coordinate the language changes in the two countries made it possible, once

the earlier political confrontation between them (*confrontasi*) had subsided, to reduce these differences to a minimum to the extent that Malaysian and Indonesian loanwords today are not very different from one another. On the other hand, it seems strange that these two countries became so concerned with the principle of *sameness* of Malay, whereas the western world has had so little concern for the sameness of language forms in two different countries as the spelling differences between British and American English can show.

Asmah does not provide much information on the spelling reform but we can deduce some by reexamining Alisjahbana’s tables (1976, 61f), although one occasionally notes an apparent confusion in his letter-sound correlations. Let us extrapolate here some of these graphemic-phonemic/phonetic correlations:

/ph/, [allo]	V.O.	Su.	Malaya	Malaysia/ Indo
	1896	1947	1904	1972
/a/ [a],[ə]	a	a	a	a
/ε	é	e	e	e
/u/	oe	u	u	u
/č/	tj	tj	ch	c
/j/	dj	dj	j	j
/k/ [k],[ʔ]	k	k	k	k
/χ/	ch	ch	kh	kh
/ñ/	nj	nj	ny	ny
/š/	sj	sj	sy	sy

[V.O.=Van Ophuysen; Su=Suwandi]

The few changes illustrated here show that only a small number of modifications was felt necessary to write *Bahasa Melayu* in a way that it would serve all countries involved.

Pronunciation may be thought of as the other side of the phonological coin and as such the changes in the pronunciation of Bahasa Malaysia reveal the country’s effort to standardize the way that Malaysians speak.



Asmah (op. cit., 212) writes about this “effort to evolve a new standard pronunciation” that led to the enforcement of *Bahasa Baku* ‘standard language’ according to which all the sounds of Bahasa Malaysia were to reflect the way they were written, such that *apa* ‘what’ that was pronounced [apə] would be realized as [apa] because the Government planners saw no reason why the grapheme <a> should sound [a] in certain environments but [ə] in others. Although Asmah is not quite right when she argues that Bahasa Malaysia spelling is graphemic – obviously all spellings are matters of graphemics – and not phonetic, she should have classified it rather as phonemic with [a] and [ə] as the two members of the phoneme /a/. She is right however in saying that “the principle of pronouncing the word according to the way it is spelt not only deviates from the rule of pronunciation *vis-a-vis* orthography, but also generates *facetious ways of pronouncing words* [Italics, the writer’s]. Be that as it may, Bahasa Baku was implemented regardless of the objections of part of the population through governmental enforcement so that television stations like *TV3* would have their announcers speak in that way all the time. What appeared to be an inevitable permanent change in the eighties is now challenged, – two decades later. A recent announcement in the *New Straits Times* (Kuala Lumpur, 25 January, 2000) reads as follows: “Deputy Prime Minister Datuk Seri Abdullah Ahmad Badawi said today the Cabinet will discuss further its directive to do away with *Bahasa baku* after feedback from various sources. [...] The Cabinet decided recently that all television and radio broadcasts revert to standard Bahasa Malaysia.” It follows from here that when arbitrary language decisions are made, Government actions are sometimes amended in response to non-Governmental pressures.

#### 4.2.2. Terms for educational effectiveness

After sharing with English the status of national language for ten years, Bahasa Malaysia became in 1967 Malaysia’s only national language. Nevertheless, the presence of English lingered on for many more years and can still be sensed today at various levels of proficiency. On the other hand, the fact that the national language was now the only medium of instruction at the elementary level and extended gradually to the secondary and tertiary levels, required of

schoolmasters and university professors alike that they teach, not through the English medium, but through Bahasa Malaysia. The lack of textbooks in the national language was seen as a major hurdle to teach in Bahasa Malaysia and it was the failure of having accurate Malay equivalents for English terms that was blamed ultimately for this lack of materials. Hence, the brunt of the standardization efforts would consist in the creation of new terms in order to enable textbook writers at all levels of the educational establishment to write and publish the needed books. In one of her chapters, Asmah (1975, 116–134) singles out the two factors that are crucial for the coinage of new technical terms, i.e., whether a given concept already exists in Bahasa Malaysia or whether that concept is alien to the community. As for the first one, a word may already exist in the language but must be elevated to the status of technical term as is the case with *sulphur* and *boiler* rendered in Bahasa as *belerang* and *dandang*, respectively. In turn, when the Malay words do not prove to be fully satisfactory, loans from other languages may come in handy as in *geografi* for ‘geography’ or *pengalveolaran* for ‘alveolarization’. Wherever concepts are alien to Malaysians, one will have to look for other means to produce equivalents, either through calques or phonetically integrated loanwords, e.g., *rangkaian* ‘network’ and *oksigen* ‘oxygen’. Adaptations or creations of terms like these were the responsibility of the Terminology Committee of the Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka during the 44 years of the existence of this Agency.

#### 4.2.3. Grammar: the formal vs. the informal

It seems difficult to pinpoint the grammatical change in Bahasa Malaysia beyond what has already been discussed in section 2.1.3 above. Changes did however occur as one can observe in the discussion of Gan Kok Sing (1991, 9–10) who cites Asmah and comments on her breakdown into three periods of Malay grammar as used in the school system between the years 1960–71, namely, (1) the traditional approach (Abdul Rahman, Darus Ahmad, Daud Baharum et al.), (2) the transitional approach (Mhd. Kassim, Raja Mukhtaruddin Dain) and (3) the structural approach (Asmah and Rama Subiah, Asraf). To this listing of linguistic approaches to grammatical analysis, Gan Kok

Sing adds the name of Nik Safiah who examined Malay grammar from a generative perspective. However, this listing of approaches addresses more the linguistic format than the actual changes that occurred when the lingua franca developed into the national language. On the other hand, some of those changes can be deduced from a discussion where Asmah (1993, 52–53) discusses the use of affixation and stresses the fact that many native speakers have never mastered the use of *me-* vs. *ber-*, *-kan* versus *-i* as well as several other affixes. She illustrates her comments by citing the following dichotomy for the use of the prefix *me-*:

Formal	Informal
<i>menimba</i>	<i>nimba, timba</i> ‘draw water’
<i>memanjat</i>	<i>manjat, panjat</i> ‘to climb’
<i>menyewa</i>	<i>nyewa, sewa</i> ‘to rent, to hire’

and explains these examples by arguing that “[...] the informal or colloquial counterpart of *Dia menimba air* ‘he draws water’ is *Dia nimba air* or *Dia timba air*. In the same way, the sentence *Monyet saya memanjat pokok pinang itu* ‘my monkey climbed that arecanut palm’ is in the informal variety reproduced as *Monyet saya manjat pokok pinang itu* or *Monyet saya panjat pokok pinang itu.*” This argument coincides with some of the earlier comments made on the importance of using correct affixes when speaking or writing in *high* Malay.

## 5. Bahasa Melayu

### 5.1. Pluricentricity of the Malay language

The pluricentricity of Malay as a language of several countries can be appreciated from the fact that the language had spread out from its focal area in the southern parts of the Malaysian peninsula and neighboring islands (Johore-Riau) to a wide geographical area covering hundreds of thousand square miles and was being spoken by close to 150 million people to become the sixth largest language in the world. It therefore comes as no surprise that the changes that came about in the center of that area (West Malaysia/Western Indonesia) spread outward to also be adopted in more distant regions.

### 5.2. Singapore and Brunei

Despite its relative proximity to the cited focal area, Singapore had never been a leading force in Malay language developments

as this Nation-State was dividing its language concerns between four different national languages, only one of them being Malay. As for Brunei, this small enclave located between two East-Malaysian states on the isle of Borneo achieved its independence much later so that when the country wrote its constitution in the late sixties, most innovations to the Malay language had already been carried out by Indonesia and Malaysia and all that the country could do was to follow suit and implement also for Brunei the changes adopted by Indonesia and Malaysia. As a result, it is quite understandable why, in Singapore and Brunei, the Malay language was not identified as the language of the nation nor as the unifying element of nationhood but was merely seen as the language spoken in that particular geographic area. Therefore, there is no *Bahasa Singapura* nor *Bahasa Brunei* but just *Bahasa Melayu*. Singapore’s need to grant equal status to each of its four major ethnic groups, and Brunei’s selection of Malay over other related local varieties created a powerful rationale for keeping language and nation apart from one another. In fact, very little is known of any contribution to the Malay standardization process in Brunei, a country of barely 2200 square miles and inhabited by merely 275000 people. It may just be too small a country to have produced language scholars to shed light on the process. Mahmud Bakyr (1968) and also a few others have done some work along these lines but their studies have not been available to this writer. As for Singapore, one is not in a much better position to trace the development of the standardization of Malay or, for that matter, of language planning activities in general as the Malay language has taken a back seat in regard to the role of English as medium of instruction in schools, particularly in the fields of science and technology. What the literature does however discuss is the extent to which Malay has held its own among Malay ethnics. Kathy Thom (1989) focuses on the survival of three Malay dialects in Singapore, Formal Malay, Bazaar Malay and Baba Malay, where the first one is more comprehended (competence) than actually spoken (performance). Bazaar Malay is what we had called above *Low Malay* and as such reflects no standardization at all. By the same token, Baba Malay is also a non-standard variety of the language that goes back in time to the sixteenth century when Hok-

kien Chinese migrated to Melaka after the arrival of the Portuguese in order to carry out business transactions between India and China. Later, in the nineteenth century, most Baba Malays migrated to Singapore (Thom, 69). Anne Pakir (1986) has done her share to describe this Baba speech but it is still today one of the least respected Malay dialects in Singapore. The sociolinguistic picture of the Malay language in Singapore as described by Thom shows the reader that there has been little, if any, contribution to the language standardization process of Malay in the City-State of Singapore although one detects a climate of tolerance toward the ethnic language so as to grant it a fair and egalitarian status on the island.

#### 6. PNG: Experiment in vernacular education

Contrary to the language planning situations in the Malay world with its emphasis on national unity and the desire to participate in world affairs, the situation in PNG is community-oriented with apparently little concern for the outside world. The sociolinguistic matrix of PNG is of course quite unique because of its more than 850 languages spoken on its part of the island, the western part belonging to Indonesia. At the time of Litteral's first report (1993) on the language situation in PNG there was an acute need to bring the various hundreds of language groups together without alienating them from their vernacular cultures and, at the same time, providing them with the linguistic tools needed to educate them properly. Whether this approach represents only a first phase in the language planning process is difficult to determine on the basis of data available at present. In the preamble to the *National language and literacy policy* in the appendix of the report, Litteral writes that "in order to improve the quality of education, to strengthen traditional cultures and values, to facilitate participation by all citizens in national life, to promote national unity and to raise the level of literacy in *tokples* [village language/linguae francae], *Tok Pisin*, *Hiri Motu* [national languages] and *English* [italics R. J.], we recommend the development of education programmes to ensure that children, out of school youths and adults become literate in *tokples*, transfer their skills to Tok Pisin, Hiri Motu or English and maintain and expand their

literacy skills in these languages" (Litteral, 1999:9). The responsibilities to carry out the implementation of the programs, rather than being enforced by governmental authorities alone, are shared by the community, the provincial government and, to some extent, by the national government. More often than not, these implementations are only encouraged leaving it up to the communities how rigorously they want them to be incorporated in the educational system.

In the historical development of language education policies, one can discern three phases, (1) with English as medium of instruction and strong emphasis on westernization (colonial times), (2) with English continuing as medium of instruction but a weakening of westernization efforts and debates favoring vernacular education (early post-independence times, 1950–70) and (3) gradual transition from English as medium of instruction to the use of vernaculars with the assistance of a non-governmental organization (NGO), the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL), for material production and teacher training for literacy. No westernization efforts were to be made. The transition on a broader scale, referred to in (3), took place as soon as the experimental implementation in one province was felt to have been successful (1980).

When the educational reform was finally approved by the Parliament, it became official that literacy had first to be attained in the *tok ples* but it was up to the community to decide which vernacular or, in some cases, lingua franca was to be used in local schools. Adherence to the policy – as already mentioned – was voluntary but certain strategies were strongly encouraged, such as, *vernacular preparatory schools*, *vernacular literacy in grade one*, *grade one bridging classes*, *use of vernacular in non-core subjects*, *vernacular literacy maintenance*, *vernacular activities beyond elementary schooling*.

In supporting the experiment in vernacular education, Litteral (1999: 6–9) addresses the three questions that Fasold (1985) asks in regard to vernacular language education, that is, (1) Is it possible?, (2) Does it work?, (3) Is it worth it? and, contrary to Fasold, answers each of them in the affirmative, even though the available evaluation has been quite informal so far. The success is mainly based on the extent to which the community has become, after the implementation of the new policies, more greatly satisfied with the

literacy skills of its children and, by the same token, on how vernacular education has now spread throughout the country. In any event, it is quite impressive to realize that education in PNG is now conducted in 250 different languages and that each of these languages has been modernized sufficiently to teach school subjects in the elementary grades. No eradication policy is in place to promote the attrition of any one language but, in turn, there is a strong desire to help the indigenous population to cultivate and cherish each and all of them as part of their national treasure.

## 7. Conclusion

The alternative treatment here of the notion *Language Planning* has revealed a number of far-reaching facts: (1) The contributions of several language planning theoreticians has brought about a deeper, more precise understanding of this emerging field; hence, acknowledgment of the contributions to this field goes, not only to the original founder, but also to those responsible for its further development. (2) In a treatment of language planning, it may be preferable that a writer's orientation be third-world-focused, since the industrialized-world-focus always leads us to concentrate on language cultivation but not language planning. Language cultivation implies a look backward with strong historical implications; thus, it is quite different from language engineering's forward looking perspective. (3) Language planning is here not the creation of a language *from scratch* but the identification of an existing language in its need of further development of some of its constituents. (4) Of the third-world countries where Language planning was implemented, the Malay-speaking world of Southeast Asia allows – because of its pluricentric political cohesion – for a scenario designed to understand the intrinsic nature of language planning. If some discrepancy is found between what theoreticians have recommended and what has actually been done, this shows that the final word in language planning seldom comes from the language planning consultant from abroad but from the planner within (Government). (5) A different example of language treatment, that of Papua New Guinea, shows that new language policies do not have to be enforced by governmental agencies but can be successfully implemented at the commu-

nity level and on a voluntary basis. The reference to *national unity* in both language planning contexts seems to suggest a differential vision of the unity in terms of internal vs. external conceptualization. For Malayan countries, it means an emphasis on the nation as opposed to other nations; for PNG, it is the concept of unification of hundreds of language groups *within* the home country. (6) A treatment of language planning can show a *horizontal* focus, that is, it can be panoramic, or it can display a *vertical* one, meaning that it will provide for an in-depth analysis of the most representative regions. Such a focus on language modernization in selected areas has here been chosen. (7) Any in-depth treatment of a given region may still involve differences in the modernization processes as was shown by juxtaposing the language treatments of Indonesia/Malaysia on one hand to Singapore/Brunei on the other. Furthermore, language planning efforts are not always enforced by governmental agencies as the case of PNG shows where the communities play a crucial role in those efforts. It is hoped that these seven factors will assist the reader in capturing a deeper understanding of what occurs when new nations seek to address the language issues of their countries.

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## 244. Language Maintenance and Reversing Language Shift Spracherhalt und Umkehr von Sprachwechsel

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3. Why do speakers of minority languages stop using them?
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### 1. Introduction

Judging from the titles of articles recently published, one has the impression that there may be some light at the end of the tunnel leading to the loss of minority languages (Jones 1998; Hinton 1998; Wurm 1999). This comes as a surprise since many researchers see little or no chance for the reversal of a language shift already underway. Edwards (1985, 98) writes that "we can [...] regret the loss of *any* language but it is not at all certain that we can do more [...]" and

Krauss (in Bereznak/Campbell 1996, 659) states that only 10% of the currently existing languages are "'safe' from the danger of extinction." If one takes a more detailed look at the publications cited above, the hope of a massive reversal of language shift disappears rapidly. Jones (1998, 17) states that "the Welsh language now has a considerable degree of institutional and popular support which, despite continuing losses from among its native-speakers, make it legitimate to consider it an expanding language" and Wurm (1999, 170) writes that "today old and young Djabugay [a people in Queensland, Australia] use the language in everyday speech, at least key words and phrases." It is difficult to agree with these statements because it seems highly unlikely that Hebrew, the only confirmed case of language revival (Ferguson 1977, 19; Edwards 1985, 86; Bratt Paulston 1994, 93), was rescued by losing

“its native speakers” or its native speakers’ indulging in the use of some “key words and phrases.” Therefore, one may rather conclude that the optimistic opinions expressed by Hinton, Jones, and Wurm are exaggerations or that they define the concept *reversal* too loosely. Either way, the articles reflect the high degree of ideology involved in the discussion about the fate of minority languages (Edwards 1985, 52; Dorian 1994, 118f). On one side there are researchers advocating absolute pluralism who see in the existence of many different cultures and languages a positive value *per se* (Wurm, Dorian, and Fishman among others), and on the other side there are researchers, such as Edwards and Stein, who are satisfied with stating the facts and trying to explain them, mostly following Hall’s *dictum* of “Leave your language alone!” In this article the positions of both sides will be presented by addressing the following questions: Why do speakers of minority languages stop using them, should minority languages be saved, and can minority languages be saved?

## 2. Some preliminary remarks and definitions

2.1. The title of this article mentions *language maintenance* and *reversing language shift*, concepts which were introduced by two highly influential scholars in the field. Kloss (1966) was the first who tried to systematically categorize sociolinguistic factors as favorable or unfavorable for minority languages in order to explain their maintenance or loss (for a detailed discussion cf. Kaufmann 1997, chapter 2.1), while Fishman (1990; 1991a) coined the term *reversing language shift* and introduced a scheme which he calls “the eight stage analysis of and prescription for RLS [reversing language shift]” (Fishman 1990, 16). In this scheme Fishman gives a detailed sequence of steps to be followed in order to reverse language shift. The first four stages (Fishman 1990, 18–22) which Fishman regards as “particularly urgent and germane” (1990, 19) only affect the life of the ethnic group in question. The stages are the linguistic reassembly of its language-model (stage 8), the use of the language among the elderly population in public events, rituals, courses, etc. (stage 7), the transition of the language into the real, natural, and daily life of the whole community (stage 6), and the introduction

of formal (written) varieties (stage 5; cf. section 5.4). With the achievement of these stages such a language can be successfully maintained in a diglossic situation. If the efforts of the ethnic group on behalf of its language transcend its group boundaries, the symbolic position of its language can be further improved. Fishman (1990, 22) cautions, however, against a premature transition because this might increase the chances of negative reactions by the affected majority group. These four stages (Fishman 1990, 23–26) refer to the role of the language in school (stage 4; cf. section 5.3.), in the workplace (stage 3), in lower governmental services offered to the public and local mass media (stage 2), and the upper reaches of education, media, and government operations (stage 1). Fishman stresses repeatedly that all these intergroup efforts must be linked to stage 6, the most important one, because without such a link they would hardly have any positive effect. The most important asset of Fishman’s scheme is that he proposes a concept under which one can convincingly subsume the large number of terms such as *language revival*, *language revitalization*, and *language maintenance*, which are assiduously distinguished by others (Hornberger/King 1996, 428; Bratt Paulston 1994, chapter 7). *Language revival* could be seen as reversing a language shift which has been completed, *language revitalization* as reversing a language shift which is well advanced, and *language maintenance* as reversing a language shift which has just begun. Fishman’s concept has the advantage of stressing the similarities of the processes and avoiding being too specific about questions which are hard to answer or irrelevant with regard to the process as such, for example, was Hebrew a dead language and had to be revived or is the existence of a written form and some very few native speakers enough to call it a case of revitalization? For Fishman, language revival starts with stage 8 and language revitalization with stages 7 or 6 depending on the degree of language shift which has already occurred.

A distinction which has to be made is whether one talks about restoring a spoken language or creating a written form for an exclusively oral language (Fishman 1985, 69). Creating a written form may enhance the chances for the survival of a language in the modern literate world and can be done by some interested non-linguists with the

help of linguists. Restoring the spoken form of a language is a much more challenging task. Here, it is not just the question whether the community members will accept a (new) medium of literacy but whether they are interested in maintaining their linguistic heritage at all.

2.2. In this article a *minority language* is defined as a language (which might or might not exist in other parts of the world) of an ethnic group (indigenous or immigrant) whose speakers are in direct and frequent contact with a (normally) different ethnic group which is more numerous and more powerful and whose members speak a different language.

It is justifiable to add the attribute *minority* to the concept *language*, which appears in the title, simply because majority groups are normally not in danger of losing their language in contact situations. A *minority community* can be defined in two ways, either with regard to the number of members or with regard to the power they have (Haugen 1980, 100). The most typical minority communities are the ones which are neither powerful nor numerous and run by far the highest risk of losing their language. This is true for almost all indigenous peoples in Australia, North and South America as well as for most immigrants around the world. If one only considers small and powerless communities the number of apparently successful cases of reversing language shift is drastically reduced, because it is arguable whether frequently cited cases like Catalan, French in Quebec or German in Southern Tyrol can be considered as languages of minority communities. Firstly, in all these cases the ethnic groups involved may be in a numerical minority situation with regard to the whole country but not with regard to their region (Edwards 1992, 39; Eichinger 1996, 249, 252; but cf. Dorian 1998, 13/footnote 8); and it seems that relative numbers are more important for language maintenance than absolute ones (Simpson 1980, 236f). Secondly, and perhaps more importantly, because of their political and economic situation these communities are not really powerless in relation to the respective majority groups (Hamel 1997, 121 for Quebec and Catalonia).

With respect to *language* there are two points which need to be discussed. Firstly, there is the question whether one should differentiate between an indigenous language

and the language of an immigrant group. From a sociological point of view such a difference does not seem justifiable because the minority situation of such groups is not always influenced by the question whether or not they recently migrated into the region (Fasold et al. 1992, 7; Edwards 1992, 41). However, it seems that, from a sociolinguistic point of view, immigrant languages disappear faster than indigenous languages in comparable situations (Liebersohn 1980, 24), perhaps because of the different attitudes of immigrants. They cannot claim that their language is the original language of the region and, for the most part, they have chosen to come into contact with another group and its language voluntarily. On the other hand immigrants may find positive support for their language in their country of origin (Dauenhauer/Dauenhauer 1998, 94). The existence of their languages in other parts of the world is the reason why some researchers would completely exclude immigrant languages from this discussion (Fasold 1984, 213f) because German, for example, will not be lost when some German-speaking immigrants stop using it. It may, however, be more appropriate to adopt the point of view of the speech community involved. It is of no interest to an immigrant group that German as a worldwide phenomenon will not disappear if they stop using it because the structure of language shift and the concomitant feelings of the speakers do not normally depend on the question whether or not their language is spoken in another part of the world. The second point is whether one should include the fate of dialects which are in direct contact with a more prestigious standard variety of the same language. There are two reasons to exclude a shift away from a dialect in a dialect-with-standard situation as one may find them in countries like Germany, Spain, or Great Britain. Firstly, the use of dialects in these countries is regionally and socially determined, rather than ethnically and, secondly, the result of the linguistic contact is quite different. Dialects seem to be more resistant than ethnic minority languages. Whether this is the consequence of mutual intelligibility, of a stronger covert prestige or of the fact that these varieties are normally spoken by many people and do not therefore qualify as minority languages, is an interesting question which deserves further investigation.

### 3. Why do speakers of minority languages stop using them?

McConvell (1991, 144) writes that “if we have wrong ideas about how and why people change from one language to another, we are not likely to find the right ways of stopping or reversing the process.” An example of such an incorrect idea is the conviction that speakers of minority languages are always forced to give up their languages. Although there have been many cases involving overt pressure by majority members or government institutions (e.g. Gaelic in Scotland, German in Canada during World War I, German in Brazil during World War II, Kurdish in Turkey, indigenous languages in El Salvador), there is an equal number of cases where overt pressure has not been a factor in language loss (Fishman 1966, 30; Edwards 1985, 54; Dorian 1994, 118). It often seems to be the individual’s free decision to use or not to use his language and to transmit or not to transmit it to his children which is responsible for language shift. However, the lack of visible suppression does not necessarily mean that there are no circumstances which strongly favor the use of a more prestigious language. Le Page and Tabouret-Keller (1985, 185) state that “it may well be that our apparent freedom to ‘choose’ is so powerfully constrained by universal social and psychological factors [...] that it is no real freedom,” and Edwards (1985, 48) supports this view by writing that “in cases in which it seems that groups have shifted voluntarily, there are often elements of coercion.” Examples of such elements are restricted access to power and economic success for speakers of a minority language which most of them are not willing to forsake in favor of their language. Considering this, one has to approach with caution some of Fishman’s earlier observations about language shift. He wrote, for example, that the “linguistic facility and interest of immigrants steadily diminishes or atrophies once they have consciously or unconsciously accepted the American dream” and that linguistic attrition is caused, among other things, by “apathy” (Fishman 1966, 30). People struggling to establish themselves in a society from which they are separated by a different ethnic, cultural, and linguistic background might simply not have the time, the money, and the power to pay the price for maintaining their language, which for

minority communities almost always means maintaining bilingualism (Haugen 1980, 114). The idea of a language as a national resource as claimed by Fishman (1966, chapter 14), Hornberger and King (1996, 428), and Hamel (1997, 108) may simply lie outside the vital interests of minority language speakers.

The mostly positive attitude speakers of minority languages hold toward their language (Fishman 1966, 397; Hornberger/King 1996, 431f) is a clear indication that the loss of a minority language is far from being simply a sin of conscious omission. In spite of these positive attitudes, members of a minority community may decide not to teach their language to their children (Fishman/Nahirny 1966, 103; Huffines 1991, 44). In order to comprehend this apparent contradiction it is important to understand that they do not stop transmitting their language because they do not like it, but because they want themselves and their children to have a better chance in life (Edwards 1985, 50). The result of such individual reasoning is often the disappearance of the language. Keller would describe language shift, as he describes language change, as a phenomenon of the third kind (“*Phänomen der dritten Art*”, i.e. neither a natural phenomenon nor an artifact). He writes: “*Ein Phänomen der dritten Art ist die kausale Konsequenz einer Vielzahl individueller intentionaler Handlungen, die mindestens partiell ähnlichen Intentionen dienen*” (Keller 1994, 92). The individual intentional actions which Keller mentions are the decisions of members of a minority community to give their children a better chance in life by using the prestigious majority language at home; the unintended consequence of this is the loss of the minority language because the children are not sufficiently exposed to it. Fasold (1984, 239), too, writes that “language maintenance and shift are the long-term, collective consequences of consistent patterns of language choice.” Thus language loss may be described as an unwanted epiphenomenon of a benevolent and sound behavior. Adam Smith called explanations of such phenomena *invisible hand explanations* because everybody has an individual intention but the collective outcome, be it negative or positive, was nobody’s intention and therefore it is hard to hold someone responsible for it. This is the main argument against reproaches such as lack of “linguistic interest” or “apathy.”



Ryan (1979, 155) writes that “low-prestige speech varieties persist basically because the speakers do not want to give them up.” This seems to be correct but in many cases the reverse is not true, low-prestige ethnic languages do not disappear because their speakers want to give them up.

#### 4. Should minority languages be saved?

Wurm (1999, 163) writes that the loss of languages is a “sad fact.” All linguists will probably agree with that, but the question is whether they should interfere in such processes. Very often it only seems to be possible to reverse a language shift if one neglects the whole process of modernization and therefore the suggestions made by advocates of reversing language shift are frequently of a somewhat doubtful nature. Sometimes one has the impression that they bewail the “lack of strong inhibition to marrying outside the ethnic group” (Smolicz 1992, 300; cf. also Bratt Paulston 1994, 102) and they seem to be in favor of “physical and ideological separation, in order to guarantee continuity of language and culture” (Peltz 1991, 202 about Fishman; cf. also Fishman in Edwards 1985, 96). They also blame radio and television programs in the majority language because they “exacerbate the present condition of constant exposure to English [the majority language in California]” (Hinton 1998, 85). What they sometimes seem to forget is that contact between different ethnic groups in a world full of wars and racism is a very positive thing and that there should be no obstacles whatsoever for interethnic marriages in an open-minded society. It is also definitely better to have much information in a majority language than little or no information in a minority language. The regrettable loss of languages might be the price we have to pay for a modern and more united world. Admittedly, it is mostly weak groups which have to pay this price but this is not new. It makes no sense to use television, airplanes, and the internet and at the same time lament the loss of cultural and linguistic diversity because this is just the other side of the coin (section 5.1.). If groups like the Old Order Mennonites or Ultra-Orthodox Jews decide to practice isolation, one has to accept this but one should not promote it. Most of the supporters of reversing language shift are

aware of the somewhat awkward situation they are in. Fishman’s acknowledgment that “every people must have the right to reject its past” (1966, 389) and that “all should be free, of course, to choose and fashion their own continuity or discontinuity” (1999, 451) accompany his whole academic career. Bratt Paulston (1994, 9), too, writes that one must face the fact that “ethnic groups within a modern nationstate [...] typically shift to the language of the dominant group,” although one may not like this fact.

Because of the complex situation in which one finds minority communities and their languages, the attempt to reverse language shift is a tricky one, and overly simplistic efforts are much criticized. Lopez (1991, 136) writes that maintaining a minority language might be “the most effective way to keep minorities under control, and easier to exploit,” and Edwards (1985, 95) regards the interest of outsiders in maintaining a language in many cases as “patronizing and naive.” What follows from all this is that linguists should be precise and thorough in describing and explaining the processes of language loss and language maintenance (e. g. the approaches of Edwards 1992; Kaufmann 1997) but very careful in judging these processes; and they should only intervene if there is a strong wish for reversing a language shift among the majority of the members of an ethnic minority group, especially among the younger members. This wish should plainly surpass the mere existence of positive feelings toward the language. It is pretty clear that the ethnic revival in the United States in the 1960s and 1970s would not qualify as an indicator of such a strong wish (Fishman 1985, 506–508). Linguists should also always be aware of their role as outsiders because as Fennel (1980, 39) writes, “a shrinking language minority cannot be saved by the actions of well-wishers who do not belong to the minority in question” (cf. also Dorian 1998, 21).

#### 5. Can minority languages be saved?

5.1. Fishman (1996, 905) writes that “language reinforcement is, essentially, a well-nigh revolutionary reconstitution of society and, indeed, without such a reconstitution they [language reinforcement efforts] cannot succeed.” That this is indeed so, can be demonstrated by Fishman’s comparison of 13 communities where language reinforcement

efforts take place. In table 2 (1991b, 291) which uses the scheme of the eight stage analysis presented in section 2.1. one can see that only four communities have completely mastered the pivotal stage 6, guaranteeing the usage of their ethnic language in real, natural, and daily communication. But the status of these languages is not representative of typical minority languages. Two of them are not being included here because of the number and power of their speakers (Catalan and French in Quebec) and the other two have very uncommon histories (Yiddish of Ultra-Orthodox Jews and Hebrew in Palestine). The nine languages which have not mastered, or not completely mastered, stage 6 are all clear cases of minority languages (Puerto Rican Spanish in New York City, Navajo, Australian Immigrant languages, Frisian, Basque, selected aboriginal languages of Australia, Yiddish of secular Jews, Irish, and Maori in New Zealand). This clearly shows the grim reality for any attempt to reverse language shift. The reason for this is precisely the complex social texture in which language is just one component. Just intervening on behalf of language is therefore mostly a fruitless effort. This applies to many of the attempts of introducing minority languages in schools and creating written forms for exclusively oral languages (sections 5.3. and 5.4.). If one accepts language shift as a phenomenon of the third kind (section 3), one has to accept the fact that the only possible way for planning – as Fishman states – is to change the ecological conditions of language use (Keller 1994, 128f). Almost all of these conditions are of a non-linguistic nature. They are mostly power-relations and market-relations and it is interesting to note that most researchers seem to be aware of this (Edwards 1985, 64), which does not keep some of them from planning changes exclusively connected to language. They may be trapped by a “decontextualized, structuralist view of language” and may “lack a differentiated insight into the discursive and linguistic complexity of language-conflict situations,” as Hamel (1997, 107) states. He describes three different levels in such situations, namely “cultural patterns and models,” “discourse structures,” and “linguistic codes and structures” (Hamel 1997, 111). With regard to a majority language, all three levels are in harmony because they share the same cultural and linguistic source. In a con-

flict situation, especially the first two levels of a minority language may be strongly influenced by the dominant society, leaving the minority linguistic codes and structures suspended in mid-air (Hamel 1997, 113; cf. also Smolicz 1992, 279). This could explain the apparent speed with which some groups shift from one language to another. The process is a much slower one but most of it is not as easily visible as the shift of the linguistic codes and structures, which appears to happen very fast when analyzed in isolation (cf. also Dorian 1994, 116). Hamel's conclusion is that “linguistic rights cannot be defended in isolation since language or speech as such cannot be protected directly.” He hopes that it is possible to protect “the social conditions of production and reception of speech and of a cultural mode of symbolic (re)production” (Hamel 1997, 122). Whether such a protection can be achieved in a peaceful way is very doubtful (Fishman 1996, 905; Bratt Paulston 1994, 87). The armed uprising of the indigenous population in Chiapas, Mexico in 1994 is a clear attempt to gain control over one's own way of life in a situation where minorities are exocategorized (Skutnabb-Kangas 1999, 45).

The basic problem may simply be the fact that capitalism does not, and cannot, respect much cultural and linguistic diversity because progress – the inevitable engine of capitalism – destroys the cultural and geographical space necessary for the survival of minority cultures and languages. With regard to products, progress means constantly developing new technologies which, like airplanes, television, and the internet, increase the spread of mainstream cultural values and thus diminish the cultural space for indigenous communities. With regard to the market, progress means, among other things, gaining new trade regions thus destroying local economic rules. Once these rules do not any longer function the indigenous people are forced to adopt the foreign economic system which they often consider to be better instead of simply considering it as more aggressive and mostly less sustainable. It is this feeling of inferiority which leads to the process of language shift described in section 3. To alter this feeling a “revolutionary reconstitution” really seems to be necessary.

5.2. The measures taken by language planners who want to help minority communities to save their linguistic heritage ap-

pear somewhat disproportionate in the face of these complex interactions. They normally do not have the power to change the ecological conditions and even if they do, their measures are mostly not very successful. The fact that the Irish government has given so much support to the Irish language with so little success is an interesting example (Dorian 1987, 66; Edwards 1985, 65), especially if one considers that there is not even an ethnic difference between the Irish-speaking minority and the English-speaking majority. The goal of the Irish government was precisely to alter the ecological conditions by removing “the pressures in favor of English which were exerted by the schools and the administrative system,” and by improving “the standard of living and the economic conditions of the Gaeltacht” (Government report from 1926, in Fennel 1980, 33). But most of these measures, such as giving money to families whose children still spoke Irish, were of an artificial nature and were not really supported by the speakers of Irish. Keller (1994, 129) states: “*Jeder sprachliche Prozeß geht den langen Marsch durch das Handeln der Individuen*”, which means that one can intend to change the ecological conditions to a certain point but one cannot plan the individual’s reaction to such changes.

This is another problem for the reversal of language shift. Fishman (1991b, 290) regards the chances of rational planning in the “home-family-neighborhood life” as “sparse indeed,” and Fasold (1984, 260) writes that “the usual language planning methods are not particularly likely to influence speakers’ linguistic practices in unmonitored language use – unless they are designed to support the direction in which natural social forces are moving anyway” (cf. also Bratt Paulston 1992, 74). The natural social forces in the contact of a powerful and numerous majority group with a powerless and small minority group will, however, rarely go in the direction of the minority group’s way of life. Thus the problem is that it is almost impossible to influence the linguistic behavior of individuals outside official institutions where this would be most important because the natural way of minority language transmission is through the parents, especially if both are able to speak the language. All one can do is to state the fact that most of them will not, or cannot, do this (section 3; Kattenbusch 1996, 323;

Dauenhauer/Dauenhauer 1998, 69). Fishman (1990, 21) is well aware of this and writes that “if this stage [stage 6: family-, neighborhood-, and community-reinforcement] is not satisfied, all else can amount to little more than biding time.” Due to the fact that there is so little one can do about this stage, most researchers concentrate on spheres where they can implement some measures and where planning is adequate, such as the introduction of minority languages in schools and the creation of written forms for them.

5.3. It is quite understandable in the light of the problems with regard to the planning of unmonitored linguistic behavior that the school as a possible stronghold for minority languages has gained such a prominent position in research. At the same time this is somewhat surprising because everybody agrees that the school alone will never save a minority language (Fishman/Nahirny 1966, 123; Ferguson 1977, 12; Edwards 1985, 75; Fishman 1990, 23f). It seems that teaching in a majority language or ousting minority languages from school is a much more severe blow to minority language maintenance than the (re)introduction of a minority language into school is an asset to the reversal of language shift. This is an interesting parallel to language attitudes. Negative attitudes of minority members toward their language will hasten its disappearance whereas positive attitudes are not enough to save it (section 3). It is definitely important to grant minority languages a place in schools because this may bolster the self-confidence of minority members by improving the prestige of their language, but linguists and minority language speakers should not overestimate the effect of this measure. In order to reach such positive goals the position of the minority language in schools must surpass that of just another school subject. If the status of an ethnic mother tongue is that of any other foreign language in the regular curriculum, and if it is taught only on a basis of one to three hours per week (Fishman/Nahirny 1966, 118; Niedzielski 1992, 378), its effect will be close to zero. Even if minority languages serve as a medium for instruction, everything depends on the question whether such a program is assimilative, i. e., the language only plays this role during a transition period until the students can be taught in the majority language, or whether the goal is pluriculturalism and plurilingual-

ism that “not only recognizes cultural diversity but assesses it positively” (Hamel 1997, 108). Skutnabb-Kangas (1999, 43) states that the schools which use minority languages to ease the final cultural and linguistic assimilation of the minority children are still the most common model and that such models “violate linguistic and cultural human rights” (cf. also Dauenhauer/Dauenhauer 1998, 66). In such schools the minority language is only maintained for a certain time on the superficial level of linguistic codes and structures whereas the cultural patterns and models and the discourse structures are provided by the majority culture. This can only be changed if the majority group is willing to give the minority group the “right to define and control their own culture-based education” (Hamel 1997, 117). In the case of Chiapas mentioned in section 5.1. one does not have the impression that this is the goal of the Mexican government.

5.4. Up to this point one may have gained the impression that all minority communities live in linguistic situations where their minority language serves as an L-variety and the allochthonous majority language as an H-variety but the situation can be much more complex. The Mennonites in Rio Grande do Sul, Brazil, for example, use Low German in their informal intraethnic contacts, High German in formal intraethnic contacts as in school (reading and writing) and for administrative and religious purposes, and Portuguese for all interethnic contacts. This clear-cut polyglossic situation is about to collapse since the younger members of the community have introduced Portuguese in intraethnic contacts. Ongoing work by Kaufmann indicates that they have already significantly lower indices for competence and usage in both German varieties. In view of this, an interesting discussion within the community has begun. The question seems to be which of the German varieties should be maintained, because the Mennonites feel that the cost of maintaining a trilingual situation is too high – especially because Low and High German are linguistically very different. There is no clear-cut consensus, though. In a questionnaire on language preferences 19 out of 33 informants selected High German as the most important local language as opposed to only 7 who selected Low German (13 selected Portuguese; multiple answers were possible) reflecting the overt prestige of High German.

But Low German was selected by 23 Mennonites as their favorite language as opposed to only 8 who selected High German (12 selected Portuguese) reflecting the covert prestige Low German enjoys. Only 3 informants selected High German as being both the most important language and their favorite one, while 4 exclusively selected Low German, and 6 Portuguese. Fourteen informants, however, selected one German variety as the most important language and the other German variety as their favorite language and *vice versa*. This shows that it will be very difficult to reach a consensus among the Mennonites, but without such a consensus the necessary planning for a bilingual or trilingual future will be almost impossible. For most Mennonites it seems it would be strange to use High German for informal conversation but it would be equally strange to lose it because it has the prestige of a full-fledged language, a prestige which Low German lacks. But despite this apparent vote for two German varieties both give way to Portuguese among the younger Mennonites.

The fact that a minority community possesses a prestigious written variety of its own language does not seem to guarantee its survival, and other minority languages survive without their speakers ever striving to create a written version of their language, as in the case of Pennsylvania German of the Old Order Amish (Johnson-Weiner 1992, 27f). Nevertheless, creating a written, standardized, variety is another important point in language planning for minority languages. Fishman (1985, 69) describes it “almost as a moral imperative and as a strain toward closure, toward completion” (cf. also Fishman 1990, 21 f), and Grenoble/Whaley (1998, 31) write that “literacy is generally agreed to play a significant role in speech communities and in the relative vitality of threatened languages.” Again, developing a written variety can be a very useful thing if this counts with substantial support from within the minority community, and is a pre-requisite if such a group wants to introduce its language in school or in other formal settings. But there are several points one should keep in mind. With regard to immigrant languages there is always the danger of further feeding the minority speakers’ frequent self-consciousness with regard to the ‘grammaticality’ of their non-standard variety once it comes in direct contact with the standard variety. An example for this is the situation in Louisiana

where Louisiana French has a “‘double’ minority status [...] not only in relation to English, but also to other varieties of French” (Brown 1993, 68; cf. also Hayden 1966, 203; Fasold 1984, 241). The introduction of International French in 1968 made the community members think that “their mother tongue is incorrect and inappropriate” and “this instruction has not helped the children to communicate with their grandparents” (Brown 1993, 77). This means that International French was learned as any other foreign language because it could not be used within the community. In the 1990s immersion programs were introduced which were “tailored to the local varieties” (Brown 1993, 78). The advantage of this is that it is more appropriate within the community, but on the other hand the students will not have the advantage of learning an international language and there will be much less reading material available. The case of indigenous minority languages is somewhat different because the challenge here is mostly the unification of different dialects. The best possible result would be a norm that is “nobody’s speech, but everybody’s language” (Haugen 1980, 109) but this goal is not always reached. It is quite understandable that one wants to avoid a further fragmentation of an already small linguistic community such as Basque or Romansh (cf. also Posner 1993, 54), but again the consequence is that a foreign or artificial variety is introduced. The danger is the same as with immigrant languages, “the introduction of nonlocal norms only has the effect of reminding local speakers of just how deviant their own everyday speech is” (Dorian 1987, 59; cf. also Edwards 1985, 64; Jones 1998, 358). Therefore, the art of the business is to find or create a variety which is linguistically close enough in order not to alienate community members and which at the same time has, or will gain, enough prestige to improve the situation of the minority language. A final point which one should not forget is mentioned by the Scollons (in Dauenhauer/Dauenhauer 1998, 88) who argue that “literacy in general [...] is perceived by traditional Native people as a non-Native phenomenon so that non-literacy or resistance to literacy becomes part of the Native ‘badge of ethnicity’.” The same might be true for the introduction of the school system of Western societies in indigenous communities (section 5.3.).

## 6. Some final remarks

This article might give a somewhat gloomy prognosis for any attempt at reversing language shift but this is simply the consequence of assuming the point of view of the participants in language shift, the speakers of minority languages. As long as more and more non-English speaking linguists publish in English in order to reach a wider audience one should understand minority language speakers who prefer a majority language out of pragmatic or economic reasons. It also sounds somewhat far-fetched if linguists want to maintain a language in order for “humanity” not to lose “what the language could have contributed to general knowledge of human language, culture and thought” (Bereznak/Campbell 1996, 659; cf. also Wurm 1999, 163). The only ones who really lose something are the speakers of the language and they should not just be seen as interesting objects awaiting possible further research.

The socio-psychological conditions to maintain a minority language seem to be either the existence of what Mattheier (1994, 335) calls a “*Sprachinselmentalität*”, a strong drive against complete assimilation as one finds it among the Old Order Amish, or “a (strong) sense of nationalism” as one finds it among some indigenous groups (Bratt Paulston 1994, 77). Both motivations lead to ethnic, cultural or religious boundary maintenance which seems to be necessary for minority language maintenance but is bound to cause certain conflicts with the majority group involved. Because of this interaction it is imperative to include the majority group in any work connected to minority languages, be it descriptive (Kaufmann 1997, chapter 5) or part of a language planning activity (Hamel 1997, 127). Only if one has a profound knowledge of the complex interactions and fears on both sides of the ethnic group contact can one minimize the risk of conflicts and at the same time help the weaker minority community to maintain its cultural and linguistic heritage – if they choose to do so. It is at this point that linguists can be of some help to both the minority and the majority group. They can explain the process of language shift to minority language speakers and can show them that minority language transmission is an active process and not something which is going to happen anyway. In this context approaches such as

the ones by Fishman (1990; 1991a), Edwards (1992), and Kaufmann (1997) are of the utmost importance. Linguists can also assist minority language speakers in the creation of written varieties (Kattenbusch 1996, 330) and the introduction of minority languages in schools (Gleich 1991; Hornberger/King 1996). With regard to the majority group they can promote a positive attitude of majority members toward the minority culture and language and advise politicians in their actions. This is extremely important because it is the politicians who take the important decisions (Edwards 1985, 89).

One final question is whether one should favor individual or group rights in a contact situation. Hamel (1997, 123) writes that the "individual's freedom of choice [...] normally favors the dominant cultures and languages" (cf. also Bratt Paulston 1994, 88f), and with regard to minority languages he favors collective linguistic rights (Hamel 1997, 126f). The problem here is that nobody should question the individual's freedom of choice (section 4) – Edwards (1985, 106) affirms that "an important and positive modern social development has been the organisation of societies based upon individual citizenship." Nevertheless, it may be necessary to grant minority communities some special group rights without impinging on their members' individual rights. Mackey (in Stein 1990, 411) states this dilemma in the following way: "If language [and culture] is the property of the group, bilingualism [and biculturalism] is the property of the individual." With regard to reversing language shift one could translate this into: Every minority member must have the right to leave his group or stop using his ethnic language, but the group must have the right and the possibility to make its culture and its language as attractive as possible.

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## 245. Language Revival/Sprachwiederbelebung

1. Definitions
2. The revival of Hebrew as a model
3. When was the Hebrew revival achieved?
4. Factors and contributors that affected the success of the Hebrew revival
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### 1. Definitions

"Language Revival" is now a commonly used term in the disciplines of Linguistics, Sociolinguistics, Applied Linguistics/Language Planning, and the like. The term *language revival* (Sprachwiederbelebung) may be somewhat ambiguous. In the literature, both complete revival and partial revival are often interchanged with such terms as *language restoration*, *renaissance*, *rebirth*, *resurrection*, *reintroduction*, *reestablishment*, *revitalization* and *reactivation*. Some scholars, however, are unhappy with such broad application, and would prefer to limit it to instances of complete revival of totally "dead" languages.

Strictly speaking, there is no documented case of a successful overall "revival", or resurrection, of an extinct ancient language (such as Hittite, Sumerian, Akkadian, Ugaritic), i. e., that a language that was totally dead for all forms of communication (oral and written, vernacular and literary), was subsequently resurrected and readopted (and readapted), on a regular basis, as a normal "living" tongue by any speech community. In fact, there do not appear to be even "partial" resurrections of such dead languages, e. g., to merely a spoken vernacular, or merely to being a *productive* literary

written language (resembling the status of Latin in the Middle Ages among the Christians in Western and Central Europe; or Greek among the Eastern Europe Orthodox Christians, or Old Church Slavonic; or Classical Arabic among the Moslems; or Sanskrit in India. Even the much celebrated case of the "revival" of the Cornish language (which died in the 18th century) is still closer to dream than reality. The same applies to other Celtic languages.

The use of the term *language revival* may thus be inappropriate, or imprecise, for cases where only a certain domain of the language (e. g., literary writing; or, conversely, the spoken counterpart) fell into disuse for a period of time, and is now being revitalized – i. e., for anything short of a *full* revival. Nonetheless, in view of its common acceptance, and for lack of a better term, the popular term *language revival* will be used in this article for such cases as well.

In this article, *language revival* will refer to the positive, successful and sustained reactivation (renaissance) and revitalization (including modernization) not only of an entire dead language, but also to that of a hitherto defunct, or altogether missing, *major component* (such as the prestigious literary-written part, or of the "common" spoken oral/vernacular part) of a language. What should be pointed out from the outset is that the revitalization process, especially in the revival of the "spoken language"/vernacular counterpart, will inevitably involve both linguistic and socio-linguistic adaptations of the historical language (through both planned and unplanned developments) to the changing needs and circumstances of



modern man in modern society, as illustrated, for instance, in the revival of Hebrew. Hebrew, to the best of our knowledge, is the only case in history to date where a successful revival of the spoken language has occurred. Such a relative type of “revival” will characterize the three types of reactivation of atrophied elements delineated below. All three are characteristically associated with national revival movements, as integral parts thereof, often serving as symbols of the national/socio-political and cultural revival:

(1) Revival of the literary and administrative written component of an existing vernacular in various 19th century European languages, wherein that prestigious function had been formerly relegated, by and large, to Latin, or to a conqueror’s language, while the national language was maintained only in oral communication, as essentially a non-prestigious vernacular, and even in oral literature of the masses (a division of labor often referred to as *diglossia*). This new trend of national language forming and forging was connected with the evolving trend of nationalism, which swept Europe in the 19th century and gradually spread world wide. This took place in Greece, Slovakia, Albania, Norway, Czechoslovakia, Estonia and Lithuania – to mention only a few examples.

In our time, the same trend occurred in numerous newly-created nations, or the so-called “developing countries”, wherein a newly created native or national written-literary counterpart replaced a former European colonial language which had provided the elevated, more prestigious written administrative, or literary counterpart.

(2) The restoration and extension of a people’s existing, long-established language and its promotion from a non-prestigious status altogether, reduced for various historical reasons to use by mainly “non-prestigious” folks (say, only coastal fishermen, or poor farmers) – to the status of a complete, fully recognized prestigious national language, both spoken and written. The ongoing effort, although not quite successful, for the overall “restoration of (Gaelic) Irish” in Ireland is a case in point.

(3) *Normalization* of a language, by reintroducing the defunct oral-vernacular component to a language which hitherto had been maintained essentially as a written “literary” language, or as a “holy tongue” of re-

ligion and worship, confined to reading (and occasionally chanting) of sacred and literary texts, and to writing of new literary and religious works. The aim of such re-introduction of the spoken counterpart is, of course, to convert that language from a “dead,” or semifossilized one, into a full-fledged living language (and in the minds of people, being or becoming alive is equated with being spoken). This will involve use of the language in everyday oral communication, within a particular speech community, as well as in all written functions, thus making it capable of fulfilling the entire gamut of functions expected of a “normal” national language.

A normal language does not exist in a vacuum, but essentially as a regular vehicle of communication between members and generations of a specific linguistic society, usually referred to as a *speech community* sharing a variety of common attributes and interests, including a network of socio-cultural interactions, etc. Therefore, a case like this will involve, perhaps first and foremost, a socio-linguistic revival, rather than a mere linguistic one – the (re)creation of a speech community (which, for example, in the model case of Hebrew, to be detailed in 3. and 4., had been out of existence, for any practical purpose, for about 1700 years).

Naturally, a sustained meaningful revival of the spoken counterpart of a language also entails a process of *nativization*, by which the newly-revived language is transformed from a language which at the beginning of the revival process was no more than a “bookish” school-acquired second language, non-native to any adult speaker, into a *native language* (which resembles the transition from a Pidgin to a Creole). By definition, a nativization feat can be accomplished only through the active participation and contribution of the emerging “generation(s)” of *native children* born into the new language, rather than the pioneering adults who were at the cradle of the revived language, but were not born into it. This includes even the initiators and leaders of the revival process.

Type (1) has been the most common and simplest type of language revival, for there already exists a speech community living in a common territory and communicating regularly on all matters, needing only to add the written literary and administrative part, often on the basis of the spoken language and/or some existing oral literary tradition.

In the opposite case, type (3), when there was only a common literary and/or religious language, the territorial base was not so crucial, since written communication and sharing of written materials can be done from a distance as well. This will explain why a revival of the *spoken* part, as in the case of Hebrew, must be connected with a territorial and societal resettlement, if the members of the new speech community were scattered in a Diaspora, whereas territorial resettlement was not a necessary condition in the *literary revival* of the Hebrew 'Enlightenment' (*Haskalah*) movement in Germany and Russia a century earlier (see 2.). In cases such as Hebrew, the revival of a historical national language becomes both cause and effect in the national revival process. On the one hand, revival of the language was made possible because of the national revival and, on the other hand, it served as a cement for the national revival itself.

Another reason for the difference in distinguishing between the absence of one part or the other, as set forth in types (1) – (3) above, concerns "being alive": whereas the spoken language is used by all, and hence is "alive" for all, the written/literary one when used only by some members, is thus altogether "dead" for most, for any practical purpose.

No wonder that whenever the element of oral communication was absent, the language in question would be deemed "dead", even when the literary counterpart was kept alive, and even productive, as in the case of medieval Latin and Hebrew.

An additional factor may be a difference in male-female exposure to a language, mostly favoring males as in the study of Classical Arabic in Islam, or of Latin in medieval Christian Europe. In the Jewish tradition, boys were *required* by the religion to attend the Hebrew schools, while girls were exempt (see consequences for the initial Hebrew revival in 4.).

Incidentally, each of these three fared differently in the context of national and linguistic revivals: (written) Classical Arabic was "revived" as (written) Modern Standard Arabic, modernized and expanded for modern literature and science; Hebrew was revived, "normalized" and modernized by adding the spoken dimension; but Latin was doomed to "death".

Factors similar to those that contributed to the revival of Hebrew as a complete national language, spelled "death" for Latin.

The evolvement of various vernacular European languages (locked for centuries in a "diglossia" partnership with Latin as its prestige religious and literary partner) into autonomous languages, written as well as spoken, began in the Renaissance period as a protest against the grip of the medieval (Catholic) Church and the related feudal domination, and continued for several centuries. It was further enhanced by the advent of the national idea in the 19th century by which a common national language, both oral and written, became a symbol of modern nationhood (along with common territory).

At the same time, as if to rationalize this revolution, language "aliveness" was characterized by speech. Accordingly, Latin was declared "dead" (although it was still used in university lectures and church prayers), and was later completely abandoned.

Hebrew appears to have been in a similar situation. But whereas the emphasis on speech "killed" Latin, and even led certain Western assimilated Jewish leaders and some young East-European intellectuals to similar conclusions about the hopelessness of Hebrew (and Jewish nationalism) – for the more nationally inclined circles (especially Ben-Yehuda, the so-called "Father of the Hebrew Revival", and his colleagues), it only served to bring home the need to revive this missing element in Hebrew, and thus "normalize" the entire situation.

## 2. The revival of Hebrew as a model

As mentioned above, we will try to present here, as a model of language revival, the unique and fully successful revival of spoken Hebrew initiated in Palestine in the 1880's. However, in a way, one may say that Hebrew has undergone two revivals. First, a limited "revival" of its literary language during the *Haskalah* ('Enlightenment') period, initiated in Berlin (1780–1880), somewhat reminiscent of the revival of Modern Standard Arabic, and others. Secondly, the (main) revival of its spoken language (1882 –). Whereas the latter revival was socio-linguistic as well as linguistic in nature, the former was essentially linguistic.

During the *Haskalah* period, a dual process was gradually set in motion, especially in the later phase of the Realism trend: (a) it also began dealing with contemporary, real-life topics and problems; (b) as soon as that

had taken place, there was a pressing need for expanding, amalgamating and modernizing the language. This is probably one of the most significant contributions of the Haskalah movement to the subsequent revival of spoken Hebrew and the ensuing full-scale adaptation a century later.

The early Maskilim (enlightened intellectuals) were faced with a dilemma: which layer of historical Hebrew should they adopt for their new literary language – Biblical Hebrew? Mishnaic Hebrew? Should they continue with the mixed Rabbinic style? Or what? For a variety of reasons which will not be detailed here (nostalgic psychological, socio-cultural, “aesthetic”, and paradoxically – {pseudo}national) they elected to interrupt the unchecked evolution of literary Hebrew and readopt Biblical Hebrew, the Holy Tongue, the tongue of the heroic times of the Kingdom of David and Solomon, of the great prophets, etc., for their new type of secular literary writing and, quite paradoxically, for their dissemination of enlightenment/westernization among their brethren (which ultimately resulted in assimilation and eventual abandonment of Hebrew in Germany). Before long, especially in the next phase of Realism, the Hebrew authors found Biblical Hebrew too restrictive for discussing contemporary problems or depicting modern-day life. Indeed, after a while, some bold Hebrew writers in Russia began experimenting with Mishnaic Hebrew, and toward the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century an amalgamated style was developed, mainly through the contributions of the novelist Mendele Mocher-Sfarim. It not only served as a basis for modern Hebrew literary style(s) (forged by successors such as H. N. Bialik and his generation), but to some extent, also paved the way, directly or indirectly, for the evolvement of modern Hebrew speech.

Thus, in 1880, on the threshold of the revival era, the language itself, as a linguistic entity, did exist, albeit as a “bookish” record, but a speech community living on a particular territory, communicating and interacting and “networking” through it on a regular everyday basis, was lacking.

To be sure, a mere linguistic revival of a dead language (e.g. Hittite or Ugaritic) could be meticulously planned by any perceptive person, anytime, anyplace. For instance, a linguist familiar with the ancient Ugaritic texts could “recreate” a complete custom-made language: write a comprehen-

sive grammar, enrich and update (modernize) its vocabulary, etc. Yet, this would remain an artificial resurrection, almost an exercise in futility, unless and until that “reviver” could also recreate a speech community, e.g., persuade a substantial group of potential followers (most likely descendants of the ancient speakers) to adopt this revived language as their regular means of communication and to bring up their children on it as their *native tongue*.

This is what the Hebrew revival is all about – i.e., primarily a socio-linguistic, rather than a mere linguistic phenomenon. However, while one can hardly overemphasize the socio-linguistic aspect of the Hebrew revival, one must not underestimate the enormous developments in the Hebrew language itself, intimately correlated with the socio-linguistic revival, including enrichment of the vocabulary, stabilization of the grammar, selective utilization of elements of all the previous layers of the historical language, selection and forging of styles, etc.

Whereas the idea to revive Hebrew was independently conceived around 1880 by various dreamers in Russia, Palestine and elsewhere (which indicates its timeliness), it was successfully implemented only in “The Land of Israel” (First in Turkish Palestine, then British Mandate Palestine, and now the State of Israel). Only there were gradually created the proper socio-political conditions and environment for the re-creation of a new *Hebrew* speech community sharing the same territory (rather than being scattered in the wide Diaspora) and basic national aspirations, various socio-cultural common denominators, concerns over forging a new productive [Hebrew] Jewish society, and eventually a [Hebrew] Jewish independent nation in its ancestral homeland (Israel), unification of the fragmented engathered exiles with their diverse cultural and linguistic backgrounds, establishment of a common [Hebrew] educational system for the children, etc.

These matters were no longer “abstract,” as earlier in the Diaspora. They were real-life pressing problems which required mutual discussion and solution, and the need for a common language became not only a matter of ideology, but also a very pragmatic one for the emerging society which required a practical solution – a common language.

For instance, the elementary question which occupied the minds of scholars and

writers and political leaders, as to whether spoken Hebrew *could* be revived at all after almost two millennia of dormancy, was gradually resolved in Palestine ipso facto, coinciding with the philosophy of Ben-Yehuda (the popular initiator of the Hebrew revival process, to be discussed below) and other practical promoters (especially, the first Hebrew teachers) – that the first objective was that Hebrew be spoken, regardless of quality, fluency, etc., which would come with practice. Otherwise, the revival would not progress. It goes without saying that this approach antagonized the purists.

The question of pronunciation came up immediately, whether to adopt the Ashkenazi pronunciation (primarily that of the Eastern and Central European Jews) or the Sephardi pronunciation (of the descendants of the Jewish exiles from Spain, the Mediterranean and the Middle-Eastern Jews). After lengthy deliberations among the leaders and in the Hebrew Language Committee (which was established in 1890 and was mostly made up of the Hebrew teachers and was not, in reality, a very potent one in its first 15–20 years of existence), the Sephardi pronunciation was chosen (many speakers had adopted it on their own, anyway). However, when implemented by the members of the First and Second influxes (1882–1903; 1904–1914) who were mostly Eastern European (i. e., Ashkenazi) Jews – the “Sephardi” pronunciation ended up (more by chance than by design) a convenient mixture of features of both pronunciations, to the dismay of ideological purists.

### 3. When was the Hebrew revival achieved?

Modern Hebrew may still be in somewhat of a flux, but this does not mean that the revival has not been accomplished, because: (a) this flux may be more of a reflection of the fermentation in the society than an instability in the language; (b) all living languages keep changing, and (c) the most important aspect of the revival was the socio-linguistic one – and a stable speech community has been in place since about World War I.

When, then, was the basic revival accomplished? There are many different views as to both the beginning of the revival process and its peaking point, or culmination. It is generally acceptable to connect its inception

with the beginning of the national revival and the arrival of Ben-Yehuda in Jerusalem in 1881, or of the *First Aliyah* (1882–1903), i. e., the first influx of a new type of Jewish immigrants who were inspired by the new national ideology of “Love of Zion” (later transformed into political Zionism) and immigrated to forsaken desolate Palestine under Turkish rule. Their ideal and goal was to establish agricultural settlements and revive the Jewish nation in body and spirit in its ancient national homeland. While many seemed to have been conscious of the ideal and need for the revival of Hebrew, some may not have even thought about the Hebrew revival at that time, or were simply reluctant to give up their original mother tongue. Others did not believe in its feasibility. Still others realized the need for a common language for the heterogeneous waves of immigrants from different linguistic and cultural backgrounds (as well as for the veteran Jewish population in Palestine, the *Old Yishuv*) – but for various reasons, including socio-linguistic and socio-political ones, preferred to promote the hegemony of other languages, especially Yiddish. The “language conflict” with Yiddish peaked, and was basically resolved, in 1908–1910, with the victory of Hebrew.

It may be worthwhile to mention in passing the claim about the significance of the use of Hebrew among the Jewish communities (the *Old Yishuv*) in 19th century pre-revival Palestine, and consequently the fantastic claim that that should be considered the actual revival of Hebrew, many years before the arrival of Ben-Yehuda and his generation. This claim has little merit, because of the simple fact that in 19th century Palestine, a very limited, meager Hebrew was used, at best only as an occasional, part-time (and part-place) “lingua franca”, and that too was confined to occasional inter-communal contacts, mainly among scholars and communal leaders, rather than any sustained intracommunity use (for women it was even less). Nor were any children brought up on it in any home that we know of. This, obviously, cannot count as a “revival” of Hebrew. Some even doubt that this occasional use contributed in any real sense to the actual revival of Hebrew in the post 1880 period.

As for the peaking point – whereas some place it more recently, others have dated it as early as 1890. It should probably be placed

beyond 1900, perhaps more accurately, by 1914, extending the formative stage (and the main scope of this article) to the years 1882–1914. By that time, several important events (milestones) and processes had taken place, e. g.: the Hebrew kindergartens were established; the Hebrew Language Committee (initiated in 1890) became more active; the first Teachers' Seminary (*Ezra*) and Hebrew High School (*Herzliyah*) were opened (in 1906); the centralized Hebrew Teachers Assemblies, initiated in 1903, became an important factor in promoting the Hebrew revival, including the (re)institution of the inactive Hebrew Language Committee which became really active only after some time; and the above mentioned language conflict with Yiddish, which ended with the victory of Hebrew. Perhaps the single most important event was the 1913–14 “Language Struggle” with German and its sponsors, the Ezra Society (*Hilfsverein*) which ended with a decisive victory for Hebrew, resulting in: (a) the formation, for the first time, of a united front in support of Hebrew throughout the country, and (b) the formation of a “national” Hebrew school system, in which Hebrew became the exclusive language of instruction.

The *Second Aliyah* (‘influx’, 1904–1914) contributed greatly to the process of turning Hebrew from a language of individuals to a language of the society, the community at large, at least in principle. There is reliable evidence that by 1904, i. e., at the end of the First Aliyah period, there were only about ten families in the entire country that used Hebrew at home. Contrary to certain claims, ten scattered families can hardly amount to a “speech community”, since they cannot guarantee regularity, full social networking, or continuity. But their efforts were not in vain – they proved the *feasibility* of making Hebrew “alive” again, in the locus which makes or breaks a language, where it is best maintained (or first abandoned in a process of language death) – the *home*, and the continuity by the younger generation as native speakers. During that time also the first native speakers (i. e., children born into the new language), began appearing on the scene. These were naturally at the beginning mostly of First Aliya parents, but in a few years they were joined by native speakers of Second Aliya parenthood. Their decisive accomplishment was the nativization of the newly revived language, which in turn se-

cured the continuity of the entire revival process. (See details below).

#### 4. Factors and contributors that affected the success of the Hebrew revival

Among the factors that affected the success of the revival of Hebrew were the following:

(1) The above mentioned preceding “revival” (and partial modernization) of *literary* Hebrew during the Haskalah (Enlightenment) period (1780–1880) may have served as a psychological, as well as linguistic, preparation for this transition. In addition, the more realistic and more synthetic (amalgamated) and flexible literary style developed by Mendele Mocher Sefarim and others close to the revival period, was quite helpful and conducive to the speech revival.

(2) The *Hibbat-Zion* (‘Love of Zion’) Movement (initiated in 1882) and its successor, political Zionism (1897 –), were patterned after contemporaneous national movements in Europe which emphasized the importance of having and developing a complete *national language* for speaking, reading and writing, thus serving all needs of life – of the individual and the nation. While many of the European national movements needed to complement their vernacular with the literary language counterpart, the Hebrew movement needed to revive the spoken counterpart; but the idea was basically the same.

(3) When Ben-Yehuda and the First Aliyah (1882–1903) settlers arrived in Palestine they did not find a national language of the country, or even one prevalent language that they, as immigrants, would have to adopt. Turkish was only the language of the Turkish Administration, while each of the numerous communities had its own language. The same applied to the existing Jewish communities (the *Old Yishuv*) which maintained many foreign languages, primarily Yiddish, Arabic and Ladino. (As mentioned in 3., a meager Hebrew was occasionally used, but only for occasional inter-community, not intra-community communication.) This left a gap for Hebrew to fill.

It should be noted, that at the point of revival, a distinct imbalance between the sexes existed. Because of the traditional method of education, (by which the boys were *required* to go to the Hebrew school while the girls

were exempt), the males were better prepared linguistically and psychologically than the females for switching to Hebrew, and, in fact, for participation in its very revival. The women, including Ben-Yehuda's own wife, needed extra lead time to become involved in the revival process. Therefore, one might say, that the revived Hebrew was a "father's tongue" before it became a "mother's tongue", which may have delayed the full revival process for some time. In many instances, mothers have, in fact, learned to speak Hebrew from their school children (which is not uncommon in immigrant societies). The importance of involving the females in the process early on was recognized by Ben-Yehuda from the outset, as it was recognized some years earlier even by the ultra-orthodox dreamer and pioneer Akiva Yosef Schlesinger. The women of the Second Aliya became somewhat faster involved and integrated than the early pioneer women of the First Aliya, but only when they became fully integrated in the language, full-fledged Hebrew speaking homes could be initiated.

(4) As for the languages used among the *Old Yishuv* and *New Yishuv* Jews (i. e., Yiddish, Arabic, Ladino, Hungarian, Persian, and Kurdish – while German, French, English were not in great use as native languages) – there was none that had a clear majority of speakers, or that could be adopted by others as the common national language, without a bitter struggle. Yiddish may have had the greatest following, but at that time, in the 1880's, it was still perceived as a non-prestigious language (a "jargon") even by its speakers.

(5) What is generally overlooked is the fact that the average First Aliyah settler was not overly concerned with language issues. Most of the settlers came from Eastern Europe, and were, by and large, native speakers of Yiddish. They were comfortable with Yiddish and were not too anxious to switch to Hebrew, perhaps in part because, typically, they were not exactly Hebrew scholars, and in part because they were somewhat skeptical about the success of the revival. And it was not an easy task to switch to a new language that was actually still in the making as a modern language suitable for use in all areas of modern life. Even some of their urban colleagues, including some well-known names in Jerusalem, contemptuously referred (in Yiddish) to the revived Hebrew

as *Ben Yehudke's Loshn* 'the tongue of Ben-Yehudke'. Also, the hard life of the first immigrant settlers in the inhospitable land and climate, was not conducive to language learning effort, nor did the language-revival propaganda, propagated by Ben-Yehuda and the Hebrew teachers, seem to have reached for a while much beyond the confines of some elementary schools and a few families. Even Theodor Herzl, the founder of Zionism, did not appear to have been very much aware of the dimensions of the Hebrew revival, or concerned in the beginning over the language issue. He seemed to have taken for granted that the new intelligent society in the Jewish state would adopt a cultural language such as German (but he later agreed on Hebrew).

More than ever before, the heterogeneous Jewish population now needed to communicate with each other in one common language. Sooner or later, most everybody realized that Hebrew, their historical language, their revered Holy Tongue, and the main linguistic vehicle of the Jewish genius throughout the ages, should be adopted as that common language. In other words, in addition to the national ideology, there was the pragmatic consideration of finding a language that was acceptable to everybody, that carried prestige within and without, and which most people with a traditional Jewish educational background could switch to with reasonable ease.

Incidentally, here may be a clue for the relative success of the revival of Hebrew as compared with, for instance, the relative lack of success of the restoration of Irish. In Ireland, English had, in effect, become the common overall language of communication, both spoken and literary, and hence there was hardly any practical need to make an effort to learn the old national language. Additionally, various socio-linguistic, political and religious factors, which are beyond the scope of this article, should be considered.

(6) The main contribution of the *Second Aliyah* (1904–1914) was the promotion of Hebrew from a language of individuals (mostly immigrants) and of the elementary schools, to a language of society at large. They came to Palestine with a labor ideology and a burning dream to become farm hands, and before long developed a proletariat pride – to some extent as a result of clashes with their bosses, the farm em-

ployers of the First Aliyah. Paradoxically, one of their means to get at the landlords and to show their intellectual superiority over them was to address them in Hebrew (to the latter's dismay) and to speak Hebrew among themselves in their presence (although as yet not always in private). They were also instrumental in introducing Hebrew as the language of meetings, public lectures and speeches, conferences, etc. This is, of course, another socio-political factor.

To be sure, even among them there were initially bitter conflicts between Yiddishists and Hebraists, divided to some extent along party lines (*Po'alei-Zion vs. Ha-Po'el Ha-Tza'ir*), but before long, a "consensus" was reached about the hegemony of Hebrew in The Land of Israel, and speaking Hebrew became a matter of group ideology. Hence, their special success in implementing it, as compared with the First Aliyah.

They were also instrumental in establishing a more modern and more sophisticated Hebrew press and in forging new essayistic and belletristic styles (S. Y. Agnon, the Israeli 1966 Nobel Prize Laureate in Literature, was a member of the Second Aliyah, too). Needless to say, Second Aliyah members were involved in the 1913–14 "Language Struggle" with German "Ezra" (see 3.).

Some have attributed the most decisive role in the revival of Hebrew to the Second Aliyah. At the rate things were going by the end of the First Aliyah period (1882–1903), the entire revival may not have come to fruition and an established speech-community may not have developed, if the Second Aliyah had not arrived. But, (a) it is hard to speculate on history; (b) some of the achievements during the Second Aliyah period were in effect the result or the culmination of processes begun in the First Aliyah – especially the emerging of native speakers of Hebrew who were born to First Aliyah parents. Only later in this Second Aliyah period were native speakers born to them, because they themselves, unlike the First Aliyah, arrived mostly as single people, 18–19 years of age; (c) one cannot take away from the early pioneers and the "founding fathers" their legitimate right of "firstness".

David Ben-Gurion, Second Aliyah leader and founder of the State of Israel in 1948, stated as follows: "Without any desire to belittle the great job performed by the Hebrew teacher in putting the spoken language in our mouths – I will not be exaggerating if I

say that if the Hebrew language became a living tongue, not only in the mouths of the children and within the walls of the school, but became the language of life, in all its aspects, the language of work and the street, this is to the credit of the Second Aliyah." This illustrates the Second Aliyah viewpoint.

(7) The final, and most crucial, stage in the revival process which determined the success of the entire revival, and transformed it from an experiment to an established fact, was the emergence of a new generation of native speakers, who were born into the new language and reared on it. With their mouths they realized the final phase of socio-linguistic (and linguistic) crystallization – the transition from a *language of immigrants* to a *language of native speakers*. Indeed, this was the most important step in the normalization process of the Hebrew language, the culmination of the revival process. The children not only contributed to the creation of a native-speech community, but also to the shaping of the new language itself.

(8) The most popular (and most controversial) figure in the Hebrew revival saga was Eliezer Ben-Yehuda. He contributed in many ways and in a variety of areas which cannot be appropriately detailed here for lack of space. In the popular literature he is often referred to as the "Reviver of the Hebrew Language," but his exact role is debated in the scholarly literature, and we can not go here into further detail. Suffice to say that he has been the *symbol* of the entire revival and a model of dedication to both the dream and its realization, and as such he deserves to be remembered.

(9) The people who did most of the spadework, who in effect created the movement, and who worked the hardest toward implementing it, were the Hebrew teachers. They deserve more credit than they were accorded. It is safe to say that without the Hebrew teachers the revival of Hebrew may not have been implemented.

## 5. The rise and decline of a Galilean dialect

One interesting development was the emergence of a special Galilean Dialect, planned and successfully implemented and disseminated by several grade-school teachers who were convinced that they were reviving the original ancient dialect of the Galileans.

The dialect arose in the 1890's and declined after World War I, when roads were reopened and the original Galilean settlers were quickly outnumbered by outsiders who did not care for that special dialect. That attitude was also prevalent among the new Galilean teachers, so the children were no longer brought up on it. Beyond that time, there were hardly any surviving Galileans who still spoke that early dialect, and by now it is no more than an interesting, fleeting episode (somewhat wrapped in myth) in the history of the Hebrew revival. (For details on the planning and counter-planning struggles see Bar-Adon 1975).

## 6. Concluding remarks

We have focused mainly on the socio-linguistic aspects (within the formative years) of the revival of Hebrew, which we have used as a model for language revival, in keeping with the theme of this Handbook. However, as mentioned above, there were also interesting and far-reaching developments within the language itself in the early process of its nativization (and one can hardly exaggerate the role of children in it), as well as in the course of its adaptation to modern life and letters which have in effect permeated all domains of language – lexicon and grammar alike.

Linguistically, Modern Hebrew is often described as an amalgamated entity; a fusion of elements from previous layers of historical Hebrew, joined together with unplanned as well as academically planned expansions of grammar and vocabulary. This fusion represents not only rediscovering of previously unknown or unnoticed items, but also coining of new terms by the Academy of the Hebrew Language (and by lay speakers and writers) and through loan-translation, and even by direct borrowing. In addition, there is the enormous impact of European languages not only on the lexicon, but also on phraseology and syntax, the use of three tenses in the verb system, and other aspects of morphological flexion and derivation. This has led some scholars to conclude that it is possible to claim that Modern Hebrew is not a *revived* language, but rather a *new* language. Because of space limitations, we cannot herein delve into this complex subject, but the interested reader will find some useful references included in 7, for further study.

As for planning the revival, there was no “blueprint” for it beforehand, nor was there much formal planning by an authoritative agency, or authoritative individuals during the early formative years. Things were often done in a “hit or miss” fashion. Even individual writers and teachers tried to implement individual ideas in their own way. Later on, especially in the “post-revival” period, institutional planning was done by the Hebrew Language Committee, and its successor, the Academy of the Hebrew Language (1953 –). Planning was thus accomplished in the areas of pronunciation, spelling, lexicon, grammar and usage, by this national academic authority. To the extent that the Academy planned activities in the “postrevival” period, its effort was by and large, on the linguistic, rather than socio-linguistic level.

Thus, in the initial period (prior to World War I), the main concern was speech revival – revival of a speech community and the spoken language. In the subsequent stage, during the British Mandate (1918–1948), the focus was on language and language purification, with attempts at spelling reform and lexicon expansion. In the current phase, since the establishment of the State of Israel (1948 –), the focus has been on further lexical expansion and modernization, grammatical adaptations, and some ongoing discussion of spelling reforms.

Another interesting development was the creation of a new literary style. The literary styles of the initial stages (up to about 1940) were based primarily on established earlier literary models (set for the most part by the great writers of the Revival Period). Since the 1940's, with the proliferation of *native* Hebrew writers who were brought up in the evolving native vernacular (seasoned with slang and borrowings from Arabic, English, etc.), modern literary Hebrew has acquired a life of its own. Contemporary Hebrew vernacular is now playing an ever-increasing role in forging novel literary Hebrew styles. This may be yet another sign of normalization of the revived Hebrew, which reflects the relationship between vernacular and literary styles (and the constant impact of vernacular on literary style) common in established living languages.

The revival of Hebrew consisted of several components and styles: revernacularization; expansion, modernization and revitalization; nativization and normalization.



The restructuring of Literary Hebrew in recent decades may be considered a part or an outcome of the continuing process of normalization in Israeli life and letters.

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## 246. Sprachpflege / Language Cultivation

1. Inhalt und Sinn der Sprachpflege
2. Voraussetzungen und Mittel der Tätigkeit in der Sprachpflege
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### 1. Inhalt und Sinn der Sprachpflege

Entstehung, Herausbildung, Entfaltung und gesellschaftliches Funktionieren von Standardsprachen (StSp) (vgl. Art. 223) ist immer mit bestimmten Problemen sowohl bei den Sprachbenutzern als auch bei Lingui-

sten, Pädagogen, Behörden u. ä. verbunden. Die Probleme erfordern natürlich eine Lösung. Diese „Meisterung“ oder „Behandlung“ der Sprache (*language management*, Neustupný 1974; 1978; Jernudd 1987; Jernudd/Neustupný 1986), die auch Sprachkorrekturen involviert, wird manchmal durch verschiedene Institutionen, Gremien u. ä. zu unterschiedlichen Zwecken organisiert (*language treatment*). In den Bereich der „Sprachbehandlung“ gehört, neben Sprachpolitik und Sprachplanung (vgl. Art. 240–243), das Phänomen der Sprachpflege (SpPf) und verwandte Konzepte der Sprach-

kultur (*language cultivation*) und der Sprachförderung.

Im Grunde gehört zur SpPf schon die antike und mittelalterliche Rhetorik. Auch später, bis zum Ende des 18. Jhs., war die damalige Philologie auf die StSp (Schriftsprache) und ihre bestimmte Qualität ausgerichtet. Dagegen zeigte die Sprachwissenschaft des 19. Jhs. für die zeitgenössische StSp wenig Interesse; sie betrachtete die StSp als etwas Künstliches und überließ die Sprachpflege den Mittelschulphilologen. Für die „richtige“ Kodifizierung (vgl. Art. 240) der standardsprachlichen Norm und für die SpPf wurde damals zwar nicht wenig geleistet, jedoch meistens orientiert an fragwürdigen puristischen, rein historischen oder subjektiv autoritären Grundsätzen; die SpPf im echten Sinn wurde dagegen stark vernachlässigt. Erst das Aufkommen der synchronisch-funktionalen Linguistik im 20. Jh. brachte die StSp und ihre Kultur/Kultivierung in den Vordergrund der Interessen (vgl. Havránek 1979, 9f).

Die erste systematisch und wissenschaftlich begründete Konzeption der SpPf wurde in der Prager linguistischen Schule erarbeitet und als Sprachkultur (SpK) bezeichnet. Sie wurde von einigen Vorläufern, besonders von Noreen (1892), Jespersen (1914; 1925) und Winokur (1924; 1925) inspiriert. Noreens Neuerergedanken, die eine wissenschaftliche Diskussion hervorriefen (vgl. Jespersen 1925, Kap. V), beeinflussten nachhaltig Mathesius (1932/1976) in seiner Etablierung von objektiven Kriterien der „Sprachrichtigkeit“ (d. h., Systemhaftigkeit, funktionale Adäquatheit und Zugehörigkeit zur zeitgenössischen Norm), und bei Winokur fanden die Prager die funktional-stilistische Inspiration (wie auch die Bezeichnung „Sprachkultur“). Das Konzept der SpK ist bei den Pragern natürlich in ihrer Theorie der StSp verankert. Diese kann man zusammenfassend durch folgende drei Prinzipien charakterisieren: (1) strukturalistischer Funktionalismus (Sprachsystem als ein Instrument), (2) Synchronismus, (3) Normativismus.

Die StSp wird durch die spezifischen (sozialen) Funktionen (vgl. Art. 18, 30) bestimmt, denen sie dienen soll: „Die Besonderheit der Schriftsprache ergibt sich aus der Rolle, die sie spielt, insbesondere aus den höheren Anforderungen, die an sie gestellt werden: die Schriftsprache ist Ausdruck des kulturellen Lebens und der Zivilisation (der wissenschaftlichen, philosophi-

schen und religiösen, der politischen und sozialen, juristischen und administrativen Tätigkeiten und der entsprechenden Ergebnisse des Denkens)“ (Thesen [1929] 1976, 53f). Demzufolge erscheint als das höchste Bewertungskriterium die Adäquatheit eines gegebenen Ausdrucksmittels für die gegebene Funktion. Das schriftsprachliche System ist innerlich funktional differenziert, seine Einheiten weisen stilistische Dissimilation und Spezifikation auf; die Haupttypen der speziellen Verwendung von sprachlichen Mitteln in der StSp sind: Intellektualisierung (Rationalisierung), Aktualisierung und Automatisierung (Deaktualisierung) (vgl. Havránek [1932] 1976, 86–102). Als wesentlich erscheint die Unterscheidung zwischen der (sprachimmanenten) Norm und ihrer (sprachwissenschaftlichen) Kodifikation (in „normativen“ Werken und Handbüchern). Der optimale Zustand der StSp als ein komplexes System wird in einer „elastischen Stabilität“ gesehen (vgl. Mathesius [1932]/1976, 89). – Allgemein gesagt, das alte Ideal der „Sprachrichtigkeit“ wurde durch die Forderung nach der „Zweckdienlichkeit“ von Ausdrucksmitteln (d. h. ihre Eignung für bestimmte Funktionen in bestimmten Kontexten) und der „feinen Ausgebildetheit“ (tsch. „vytřibenost“) des Stils ersetzt.

In diesem Rahmen wird dann die SpK als „die bewußte Pflege der Schriftsprache“ bestimmt. Sie wird verwirklicht: (1) mit Hilfe theoretischer Arbeiten zur Linguistik, (2) durch den Sprachunterricht in der Schule, (3) im Prozeß der schriftstellerischen Praxis. Die Sprachwissenschaft hilft dabei zum einen dadurch, daß sie die Stabilität der StSp unterstützt, zum anderen dadurch, daß sie ihre funktionale Differenzierung und ihren stilistischen Reichtum fördert. Eine notwendige Bedingung für die Realisation beider Ziele ist die möglichst vollkommene theoretisch fundierte Erforschung der gegenwärtigen StSp, d. h., die objektive Ermittlung der bestehenden Norm (vgl. Allgemeine Grundsätze ... [1932] 1976, 75f). Dabei zeigt sich, daß „die Kultiviertheit einer Sprache eine Eigenschaft ist, die man nur bei ihrer praktischen Anwendung erkennen kann. So werden auch die Eigenschaften, die sich bei einer eingehenderen Analyse als Elemente der sprachlichen Kultiviertheit erweisen, Eigenschaften aus dem Gebiet der Praxis sein, und auch theoretische Erwägungen über sie müssen sich vom Grundsatz ihrer praktischen Zweckmäßigkeit leiten lassen“ (Mathesius [1932] 1976, 87).

Die erwähnte Begriffsbestimmung der SpK identifiziert sie eigentlich mit der Kultivierung der StSp. Einige spätere Überlegungen und Forschungen haben jedoch erwiesen, daß die SpK als ein Komplex von mehreren Erscheinungen zu betrachten ist (vgl. besonders Kuchař/Stich 1976 und Hauseblas 1979). Erstens muß man mit zwei Dichotomien rechnen: (1) Kultur (ein hohes Qualitätsniveau, Stand der Kultiviertheit) im Gegensatz zu Kultivierung (Bemühungen um das Erreichen der Kultur), (2) „Sprachsystem“ im Gegensatz zu „Sprechen/Rede“ (d.h. sprachliche Kommunikation). Es ist einerseits klar, daß beide Dichotomien in der Wirklichkeit miteinander kombiniert sind und daß die Sprachkultur und die Kultur der Rede sich gegenseitig bedingen. Andererseits ist auch das Konzept der sprachlichen Kommunikation eine komplexe Erscheinung: Auf der einen Seite haben wir Sprechakte, auf der anderen sprachliche Texte; und die Sprechakte selbst involvieren zweierlei Aktivitäten: Produktion und Rezeption (und Interpretation); man spricht über Sprachkultur als Kommunikationskultur (vgl. z. B. Püschel 1994).

Auch der Begriffsinhalt von Kultur/Kultivierung selbst wurde von einigen Pragern analysiert und näher qualifiziert (vgl. z. B. Daneš [1969] 1971; Hauseblas 1979). Diese Termini betreffen Prozesse und Resultate des Bildens, Vervollkommnens, Veredelns, Pflagens und Entfaltens von Geist, Gemüt, Emotionen, Geschmack, Handeln, Benehmen, und in der sprachlichen Sphäre beziehen sie sich nicht nur auf die StSp, sondern auf die Sprache in allgemeinem und auf jedwede sprachliche Kommunikation. Die SpK erscheint (und wird theoretisch behandelt sowie praktiziert) als Bestandteil des allgemeinen Kulturniveaus von menschlichem Handeln, Denken und Fühlen (vgl. auch Haarmann 1997). Aus diesem unbestreitbar soziologischen Status der SpK folgt, daß eine erfolgreiche SpPf durch das allgemeine kulturelle Niveau der ganzen Gemeinschaft bedingt ist und daß jeder Fortschritt in der Sprachsphäre den Fortschritt in den übrigen gesellschaftlichen Sphären voraussetzt, und umgekehrt. Eine wichtige Rolle spielt dabei das soziale Prestige der guten, vollwertigen, kultivierten Sprache/Kommunikation. Für die Sprachbenutzer stellt die SpK bestimmte Anforderungen. Insbesondere erfordert sie (1) bestimmte Kenntnisse (d.h. die Aneignung des Ausdrucksreichtums der StSp und

der Stil- und Textaufbauprinzipien), (2) bestimmte praktische Fertigkeiten (gewonnen durch Übung, Versuch und Kritik), (3) guten Willen und Bestreben, sich kultiviert auszudrücken, wobei dieses Bemühen motiviert ist durch die Bewußtheit der Notwendigkeit einer einheitlichen kultivierten StSp sowie der moralischen Verantwortlichkeit für dieses nötige gesamtgesellschaftliche Instrument, das zugleich eine wertvolle historische Schöpfung mit nationalem Kulturwert ist, wie auch durch den Sinn für ästhetische Werte kultivierter Sprachäußerungen (vgl. Daneš [1969] 1971, 47f).

## 2. Voraussetzungen und Mittel der Tätigkeit in der Sprachpflege

2.1. Die *Voraussetzungen* und *Vorbedingungen* für eine erfolgreiche SpPf können in drei Gruppen aufgeteilt werden: (a) gedruckte Werke und andere Materialien, die den ganzen Komplex von faktischen Kenntnissen der kodifizierten standardsprachlichen Norm auf eine systematische und methodologisch adäquate Art und Weise präsentieren (was selbstverständlich eine objektive wissenschaftliche Ermittlung der bestehenden Norm in ihrer Dynamik und ihre funktional begründete, perspektivische Kodifikation als Instruktion voraussetzt). Es handelt sich hauptsächlich um „normative“, d.h. kodifizierende, Wörterbücher, Grammatiken, orthographische und orthoepische Handbücher sowie funktionalstilistische Kompendien. (b) Institutionen und ähnliche Organisationsplattformen, die die gewünschte Tätigkeit fördern, koordinieren und garantieren möchten: Akademien, Ministerien, Schulen, verschiedene Formen der nachschulischen Bildung oder Schulung für Erwachsene, Gesellschaften zur Verbreitung von nützlichen Kenntnissen, Vereine, Klubs, Gewerkschaften sowie eine zentrale linguistische Institution als Koordinator und sachverständiger Berater bei den Tätigkeiten. (c) Lehrerschaft mit einer linguistischen Bildung oder Schulung, die den Richtlinien und Ansprüchen der SpPf entspricht; ein Stab von linguistischen Spezialisten mit allseitiger Kenntnis der Norm und Kodifikation und mit der Fertigkeit, die Kenntnisse zu popularisieren.

2.2. Zu den verschiedenen Arten von Tätigkeiten im Rahmen der SpPf zählen: Erziehen, Instruieren; Informieren und Über-

zeugen; Beraten und Empfehlen (wichtig erscheint die linguistische Mitarbeit bei der Normalisation von einzelnen Fachterminologien bzw. Nomenklaturen); Üben und Fördern der Sprachkritik (aufgrund objektiver, funktionaler Kriterien). Diese Tätigkeiten werden auf verschiedenen Ebenen ausgeübt, und oft sind sie spezialisiert, d. h. auf verschiedene Gruppen oder Kollektive ausgerichtet (z. B. Lehrer, Redakteure, Journalisten, Schriftsteller, Politiker, Manager, Leute aus der Administration). Außerdem erscheint es auch nötig negative Auswirkungen der Aktivität mancher selbsternannter, unerwünschter „Pfleger“ ohne ausreichende Fachkompetenz oder mit puristischen oder rein subjektiven, impressionistischen Ansichten zu verhindern (über Purismus vgl. Neustupný 1989; Jernudd/Shapiro 1989; Thomas 1991).

2.3. Die notwendigen Mittel der Tätigkeit sind insbesondere folgende: (a) Durchdachte Lehrpläne und Lehrbücher für Schulen aller Stufen und Arten sowie nachschulische Bildung und Selbststudium; Übungsbücher und praktische Handbücher mit Anleitungen, Instruktionen, Lektionen und Übungen für einzelne Teile des Sprachbaus, praktische funktionalistische Handbücher, auch mit Hinweisen zum Aufbau unterschiedlicher Textsorten (hauptsächlich des fachlichen Charakters). (b) Spezielle populäre linguistische Zeitschriften sowie aktuelle Artikel und Glossen in der Presse; öffentliche Vorträge, Vorlesungen (auch Zyklen) und Debatten (veranstaltet von verschiedenen Institutionen; siehe 2.1.); regelmäßig erscheinende Sprachrubriken („Sprachecken“) in Zeitungen oder Zeitschriften und ähnliche Veranstaltungen in elektronischen Massenmedien; das Publizieren von Sammelbänden mit solchen Artikeln bzw. Sendungen. (c) Ein unentbehrliches zusätzliches Instrument sind die Sprachberatungsstellen.

Die wichtigste und maßgebliche Tätigkeit mit direkter Wirkung ist der Schulunterricht. Seine Wirkung ist jedoch nicht auf den Sprachunterricht beschränkt, sondern erstreckt sich auf alle Fächer. Die kultivierte standardsprachliche Rede des Lehrers als Muster und die Forderung kultivierten sprachlichen Verhaltens der Schüler sind die effektivsten Instrumente.

Eine indirekte Wirkung auf den sprachkulturellen Standard (die sich leider nicht immer als positiv erweist) haben die Mas-

senmedien und andere (schriftliche oder mündliche) öffentliche Materialien oder Äußerungen. Sie stellen wahrscheinlich den mächtigsten Faktor dar, der die Sprachkultur in immer höherem Maße beeinflusst. „Verba movent, exempla trahunt“, und alles, was man den ganzen Tag hindurch hört und täglich liest, übt auf den Sprachgebrauch unvermeidlich eine starke Wirkung aus. Deswegen stellt ein hohes Niveau der SpK bzw. eine gezielte systemhafte Beeinflussung des Sprachstandards seitens der Massenmedien und der Publizistik im allgemeinen – neben dem Schulunterricht – das entscheidende Moment aller Bemühungen der Sprachpflege dar (vgl. Daneš 1987).

### 3. Die Bemühungen um Sprachpflege/ Sprachkultur in der heutigen Welt

Die in 1. und 2. skizzierte Konzeption der SpPf/SpK wurde in den letzten Jahrzehnten in der tschechischen Sprachgemeinschaft systematisch praktiziert. Die bisherigen Resultate sowie die aufgetretenen Probleme dieser Aktivitäten wurden von Kuchař/Stich (1976) kritisch analysiert und bewertet; die neuere Entwicklung der Theorie wurde von Jedlička (1979) zusammengefaßt. Vgl. auch zwei Sammelbände *Kultura českého jazyka* (Kultur der tschechischen Sprache) 1969 und *Spisovná čeština a jazyková kultura 1993* (Tschechische Standardsprache und Sprachkultur 1993) 1995.

Die Sprachpflege des Slowakischen, der zweiten, nahe verwandten Nationalsprache (vgl. Art. 32) in der ehemaligen Tschechoslowakei wird auf der Grundlage ähnlicher, jedoch für die slowakische Situation modifizierter Prinzipien betrieben (s. Ružička, ed., 1967; Horecký 1955, 1982, sowie die Zeitschrift *Kultúra slova* (Kultur des Wortes)). Die gegenwärtige Situation und aktuelle Aufgaben der Sprachkultur in der Slowakischen Republik präsentierte Kačala (1995). Es zeigt sich nämlich – und das gilt für alle StSp –, daß „die Unterschiede in der Sprachsituation und in den Anforderungen, die infolgedessen von der betreffenden Gemeinschaft an die Literatursprache (= Standardsprache, F. D.) gestellt werden auch eine spezifische Lösung erfordern. [...] Die Grundprinzipien einer Theorie der SpK sind, soweit wir nach den Sprachen unseres Kulturbereichs urteilen können, universell. [...] Daneben existieren jedoch auch theoretische Erkenntnisse und partielle Forderungen

gen, die sich aus der spezifischen Situation dieser oder jener Literatursprache ergeben. Das Erkennen und Respektieren dieser besonderen Umstände ist die Voraussetzung dafür, daß die Theorie der Sprachkultur der jeweiligen Sprache adäquat ist und daß die Bemühungen um die Sprachkultur in dem jeweiligen Sprachmilieu Erfolg haben“ (Kuchař/Stich 1976, 343f.). Vgl. auch Scharnhorst 1995, 27f.

Die Ideen der SpK blieben nicht auf den tschecho-slowakischen Raum beschränkt und wirken „bis heute international anregend“ (Scharnhorst 1995, 18). Sie wurden insbesondere in der ehemaligen Sowjetunion aufgegriffen (wo bei Winokur und anderen die Prager ihre erste Inspiration fanden). Die weitere Gedankenentwicklung hier findet man in Skworcow (1980), die Lösung einzelner Probleme in Kostomarow/Skworcow (1980) sowie in zwei Publikationsreihen *Voprosy kul'tury reči* (Fragen der Sprachkultur) und *Aktual'nyje problemy kul'tury reči* (Aktuelle Probleme der Sprachkultur). Die gegenwärtigen Tendenzen der Sprachpolitik in der GUS beschrieb Vogeler (1995), die Entwicklung der Sprachkultur in Rußland skizzierten Babenko (1995) und Kostomarow (1998).

Einen Überblick über den älteren Stand von Theorie und Praxis der SpK in den ehemaligen sozialistischen Ländern bietet der Sammelband aus dem internationalen Symposium von 1976 (s. Kuchař et al. 1979, mit deutschen Zusammenfassungen).

Den früheren Stand der komplizierten Sprachsituation im jugoslawischen Raum behandelten Brozović (1970) und Bugarski (1987); die umstrittene aktuelle Sprachsituation des Kroatischen und des Serbischen kommentiert Kirfel-Kukavica (1995). Die Bemühungen in Slowenien knüpfen an die Prager Konzeption an (vgl. Urbančič 1972), während die polnischen Arbeiten eine größere Eigenständigkeit zeigen (vgl. Kurkowska/Buttler/Satkiewicz 1973; 1982; Markowski/Puzynina 1993 und die Zeitschrift *Poradnik Językowy*); eine zusammenfassende Information bietet Nagórko (1999) an.

Eine selbständige Entfaltung der Prager Prinzipien stellten die Bemühungen in der ehemaligen DDR dar (vgl. auch die Zeitschrift *Sprachpflege*). Eine summarisierende Übersicht dieser Bestrebungen (mit einer reichen Bibliographie) findet man in Scherrer (1994) und Probleme und Aufgaben der SpPf in der Situation des vereinigten

Deutschlands hat Ising (1994) behandelt. Vgl. dazu die ältere gründliche Arbeit von Gessinger/Glück 1983 (wo auch die lange Tradition der SpPf im deutschen Raum skizziert ist) und Reiher (1999, über Sprachkritik vor und nach der Wende 1989). Für die gegenwärtige Situation in der BRD ist charakteristisch, daß die SpPf zwar ein aktuelles Thema darstellt, jedoch praktisch durch keine zentrale Institution integriert und garantiert wird, und daß die Ansichten von Germanisten und anderen Linguisten über die Gegenwartssprache, die standardsprachliche Norm und deren Kodifikation oft erheblich differieren (vgl. z. B. Moser 1968; Polenz 1972; 1978). Dieser Stand der Dinge brachte die Gesellschaft für deutsche Sprache auf den Gedanken eines Projekts, eine Übersicht über Aktivitäten, Institutionen und Einrichtungen im Umkreis des Themas „Förderung sprachlicher Kultur“ vorzubereiten. Als Resultat dieses Projekts erschien ein wichtiger Band: *Förderung der sprachlichen Kultur in der BRD. Positionsbestimmung und Bestandsaufnahme* (1994). Es ist dazu noch zu bemerken, daß dem alltäglichen Sprachbenutzer viele praktische Handbücher verschiedener Art wie auch nützliche und wertvolle Periodika zur Verfügung stehen, wobei die Duden-Bände eine Kodifikationsrolle spielen. Was die SpPf in Österreich betrifft, s. z. B. Veran-Schleichert (1999). Die Situation in der viersprachigen Schweiz analysierte Löffler (1995).

In manchen Ländern ist das heutige Interesse für die SpPf mehr oder weniger durch bestimmte nationale oder nationalistische Tendenzen motiviert, die meistens durch das Gefühl einer Bedrohung oder Eigenständigkeit der nationalen (Standard-) Sprache von seiten einer anderen Sprache geweckt werden (besonders in mehrsprachigen Staaten) oder als Reaktion auf die Flut von sog. Internationalismen (jetzt meistens amerikanisch-englischen Ursprungs) zu erklären sind. Ein typisches Beispiel bilden die Bemühungen des „Conseil de la langue française“ im kanadischen Québec, wo mit den Termini „aménagement linguistique“ und „qualité de la langue et de son usage“ gearbeitet wird (vgl. Corbeil 1980; Maurais 1987). Solche Verteidigungstendenzen gegen einen übermäßigen Fremdeinfluß sind typisch für die ganze frankophonische Sphäre, was die Gründung des „Conseil international de la langue française“ in 1967 beweist. Den ausgeprägtesten Ausdruck fand dieser

neue Purismus in der Metropole selbst, wo 1975 ein einzigartiges Gesetz „über den Gebrauch der französischen Sprache“ erschien (vgl. Wolf 1977), womit – in bestimmten Bereichen der gesellschaftlichen Tätigkeit – die Verwendung von Fremdwörtern, für die es französische Äquivalente gibt, verboten ist und bestraft wird (der hochproblematische Charakter einer solchen Entscheidung aus linguistischen wie auch praktischen Gründen ist offensichtlich). Wie der Titel einer sehr verbreiteten Publikation *Parles-vous français?* besagt, richtet sich die Auswirkung des Gesetzes in erster Linie gegen den einseitigen Einfluß des (amerikanischen) Englisch. Die Realisation des Gesetzes führte jedoch zugleich zu positiven lexikologischen und terminologischen Arbeiten. Übrigens gehört das Interesse am „le bon usage“ zur guten französischen Tradition (vgl. z. B. Klare 1999).

Eine rationale, funktional begründete Balance zwischen dem heimischen Grundbau einer Sprache und dem fremden Zufluß (Anglizismen bekommen heutzutage oft den Charakter von Internationalismen in der Technik, Wissenschaft und Wirtschaft, sowie auch im Alltagsleben) zu suchen, gehört natürlich zu den aktuellsten und zugleich schwierigsten Aufgaben der SpPf. Es handelt sich jedoch nicht nur um eine bloße Übernahme von einzelnen Fremdausdrücken, sondern manchmal um tiefere Einwirkungen, die sogar den typologischen Aspekt des ganzen Sprachbaus betreffen können. Die einzelnen Lösungen dieser Problematik sind natürlich auch durch unterschiedliche politische, kulturelle und ideologische Faktoren bedingt. Dabei wandelt sich das Englische selbst, das heutzutage als ein Kommunikationsmittel im internationalen Verkehr gebraucht wird („language for wider communication“), teilweise um und ist mit keiner der nationalen muttersprachlichen Varietäten des Englischen identisch (vgl. Hansen 1999).

Der dialektische Gegensatz von Isolationismus (Nationalismus) und Universalismus (Internationalismus), der sich in den Verteidigungstendenzen kundgibt (die sich in den letzten Jahrzehnten selbst in den Vereinigten Staaten in der Diskussion über die Zweisprachigkeit zu Wort meldeten und durch die Massenimmigration veranlaßt wurden), ist weder der einzige noch der wichtigste Beweggrund des belebten Interesses für Sprachumgang und Sprachbehandlung. We-

nigstens folgende, weitere hierfür relevante, Phänomene sind zu nennen (vgl. Art. 219, 224, 225, 229), (a) Große Mobilität der sozialen Schichten, die mit der Demotisierung der StSp (Verlust bestimmter Züge der Exklusivität) und mit ihrer sozialen Ausbreitung (der StSp bedienen sich immer breitere Gesellschaftsschichten, und zwar nicht nur passiv) verbunden ist. (b) Große Mobilität der Bevölkerung zwischen einzelnen Staaten (und Kontinenten), die zu lebhaften Sprachkontakten führt. (c) Auswirkungen der technischen/technologischen und wirtschaftlichen Evolution und Ausbreitung der wissenschaftlichen Kenntnisse. Es handelt sich um solche relevante Erscheinungen wie z. B. Modernisierung, Globalisierung; Automation, Informatik, Computerisation u. a., die mit neuen Tätigkeiten und Kommunikationstypen (E-mail, Internet u. ä.) verbunden sind und bestimmte textstilistische Anpassungen und Neuerungen sowie Standardisierungs- und Regulierungseingriffe erfordern; bedeutsam sind weitreichende Einflüsse der außerordentlich wirkungsvollen modernen Massenmedien. (d) Die Sprachbehandlungstätigkeiten werden durch die Instrumentalitäten des modernen Staates teilweise erst hervorgerufen und teilweise zugleich erleichtert. (e) Eine Rolle spielt auch die gegenseitige Einwirkung von praktischen Sprachanforderungen und einigen gegenwärtigen linguistischen Strömungen, insbesondere der soziologisch orientierten Textlinguistik, Diskurslinguistik oder Varietätenlinguistik.

Der globale Charakter von modernen StSp wird bedeutsam umgestaltet: sie werden weniger kompakt und mehr innerlich differenziert (vgl. die lebhafte Entwicklung von Fachsprachen („Sprachen für spezielle Zwecke, languages for special purposes“), Art. 225), ihre Struktur weist bestimmte „Dezentralisation“ auf und ihre Grenzen sind relativ offen und durchlässig (in bezug auf Substandards und Fremdeinflüsse). Vom Standpunkt der Soziolinguistik stellt man fest, daß die Empfindung der Verbindlichkeit der Normen schwächer wird und ein Prestigeverlust der kodifizierten StSp zu beobachten ist. Man möchte über einen Prozeß der „Destandardisierung“ (vgl. Art. 223) oder einen Wandel in der Wertehierarchie sprechen (vgl. Daneš 1997). Die Einstellungen der Sprachbenutzer zu dieser Entwicklung sind jedoch unterschiedlich und besonders von bestimmten Sozial- und Altersgruppen



werden als ein Niedergang der Sprache oder eine „Dekultivierung“ beurteilt.

Zalreiche Informationen über die SpPf in vielen europäischen sowie anderen Ländern der Welt findet man in mehreren speziellen Sammelbänden (vgl. besonders Rubin/Jernudd 1971; Fishman 1974; Rubin et al. 1977; Cobarrubias/Fishman 1983; Bédard/Maurais 1983; Maurais 1987; Scharnhorst 1995; 1999, Greule/Lebsanft 1998). Die Probleme und ihre Lösungen in einzelnen Ländern oder Sprachgemeinschaften können, selbstverständlich, ziemlich unterschiedlich sein, je nach der aktuellen Sprachsituation (im breiten Sinn), Tradition und anderen Umständen. Es existiert ein Grundunterschied zwischen den Gemeinschaften, wo die Kodifikation der StSp entweder durch eine akademische Autorität institutionell reguliert wird, oder wo solche Aktivitäten einen individuellen oder „privaten“ Charakter haben (vgl. „academy-governed style“ und „free-enterprise style“ bei Garvin 1993). Es existieren, natürlich, auch verschiedene Zwischenstufen, z. B. im deutschsprachigen Gebiet. Es ist bemerkenswert, daß in den Vereinigten Staaten die Sprachbenutzer sich (aus praktischen Gründen) lebhaft und stark dafür interessieren, daß sie richtige („correct“) englische Sprache verwenden. Sie benutzen dabei eine Menge von Hilfsmitteln, die ihnen verschiedene Verleger zur Verfügung stellen (viele Wörterbücher, Grammatiken und stilistische Kompendien), die jedoch einen ungleichen Wert haben. Die von dem Linguisten R. Hall, jr., geprägte Devise „Let your language alone!“ („Lassen sie ihre Sprache in Ruhe!“) wird von der Bevölkerung offensichtlich wenig beachtet (vgl. Ferguson/Heath 1981, xxvii–xxx; Garvin 1993).

Allgemeinere Betrachtungen und Gedanken über Phänomene und Problematik der Sprachpflege, Sprachkultur, Sprachplanung und Sprachpolitik findet man insbesondere in folgenden Arbeiten: Haugen 1966; Neustupný 1978; Ferguson 1977; Fishman 1983; Jernudd 1987; Daoust/Maurais 1987; Garvin 1993; Bickes/Trabold 1994; Scharnhorst 1995; 1999; Haarmann 1997.

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## 247. Lexikographie und Soziolinguistik Lexicography and Sociolinguistics

1. Das Verhältnis von Soziolinguistik und Lexikografie
2. Lexikografie und Varietätenlinguistik
3. Soziolinguistische Aspekte des allgemeinen Wörterbuchs
4. Soziolinguistische Defizite in der Lexikografie
5. Literatur (in Auswahl)

### 1. Das Verhältnis von Soziolinguistik und Lexikografie

Den Ausgangspunkt soziolinguistischer Forschung bildet die Beobachtung, dass das „Problem der sprachlichen Verschiedenheit in der Gesellschaft *objektiv* vorhanden“ ist und zudem „von Gesellschaftsmitgliedern *subjektiv* erfahren“ wird (Dittmar 1997, 43). Anders als etwa in der Grammatikografie wirken sich diese „sprachlichen Verschiedenheiten“ und ihre Wahrnehmung in der Lexikografie unmittelbar aus. Ausdruck dafür ist die Existenz ausgedehnter Wörterbuchlandschaften in zahlreichen Einzelsprachen. Die markanten Punkte in dieser Landschaft bilden solche Wörterbuchtypen,

in denen soziolinguistisch charakterisierbare Ausschnitte aus einzelsprachlichen Lexiken kodifiziert sind. In dieser Hinsicht ließe sich die Lexikografie als ein Zweig der Soziolinguistik ganz unabhängig von dieser Disziplin und schon vor deren Entstehen begreifen. Tatsächlich spielen soziolinguistische Fragestellungen für die Lexikografie von Anfang an ihre Rolle, auch wenn diese keineswegs immer systematisch verfolgt oder hinreichend theoretisch reflektiert worden sind. Im Folgenden sollen wesentliche Verbindungen zwischen Soziolinguistik und Lexikografie dargestellt werden.

### 2. Lexikografie und Varietätenlinguistik

Einen zentralen Gegenstand der Soziolinguistik bildet die Beschäftigung mit Varietäten, also den verschiedenen Vorkommen oder Existenzformen einer Sprache. Mit solchen Varietäten hat es auch ein Großteil der Lexikografie zu tun. Allein schon aus praktischen Gründen bietet die in einem Wörter-

buch kodifizierte Lexik immer nur einen Ausschnitt aus dem Gesamtwortschatz einer Einzelsprache. Bei der Wahl dieser Ausschnitte gehen die Lexikografen aber nicht willkürlich vor, sondern sie lassen sich dabei von dem Wissen leiten, das sie über die unterschiedlichen Vorkommens- und Verwendungsweisen der Wörter haben. So hat beispielsweise Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz in seinen „Unvorgreiflichen Gedanken“ (1697/1966, § 32) „eine Musterung und Untersuchung aller Teutschen Worte“, also des gesamten deutschen Wortschatzes, gefordert. Diese Aufgabe spaltet er in mehrere Teilaufgaben auf, indem er den Gesamtwortschatz nach Wörtern differenziert, „so jederman brauchet“ und „so gewissen Lebensarten und Künsten eigen“; außerdem will er neben denen, „so man Hochdeutsch nennt“, auch „Platt=Teutsch, Märkisch, Ober=Sächsisch, Fränkisch, Bährisch, Oesterreichisch, Schwäbisch, oder was sonst hin und wieder bey dem Landmann mehr als in den Städten bräuchlich“ behandelt sehen. Die angemessene Kodifizierung der unterschiedlichen Wortschatzteile verlangt nach eigenen Wörterbuchtypen, die zum Beispiel bezeichnet werden als „Sprachbrauch, auf Lateinisch Lexicon“ „vor durchgehende Worte“ oder „Sprach=Schatz, oder cornu copiae“ „vor Kunst=Worte“ (ebd. § 33). Bei dieser Sachlage verwundert es nicht, dass sich einer Reihe von Varietäten, die in der Soziolinguistik diskutiert werden, Typen von Wörterbüchern zuordnen lassen. Dies gilt vor allem für die lexikografisch gut erschlossenen europäischen Sprachen. Ausgehend von der Varietäten-Liste Norbert Dittmars (1997, 179f) ergeben sich ziemlich problemlos die folgenden Zuordnungen:

(1) Auf die Standardvarietät bezogen ist das allgemeine einsprachige Wörterbuch, das den standardvarietätlichen Wortschatz einer Sprache kodifiziert. Um die Heterogenität der standardvarietätlichen Lexik hervorzuheben, spricht Oskar Reichmann (1990, 1391) auch vom gesamtsprachbezogenen Wörterbuch (s. 3.4).

(2) Die individuelle Varietät oder der Idiolekt hat seine Entsprechung im Autorenwörterbuch, das die Schriften eines in der Regel berühmten Autors lexikografisch erschließt.

(3) Der lokalen/regionalen Varietät oder dem Dialekt ist das Mundart- oder Dialektwörterbuch zugeordnet, das den Dialekt eines Ortes oder eines Dialektraums ver-

zeichnet. Obwohl die diatopische und diastratische Dimension eng miteinander zusammenhängen (Chambers/Trudgill 1980, 54), hat sich vor allem die deutsche Dialektlexikografie so gut wie ausschließlich für die erstere interessiert. Deshalb beschränken sich auch Stadtsprachen-Wörterbücher in der Regel auf das „Mundartliche“, erfassen also lediglich einen Ausschnitt der schichtenspezifisch differenzierten Lexik einer städtischen Varietät oder eines Urbanokletes. Aus soziolinguistischer Sicht ist dies eine gravierende Schwäche vieler Dialektwörterbücher. Neben Dialektwörterbüchern, die sich einer Varietät widmen, gibt es auch Varietäten übergreifende Gesamtwörterbücher wie die „Idiotiken-Sammlung“ Friedrich Carl Fuldas (Fulda 1788; dazu Püschel 1987), das EDD oder DARE.

(4) Varietäten einer prestigeebesetzten Sprache außerhalb des Mutterlandes werden in Wörterbüchern erfasst, die sich wiederum als allgemein verstehen. Exemplarisch stehe dafür die lexikografische Aufarbeitung des amerikanischen Englisch (vgl. Alego 1990). Aber auch die sich seit einiger Zeit durchsetzende plurizentristische Betrachtung des Deutschen (von Polenz 1988) weist in eine ähnliche Richtung: Das standardvarietätliche österreichische Deutsch besitzt mit dem ÖWB ein die Eigenständigkeit unterstreichendes allgemeines Wörterbuch. Für Wörterbücher dieser Art spielt die diaphasische Dimension eine besondere Rolle, weshalb eine verstärkte Berücksichtigung von Benutzungssituationen notwendig ist (Allsopp 1982, 71 ff, Dressler/Wodak 1983, 251).

(5) Besonderheiten der Kontaktvarietäten-Lexikografie resultieren aus ihrem Gegenstand. Generell hat sie es wie die Dialektlexikografie mit gesprochener Sprache zu tun. Hinzu kommt, dass die Wortschatze defizitär sind. Speziell für Pidgin-Varietäten bedeutet das eine starke Situationsgebundenheit des Wortgebrauch an wenige Bereiche wie Handel und Arbeit. Kreol-Varietäten können sich dagegen zum Standard entwickeln. Der Lexikografie stellt sich dann die Frage, wie sie mit den vorhandenen Wortschatzlücken umgeht (s. auch 3.1.).

(6) Im Sprachstadienwörterbuch sind historische Varietäten verzeichnet. Zu diesem Typ zählen nicht nur Wörterbücher, in denen ein historischer Sprachstand aufgearbeitet ist wie das Frühneuhochdeutsche oder Mittelenglische, sondern auch allgemeine einsprachige Wörterbücher, in denen

der jeweils zeitgenössische Sprachstand kodifiziert ist wie in Johnson (1755), in Adlung (1774–1786) oder im WDG, das mit *deutsche Gegenwartssprache* das Sprachstadium ausdrücklich im Titel nennt.

(7) Problematisch verhält es sich mit der Lernervarietät, der das Grundwortschatz-, Kinder-, Schul- und Lernerwörterbuch zugeordnet werden können. Diese Wörterbücher kodifizieren einen reduzierten standardvarietätlichen Wortschatz, dessen Auswahl sich an einer unterstellten Nützlichkeit und Brauchbarkeit für die jeweiligen Lernzwecke orientiert, jedoch vielfach eine empirische Abstützung vermissen lässt.

(8) Einer Reihe von Varietäten lassen sich aus unterschiedlichen Gründen keine oder nur bedingt Wörterbücher zuordnen. Dies liegt zum einen daran, dass Lexikografen an bestimmten Varietäten wie der Umgangssprache/dem Regiolekt und dem Substandard/der standardnahen gesprochenen Umgangssprache kein besonderes Interesse hatten. Zum andern wurden bestimmte Varietäten überhaupt nicht wahrgenommen wie zum Beispiel die geschlechtsspezifische Varietät/den Sexolekt oder die altersspezifische Varietät/den Gerontolekt, deren Varietätenstatus allerdings strittig ist. Umgekehrt lässt sich darüber streiten, ob beispielsweise Reisewörterbücher mit ihrer nach Situationen ausgewählten Lexik einen Situoлект repräsentieren.

(9) Zwar existieren für die Umgangssprache/den Regiolekt und die standardnahe Umgangssprache/den Substandard keine Wörterbücher, sie werden aber in den allgemeinen Wörterbüchern zumindest ansatzweise mitbehandelt (s. 3.4.). Außerdem finden sich Wörterbücher, die sich als Teilkodifikationen von umgangssprachlicher Lexik verstehen lassen. Diese Lexikausschnitte sind einerseits soziolektal, das heißt schichten- oder gruppenspezifisch bestimmt, andererseits sind sie nach einem verbreiteten Verständnis nicht Teil einer eigenständigen Varietät. Traditionell zählt dazu die Sondersprachliche Lexik der Gauner und Diebe, Schüler und Studenten, Soldaten, Drucker, Jäger und Fischer; neuerdings zieht der Sprachgebrauch am Arbeitsplatz die Aufmerksamkeit auf sich. Da die Bezeichnungen für diese Art von Wortschatzen zwischen Sondersprache, Argot, Slang und Jargon schwanken (vgl. Dittmar 1997, 218ff), firmiert der entsprechende Wörterbuchtyp ebenfalls unterschiedlich. So

ist vom gruppensprachlichen und sprechsprachlichen Wörterbuch die Rede, vom *dictionnaire d'argot* oder *slang dictionary*. Wörterbücher dieses Typs sind segmentale Wörterbücher, das heißt, sie enthalten nicht die Gesamtlexik einer Varietät, sondern lediglich einen Ausschnitt (vgl. Opitz 1983, 56ff; s. 3.5.).

Unter soziolinguistischen Aspekten lassen sich zwei Gruppen von Wörterbüchern unterscheiden: Varietäten-Wörterbücher, die die Lexik einer Varietät kodifizieren, und segmentale Wörterbücher, die einen wiederum soziolinguistisch bestimmbar Lexikausschnitt aus einer Varietät kodifizieren.

### 3. Soziolinguistische Aspekte des allgemeinen Wörterbuchs

Das allgemeine einsprachige Wörterbuch dient der Kodifizierung der standardvarietätlichen Lexik einer Einzelsprache. Mit ihm sind eine Reihe soziolinguistischer Aspekte verbunden. Unter diesen soll der Frage nach seiner Normativität nachgegangen werden (3.1.), der zu kodifizierenden Lexik (3.2. und 3.3.) und der soziolinguistischen Differenzierung (3.4. und 3.5.).

#### 3.1. Die Normativität von Wörterbüchern

Einmal davon abgesehen, dass jede Standardvarietät per se eine normativ-präskriptive Dimension besitzt – sie bildet den Bezugsrahmen für korrekten Sprachgebrauch –, kann der Lexikograf zwei prinzipielle Haltungen zu seinem Gegenstand einnehmen (Ripfel 1989, 198ff): Zum einen sieht er seine Aufgabe darin, die standardvarietätliche Lexik zu verzeichnen; er geht deskriptiv vor, indem er den Wörterbuchbenutzern vorführt, wie der Sprachgebrauch ist. Zum andern zielt er darauf, denjenigen Wortschatz zu präsentieren, den die Sprachteilhaber benutzen sollen, wenn sie sich standardvarietätlich ausdrücken wollen; er geht präskriptiv vor und verfolgt damit die Absicht, den Sprachgebrauch der Benutzer zu beeinflussen. In der Geschichte der allgemeinsprachlichen Lexikografie stehen explizit präskriptiv ausgerichtete Wörterbücher am Anfang, explizit deskriptiv ausgerichtete folgen erst später. Das hängt damit zusammen, dass die ersten standardvarietätlichen Wörterbücher zu Zeitpunkten entstehen, in denen die Herausbildung der Standardvarietäten noch nicht abgeschlossen ist. Die Wörterbuchprojekte dienen deshalb nicht

einfach der Kodifizierung einer vorfindlichen Lexik, sondern auch oder sogar vor allem der Förderung und Festigung eines standardvarietätlichen Wortschatzes. Diese Aufgabe kann heute wieder der Lexikografie von Kontaktvarietäten zufallen.

Mit der Unterscheidung zwischen einer präskriptiven und deskriptiven Lexikografie ist allerdings nur eine grobe Tendenz angesprochen, denn in der Wörterbuchpraxis vermischen sich Deskription und Präskription zwangsläufig. Präskriptiv ausgerichtete Wörterbücher zielen darauf, eine als vorbildlich betrachtete Lexik zu kodifizieren, wobei der Lexikograf bei denjenigen Wortschatzteilen deskriptiv vorgeht, die nach den vorgegebenen Kriterien unstrittig der Standardvarietät angehören. Für den Nutzer nicht erkennbar normativ handelt er, wo er sich in Grenzfällen für oder gegen die Aufnahme einzelner Lexeme entscheidet. Außerdem besteht eine typische Praxis darin, zu Abgrenzungszwecken auch Lexeme aufzunehmen, die ausdrücklich nicht zur Standardvarietät gezählt werden oder vor deren Gebrauch aus anderen Gründen explizit gewarnt wird. Diese Lexeme werden mittels normativer Markierungen oder Kommentare kenntlich gemacht wie zum Beispiel im VAC (1612), im DAF (1694), in Johnson (1755) oder in Adelung (1774–1786). In der gegenwartssprachlichen Lexikografie finden sich solche mehr oder weniger deutlich normativen Hinweise vor allem in Wörterbüchern des Französischen (vgl. Glatigny 1989).

Eine besondere präskriptive Variante bildet der „Bereicherungsgedanke“, der in der deutschen Lexikografie des 17. und 18. Jhs. eine wichtige Rolle spielt und exemplarisch von Adelung (1774–1786) vertreten wird. Adelung verzeichnet zahlreiche Lexeme, die zwar ausdrücklich als nicht „hochdeutsch“ gekennzeichnet sind, aber nach Adelungs Meinung das in vieler Hinsicht noch lexikalisch defizitäre „Hochdeutsch“ bereichern können.

Präskriptive Tendenzen in deskriptiv ausgerichteten Wörterbüchern machen sich in unterschiedlicher Weise bemerkbar. So besitzt jedes deskriptive Wörterbuch prinzipiell ein normatives Moment, da es von den Benutzern als Autorität bei Unsicherheit und in Zweifelsfällen betrachtet werden kann. Aus der Sicht der Lexikografen ist dies unter Umständen sogar ein erwünschter Effekt. So soll nach Wolfgang Steinitz das WDG ein Ratgeber sein, der „im Laufe der

Zeit automatisch eine normative Funktion erhalten“ wird (Steinitz 1954, 77f). Eine normative Funktion kann auch von vornherein intendiert sein, was vor allem für die Lexikografie des Französischen zu gelten scheint, in der nach Christian Schmitt (1986, 185) der Lexikograf „zu sehr als Bewahrer auftritt und damit letztlich puristischen Traditionen verpflichtet bleibt“.

Auch wo sich keine normative Grundhaltung findet, kann das deskriptive Prinzip durchbrochen werden, indem Wortschatzteile bewusst ausgespart werden. Beispielsweise werden in englischen Wörterbüchern des 20. Jhs. four-letter words bis zum Ende der fünfziger Jahre übergangen (Burchfield 1973), und wie der Hinweis Jacob Grimms beim Lemma *ficken* belegt, hat dieses Verfahren in der englischen Lexikografie Tradition: „auch engl. fuck (in den wbb. meist ausgelassen)“ (DWB Bd. 3, Sp. 1618). Das Übergehen solcher Wörter geschieht stillschweigend wie beispielsweise im OED, dessen „General explanations“ keinen Hinweis darauf enthalten, oder es wird ausdrücklich vermerkt: „Obszöne Wörter, die zur vulgären Schicht gehören, sind im Wörterbuch nicht berücksichtigt“ (WDG Bd. 1, 012). Radikale Deskriptivisten wie R. C. Trench lehnen dagegen ein wie auch immer begründetes Übergehen einzelner Wortschatzteile ab:

„A Dictionary [...] is an inventory of the language. [...] It is not the task of the maker of it to select the good words of the language.“ (Trench 1857, 3)

Ebenso lapidar formuliert Jacob Grimm in der „Vorrede“ zum „Deutschen Wörterbuch“:

„Das wörterbuch, will es seines namens werth sein, ist nicht da um wörter zu verschweigen, sondern um sie vorzubringen.“ (DWB Bd. 1, Sp. XXXIII)

Werden als anstößig betrachtete und tabuisierte Lexeme kodifiziert, ist dies häufig mit einer Kennzeichnung ihres besonderen Status verbunden, wie beispielsweise im GWDS mit „vulg.[är]“. Damit wird einerseits der Anspruch auf eine möglichst vollständige Erfassung der standardvarietätlichen Lexik erfüllt, andererseits wird dem besonderen Status einzelner Lexeme Rechnung getragen. Der Benutzer kann der Kennzeichnung entnehmen, dass er das entsprechende Lexem nicht verwenden darf oder soll, viel-

leicht aber auch nur die Warnung, dass er im Umgang mit solchen Lexemen vorsichtig sein sollte. Über die bloße Kennzeichnung hinaus können dem Benutzer – wenn auch pauschalierend – noch weiter gehende Hinweise auf die Gebrauchsmodalitäten solcher Lexeme gegeben wie zum Beispiel im Vorwort des WDG. Dort heißt es zu den vulgären Wörtern, dass sie zwar „als ausgesprochen grob empfunden und deshalb im allgemeinen vermieden werden“, jedoch bei „Literaten zur scharfen Charakterisierung einer verächtlichen Einstellung“ (Bd. 1, 012) Verwendung finden. Selbst wenn solche Kennzeichnungen rein deskriptiv gemeint sind, können sie als Werturteile und damit präskriptiv verstanden werden. Deshalb sind sie auch im Webster Third, der prononciert deskriptiv ausgerichtet ist, auf ein Minimum reduziert.

### 3.2. Die Bestimmung des Objektbereichs

Jedes varietäten-lexikografische Projekt hat die elementare soziolinguistische Aufgabe zu lösen, den zu kodifizierenden Wortschatzausschnitt zu bestimmen. Als Maßstab dafür dient der Gebrauch der Wörter, der an Gruppen oder kommunikative Funktionen oder beides gebunden sein kann. Diese Notwendigkeit besteht auch bei allgemeinen ein- und zweisprachigen Wörterbüchern, obwohl sie fraglos die standardvarietätliche Lexik einer Sprache kodifizieren. Diese Fraglosigkeit wird vielfach noch befördert, da Lexikografen den Objektbereich mit den Bezeichnungen für Einzelsprachen wie *französisch*, *deutsch* oder *englisch* umreißen. So ist zum Beispiel im OED (Bd. 1, XXVII) vom „Vocabulary of English-speaking men“ die Rede, oder das GWDS formuliert lapidar, das Wörterbuch wolle „den Wortschatz der deutschen Gegenwartssprache möglichst vollständig erfassen“ (Bd. 1, 7). Auch wenn der Wörterbuchbenutzer normalerweise eine Vorstellung von seiner Standardvarietät besitzt, sollte ihm dennoch deren Status explizit erklärt werden, sodass er sich ein Bild davon machen kann, was ihn im Wörterbuch erwartet. Deshalb bestimmt das WDG *deutsche Sprache* mittels einer sozialen und funktionalen Einordnung:

„Das Wörterbuch [...] soll die deutsche Sprache der bildungstragenden Schicht der Gegenwart darstellen. Unter der bildungstragenden Schicht sind die in Wissenschaft und Kunst, in Technik, Wirtschaft und Verwaltung, in den gesellschaftlichen

Organisationen und Parteien verantwortlich tätigen Menschen verstanden, die die Sprache unseres öffentlichen Lebens sowie der schönen, wissenschaftlichen und technischen Literatur und der Presse bestimmen.“ (WDG, Bd. 1, 04)

Was den zu kodifizierenden Wortschatz angeht, konnten sich die allgemeinen Wörterbüchern des 17. und 18. noch nicht auf einen Konsens über die Standardvarietät verlassen, da die Herausbildung von Standardvarietäten noch nicht endgültig abgeschlossen war. Dieser Prozess spiegelt sich in Streitschriften, Wörterbuchprogrammen und Wörterbucheinleitungen wider. So herrscht beim „Dictionnaire de l'Académie Française“ von 1684 (DAF) zwar Konsens über die Zielsetzung, nämlich die „Langue commune, telle qu'elle est dans le commerce ordinaire des honnestes gens et telle que les Orateurs et les Poëtes l'employent“ zu erfassen. Die Ausführung dieses Vorsatzes erfährt jedoch von den Zeitgenossen vielfältige Kritik, die bis zum Widerspruch gegen die Aufnahme einzelner Wörter reicht (Popelar 1976, 202ff). Noch fundamentalere Züge weist die Diskussion in Italien und Deutschland auf, wo zwar auch um die Zugehörigkeit einzelner Wörter zur Standardvarietät gestritten wird, vor allem aber um die Frage, was eigentlich der Standard sei. Diesen für das Italienische sprachnormerisch festzuschreiben ist das Ziel des „Vocabolario degli Accademici della Crusca“ (VAC 1612). Im Deutschland des 17. und 18. Jhs. kulminiert der Streit um das „Hochdeutsche“ in den Wörterbüchern von Johann Christoph Adelung (1774–1786) und Joachim Heinrich Campe (1807–1811). In Adelungs „Versuch eines vollständigen grammatisch=kritischen Wörterbuches Der Hochdeutschen Mundart“ wird der Standard als der Sprachgebrauch einer Region („der südlichen Chursächsischen Lande“), einer Gesellschaftsschicht (der „obern Classen“) und als primär sprechsprachlich („des gesellschaftlichen Umgangs“) bestimmt (Adelung 1774–1786, Bd. I:LVII–LX). Die Gegenposition, das Hochdeutsche sei nicht die Sprache einer Region, sondern der „Aushub aus allen Mundarten“, vertritt dann Campe in seinem „Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache“, da

„die gebildetsten Menschen und die Schriftsteller aller Gegenden das Beste, Edelste und Sprachrichtigste für die allgemeine Deutsche Umgangs- und Schriftsprache ausgehoben haben und noch immer auszuheben regelmäßig fortfahren“ (Campe 1807–1811, Bd. I, VIII).

Um den standardvarietätlichen Wortschatz zu erfassen, braucht der Lexikograf seinen Blick offenbar lediglich auf den zeitgenössischen Sprachgebrauch zu richten. Wie das OED vermerkt, gibt es aber für die Standardvarietät eine „undefined frontier, when it is viewed in relation to time“ (Bd. 1, XXVIII). Es bleibt also, den zeitlichen Ausschnitt oder die Grenzen des Sprachstadiums festzulegen. Dies gilt auch für ausdrücklich gegenwartsbezogene Wörterbücher wie das WDG oder GWDS. Denn auch diese haben sich nicht auf den strikt zeitgenössischen Wortschatz beschränkt, sondern verlegen die Zeitgrenze in das letzte Drittel beziehungsweise in die zweiten Hälfte des 18. Jhs. Sie binden diese Entscheidung an den literarischen Kanon und begründen sie damit, dass so die „gelesene, lebendige deutsche Literatur“ erfasst, beziehungsweise das „Verständnis der klassischen deutschen Literatur“ gesichert sei (WDG Bd. 1, 04; GWDS Bd. 1, 7). In thesaurisierenden Wörterbüchern fällt die Zeitspanne in der Regel weiter aus. So hat sich das OED dafür entschieden, auch diejenigen Wörter zu verzeichnen, „known to have been in use since the middle of the twelfth century“ (Bd. 1, XXVIII). Beim DWB liefert den zeitlichen Rahmen das als neuhochdeutsch bezeichnete Sprachstadium – für Jakob Grimm die Periode von der Mitte des 15. bis zur Mitte des 19. Jhs. Dieser Zeitraum sei „so viel als möglich zu erschöpfen“, auch sei des „veralteten und auszerbraucht gesetzten [nicht zu] entraten“ (DWB Bd. 1, XVII f). Damit findet ausdrücklich auch für die Zeitgenossen Ungebräuchliches seinen Platz im Wörterbuch.

### 3.3. Das Problem der Vollständigkeit

Während in der Lexikografie des 17. Und 18. Jhs. grundsätzlich um die Eingrenzung der standardvarietätlichen Lexik gerungen wird, hat sich die gegenwartssprachliche Lexikografie mit der „Vollständigkeitsproblematik“ auseinander zu setzen. Zwar sind die Standardvarietäten fest etabliert, aber jedes auch noch so umfangreiche allgemeine Wörterbuch verfügt nur über begrenzten Platz, sodass zwangsläufig Ausgrenzungen vorgenommen werden müssen. Dabei erweist sich als hilfreich, dass die standardsprachliche Lexik in ihrer Heterogenität als Ensemble von Wortschatzteilen verstanden werden kann, das sich in Kernbereich und Randbereiche aufteilen lässt. Je peripherer ein Wort

einzustufen ist, desto eher kann es übergangen werden. Dennoch bleibt die Grenzziehung problematisch, da zwischen Wortschatzteilen keine natürlichen Grenzen bestehen. Den Lexikografen stellt sich also die Aufgabe, die Grenzen der zu kodifizierenden Lexik selbst zu ziehen. Dabei fällt Konsens darüber leicht, was zum lexikalischen Kernbestand einer Standardvarietät zählt; in den Randbereichen der Lexik werden sich jedoch die strittigen Fälle häufen. Das OED (Bd. 1, XXVII) veranschaulicht diese Verhältnisse mit der folgenden Skizze, bei der die von den Randbereichen ausgehenden Pfeile ins Leere weisen:

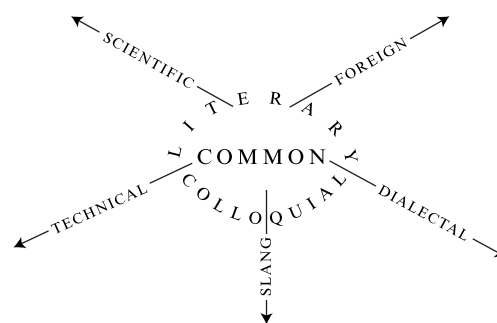


Abb. 247.1: Aus OED 1. Bd., XXVII.

Verbunden damit ist die Einsicht, dass die Grenzziehung prinzipiell willkürlich ist:

„Yet practical utility has some bounds, and a Dictionary has definite limits: the lexicographer must, like the naturalist ‘draw the line somewhere’, in each diverging direction.“ (ebd.)

Damit die Bestimmung des „somewhere“ nicht völlig beliebig ausfällt, kann der Usus als Kriterium für die Entscheidung im Einzelfall dienen: Ist ein Lexem in seinem Gebrauch allgemein verbreitet und damit typisch oder handelt es sich um eine individuelle, gar eigenwillige Prägung? Wird ein Lexem von der Gesamtgruppe von Sprechern der Standardvarietät wenn auch eher selten aktiv gebraucht, aber doch passiv beherrscht oder wird es lediglich von einer Teilgruppe gebraucht?

Ein weiteres Kriterium bildet die Reichweite eines Wörterbuchs, die sich am Umfang der kodifizierten Lexik bemisst. Schematisch lässt sich das ebenfalls an der OED-Skizze demonstrieren: Die geringste Reichweite hätte ein Wörterbuch, das sich auf die als „common“ bezeichnete Kernlexik beschränkt, weiter reichte das Wörter-



buch, das die Bereiche „literary“ und „colloquial“ mit einbezüge, am weitesten das Wörterbuch, das noch Wortschatzteile aus den sich anschließenden Bereichen „technical“, „slang“ usw. berücksichtigte. In der Wörterbuchpraxis ergibt sich die Reichweite jedoch nicht primär aus Eigenschaften des Wortschatzes, sondern aus Benutzerbedürfnissen (Opitz 1983, 54f). Einem eher begrenzten und nicht bis in speziellere Wortschatzbereiche reichenden Nachschlagebedürfnis entsprechen beim einsprachigen Wörterbuch die „pocket version“ und „condensed version“ (zum Beispiel HWDG und WDG), während die „unabridged version“ oder das thesaurisierende Wörterbuch wie OED und DWB danach streben, so vielen Nachschlagebedürfnissen wie nur möglich zu genügen.

#### 3.4. Differenzierungen in der standard-varietätlichen Lexik

In der standardvarietätlichen Lexikografie findet sich von Beginn an die Praxis, bestimmte Wortschatzteile besonders zu kennzeichnen. In der frühen Phase geschieht dies in den Wörterbüchern des Englischen, Französischen oder Deutschen häufig in grafischer Form, zum Beispiel mit \*, ●, ■, ▲ oder †. Die Alternative dazu bilden sprachliche Markierungen, wie sie heute weithin üblich sind. Die Kennzeichnungen, labels oder marques bieten Hinweise auf Besonderheiten im Gebrauch der markierten Lexeme; sie reflektieren das Bewusstsein, dass die als standardvarietätlich betrachtete Lexik in sich nicht homogen ist, sondern einzelne Wortschatzteile speziellen Gebrauchsbedingungen unterliegen.

Dabei gilt der größere Teil der Lexik im Hinblick auf den Gebrauch als neutral oder unauffällig; dieser Bereich bedarf deshalb keiner Kennzeichnung. Umgekehrt wird nur markiert, was sich davon als abweichend oder auffällig abhebt. Was als unauffällig unmarkiert bleibt und was als auffällig markiert wird, soll sich im Prinzip danach richten, was durchschnittliche Sprecher der Standardvarietät als normal oder abweichend empfinden.

Auch wenn es praktisch keine allgemeinen einsprachigen Wörterbücher gibt, in denen Kennzeichnungen völlig fehlen, werden sie nach Art und Umfang sehr unterschiedlich gehandhabt. Dementsprechend unterschiedlich fallen die soziolinguistischen Informationen aus, die sich Wörterbüchern

entnehmen lassen. Eine besondere Rolle in der deutschen Lexikografie spielt hier das WDG, das für sich beansprucht, als erstes deutsches Wörterbuch „die stilistische Charakterisierung des deutschen Wortschatzes“ konsequent durchgeführt zu haben, indem es die „Wörter und ihre Verwendungen [...] in ihren verschiedenen Gebrauchsweisen durch Bewertungen charakterisiert“ (WDG Bd. 1, 011). Nach dem Vorbild des russischen Wörterbuchs von D. N. Usakov (1935–1940) unterscheidet das WDG vier Bereiche, die besonders gekennzeichnet werden: (a) die Stilschichten und Stilfärbungen, (b) die zeitliche Zuordnung, (c) die räumliche Zuordnung und (d) die fachliche Zuordnung. Einteilungen dieser Art suggerieren leicht, dass die Markierungspraxis klar vorgegebenen Kriterien folgt; tatsächlich verbergen sich dahinter jedoch komplizierte soziolinguistische Verhältnisse. Der folgende Überblick über die Markierungstypen orientiert sich an dem „Makromodell der Markierungen“, das Franz Josef Hausmann (1989, 650f) entworfen hat.

##### 3.4.1. Diastratische Markierungen

Mit den diastratischen Markierungen werden die so genannten Stilschichten gekennzeichnet. Schon Adelung hat eine „stilistische“ Gliederung Wortschatzes vorgenommen, indem er die Wörter nach ihrer Würde eingeteilt hat. Solche Markierungen finden sich praktisch in allen allgemeinen Wörterbüchern. Trotz ihrer Verbreitung sind unter Varietätengesichtspunkt Probleme mit ihnen verknüpft, da in die Einteilung unterschiedliche Kriterien einfließen. Dies sei am Beispiel des WDG expliziert.

Das WDG (Bd. 1, 012f) geht von der unmarkierten neutralen oder unauffälligen Schicht aus, der die gehobene Schicht über- und die salopp-umgangssprachliche sowie vulgäre Schicht untergeordnet sind. Zusätzlich bildet einen Teilbereich der gehobenen Schicht die dichterische, einen Teilbereich der normalsprachlichen die umgangssprachliche. Die letztere lässt sich als (gesprochener) Substandard verstehen, was auch für die als salopp-umgangssprachlich gekennzeichneten Lexeme gilt. Allerdings weisen diese noch eine diaphasische Komponente auf, da ihr Gebrauch auf die nicht öffentliche Kommunikation beschränkt ist; sie rechnen dann zu einem Situolekt. Zum Substandard zählen schließlich auch die mit ‚vulgär‘ markierten Lexeme, denen noch

eine spezifische Sprechereinstellung zu kommt dergestalt, dass sie als ausgesprochen grob empfunden und deshalb nicht benutzt werden. Spekuliert werden kann, ob nach dem Verständnis mancher Lexikografen die vulgäre Stilschicht nicht mit der Unterschicht im soziologischen Sinne in Zusammenhang zu bringen ist und damit einen Soziolekt bildet. Die gleiche Spekulation ist auch bei der gehobenen Stilschicht möglich. Daneben trägt sie aber auch Züge eines Situolektes, wenn es vom Gebrauch dieser Lexeme heißt, dass sie für feierliche Gelegenheiten des öffentlichen Lebens reserviert sind. Als weitere Facette besitzen die mit 'gehoben' und vor allem 'dichterisch' markierten Lexemen eine diachronische Komponente, denn im Verständnis des GWDS (B 1. 1, 19) sind sie veraltet oder altertümlich. Damit überlagern sich diastratische und diachronische Markierungen, was sich auch bei anderen Markierungstypen findet.

#### 3.4.2. Diaphasische und diaevaluative Markierungen

Nach Hausmann (1989:651) beziehen sich die diaphasischen Markierungen auf den Grad der Formalität, während mit den diaevaluativen Markierungen Einstellungen angesprochen sind, die mit lexikalischen Mitteln zum Ausdruck gebracht werden können (Püschel 1990:275ff.). In der Lexikografie des Englischen steht bei diesen Kennzeichnungen dagegen der Grad der Formalität im Vordergrund. Von den diaevaluativen Markierungen, die bevorzugt in der Lexikografie des Deutschen verwendet werden, sprechen Lexikografen je nach theoretischem Hintergrund als Stilsfärbung, Gefühlswert, Gebrauchswert oder Konnotation.

Beide Typen von Kennzeichnungen lassen sich mit aller Vorsicht den diaphasischen Varietäten oder Situolekten zuordnen. Viele der diaevaluativen Markierungen lassen sich dem Slang zuordnen mit den Merkmalen des Ungewöhnlichen, Gesuchten, parodistisch Scherzhaften und absichtlich Albernem. Sie können aber auch soziolektale Implikationen haben, was sie dann als Jargon-Lexeme ausweist.

#### 3.4.3. Diachronische Markierungen

Die diachronischen Markierungen sagen etwas über die Aktualität der Wörter aus. Mit ihnen werden vor allem Archaismen gekennzeichnet, manchmal auch Neologismen. Mit diachronischen Markierungen kann zudem

der Zeitraum angegeben werden, in dem ein Wort gebraucht wurde wie beispielsweise mit 'nazistisch'. Da das Kriterium der Zeitlichkeit keine Varietät konstituiert, informiert die Kennzeichnung 'Archaismus' lediglich darüber, dass das Wort veraltet und damit ungebräuchlich ist. Daraus kann wiederum geschlossen werden, dass es nicht mehr zur Standardvarietät zählt. Neben solchen negativen Hinweisen bieten manche Wörterbücher auch positive Hinweise, wenn sie unterschiedliche Typen von Archaismen unterscheiden. So kommt im WDG (Bd. 1, 014) das Merkmal der Generation ins Spiel, wenn es zu 'veraltend' heißt, dass ein so gekennzeichnetes Lexem „vornehmlich dem Wortschatz der älteren Generation angehört“. Oder im GR wird mit 'archaïsme' der Hinweis auf besondere Kommunikationsbereiche und Textsorten gegeben ('régional', 'littéraire').

#### 3.4.4. Diatopische Markierungen

Die Standardvarietät bildet diejenige Existenzform einer Einzelsprache, die im gesamten Sprachgebiet gilt und dementsprechend einen überregional geltenden Wortschatz aufweist. Allerdings enthält der standardvarietätliche Wortschatz auch areale Varianten, denen diatopischen Markierungen zugeordnet sind. Diese Varianten sind über ihr eigentliches Verbreitungsgebiet hinaus bekannt und werden schriftlich verwendet. Sie besitzen jedoch nicht alle den gleichen Status, was sich an der Zuordnung zu unterschiedlichen Subvarietäten zeigt (Püschel 1988, 492ff.). Den ersten Fall bilden Lexeme, die zu Varietäten einer plurizentristischen Sprache wie des Deutschen oder einer prestigebesetzten Sprache wie des Englischen außerhalb des Mutterlandes gehören (s. 2.). Der zweite Fall sind die Lexeme mit regionaler Verbreitung; sie besitzen umgangssprachlichen/regiolektalen Charakter und werden teils mit sprachgeografischen, teils mit geografischen Markierungen gekennzeichnet. Meist werden diese beiden Markierungsprinzipien miteinander vermischt wie beispielsweise in den Wörterbüchern des Deutschen (Niebaum 1984, 318f), aber auch des Französischen (Söll 1974, 160); im Webster Third wird dagegen eine rein sprachgeografische Zuweisung vorgenommen, während Wörterbücher des Englischen eher geografische Systeme zu benutzen scheinen. Wie der Vergleich zwischen Wörterbüchern des Deutschen erweist, werden die diatopi-

schen Markierungen recht uneinheitlich genutzt. Das belegen nicht nur divergierende Markierungen einzelner Lexeme, sondern auch Markierungslücken (Niebaum 1984). Einen besonderen Fall bilden noch Lexeme, die trotz ihrer arealen Verteilung nicht als umgangssprachlich/regiolektal einzustufen sind, da sie wie *Samstag* und *Sonntag* im gesamten deutschen Sprachgebiet gebraucht werden können. Dementsprechend schwer tun sich die Lexikografen mit den Markierungen, die im WDG und GWDS unterschiedlich ausfallen.

#### 3.4.5. Diatechnische Markierungen

Mit diatechnischen Markierungen werden Lexeme aus „sachgebundenen Sondersprachen“ oder Fachsprachen gekennzeichnet. Bei diesen stellt sich in besonderer Schärfe das Problem der Auswahl (s. 3.3.), da zum einen die Fachgebiete auszuwählen sind, deren Wortschätze zu berücksichtigen sind. Hier findet sich eine breite Palette, die von Handwerken wie Böttcherei und Gerberei, Tätigkeiten wie Kartenspiel oder Kochkunst, Institutionen wie Polizeiwesen oder Politik, Technik wie Elektrotechnik oder Zahntechnik, Wissenschaft wie Astronomie oder Tiermedizin bis hin zum Sport wie Fußball oder Reiten reicht. Zum andern sind die zu kodifizierenden Lexeme auszuwählen. Kriterium dafür ist deren Bekanntheit und Gebräuchlichkeit in der Alltagskommunikation; Wörter, deren Kenntnis und Gebrauch auf die Fachleute beschränkt ist, bleiben ausgeschlossen. Ähnlich wie die diachronischen Markierungen konstituieren die diatechnischen keine Varietät, denn sie informieren über die Herkunft von Lexemen.

Betrachtet man fachsprachliche Wortschätze insgesamt, so ergibt sich jedoch ein anderes Bild. Nicht nur die diatechnisch markierten Lexeme im allgemeinen Wörterbuch gehören zur Standardvarietät, sondern die fachsprachlichen Wortschätze generell. Soziolinguistisch betrachtet besitzen sie eine diaphasische oder diasituative Dimension und haben damit situolektalen Charakter. In dieser Hinsicht lassen sie sich als Domänen des Sprachgebrauchs beschreiben (vgl. Art. 40). Ein Teil der als diatechnisch markierten Lexik stammt jedoch nicht aus einem Situolekt 'fachlich gebundene Sondersprache', sondern andersartigen Situolekten. Im GWDS (Bd 1, 21) ist deshalb von „Bereichen“ die Rede, zu denen etwa

'Mode', 'Verwaltung' oder 'Werbesprache' gehören. Auch die diatextuellen Markierungen sind hierher zu rechnen, deren „markierte Peripherie“ Hausmann (1989, 651) mit „bibl./poet./lit./zeitungsspr./administrativ“ umreißt. Wortschatzteile, die in dieser Weise gekennzeichnet sind, sind nicht strikt textsortenspezifisch. Sie können aber als spezifisch für bestimmte Kommunikationsbereiche betrachtet werden.

#### 3.4.6. Diamediale Markierungen

Die diamedialen Markierungen betreffen die Art der üblichen Realisierung, ob ein Wort schrift- oder sprechsprachlichen Charakter hat. Offen bleibt dabei die genauere soziolinguistische Einordnung. So kann 'geschrieben' die Zugehörigkeit zu einer Sprachchicht wie zum Beispiel der soziolektal einzuordnenden „Bildungssprache“ bedeuten, aber auch diaphasisch auf eine Benutzungssituation verweisen. Die Kennzeichnung 'gesprochen' lässt dagegen offen, ob das Lexem zum Substandard als standardnaher gesprochener Sprache, zu einem Regiolekt oder zu einem Soziolekt gehört.

#### 3.4.7. Diafrequente Markierungen

Mit diafrequente Markierungen wie 'selten', 'seltener', 'häufig', 'häufiger' oder 'oft' werden, wenn auch vage Aussagen zur Häufigkeit der Wortverwendung gemacht. Dabei bleiben in der bloßen Quantifizierung mögliche soziolinguistische Implikationen verdeckt, da ihr keine Gründe für die geringe oder große Verwendungshäufigkeit zu entnehmen sind. Diese erschließen sich erst, wenn die quantifizierende Aussage in Relation zu einer oder mehreren Lexemvarianten gestellt wird, sodass im Vergleich sichtbar wird, von welchen Eigenschaften der Lexeme die Gebrauchshäufigkeit abhängt (vgl. Schaefer 1989, 689f). Seltener gebraucht werden beispielsweise regiolektale Varianten aufgrund ihrer arealen Begrenztheit oder diatechnische Varianten aufgrund ihrer fachlichen Gebundenheit. Ähnliches lässt sich auch über diaintegrative, diastratische, diaevaluative und diachronische Varianten feststellen. Im Umkehrschluss bedeutet das, dass eine Reihe von Markierungstypen zumindest der Tendenz nach Informationen über die Gebrauchshäufigkeit beinhalten. Dies wird beispielhaft an der immer wieder anzutreffenden Kombination der Markierungen 'selten' und 'veraltet' deutlich.

### 3.5. Segmentale Wörterbücher

In segmentalen Wörterbüchern finden sich – wenn auch nicht ausschließlich – standardvarietätliche Lexikausschnitte kodifiziert. Die Typen segmentaler Wörterbücher stimmen mit einer Reihe von Differenzierungen überein, die die Lexikografen im allgemeinen Wörterbuch vornehmen. Insofern kann sich der folgende Überblick wieder an dem „Makromodell der Markierungen“ von Hausmann (1989, 650f) orientieren, ohne dass für jedes Kriterium ein Wörterbuchtyp existieren muss:

(1) Gruppe und Schicht: Beim als soziolektal einzustufenden Wörterbuch lässt sich das gruppensprachliche und das auf einen „Sachbereich“ bezogene unterscheiden. Zum gruppensprachlichen Wörterbuch gehört meist noch die mediale Dimension des Sprechsprachlichen. Damit verzeichnet es Substandardwortschatz. Diesen Anspruch verdeutlichen Titel wie „Wörterbuch der deutschen Umgangssprache“ (Küpper 1987), „Dictionary of American Slang“ (Wentworth/Flexner 1960) oder „Dictionnaire de l'argot moderne“ (Sandry/Carrère 1953). Der Gruppencharakter wird dagegen mit „A Dictionary of Sailor's Slang“ (Granville 1962) oder „Sprache und Sprüche der Jugendszene“ (Müller-Thurau 1983) betont. Lexikografische Aufmerksamkeit haben auch Geheimsprachen in „kriminellen Subkulturen“ oder von Berufsgruppen gefunden (Radtke 1990).

Die gleichen Charakterisierungen gelten für das auf einen „Sachbereich“ bezogene Wörterbuch, doch kommt zusätzlich die Situationsgebundenheit im Wortgebrauch hinzu, sodass es auch als situolektal eingestuft werden könnte. Am bekanntesten ist der Typ des Schimpfwörterbuchs (zum Beispiel Küpper 1966; 1967; Wolfe 1966).

(2) Zeitlichkeit: Der Lexembestand im Wörterbuch für Archaismen und untergegangene Wörter zählt nicht zur Standardvarietät der Gegenwart (s. 3.4.3.). Dieser Wörterbuchtyp zielt in der Hauptsache darauf, ältere Texte zu erschließen. Das Neologismen-Wörterbuch verzeichnet dagegen standardvarietätlichen Wortschatz, wobei es – auch als Supplementband publiziert – vorrangig der aktuellen Ergänzung eines allgemeinen Wörterbuchs dient.

(3) Arealität: Eher selten sind Wörterbücher, die einen standardvarietätlichen, aber areal begrenzten Wortschatz kodifizieren.

Besonders im CSD oder SND werden soziolektale Eigenschaften berücksichtigt in Form der „middle-class English speaking Scots“ (Aitken 1990, 1985). Vergleichbares bietet das DARE für das amerikanische Englisch.

(4) Technizität: Fachwörterbücher enthalten auch diatechnisch markierte Wortschatzteile des allgemeinen Wörterbuchs (s. 3.4.5.), gehen aber in ihrer Kodifikation eines speziellen Wortschatzes weit darüber hinaus. Fachwörterbücher für Fachleute sind gruppengebunden, haben also eine soziolektale Dimension. Außerdem ist ihr Wortschatz situolektal geprägt, da er auf bestimmte Kommunikationen beschränkt bleibt.

(5) Fremdwörter und schwere Wörter: Das Fremdwörterbuch, in dem die Entlehnung aus fremden Sprachen kodifiziert sind, ist eine speziell deutsche Erscheinung. In der sprachpuristischen Tradition des „Verdeutschungswörterbuchs“ vertrat es den normativen Anspruch auf ein fremdwortfreies Deutsch. Das zeitgenössische erklärende Fremdwörterbuch bietet dagegen Informationen über Bedeutung und Gebrauch von Fremdwörtern. Es hat standardvarietätlichen Charakter, wobei der Lexikausschnitt von den allgemeinsprachlichen und diatechnisch markierte Fremdwörtern, die sich auch im allgemeinen Wörterbuch finden, bis zu speziellen Fachwörtern reicht. Dementsprechend finden sich neutrale oder unauffällige Lexeme neben solchen mit soziolektalem und situolektalem Charakter.

Dem Fremdwörterbuch verwandt ist das Wörterbuch der schweren Wörter oder *hard words*, das in der Lexikografie des Englischen, aber auch Französischen Tradition hat (Hausmann 1990, 1206f). In ihm ist nicht die Herkunft der Wörter, sondern ihre Verständlichkeit Auswahlkriterium. Fokussiert werden dabei schwere Wörter bestimmter Textsorten und Kommunikationsbereiche, sodass tendenziell Wortschatzausschnitte aus der Standardvarietät erfasst werden, die situolektal gebunden sind. Programmatisch gilt dies für „Brisante Wörter von Agitation bis Zeitgeist“ (Strauß et al. 1989).

## 4. Soziolinguistische Defizite in der Lexikografie

Die soziolinguistisch relevante Wörterbuchlandschaft weist eine Reihe von Wörterbuchtypen auf, in denen die Lexik von

Varietäten kodifiziert wird. Nicht alle Varietäten haben jedoch die gleiche lexikografische Aufmerksamkeit gefunden. So hat das sprachwissenschaftliche Interesse am Dialekt zu einer Vielzahl an Dialektwörterbüchern geführt, während Umgangssprachen- und Substandard-Wörterbücher fehlen.

Eine besondere soziolinguistische Herausforderung bietet das allgemeine Wörterbuch, in dem der standardvarietätliche Wortschatz in all seiner Heterogenität verzeichnet wird. Das bewährte lexikografische Differenzierungsverfahren besteht darin, die nicht neutralen oder auffälligen Lexeme mit Markierungen zu versehen. Da diese Markierungspraxis aus der Tradition erwachsen und nicht Resultat soziolinguistischer Reflexion ist, weist sie in soziolinguistischer Hinsicht allerdings auch beträchtliche Mängel auf:

(1) Insgesamt ist das System der Markierungen nicht einheitlich soziolinguistisch ausgerichtet. Markierungen wie 'veraltet', 'fremdsprachlich' oder 'selten' liefern auf den ersten Blick keine varietätenbezogenen Informationen. Haben sie dennoch soziolinguistische Implikationen, kann der Benutzer sie nicht erkennen, es sei denn, sie wären mit weiteren Markierungen kombiniert.

(2) Nur im Ausnahmefall wird einem Lexem mehr als eine Markierung zugeordnet. Häufig ist der soziolinguistische Status eines Lexems damit nicht angemessen beschrieben.

(3) Der varietätenbezogene Teil des Markierungssystems ist nicht konsequent ausgebaut. Bestimmte Varietäten wie die situolektalen werden allenfalls indirekt berücksichtigt, zum Beispiel in Form der diaevaluativen Markierungen, die situolektale Implikationen haben.

(4) Vielfach sind Markierungen nicht eindeutig im Hinblick auf den angezeigten Varietätenaspekt. Das hängt auch damit zusammen, dass Markierungen keineswegs immer theoretisch reflektiert sind, sondern einfach übernommen oder intuitiv gewonnen werden. Ein Indiz für die unzureichende theoretische Fundierung ist die weithin unzulängliche Explikation der Markierungsprinzipien in Wörterbucheinleitungen.

(5) Umgekehrt können unterschiedliche Markierungen den gleichen Varietätenaspekt anzeigen. Auch das ist eine Folge mangelnder Reflexion.

(6) Die Markierungen werden unsystematisch verwendet. So hat die Metalexikografie vor allem an den diatopischen Markie-

rungen kritisiert, dass sie in verschiedenen Wörterbüchern abweichend bis widersprüchlich zugeordnet werden. Außerdem finden sich erhebliche Markierungslücken. Solche Urteile gelten auch für andere Markierungstypen.

(7) Die Hauptursache für widersprüchliche und fehlenden Markierungen liegt in unzureichender Empirie (vgl. Dressler/Wodak 1983).

Diese Mängelliste ist nur zum Teil als Vorwurf an die Lexikografie zu lesen. Schließlich hat sich der soziolinguistisch geschärfte Blick erst in der jüngeren Vergangenheit herausgebildet. Ob sich das positiv auf zukünftige Wörterbuchprojekte auswirkt, kann erst die Zukunft zeigen. Die erforderliche soziolinguistische Aufarbeitung relevanter Wortschatzteile kann die Lexikografie jedoch keineswegs allein leisten; gefordert ist auch die Soziolinguistik.

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## 248. Soziolinguistik und Sprachminderheiten Sociolinguistics and Linguistic Minorities

1. Das Interesse der Soziolinguistik
2. Minderheiten überhaupt
3. Ein Kategorienraster für sprachliche Minderheiten
4. Literatur (in Auswahl)

### 1. Das Interesse der Soziolinguistik

#### 1.1. Merkmale von Minderheiten

Wenn sich die Soziolinguistik für Minderheiten interessieren soll, muss es sich um sprachliche Minderheiten handeln. Es gibt andere Minderheiten, ethnische, religiöse, nationale, politische oder kulturelle. Nicht immer ist die Abgrenzung einfach, all die anderen Arten von Minderheiten können nicht zuletzt auch durch sprachliche Merkmale gekennzeichnet sein. Das trifft sicher in all den Fällen zu, bei denen sich religiöse Distanz mit sprachlicher Distanzierung verbindet. In einer Reihe von Fällen fragt man sich, was das primäre Merkmal für eine Minderheit ist, und was nur eine Folge davon darstellt. Für die meisten ethnischen Minderheiten in Europa ist die Sprache das Leitmerkmal. In manchen Fällen wird Sprachenverschiedenheit konstruiert oder es werden Differenzen in einem sprachlichen Kontinuum soweit ausgebaut, dass sie als geeignet erscheinen, eine ethnische Differenz zu beglaubigen. So kann man die nicht

zuletzt orthographisch markierte Trennlinie zwischen Kroatisch und Serbisch lesen, aber auch der Ausbau des Lëtzebuergischen oder auch die Abgrenzung zwischen Tschechisch und Slowakisch.

Das Konzept *Minderheit* kennt verschiedene Lesarten; ein rein arithmetisches Verständnis greift jedenfalls zu kurz. Vielmehr ist *Minderheit* ein Terminus für gesellschaftliche Gruppen, die im Vergleich zum jeweiligen Entwicklungszustand der Gesamtgesellschaft Marginalitätsmerkmale aufweisen, die als gruppenkonstitutiv und prägnant angesehen werden. Relevant ist dieser Minderheitenbegriff, wenn sich daraus politische Interpretationen ergeben. Für die Moderne, die zunehmend von demokratischen Interpretationen geleitet wird, erhebt die Konzeptionalisierung einer Gruppe als Minderheit den Anspruch, durch kompensatorische Maßnahmen verschiedener Art gegen objektive Marginalisierung geschützt zu werden (vgl. Sartori 1992).

In der europäischen Moderne ändern sich die Kriterien, gemäß denen man als Minderheit angesehen wird. Über längere Zeit, nicht zuletzt im 18. Jh. galt die religiöse Denomination als Leitmerkmal (s. Schilling 1991), im 19. Jh. gewinnt die ethnisch-sprachliche Deutung an Geltung. Sie gibt die Basis für die nationalstaatliche Interpre-

tation der ethnischen Verhältnisse (cf. Hagège 1993). Auseinandersetzungen auf dieser Ebene stellen damals den zentralen gesellschaftlichen Konflikt dar. Zwar ist spätestens seit der Mitte des 20. Jhs. die Geltung dieser Idee gebrochen (vgl. Bauman 1997, 320), jedoch haben sich die politischen Verhältnisse dadurch in einer Weise stabilisiert, dass sich an den Rändern der großen Ethnien Zwischenräume für minoritär geprägte Gruppen ergeben, die im Kern auch Sprachgruppen waren (vgl. z.B. Steinecke 2002; bzw. Hinderling/Eichinger 1996; Wirrer 2001 für ein Gesamtbild). Jedoch ist damit die sprachliche Eigenheit nicht mehr das funktional tragende Element, sondern eher die symbolische Entsprechung für gesellschaftliche Marginalität, die als kompensationswürdig gelten kann (cf. Oeter 2001, 52ff). Ethnische Gruppen definieren sich damit als gesellschaftliche Interessengruppen. Der Tatbestand, dass sie mit dem sprachlichen Argument auf politisches Gehör hoffen können, ist im wesentlichen der Anspruch auf kulturelle Differenz, der im Kontext der Multikulturalität von Gesellschaften, oder zumindest im Umfeld interkulturellen Verständnisses eine zentrale Rolle spielt. Neuerdings hat das im Kontext der Globalisierung seit den 90er Jahren des 20. Jhs. einen neuen Akzent bekommen, so dass der Zusammenhang von globalem Denken und lokal angepasstem Handeln thematisiert wird.

Dennoch führen nicht alle Fälle von lokalem – sprachlichem – Bezug zum Status einer Minderheit. Vielmehr sind Minderheiten durch die spezifische Besetzung einer Reihe von Variablen gekennzeichnet, die Gemeinschaften und Gesellschaften insgesamt zu charakterisieren erlauben. Unter den heutigen europäischen Verhältnissen lassen sich die folgenden Kategorien herauslösen, die in verschiedener Besetzung minoritäre Profile ausprägen. Größe, Sozialgeographie und Ökonomie, politische und rechtliche Organisation, Geschichte, Ideologie und Identität, Struktur und Verwendung der Sprachen. Aus der Variation bei der Füllung der einzelnen Kategorie, und aus der Kombination der Positionen für alle Kategorien lässt sich eine vergleichende Beschreibung von Minderheitensituationen zumindest in West- und Mitteleuropa ableiten (s. Hinderling/Eichinger 1996; für die deutschen Verhältnisse s. Oeter 2002). Nun könnte man vermuten, es gebe dabei eine

schier unüberschaubare Zahl von Kombinationen. Das wäre wahr, wenn die Besetzung der Variablen nicht beschränkt und die Kombination der möglichen Besetzungen der Variablen beliebig wäre. Das ist aber nicht der Fall. Es ziehen sich generelle und historisch-kulturell bedingte Implikationen durch das Feld der gesamten Möglichkeiten (s. Punkt 3.).

## 1.2. Sprachliche Minderheit

Bei einer sprachlichen Minderheit sollten die sprachliche Differenz oder das Bewusstsein davon das dominante oder ein dominantes Merkmal des Selbstverständnisses dieser sozialen Gruppe darstellen.

Kritisch ist die Frage, ob man es noch mit einer sprachlichen Minderheit zu tun hat, wenn zwar das Bewusstsein einer sprachlichen Differenz besteht, aber eigentlich keine rechte sprachliche Differenz (mehr) zu erkennen ist. Zu diesem Problem trägt bei, dass nicht zuverlässig geklärt ist, was unter sprachlich, und was unter einer relevanten Differenz verstanden werden soll.

Eine hinreichende sprachliche Differenz sollte sich darin zeigen, dass man sich mit den im Kontakt befindlichen gruppenspezifischen Varietäten innerhalb einer sprachlichen Kontaktsituation nicht mehr verstehen und verständigen kann. Sprachliche Differenz kann aber auch heißen, dass man sich nicht derselben historischen Staats- und Nationalsprache zugehörig fühlt, unangesehen der Frage, ob man sich mit den vor Ort verwendeten Varietäten der beiden aneinander grenzenden Standardsprachbereiche doch versteht. Sprachliche Distanz kann letztlich meinen, dass die in der Kontaktsituation des Minderheitsgebiets verwendeten Idiome genetisch unterschiedlich sind, unangesehen dessen, ob sich im sprachlichen Zusammenleben eine Praxis der gegenseitigen Verständlichkeit entwickelt hat, die über das hinausgeht, was man das Kennen einer fremden Sprache nennen würde.

Diese Deutung der sprachlichen Differenz auf der Folie von Interaktion und Verständlichkeit wird in der Diskussion durch eine Klassifikation überlagert, die eine historische Deutung der vorliegenden räumlichen Verteilungen von Sprachen bzw. Sprechergruppen darstellt. In dieser Interpretation unterscheidet man zwischen drei Konstellationen von ethnisch-linguistischen Verhältnissen. Zum ersten gibt es den Typ der „nationalen Minderheit“, in dem die



Minderheit in einem Staat durch eine Sprache gekennzeichnet ist, die ihr Hauptverbreitungsgebiet in einem Nachbarstaat hat, zum zweiten den der „Sprachinsel“, bei dem sich Einsprengsel einer anderen Sprache in „zufälliger“ Streuung außerhalb des zentralen Verbreitungsgebiets einer Sprache befinden, und zum dritten den Typ, der meist „autochthone Minderheit“ genannt wird. Dabei handelt es sich um Sprechergruppen, deren Existenz in der jeweiligen Region eine historische Tradition hat, und die nicht in einer der bei den anderen Fällen genannten Weisen mit der Sprache eines Nachbarstaats zusammenhängt.

## 2. Minderheiten überhaupt

### 2.1. Dominanz

*Minderheit* ist damit unter den gesellschaftlichen Umständen des beginnenden 21. Jhs. erstens ein politischer und zweitens eher ein deontischer als ein deskriptiver Begriff.

Wenn auch der Begriff der Minderheit oder Minorität prototypisch mit den Nachteilen verbunden wird, die mit der minderen Zahl zusammenhängen, so ist er doch eher ein Äquivalent für die Benachteiligung, die von einer Gruppe empfunden wird (vgl. Argemí/Ramon 1996). Somit verbindet sich mit dem Gebrauch des Wortes *Minderheit* eine Aufforderung, einer Gruppe, die sich aufgrund bestimmter gesellschaftlich akzeptierter Merkmale konstituiert, eine Behandlung zuzugestehen, die auf den Ausgleich der angenommenen Benachteiligung gegenüber als dominant empfundenen Gruppen (vgl. Allardt 1996; Oeter 2002) zielt. Rechtliche und politische Aktionen der Minderheiten und vor allem ihrer Vertreter zielen in diesem Kontext auf die Sicherung einer Mitsprachemöglichkeit, die so weit wie möglich von der absoluten und relativen Größe der jeweiligen Sprachgruppen abgelöst ist. Ein Indiz dafür ist die Tendenz, das Zählen und die Quantifikation jeweils unterschiedlich, aber jedenfalls zugunsten der Situation der Minderheit zu interpretieren (vgl. z. B. Oeter 2002, 71). Die Vertretung der Minderheitenrechte kann so zu ganz unterschiedlichen und scheinbar widersprüchlichen Folgen führen. So werden in der Minderheitenpolitik gegenüber der dänischen Minderheit in Schleswig-Holstein (Deutschland) und gegenüber der deutschen Minderheit in Südtirol (Italien) gegensätzliche Optionen reali-

siert. Im ersten Fall wird der Status der Minderheit als einer Minderheit gestärkt, im zweiten Fall wurden Wege gesucht, der Minderheit Aktionsrahmen zu schaffen, in denen sie als eine Art Mehrheit agieren kann (cf. Egger/Lanthaler 2001). Entsprechend wird im ersten Fall die Bedeutung von Zahlen zurückgedrängt. Die Zugehörigkeit zur Minderheit wird nicht überprüft, geltende Quorum-Klauseln bei Wahlen gelten nicht. Im zweiten Fall wird die Minderheit durch den Zuschnitt der Entscheidungsforen mehrheitsfähig gemacht. Konsequenterweise muss die Zugehörigkeit zur Minderheit erklärt werden und wird an sprachlichen Kriterien überprüft, die Zahl zählt.

Die schleswig-holsteinsche Lösung ist die zentralistische Option, während die süd-tiroler Lösung mit den Modellen föderaler Systeme arbeitet. Diese Unterschiede sind nicht unabhängig von den Eigenschaften der Sprachgruppen, die sich hier wie dort befinden. Minderheiten eine Art Mehrheitsstatus zuschreiben zu können setzt voraus, dass die Minderheitssprache weitgehend in die Anforderungen eintreten kann, die sich in der gesellschaftlichen Interaktion stellen. Wo das nicht der Fall ist, oder auf absehbare Zeit nicht zu erreichen scheint, wird dagegen der Minderheitenstatus optimiert. In den westeuropäischen Demokratien herrscht so in den letzten Jahrzehnten die Tendenz vor, den Minderheiten einen verstärkten Platz einzuräumen. In diesen Kontext gehören die Regelungen, die mit der „Charta der Regional- und Minderheitensprachen“ des Europarats in den 90er Jahren des zwanzigsten Jhs. festgelegt wurden (vgl. EBLUL 2002). Es geht um Strategien, Rechte von Gruppen abgelöst von den objektiven Größenverhältnissen zu sichern. Minderheitenfragen sind damit kritisch im Hinblick auf die Gleichheitsanforderungen demokratischer Gesellschaften. Und zwar gerade, je weniger historische Traditionen ethnischer und sprachlicher Bindung als ein Argument der Gruppenbildung akzeptiert oder wirksam werden. Wenn ethnisch-linguistische Bezüge nicht mehr direkt in politische Praxis umgerechnet werden können, werden die Mehr- und Minderheitsverhältnisse als Interessenverhältnisse ausgehandelt. Die ethnisch gemeinten Beziehungen werden in politisch relevante Machtverhältnisse umgedeutet.

So handelt es sich bei einer sprachlichen Minderheit um eine nicht dominante Sprachgruppe in einem für diese Beurteilung rele-

vanten politischen und gesellschaftlichen Entscheidungsfeld. Der sprachliche Faktor kann demnach einen ganz unterschiedlichen Platz einnehmen.

## 2.2. Autochthonie

Neben dem Gesichtspunkt der Dominanz wird für die Beschreibung und die Beurteilung sprachlicher Minderheiten das Kriterium der Autochthonie bzw. der Allochthonie herangezogen. Diese Unterscheidung zwischen den „Ortsansässigen“ und den „Zugewanderten“ lässt sich nur treffen, wenn man sich auf eine zeitliche Schwelle einigt, nach der man von Zuzug ausgeht. Im Einzelnen kann hier die Beurteilung erheblich schwanken. Geht es etwa beim Streit um Autochthonie zwischen den Sprachgruppen in Südtirol um die Verhältnisse des frühen Mittelalters, so werden andererseits die Kroaten im Burgenland durchaus als autochthon angesehen, wiewohl sie eindeutig „erst“ vor etwa 400 Jahren zugewandert sind.

Die Frage der Autochthonie ist eine Frage der historischen Deutungsmacht. Konflikte spiegeln oft die Verhältnisse, wie sie sich in der Nationalstaatenbildung des 19. Jhs. gefestigt haben, und entsprechen damit gerne politischen Hierarchien in den europäischen Nationalstaaten.

Minderheits-Mehrheits-Konflikte kennen an dieser Stelle daher zwei typische Konstellationen.

Zum einen handelt es sich typischerweise um Gebiete, in denen sich die Geltungsgebiete benachbarter nationaler Staaten überschneiden. Es ist das der Typ, der oben „nationale Minderheit“ genannt wurde und der wiederum unterschiedliche Ausprägungen kennt. Da ist zum einen der Fall, in dem die beteiligten Sprachen tatsächlich um die zentralen Domänen konkurrieren. Nicht umsonst finden sich solche Verhältnisse gerne auf dem Gebiet des alten habsburgischen Reiches und des alten Reiches, wo Mehrsprachigkeit eine wesentliche Organisationsform darstellt. Erbe davon ist nicht nur Südtirol, das in den letzten Jahrzehnten in mancherlei Hinsicht zum paradigmatischen Fall wurde, sondern z.B. auch die slowenisch-deutsche Kontaktzone in Österreich ebenso wie der ungarisch-slowakische und der ungarisch-rumänische Übergangsraum. Was jeweils als Kriterium für Autochthonie gilt, hängt nicht zuletzt von generellen Urteilen über die einzelnen Sprachgemein-

schaften ab (vgl. Hagège 1993). So herrscht zum Beispiel durchwegs ein Einschätzungsgefälle vom Deutschen zu slawischen Sprachen (cf. z.B. Taylor 1995, 209). In den Fällen, bei denen auf dieser Ebene kein Unterschied festzustellen ist, werden sonstige politisch-historische Faktoren in die Beurteilung der Situation einbezogen. So ist das bei den deutsch-dänischen, aber auch den deutsch-italienischen Verhältnissen. Ein deutliches Beispiel für Asymmetrie, die auf dieser Basis entsteht, sind die sprachlichen Verhältnisse im Elsass, wo eine seit Jahrhunderten geltende Sprachgrenze in eine bemerkenswerte Deutungsambivalenz geriet. Trotz einer prinzipiellen Stereotypenasymmetrie zugunsten des Französischen haben sich im Verlauf der nationalen Interpretation der Sprachenverhältnisse jeweils einander widersprechende Deutungen entwickelt. Die damit aufgeworfene Frage der Ursprünglichkeit der beiden Sprachgemeinschaften wird auch durch terminologische Handhabungen verstärkt, so dass das Elsässische positiv als eine gesprochene Varietät des Deutschen erscheint, negativ als ein *patois*, ein *dialecte germanophone*, wobei die Terminologisierung die Frage nach der regionalen Ursprünglichkeit im Hinblick auf die qualitativen Unterschiede als unerheblich erklärt. Gerade in dieser Konstellationstyp, bei dem Formen benachbarter Nationalsprachen zusammenstoßen, wird häufig die Minderheitenrolle eher negiert. Ein ausbalanciertes Verhältnis zwischen Sprechern der jeweiligen Minderheiten und Mehrheitssprachen bei diesem Typ ist vor allem dann gegeben, wenn ein gleichmäßiger Bezug auf die jeweilige Standardform bei allen Gruppen gleiche sprachliche Voraussetzungen herstellt, und das Image der Minderheitensprache mit dem der Mehrheitsprache mithalten kann. In der Moderne kann aber auch die reale sprachliche Kompetenz gegenüber einem kulturellen Isolierungswunsch zurücktreten, der dann sprachliche Lücken kompensiert. Beides ist z. B. im Elsass kaum der Fall, in Südtirol gilt der erste Fall, im deutsch-dänischen Grenzraum eher der zweite.

Die andere Art von Autochthonie haben wir bei den „regionalen Minderheiten“ vor uns. Sie repräsentieren den minoritären Status in noch reinerer Form und sind auch in weitaus größerem Ausmaß Garant für die vielfach beschworene sprachliche Vielfalt. Es handelt sich um den Typus der kleinen

Gruppe von Sprechern einer Sprache, die sich weder an eine Nachbarsprache anlehnen kann, noch im Normalfall die für die moderne Sprachwelt typische Vielfalt der Varietäten zeigt. Die Minderheit der Sorben (Deutschland) ist ein Beispiel für diesen Typ von Sprache und Sprechergruppe. Eigentlich ist das Sorbische an seinem richtigen Platz in der mitteleuropäischen Sprachgeographie, befindet es sich doch in einem historischen Raum, der weiträumig von slawischsprachiger Bevölkerung bewohnt war, wie nicht nur die westslawischen Nationalsprachen in der Nachbarschaft belegen, sondern auch die weiträumige Ortsnamenlandschaft, die von der slawischen Besiedlung dieses Raumes spricht. Beide Hauptstränge des Sorbischen, das Ober- und das Niedersorbische, haben in ihrer Geschichte Entwicklungen zu einer anerkannten Schriftsprache und auf sprachliche Normierung hin mitgemacht. Nicht zuletzt aufgrund der politischen Dominanz des preußischen Staates blieb dieser sprachliche Ausbau stecken, was zu einer deutlichen Reduzierung der Domänen und Situationen führte, in denen die Minderheitensprache gesprochen wurde und wird.

Solche Minderheiten haben unter den Bedingungen der europäischen Nationalsprachlichkeit erhebliche Probleme, den Erhalt der Minderheitensprache in auch nur reduzierter Form zu sichern. Anders ist das eigentlich nur, wenn sie in einen identitätsrelevanten Kontext geraten und daher zum prägnanten Bild regionaler Identität gehören. Das kann man an der Kette der alpenromanischen Minderheiten sehen. Hier steht dem prekären Status des Friulanischen der zumindest rechtlich stabilisierte Status des Ladinischen als des dritten Elements in einer mehrsprachigen Situation gegenüber. Und noch einmal anders ist der Status des Rätoromanischen, das deutlich von der ideologischen Stützung innerhalb des Schweizer Kontextes profitiert. Bei hinreichend scharfen Identitätsgrenzen kann es allerdings auch geschehen, dass in diesem Sinn ein ehemaliges Kontinuum in ein Verhältnis von Mehrheits- und Minderheitensprache umgedeutet wird: das ist beim Lëtzebuergischen der Fall.

Minderheiten, die nicht als autochthon angesehen werden, bereiten der soziolinguistischen Betrachtung ebenso wie der minderheitenpolitischen Regelung erheblich größere Probleme. Auf sie ist das bisher skiz-

zierte Analyseinventar nicht eingerichtet. Das betrifft die historischen wie gegenwärtigen Sprechergruppen von Sprachen ohne erkennbares festes regionales Zentrum wie des Jiddischen oder des Romani in ihren verschiedenen Ausprägungen. Sie stellen eine Herausforderung für die politischen Ordnungssysteme dar, die prinzipiell von einer regionalen Verortung ausgehen, wie vage die auch sein mag (vgl. EBLUL 2002, 83ff). Dass die angesprochenen Gruppen aber in dem Sinn als autochthon betrachtet werden, dass sie zum „traditionellen“ Bestand des europäischen sprachlichen und ethnischen Lebens gehören, ermöglicht immerhin noch, dass sie zum Beispiel in der Charta der Minderheitensprachen auftreten können.

Die Autochthoniefrage betrifft aber in einem davon noch einmal deutlich unterschiedenen Ausmaß die Sprechergruppen, die in der Moderne durch Migration – im modernen Europa vor allem durch Arbeitsmigration – in eine anderssprachige Umgebung gekommen sind. Auch bei ihnen handelt es sich ganz offenkundig um Interessengruppen im Gefüge der demokratischen Staaten. Die Notwendigkeit, sie als solche wahrzunehmen, führte dazu, dass neue Modelle kultureller und ethnischer Interaktion als Beschreibungen für den Zustand in den modernen demokratischen Staaten diskutiert werden. Dazu gehört die in Deutschland über einige Zeit mit Intensität, aber ohne Konsens, geführte Debatte um das Konzept einer multikulturellen Gesellschaft. Wenn man versucht, aus dieser Diskussion Folgen für die Beschreibung sprachlicher Minderheiten zu ziehen, ergibt sich ein uneinheitliches Bild, dessen Klassifikation in der einen oder anderen Weise bestimmte Annahmen über zukünftige Entwicklungen impliziert. Wenn man die individual- und kultursoziologischen Analysen, von denen die Beschreibung in den letzten Jahren geprägt ist, ernst nimmt, haben Minderheiten, wie etwa die der Türkisch sprechenden Bevölkerung, als traditionelle Minderheiten kaum Chancen angemessener gesellschaftlicher Verwirklichung. Dagegen kann die Integration entsprechender ethnischer und sprachlicher Symbolisierungen durchaus einen gesellschaftlich vernünftigen Platz finden. Das zeigt sich nicht zuletzt in den türkischsprachigen Anleihen in der Jugendkultur, oder etwa in der symbolischen Herstellung „türkisch-deutscher“ Identitäten, wie sie sich in der politischen Öffentlichkeit finden. Wie

weit eine solche Deutung für die Gesamtgesellschaft trägt, oder auch ob sie nicht nur eine gesellschaftliche Durchgangphase markiert, ist unklar.

Daher werden diese Fragen soziolinguistisch eher getrennt von den Minderheitenfragen angesprochen, die wir bisher diskutiert haben. Das lässt sich vielleicht auch so rechtfertigen, als Minderheitenbeschreibungen, um eine gewisse praktische Relevanz mit Abstraktion in angemessener Weise verbinden zu können, nicht auf die Setzung kultureller Rahmenbedingungen verzichten kann, die auch die historische Prägung einschließen. Was im Folgenden ausgeführt wird, ist also für die soziolinguistische Beschreibung im Prinzip europäischer Verhältnisse zugeschnitten. Das ist zweifellos eine erhebliche Verengung gegenüber den Möglichkeiten einer anzustrebenden Gesamttypologie – die derzeit noch nicht möglich erscheint. Allerdings ist anzunehmen, dass die Kategorisierungen, die bei der Beschreibung eine Rolle spielen von generellerer Bedeutung sein werden, die Unterschiede sollten als Differenzen der paradigmatischen Entfaltung in Kategorien erfassbar sein.

### 2.3. Kollektives Gedächtnis und Individualisierung

Bevor ein solches Kategorienraster eingeführt und erläutert wird, ist ein weiterer Punkt zu bedenken, der sprachliche Minderheiten in modernen Gesellschaften als ein komplexes Phänomen erscheinen lässt. Sprachliche Minderheit ist ein Begriff, der zwar auf objektiven Sachverhalten wie der unbestreitbaren Existenz verschiedener Sprachen, gewisser Über- und Unterordnungsrelationen und die sprachlichen Verhältnisse überlagernden politischen Strukturen beruht. Er ist aber als Teil des politischen Diskurses ein Phänomen der dritten Welt des Kulturellen. In ihm integrieren sich einerseits unsere Vorstellungen von angemessener demokratischer Organisation moderner Staaten mit einem Gefühl der Zusammengehörigkeit, das über dieses rechtsbezogene Identitätsgefühl, das man „liberalistisch“ oder auch „republikanisch“ nennen könnte, hinaus geht, und zu jenem „kommunitaristischen“ Gefühl eines auch inhaltlich gebundenen Zusammenhalts beiträgt, ohne das längerfristige Loyalitäten wohl nicht auskommen, das damit zu einem vernünftigen Verständnis eines „guten Lebens“ dazugehört (cf. Taylor 1995, passim).

Es ist umstritten, inwieweit solche Beziehungen in modernen Gesellschaften mehr sind als eine romantische Reminiszenz. Klar ist, dass die unbestreitbare Individualisierung die Unvermeidbarkeit der Zugehörigkeit zu Subsegmenten in modernen Gesellschaften aufgebrochen hat. Das heißt in unserem Kontext zum Beispiel, dass die meisten, und gerade auch die gesellschaftlich sichtbarsten Mitglieder sprachlicher Minderheiten aufgrund der praktischen Beherrschung der offiziellen Standardsprachen nicht sofort als Minderheitenmitglieder erkennbar sind. Zugehörigkeit zu signalisieren wird damit zur jeweils eigenen Wahl. Und dieses Wählen-Können ist zumindest Zeichen für eine gesellschaftlich bevorzugte Stellung. Wenn sich solche adaptionsfähigen modernen Individuen zu Signalen ihrer Herkunftsgruppen bekennen, verändert das den Charakter der Minderheiten. Und was generell noch bedeutsamer ist, solch ein Verhalten stellt die Frage erneut zur Diskussion, inwieweit und unter welchen Bedingungen eine solche bewusst gewählte Symbolisierung ethnischer Zugehörigkeit den Charakter einer relevanten Minorität hervorbringt (cf. Eichinger 1997). In gewisser Weise stellte sich diese Frage schon länger in Konstellationen, in denen das Bewusstsein als zentrales Merkmal der Minderheitenzugehörigkeit gerechnet wurde, wie etwa im deutsch-dänischen Kontaktraum. Als generellere Regel schwächt es aber zweifellos die Rolle der eher „traditionellen“ Angehörigen von Minderheiten (zu den theoretischen Annahmen s. Beck-Gernsheim 1999).

Es spricht aber auf absehbare Zeit auch Einiges dafür, dass die realen Bedingungen sozialer, kultureller und regionaler Mobilität die beliebige Einwahl in Lebenswelten doch eher als Sonderfall erscheinen lassen werden. Erkennbar schließen nach wie vor Gemeinsamkeiten und Gemeinsamkeitswünsche an vorhandene kulturelle Spuren an. Das schließt durchaus die Integration neuerer Entwicklungen ein, eine Entwicklung, die ein Konzept wie Multikulturalismus wohl irrtümlicherweise nur von der Fremdheitsseite betrachtet. Die Bedingungen der Weiterentwicklung des Gruppentyps sprachliche Minderheit bezieht sich daher nach wie vor auf generelle Rahmenbedingungen europäischer Vergesellschaftung, wie sie in den folgenden Kategorien aufscheinen.

### 3. Ein Kategorienraster für sprachliche Minderheiten

#### 3.1. Größe

Diese in Anbetracht des Terminus Minderheit als grundlegend erscheinende Kategorisierung ist zentral, aber nicht so einfach zu fassen, wie es auf den ersten Blick scheint.

Einfach ist das in den Fällen, bei denen klar ist, welches die „große“ und welches die „kleine“ Einheit ist. Wenn aber demokratische Staaten insgesamt als Einheiten beschrieben werden, die sich aus lauter potentiell kleinen Interessengruppen zusammensetzen, die sich dann jeweils zur Mehrheit konstituieren, ist die Frage nach der Bedeutung der Größe nicht so einfach zu beantworten. Zum anderen ist das Größenargument noch deswegen schwierig, weil die Bezugsebenen wechseln können, innerhalb derer die Größe bemessen wird.

Es geht bei der Frage der Größe aber nicht nur darum, wer die größere oder kleinere Gruppe in einer mehrsprachigen Konstellation ist, sondern auch um eine andere Bezugsebene für das relative Adjektiv „groß“. Absolute Größe von Minderheiten ist für sich nicht recht viel mehr als ein statistisches Datum. Im Kontext einer soziolinguistischen Beschreibung ist dieses Datum erst dann interessant, wenn „groß“ und „klein“ beschrieben werden im Hinblick auf den Grad von funktionalen Möglichkeiten, die mit Quantität verbunden sind. Minderheit ist man im Hinblick auf die erwartbaren Möglichkeiten sprachlicher Gemeinschaften im kulturell relevanten Vergleichstext, und sie definieren damit auch die Stelle, unterhalb derer eine Gemeinschaft als klein zu gelten hat.

Für den europäischen Kontext ergibt das folgende Rahmenbedingungen. Die sprachliche Praxis ist durch die strukturierende Rolle von Standardsprachen geprägt. Das heißt nicht nur, dass eine ausgeprägte Schriftsprachkultur existiert. Vielmehr gehört dazu, dass von dieser hervorgehobenen Varietät auch die gesprochene Sprache geformt wird. Das wird durch die weitgehend durchgesetzte Schulbildung ermöglicht, verstärkt auch durch die Erfahrung mit „neutralen“ Formen der Sprechsprache, wie sie in den elektronischen Medien präsentiert werden. Die Größe des Kommunikationsbereichs wird außerdem von einer in der letzten Generation doch erheblich vergrößerten

persönlichen Mobilität beeinflusst. Das führt zu einer erhöhten Praxis in übergreifenden Sprachformen. Daher findet sich sogar eine neue Art von Variation, die nur locker auf früheren regionalen Traditionen aufliegt. An diesen Bedingungen sind die kommunikativen Anforderungen an Minderheitensprachen und ihre Sprachgemeinschaften zu messen.

In diesem Lichte gibt es der „absoluten“ Größe nach zwei Gruppen minoritärer Gemeinschaften. „Kleine Minderheiten“ sind welche, bei denen nur bestimmte Teile des in der Moderne angeforderten kommunikativen Bedarfs in der Minderheitensprache gesichert werden können. Bei den „großen Minderheiten“ erlaubt die Sprecherzahl ein kommunikatives System analog zu den Mehrheitsprachen – sofern andere Faktoren, v. a. der Ausbauzustand der verschiedenen Varietäten, dem nicht entgegenstehen.

In realen Zahlen liegt die kritische Größe dafür, unterhalb derer eine Gemeinschaft nur Teile der Kommunikation innerhalb des eigenen sprachlichen Netzwerkes sichern kann, etwa bei 100000 Sprechern. Bei knapp unter 20000 Sprechern scheint bei heutigen Bedingungen eine Grenze zu liegen, ab der auch beschränkte Netzwerke nur noch als partiell mehrsprachig zu bezeichnen wären. Es fragt sich, ab wann es sich in diesen Fällen nicht mehr um eine sprachliche, sondern um eine ethnische, kulturelle Minderheit handelt.

„Große Minderheiten“ sollten bei etwa 100000 Sprechern beginnen (können). Es gibt sicherlich auch eine Grenze am oberen Ende, bei deren Erreichen die absolute Größe einer Minderheit kein Problem aber damit auch kein Kriterium mehr ist. In diesen Fällen ist an anderen Kriterien zu messen, ob es sich um eine sprachliche Minderheit handelt. Vermutlich sollte diese Grenze bei einigen hunderttausend Sprechern liegen (Coulmas 1992, 88 spricht vom Isländischen, in mancher Hinsicht einem Sonderfall, bei dem die Zahl sicher besonders niedrig ist, mit ca. 230000 Sprechern von einer Sprache an der unteren Grenze dieses Kriteriums). Das betrifft zum Beispiel den Status der deutschsprachigen Minderheit in Südtirol, die auf jeden Fall in diese Größenordnung hineinreicht.

Der Maßstab der absoluten Größe erweist sich so als ein Reflex auf die Anforderungen, die im jeweiligen kulturellen Kontext an eine voll funktionsfähige Sprache

gestellt werden. Dieses Kriterium ist aber erst im Kontext mit anderen Informationen als Merkmal von Minderheiten aussagekräftig.

Dennoch ist hier eine vierfache Gliederung angelegt: die kleinsten Einheiten bilden relikthafte Sprachgemeinschaften mit bis zu 20000 Sprechern. Kleine Sprachminderheiten können nur Teile der sprachlichen Anforderungen in der eigenen Sprache sichern: dadurch sind Gemeinschaften von bis zu etwa 100000 Sprechern gekennzeichnet. Große Sprachminderheiten haben eigentlich sprachlich alle Möglichkeiten, ihr Minderheitencharakter ist von anderen Merkmalen abhängig. Bei noch größeren Sprachgruppen sind recht spezielle Bedingungen anzusetzen, um im europäischen Kontext zum Minderheitenstatus zu kommen.

„Relative Größe“ auf der anderen Seite ist eine Frage der Größe und Struktur der Einheiten, innerhalb derer Sprachgebrauch geregelt wird. Wiewohl in demokratischen Staaten kleine Minderheiten systematisch überrepräsentiert werden, ist eine gewisse Größenordnung für die Vertretung der Gruppeninteressen außerordentlich nützlich. Eine nicht zu kleine Prozentzahl auf der relevanten Organisationsebene erleichtert es, den Gebrauch einer Sprache als normal durchzusetzen. Ein Beispiel dafür mag die Schweiz sein, wo das Italienische gerade an einer kritischen Grenze zu stehen scheint, und das Rätoromanische, trotz aller Bemühungen, auch aus Gründen der relativen Größe Probleme als verwendete Sprache hat.

In Abhängigkeit von der Korrelation von absoluter und relativer Größe erscheinen unterschiedliche Optionen geeignet, die Gruppeninteressen zu vertreten.

### 3.2. Kulturgeographie

Schon in der traditionellen Dialektologie wird der Erhalt altertümlicher Formen mit verkehrstechnischer Abgeschiedenheit korreliert. Entsprechendes lässt sich zumindest für einen Teil von Minderheiten sagen. Jedenfalls haben die Sprechergemeinschaften, von denen die jeweiligen nationalen Sprachen getragen werden, im europäischen Kontext auch die zentralen Räume der jeweiligen Staaten eingenommen, sprachliche Alternativen haben sich im Normalfall in marginale Zonen zurückgezogen. Dabei kann Marginalität verschiedene Gestalten haben. So lässt sich der Status der romani-

schen Minderheitensprachen, die sich über den Alpenraum hinziehen, sicherlich aus der Jahrhunderte langen lebenspraktischen Abgeschiedenheit dieser Regionen erklären. Wobei zum Teil sicherlich hilfreich war, dass im südlichen Teil die Frage der Abgrenzung der Sprachen bzw. dialektaler Kontinuität längere Zeit unklar war; das betrifft etwa das Verhältnis des Ladinischen zum Italienischen. Es kann für die europäischen Verhältnisse auch gelten, dass der Minderheitenstatus in all den Fällen kritisch ist, in denen das Kriterium der marginalen Lage nicht gegeben ist. Das betrifft zum Beispiel die Verhältnisse in Belgien oder Luxemburg, aber auch in der Schweiz, wo gleichberechtigte Gruppen nebeneinander stehen und die relative Bewertung der Sprachgruppen auf andere Kriterien rekurriert. Das ist offenbar in Belgien vergleichsweise schwierig, während z. B. in der Schweiz bei den drei großen Sprachgruppen die zahlenmäßigen Größenordnungen die entscheidende Rolle spielen. Der typischste Fall für die Sichtbarkeit von Marginalität in der Geographie sind jene Fälle, in denen Sprachen erkennbar vor dem Druck der Mehrheitssprachen auf Randgebiete zurückgewichen sind. Das betrifft in typischer Weise slawische Minderheiten am Ostsaum des deutschen Sprachgebiets, wie des Sorbischen in Deutschland oder des Kroatischen, aber auch des Slowenischen in Österreich. Wie dieses letzte Beispiel zeigt, bei dem das Minderheitsgebiet direkt an das zusammenhängende Sprachgebiet des Slowenischen anschließt, gehört zu den kulturgeographischen Bedingungen auch die Frage, ob es sich um eine isolierte Minderheit handelt oder um eine Minderheit, die unmittelbaren Anschluss an das Hauptverbreitungsgebiet der jeweiligen Sprache hat, an das Gebiet also, in dem diese Sprache Standard- und gegebenenfalls nationale Sprache ist. Diesen letzten Fall repräsentieren etwa das Dänische und das Deutsche im dänisch-deutschen Kontaktgebiet, aber auch das Deutsche in Südtirol oder im Elsass, oder eigentlich auch das Flämische in Belgien. Der Unterschiedlichkeit der Fälle muss durch andere Faktoren Rechnung getragen werden.

### 3.3. Ökonomie

Die kulturgeographische Einbettung aber auch die Größe sind Faktoren, die unmittelbar mit wirtschaftlichen Bedingungen korrelieren. Wenn Minderheiten prototypisch

marginale Existenzformen repräsentieren, dann sind sie klein, liegen in Randgebieten, sind ländlich strukturiert und in wirtschaftlich eher prekärer Lage. Sie sind damit gekennzeichnet durch einen Schwerpunkt auf traditionellen und ländlichen Mustern des Wirtschaftens oder auf sonstigen kritischen Wirtschaftsformen. Mit der wirtschaftlichen Marginalität ist tendenziell Abwanderung aus dem Minderheitsgebiet und insbesondere eine Abwanderung qualifizierter Mitglieder der Minderheit verbunden. Das betrifft in besonderem Ausmaße die kleinen und von isolierten Minderheitensprachen getragenen Gemeinschaften. Die Nachbarschaftsminderheiten wie das Deutsche in Südtirol oder das Dänische in Deutschland können hingegen in verschiedener Weise Vorteile aus ihrer Brückenfunktion zwischen den Sprachkulturen ziehen. In solchen Fällen kann auch gelegentlich der wirtschaftliche Kontakt mit dem zentralen Muttersprachgebiet zur Stützung der Identität der Minderheit dienen. Neuerdings bietet sich als Beispiel dafür das Deutsche in Ungarn, v. a. in Südungarn, an, wo das Deutsche mit dem wirtschaftlichen Kontakt in die deutschsprachigen Länder und seiner Rolle als einer herausgehobenen Fremdsprache an einer Bedeutung gewann, die sich nicht in einer folkloristischen Reduktion erschöpft.

#### 3.4. Politik

Einen wichtigen Punkt stellen auch Fragen der politischen Eigenvertretung der Minderheit innerhalb der von der Mehrheit geprägten staatlichen Organisation dar. Dabei geht es darum, inwieweit Minderheiten das Subsidiaritätsprinzip in ihrem Sinne nutzen können, d. h. ob sie es schaffen, Formen staatlicher Organisation zu beanspruchen, die auf Region und Struktur der Minderheit zugeschnitten sind. In Südtirol wurde dieses Ziel auf den verschiedenen relevanten politischen Ebenen ziemlich weitgehend erreicht. Nicht alle Gruppen schaffen es aber, die politische Landschaft so sehr nach ihren Vorstellungen zu prägen. Eine Voraussetzung dafür liegt in der Kompaktheit der Gruppe, der Einheitlichkeit ihrer Identität. Sie sichert die Intensität bei der Durchsetzung der Gruppeninteressen, die in Demokratien zur überproportionalen Repräsentation einer Gruppe bei den für sie interessanten Fragen führt. Im Südtiroler Fall gibt es direkt ein politisches Symbol für diese Zusam-

menhänge, die Südtiroler Volkspartei, die es geschafft hat, einerseits die minoritären Interessen zu bündeln, und andererseits sich innerhalb des staatlichen Interessenausgleichs als jemand zu repräsentieren, der prinzipiell das Demokratiespiel spielt – nicht ohne im praktischen Verhandeln anzudeuten, dass man auch anders könne (s. Eichinger 1994). In vielen anderen Fällen ist die politische Identität weniger durch die ethnische Zugehörigkeit geprägt, sondern verläuft entlang generellerer politischer Unterscheidungen.

#### 3.5. Geschichte

Geschichte hat man nicht, man macht sie; natürlich nicht als Individuum, sondern in den Geschichten, aus denen sich das kulturelle Gedächtnis eines Volkes speist. Dabei sind sprachliche Faktoren unterschiedlich bedeutsam. So spielt sprachliche Verschiedenheit, aber auch die bindende Kraft sprachlicher Gemeinsamkeit in den europäischen Nationalkulturen eine unterschiedliche Rolle. Die gemeinschaftsbildende Funktion der eigenen „kleinen“ Sprache wird im deutschen und osteuropäischen Kontext besonders betont. Hier setzt sich ein Denken in Sprachnationalitäten fort, das seinen wesentlichen Ursprung in den Ausführungen J. G. Herders hat.

#### 3.6. Ideologische Zuordnungen

Zu beobachten ist zudem eine deutliche Korrelation von religiösen Vorstellungen und sprachlicher Zugehörigkeit. Wesentliche Teile deutschsprachiger Sprachinseln verstehen sich als deutschsprachig und protestantisch. Und andererseits herrscht in der katholischen Kirche eine hohe Bedeutung volkssprachlicher Glaubensverkündigung. So ist häufig die religiöse Zuordnung ein kritischer Punkt bei der Beurteilung von Sprachkontakt- und Minderheitenfragen – bis hin zu den Auseinandersetzungen zwischen Serben und Kroaten im postjugoslawischen politischen Raum.

Es gibt aber auch weitere attitudinale Faktoren, von denen die Kohärenz einer Minderheit geprägt ist: so können sich politisch-ideologische Vorstellungen, die dem Bild von der eigenen Geschichte entsprechen, zu eigenständig wirksamen Merkmalen der Gruppenidentität entwickeln. Dazu gehören Auto- und Heterostereotype von den jeweiligen Sprachgruppen, positive Konzeptualisierungen („freiheitsliebendes Bergvolk“) und Bezüge auf jeweilige golde-

ne Zeiten der eigenen Gemeinschaft („uralte Kultur“) ebenso wie die Generalisierung von Leidenserfahrungen („von ... unterdrückt“). Man bezieht sich auch gerne auf Vorstellungen von einer differenten Lebensart, ein Faktor, der z. B. bei der dänischen Minderheit in Deutschland („skandinavisch liberal“) ebenso eine große Rolle spielt wie zum Beispiel auch schon beim Niederdeutschen. Solche Punkte sind unter den modernen Bedingungen einer individualisierenden Einwahl in den minoritären Kontext wichtiger als früher. Die im kollektiven Gedächtnis verankerten Vorstellungen von den Minderheitengruppen sind daher nicht mehr nur der komplexe Reflex der genannten objektiven Faktoren, sondern stellen in ihrer festen Gestalt selbst einen Faktor der Gruppenkonstitution dar.

### 3.7. Recht

Vermutlich der wichtigste Schritt auf dem Weg zu rechtlichen Bestimmungen, die den Schutz von Minderheiten betreffen, war die Gültigsetzung des Selbstbestimmungsrechtes der Völker nach dem Ersten Weltkrieg. Sie führte nicht nur zur Festsetzung neuer staatlicher Einheiten, sondern in längerfristiger Sicht zu verschiedenen Versuchen, einen Ausgleich für Situationen zu finden, die nicht mittels nationaler Segregation zu lösen waren. Man kann sagen, dass auch das Konzept der Nationalitäten, wie es der Machtbereich der UdSSR kannte, ein Modell war, dieses Problem durch die Überlagerung zweier Ebenen zu lösen. Die Wandlungen der sowjetischen Nationalitätenpolitik seit dem Ende der 20er Jahre wie auch die Ethnisierung der politischen Argumente nach der politischen Öffnung der 90er Jahre zeugen von den Problemen dieser Lösung. Dennoch ist offenkundig, dass in der zweiten Hälfte des zwanzigsten Jhs. die Suche nach rechtlichen Lösungen dominiert, mittels derer sich Minderheitenprobleme als normale Probleme demokratischen Interessenausgleichs verstehen lassen. Eine erfolgreiche Minderheitenpolitik repräsentiert sich darin, dass der Gleichheitsgrundsatz modifiziert wird – mit dem Ziel, gleiche Voraussetzungen für unterschiedliche Gruppen zu schaffen. So lassen sich Autonomie Regelungen auf politischer wie auf kultureller Ebene beschreiben. Besonders relevante Punkte sind dabei die Fragen einer angemessenen (d. h. normalerweise überproportionalen) Repräsentation in der politischen Öff-

entlichkeit – z. B. die Nichtgeltung der 5%-Klausel für die dänische Minderheit im Regionalparlament von Schleswig-Holstein –, Fragen der kulturellen Autonomie, bei der vielleicht der bedeutsamste Bereich die Regelung des Bildungswesens ist – man vgl. den Streit um Schulsprachenfragen in vielen Minderheitsgebieten –, und Fragen des Arbeitsmarkts – man vgl. die Proporzgesetzgebung in Südtirol.

Konsequenz solcher Regelungsbemühungen ist die Entstehung der „Europäischen Charta der Regional- und Minderheitensprachen“ des Europarats. In ihr werden entsprechende Maßnahmenbündel für diese Teilbereiche zusammengefasst, je nach dem jeweiligen Zustand der einzelnen Minderheiten kann sich daraus ein unterschiedliches Schutz- und Förderungsprogramm ergeben. Dabei ist ebenso offenkundig wie insgesamt problematisch, dass generell die weitgehend funktionierende Kleinsprache als das Idealmodell angesetzt, und auf die in sprachlicher Hinsicht „defizitäreren“ Gemeinschaften angewendet wird.

### 3.8. Varietäten und Netzwerk

Der Charakter der sprachlichen Minderheit wird letztlich geprägt vom spezifischen Entwicklungszustand des Minderheitensprachens und von der Art der kommunikativen Netzwerke, in die seine Sprecher eingebunden sind. Im europäischen Bereich finden sich zwei grundlegende Konstellationen: entweder gehören beide Partner einer Kontaktsituation zu einer europäischen Standardsprache, oder aber der eine Partner, die Minderheitensprache, weist in dieser Hinsicht bestimmte Defizite auf. Im historischen Kontext nationaler Ansprüche war der erste Fall der problematischere. Wenn die nationalen Ansprüche keine solche Rolle mehr spielen, ist er eher leichter zu lösen. Da die beteiligten Sprachen funktional gleichwertig sind, kann man die Probleme durch territoriale oder gesellschaftliche Aufgabenteilung vergleichsweise einfach angehen. Beispiele dafür sind die nach dem Territorialitätsprinzip organisierten klassisch mehrsprachigen Staaten wie die Schweiz oder Belgien bzw. jetzt auch Luxemburg, aber auch Fälle wie Südtirol, wo dadurch den Minderheitssprachen faktisch gleiche Rechte mit der Mehrheitsprache eingeräumt werden. Voraussetzung dafür ist jedoch, dass es in der Minderheitensprache eine gewisse Praxis in einer angemessenen diasyste-



matischen Variation gibt. Das ist z.B. im deutsch-dänischen Grenzgebiet auf beiden Seiten nur mit erheblichen Einschränkungen der Fall. Das andere Extrem stellen Konstellationen dar, in denen die Minderheitensprache in der Gegenwart auf wenige Domänen reduziert ist und typischerweise als Nähesprache fungiert. Hier überlagern sich in den kommunikativen Netzwerken des einzelnen Gruppenmitglieds sprachliche Ebenen, die einen mehr oder minder bruchlosen Übergang in die herrschende nationale Sprache erlauben. Monolinguale Sprecher solcher Minderheitensprachen kommen im europäischen Kontext praktisch nicht mehr vor. Konflikthaft werden solche Konstellationen aus verschiedenen Gründen: zum einen, wenn der politische Wille zum sprachlichen Ausbau herrscht, wie etwa beim Ladinischen, oder auch beim Friesischen, gleichzeitig aber Standardisierungs- und Akzeptanzprobleme auftreten. Eine andere Art von Problem stellen Fälle wie das Niederdeutsche dar, wo ein hoher symbolischer Wert der Sprache entspricht; die Argumentation ist hier eigentlich gänzlich auf eine andere Ebene verlagert. In Gegenden traditioneller Mehrsprachigkeit und einer über lange Zeit eher ambivalenten Standardisierungslage findet sich eher das Problem, dass ein Diasystem, das die genetischen Differenzen der Nationalsprachen überschreitet, als der normale Fall anzusehen ist, so dass hier Schutz der Minderheit wieder etwas Anderes heißt. Beispiele dafür bietet die Verbreitung des Deutschen in Mittel- und Osteuropa, eigentlich ist aber auch das Elsässische im französischsprachigen Kontext ein Beispiel für diesen Typ von komplementärer Mehrsprachigkeit. Faktisch, wenn auch mit weitaus strikterer Festlegung der Domänenverteilung, funktionieren auch viele Sprachinseln nach diesem Muster.

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## 249. Choosing an Official Language / Wahl einer Amtssprache

1. Introduction
2. Five approaches to international linguistic communication
3. Criteria and observed frameworks
4. How the various systems compare in practice
5. A tentative quantification of the superiorities and inferiorities of the four systems
6. Conclusion
7. Literature (selected)

### 1. Introduction

As international activities develop, the language barrier confronts many organizations, from world institutions such as the UN to multinational companies, through global and regional professional associations or NGOs. However, contrasting with the meticulousness with which legal details are studied when an institution is established or with the amounts invested in feasibility studies before a project is undertaken, no thorough and objective study is ever made before a decision is taken on how to ensure linguistic communication. The decision ignores the numerous factors involved and amounts are readily earmarked as though no cost efficiency analysis were warranted.

Just as interesting is the striking discrepancy between what is asserted when a language policy is being discussed and what can be observed when it is put in practice. All UN organizations have experienced a considerable increase in language services since they were established. When the addition of

a new language is being discussed, three points are usually made: (1) the additional language will increase the effectiveness of communication, (2) the organization will be more democratic, and (3) the advantages of the new system will make up for the increase in costs. However, when the new system is in use, communication is more cumbersome than before, the functioning is less democratic, and hardly any advantage is worth the financial problems incurred.

In the fifties the UN used only two working languages, English and French. Spanish, Russian, Chinese and Arabic have been added afterwards. But communication has not improved. When a Syrian spoke French and an Egyptian English, most delegates followed their interventions in the original, since a good passive knowledge of both working languages was widespread at the time. Discussions were direct and spontaneous. Today, as the Arab delegates use Arabic, most representatives do not hear them directly. Listening to the interpretation, they miss many nuances included not only in the wording, but also in the voice, the intonation, all those subtle shifts that conviction, sincerity, deceptiveness, ruse or a variety of other factors impress on the spoken word. Furthermore, a percentage of what is being said is dropped, and another is distorted. No improvement in the effectiveness of communication can be honestly acknowledged.

Is it more democratic? No. Some governments enjoy an advantage, since they do not depend on a foreign language. But why is it

granted Iraq, not Iran, Argentina, not Brazil, China, not Japan? There is less equality than with only two working languages. Of course, that system gave an unfair edge to English and French speaking countries, but those were few: the majority of Member States were on an equal footing, unfairness was thus more limited.

And as far as costs are concerned, isn't it ironic that no allowance has been made for the drawback imposed to a number of countries? If your rival has the right to use his own language and you have not, he has a noticeable superiority in any negotiation. In a conflict between China and Indonesia, the first one can present its briefs in its own language, whereas the second is deprived of this right. However, the increase in language costs is divided among Members States as usual, so that the countries which suffer a drawback have to finance the superiority they grant their rivals. It would be both simple and fair to compensate, by a reduction in their budget share, the lack of privilege which is imposed on such countries, but this has never been suggested.

"Choosing an official language" appears to be taboo. In most fields, before a decision, options are defined and researched; costs are estimated; advantages and disadvantages are compared; political, economic and other consequences are pondered; mechanisms are foreseen to evaluate the impact of the new policy after a definite time. Not so with linguistic communication. Here, the debate is reduced to a minimum, no comparison is made, hardly any research is undertaken, and some of the options are *a priori* discarded. Even in organizations that emphasize democracy the question of equality among participants is never raised. It would be easy to put everybody on an equal footing: it would suffice to decide that nobody might use his or her own language. If in some organization, only English, French and German were in use, an easy way to ensure equality would be to oblige native speakers of those three to use another language than their own. So the Brits would be put on the same level as the Finns and the Germans as the Portuguese. It would only be fair, but although such a decision would involve no additional cost it is never envisaged. Yet the prevalent unfairness has been acknowledged by the European Parliament: "There is no doubt that one finds oneself *politically* most forceful when using one's

own language. Using the mother tongue is to enjoy an advantage over those who (...) are burdened with a language which is not their own" (European Parliament, 1994)

This is not the place to analyze the causes of the taboo, which lie in a complex combination of political, economic, social and psychological factors; they have been dealt with elsewhere (Piron 1994a). But it might be interesting to compare the various options in the field according to a predefined set of criteria.

## 2. Five approaches to international linguistic communication

The researcher who scans the situations of international communication at a high precision level soon realizes that only five methods are in use. By order of frequency at the global scale, these are:

- (1) the use of a few "working" or "official" languages, with interpretation of oral exchanges and translation of documents (the *oligolingual* system);
- (2) the use by all of the same national language, usually English (the *ethnolingual* system);
- (3) the use of all the languages of participants, with interpretation and translation in all of them (the *omnilingual* system);
- (4) the use of an "interlanguage", i. e. an interethnic language that has never been the language of a given people (the *interlingual* system);
- (5) the use of the languages of all participants without interpretation and translation.

The fifth system is often used among the Scandinavians and the Swiss: there is no need to translate because everybody understands the various languages. It is the only method used in the commissions of the Swiss Parliament, where everybody is supposed to understand French, German and Italian. This system will not be considered here, because it does not meet the needs of communication at the global level or at the scale of, say, Europe. It implies that the number of mother tongues does not exceed three or four.

## 3. Criteria and observed frameworks

The criteria adopted to compare the various systems are the following: (a) prior invest-

ment by governments; (b) prior investment by institutions; (c) inequality and discrimination; (d) language costs of meetings; (e) language cost of document production; (f) waiting time for documents; (g) loss and distortion of information; (h) duration of language study (participants); (i) language handicap; (j) limitations and annoyances; (k) probable future increase of drawbacks; (l) terminology problems.

The comparison has been made among the following entities:

*oligolingual system*: sessions of the UN General Assembly and its First Committee; sessions of the WHO organs, including the World Health Assembly and Regional Committees (Geneva, Manila, Brazzaville); assembly of non-governmental organizations in official relationship with the UN (Geneva); and many others;

*ethnolingual system*: small working groups of the WHO Committee for the Western Pacific Region (Manila, Kuala Lumpur, Singapore, Tokyo); meetings of the European Psychotherapy Association (Paris); many informal meetings in various locations;

*omnilingual system*: European Parliament;

*interlingual system*: meetings held at San Francisco State University and in the framework of a number of Esperanto organizations: Universal Esperanto Association, conventions in Lucern, Antwerp and Beijing; World Youth Esperanto Organization, meetings in Leuven, Rimini and Novosibirsk; Esperanto Cultural Center, La Chaux-de-Fonds, and others. Informal meetings in Rio de Janeiro, Oslo, Budapest, Tokyo, Beijing and other places confirmed the observations made during structured sessions.

This analysis is also based on interviews of members of language units in various organizations and on the author's experience as a translator and *précis*-writer in the UN and WHO.

The subjects dealt with varied widely from the general to the very specific. There was no essential difference in the kind of contents.

#### 4. How the various systems compare in practice

##### 4.1. Prior investment by governments

The omnilingual system, and, in the present situation, the interlingual one, do not require any previous investment by governments, whereas the other two would be impossible

without considerable amounts being invested by most governments in language teaching. If the interlingual system developed, governments would have to organize teaching of the interlanguage.

##### 4.2. Prior investment by institutions

The ethnolingual and interlingual methods function without language services (public relations and advertising are outside the scope of this study). For the two other formulae, investments must be made in: recruiting and training translators and interpreters; adapting rooms to simultaneous interpretation (booths, wiring, etc.); setting up a secretarial service for each language; organizing support services: libraries, bibliographic services, electronic research tools, a terminology unit, etc.; providing office space for typing and translation services. Moreover, the growth in language and secretarial staff implies an increase in personnel administration, as well as in accounting, security, medical, conference and travel services, to say nothing of the increased expenditure related to electrical power, elevators, cafeterias, parking space and the like.

##### 4.3. Inequality and discrimination

Some language policies discriminate, others do not. If the only language is English, native speakers of English enjoy a linguistic advantage over other participants. The most discriminatory situation pertains to the oligolingual system. In the UN, a Belgian delegate may use his mother tongue if it is French, but not if it is Dutch (which implies an inequality in the likelihood of being selected as a delegate). Quite often, persons with a high expertise in a specialized field are not gifted for languages, so that the oligolingual and ethnolingual systems favor the countries whose languages are used, their representatives being selected only on the basis of technical competence, and not, as for other countries, on the basis of expertise plus competence in one of the approved foreign languages.

In the European Union, the omnilingual system guarantees equality among peoples. However, in the Secretariat, Dutch, Danish, Greek, Finnish and the other "non powerful" languages are practically unused. Some languages are thus "more equal than others". Moreover, practically no interpreter can handle language combinations such as Portuguese-Greek, Danish-Slovenian, Dutch-

Finnish, and so on. For such languages they resort to a “relay”. Thus, in a session of the European Parliament, what is heard is not a direct rendering of the speaker’s intervention, but, say, a Portuguese version of the English translation of the original Greek speech. The representatives of the various States are thus not equally treated, since a Finn, a Dane, a Portuguese have fewer chances of being fully and exactly interpreted, as compared to colleagues with a “powerful” language. According to a UN sponsored study of language services, “at scientific meetings the loss of information through ‘relay’ is of at least 50%”. (King, Bryntsev and Sohm 1977). When interpretation is doubled, so are the chances of loss and distortion.

The interlingual system avoids discrimination. All participants use a language they have studied in a limited and relatively equivalent duration whatever the native language. Since no one is using his mother tongue, no one enjoys any superiority just for belonging to this or that people. This was already emphasized in a report of the League of Nations, describing the use of Esperanto at the International Conference of School Authorities: “What was most impressive was the equality that the use of [that] language achieves (...). Every one finds himself at the same level, and the delegate from Peking or The Hague can express himself with the same force of conviction as his colleagues from Paris or London” (League of Nations 1922, 22).

Observation of meetings reveals that there is a correlation between the right to use one’s mother tongue and the frequency with which one asks for the floor. A person who cannot speak his own language intervenes less often in a debate.

#### 4.4. Language cost of meetings

Interpretation is the main item in the language costs of a session. The cost consists essentially of the salaries or fees paid to the interpreters. The larger the number of languages, the higher the costs. Thus the highest cost is linked to the omnilingual system. Indeed, the gap between this system and the others is, in this regard, enormous. The ethnolingual and interlingual systems are free from any cost for this item.

#### 4.5. Language cost of document production

The wider the language spectrum, the higher the cost of documentation. The costs in-

clude the salaries of translators, revisers, librarians, typists and reference staff (where such a personnel exists, as in the UN), as well as the operating expenses (paper, computer use and depreciation, office maintenance, etc.).

A fact generally unknown is that a translator has constantly to do detective work. In many cases, one word includes several items of information, but the meanings so amalgamated differ from one language to the next. For instance, the words *his secretary*, in English, gives us information on the boss’s sex, but not on the secretary’s. In French, it’s the opposite: *son secrétaire* means “his or her male secretary”, *sa secrétaire* “his or her female secretary”. A translator who has to render *his secretary* into another language has to find out the secretary’s sex. Names may help, but not always. Is Secretary Tan Buting a man or a woman? You cannot translate those words into Spanish, French, and many other languages without doing some research to get an answer to the question. In many cultures, assigning a wrong sex to a person may be felt as unacceptably offensive.

Incidentally, this detective work imposed on translators is one of the reasons why computers cannot do the job. Ninety percent of a translator’s time is devoted to solving problems that have little to do with what can be automated. What can be done by a computer can be done by a human translator in very little time, say ten percent of his or her working day. But the research that accurate translation demands requires much ingenuity that is beyond the capabilities of the best software networks of artificial intelligence (Piron 1988, 234–248).

The cost of producing the documents in all working languages depends on the translators’ productivity. Unfortunately, statistics are generally configured in a format designed to conceal the low productivity of the translation units. For instance, a 50 page report sent to the translation unit with a request to make ten one-word corrections is recorded on the receiving log with the total of pages. The work can be done in a few minutes, but the translation office will record it as a 50 page document. Such cheating is probably inevitable, in so far as no institution, at any level, has an interest in letting the outside world know exactly how much the use of many languages costs. A secretary

who thus inflates the figures will never be blamed.

A conscientious translator cannot translate more than five or six double space A4 pages per day. At the UN, the fastest translation unit, the English one, has an average productivity, per translator, of 2331 words per day. The slowest is the Chinese, with an average daily productivity of 843 words. The medium one is the French unit, with an average of 1517 words. ("English unit" means: those who translate from other languages into English;  $x$  words means so many words in the original text) (Allen, Sibahi and Sohm 1980, table 9).

Translation is expensive. In the oligolingual system, every thousand words in an original text cost US\$2030 for translation in seven languages (average for UN and WHO), or more than two dollars per word (Allen, Sibahi and Sohm 1980, table 7). Such a sum seems more realistic than the figure of 36 cents a word given for the European Union (Rollnick 1991). Apparently, the European Union translates daily 3150000 words, so that translation costs there, in the most conservative estimate, US\$ 1134000 per day (Rollnick 1991).

#### 4.6. Waiting time for documents

In a multilingual organization, documents cannot be immediately available in all working languages. In the UN, the typical organization using the oligolingual system, preparing a 25-page single spaced document (14000 words) in the six official languages requires 63.9 translator workdays, plus 22.9 workdays for revision (Allen, Sibahi and Sohm 1980, table 9). If typing time is included, the total becomes 98.8 workdays. This does not mean that it takes a hundred days for the document to be ready: translators in different languages work simultaneously, and the urgent texts are divided among translators, as is also done with a very long text. Still, the man in the street, and most linguists, are not aware of how much effort is invested in a result which is far from being impressive: a hundred workdays to communicate, often imperfectly, the contents of just 25 pages. No wonder that translation units are reluctant to present honest statistics.

According to our UN source, if the text is not urgent, it takes 24 days for it to be available in all languages. If it is urgent and re-

ceives a high degree of priority, it can be ready in about six days.

In the ethnolingual and interlingual systems a document is available as soon as it is printed, since no translation is needed.

#### 4.7. Loss and distortion of information

In the ethnolingual and interlingual systems, there is no risk of loss or distortion: listeners and readers deal only with originals. If doubts or misunderstandings appear, they are not due to the system, but to the language level of the individuals.

The situation is quite different with the two multilingual systems, which rely heavily on translation and interpretation. With simultaneous interpretation, a loss of 10% and a distortion of 2 to 3% are considered normal. The conditions are such that it is impossible to transmit a speech in another language without gaps and errors while it is being delivered. The interpreter must not only have a good delivery, a perfect mastery of both languages, a quick mind and sharp hearing, he must also be fairly familiar with the subject in order to repeat in the target language everything said in the original using the appropriate technical terminology and without dropping important elements. Such a combination of deep linguistic competence and vast technical knowledge can rarely be found. Hence the large number of inaccurate interpreters noted in UN documents (King, Bryntsev and Sohm 1977, par. 89 and 94).

The distortions and errors found in the simultaneous interpretation of speeches and interventions have their equivalents in written translation as well. The fact that the Treaty of Maastricht – a 253 page document to be voted upon by all European Union citizens – had to be withdrawn from all bookstores and libraries because its content varied from one language to the next shows that even texts of paramount importance are not protected against inaccurate translation. The United Nations Charter provides another example. The various versions of Article 33 evokes situations which are "sufficient" / "able" / "likely" – according to the language – to endanger peace and security. Less important texts are more frequently erroneous. A document of the European Union discussed at some point, in its French version, "*les avions sans pilote qui prennent pour cibles les centrales nucléaires*", which means "pilotless aircrafts which take nu-

clear power plants as targets". The original referred to "*airplanes flying by automatic pilot over nuclear power plants*" (de la Guérevière 1995, 15). Such inaccuracies must be viewed against the background of the extremely high cost of translation.

#### 4.8. Duration of language study (participants)

The omnilingual system is the only one which does not require participants to have studied languages. In the other three systems a previous study of one or more languages is necessary for at least part of the persons who have to communicate. In the most frequent variant of the ethnolinguistic system, all those who are not native speakers of English must have learned that language. In the oligolingual system, previous language study is indispensable for most participants, since only a minority have their mother tongues included among the working languages. In the interlingual system, it is assumed that everybody will have had to learn the language. While there are some children whose mother tongue is Esperanto, they are too few to be worth taking into account.

Contrary to a widespread opinion, mastering a foreign language requires an enormous investment in time and nervous energy. Simply making oneself understood is not sufficient. What is necessary is a quality of expression which allows the speakers to convince, to argue, to touch the listeners' emotions all the while avoiding the risk of making a laughing stock of themselves. When Ms H.D., a Danish minister, assumed the chair of an international meeting, and, wanting to apologize for not being fully conversant with the subject, said: "I am at the beginning of my period", she was the target of much humorous comments in her country's press (see e.g. *Jyllands-Posten*, 14 January 1994, *Sprog og erhverv* 1, 1994).

A foreign language cannot be said to be mastered at the level required in international settings until one has accumulated at least 10000 hours of study and practice (Piron 1994a, 76–94). Only Esperanto differs from other languages in ease of acquisition: a mastery level can be reached in 150 to 220 hours.

#### 4.9. Language handicap

The phrase *language handicap* here refers to the sum of linguistic traits which interfere

with fluent oral or written expression. When you do not have complete command over the language you employ, you may have a very clear idea of what you want to convey without being able to do so with the clarity and convincing power you aim at: you do not find the correct words right away, you use less appropriate ones that make you feel grammatically more secure, you give up rendering *nuances* which may be quite important, and your speeches or texts have much less force than they would have in your mother tongue. Furthermore, mispronunciation can cause confusion or make the speaker sound ridiculous (for instance, saying "My Government sinks" instead of "My Government thinks").

All languages represent a network of complex programs, in the "computerese" sense of the word. Quite often a program is disturbed by inhibitory subprograms which prevent it from running smoothly. Ask a random sample of non-Englishspeakers who have studied English for many years what the plural of *sheep* is: eight out of ten answer *sheeps*. The word *sheep* should be linked to a subprogram stating: "in this case cancel the general program <plural = + s>." Integrating and maintaining in operating condition the vast number of complex subprograms that should be linked to many linguistic items is beyond the capability of most people if it is not the language prevalent in the environment. Indeed, those subprograms are the first to stop operating when a foreign language is neglected for a few years.

This is the main reason why a minimum of 10000 hours of study and practice are needed to possess any national language. The reader who doubts the validity of that figure may get a confirmation by observing the language of a six or seven year old child. Even after some 10000 hours of full immersion in the language, it will utter such forms as *I comed, he falled, mouses, foots, it's mines*, etc. Intellectual immaturity is not to be invoked: the child is more logical than the official language. But while the general programs are operating, the subprograms are not. They have not yet been installed in the brain or they are still unstable or poorly connected to the neurological structures activated by linguistic expression.

A language which lacks interfering subprograms and is only made up of general programs (for instance, just one program for the plural, just one program for the present

tense of all verbs, just one program to derive an adjective from a noun, and so on) respects without exception the natural tendency to generalize linguistic traits. Both acquisition and use of the language are then considerably easier. Esperanto is such a language.

If it frees its user from language handicap, it is also because it is extremely flexible. Thought has not to be channeled into predetermined patterns. To express the idea “he thanks me”, the user of Esperanto can follow the English word order (*li dankas min*), the German structure (*li dankas al mi*) or the French one (*li min dankas*). A century of practice has proven that this freedom enhances linguistic comfort without hampering mutual comprehension. Combined with the lack of exceptions and the regularity of patterns (also in word formation, which is usually quite creative), this freedom explains why language handicap is so seldom experienced by the user of Esperanto. As Prof. Janton observed: “Although it is not a native language, it is not a foreign language either. A mature Esperanto speaker always feels it as his or her own, which, except for the rare cases of perfect bilingualism, cannot be said of any other language that has had to be learned” (Janton 1983).

To the neurolinguistic reasons why language handicap is unusual among users of Esperanto another factor has to be added: there is no linguistically superior people who could say, or think: “this is right, this is wrong” about the phrasing, the grammar, the vocabulary. This represents a marked contrast with the ethnolinguistic and oligolingual systems, in which those who do not have the right mother tongue feel in some way inferior (unless they have no idea of their actual, possibly low, level).

In sessions applying the interlingual system, no correlation can be found between the mother tongue and the frequency with which participants ask for the floor. Therefore although the language has been learned, the observer has the feeling of a human environment in which all participants speak their mother tongue. This is the aspect which most distinguishes this system from the other three.

#### 4.10. Limitations and annoyances

“Limitations”, as used here, refers to all factors which restrict the freedom to choose

the places, means and times in which communication can occur. The oligolingual and omnilingual systems require conference rooms equipped for simultaneous interpretation and limit the discussions to the times when the interpreters are available, whereas the ethnolinguistic and interlingual systems allow discussions to take place anywhere and at any time, even in case of power failure.

Conditions that enable work to be carried out smoothly in a pleasant atmosphere are also worth considering because they contribute to the success of the activities. The word “annoyances”, in this paper, refers to all the factors that thwart that feeling. Many participants in international conferences find most unpleasant the need to constantly wear earphones and to listen to a voice different from the speakers’. With the kind of earphones now usually in use, that do not isolate from background noises and thus from the original speech, and that are set on only one ear, persons with a hearing handicap are disadvantaged. Anyway, nervous fatigue is worse in a session with simultaneous interpretation than in an ethnolinguistic or interlingual one. However, in a meeting which uses only one language, increased tiredness can also appear due to the necessity to follow, and to take part in, a debate which is held in a language not completely mastered by the subject. Foreign pronunciation may interfere with immediate comprehension and demand a greater effort to follow the discussion. Because of its unusually wide spectrum of phonemes, and especially vowel sounds, English is one of the languages less adapted to international communication in this respect.

#### 4.11. Probable future increase of drawbacks

By their very nature, the ethnolinguistic and interlingual systems are not exposed to the risk of increasing disadvantages. The situation is quite different elsewhere. Adding one language is much more than adding a unit; it is multiplying the language combinations for which translation and interpretation must be provided. That number results from the formula  $N(N-1)$ . In the European Union, which uses 20 languages since May 2004, the number of combinations is 380. From the outset, the UN family has accepted a gradual increase in the number of working languages. The trend still exists: a highly active lobby is pushing



to obtain official status for Portuguese, Hindi and Japanese.

#### 4.12. Terminology

Terminology problems will not be included in the table that, hereafter, sums up the advantages and drawbacks of the four systems. The reason is that all systems are plagued by them. In the UN the absence of a precise terminology in Chinese posed serious problems for translators in the 50s and 60s. Similar difficulties appeared when Arabic was introduced. If an international organization other than the present Esperanto associations adopted that language, it would have to organize a fairly strong terminological service. True, in many political, social, scientific and technical fields, Esperanto terminology predates that of Chinese, Arabic and others, and the language's structures allow for the solution of terminological problems more easily than other tongues (Esperanto had a word for *software* earlier than French). Nevertheless Esperanto terminology has many gaps concerning machine components, technical processes and special items of industry, engineering, medicine, pharmacy and other specialized fields, as well as concerning precise subdivisions or description elements of products in international commerce. Although there is a long tradition of how to set up Esperanto terminology, the work to be done is still considerable, similar to that which the UN Chinese terminology unit has had to carry out in the fifties. Terminology problems also appear in the omnilingual and oligolingual systems because specialized fields develop at such a swift rate that many languages cannot follow the rhythm.

### 5. A tentative quantification of the superiorities and inferiorities of the four systems

Not all criteria lend themselves to quantification, and, when they do, it is generally impossible to gather exact figures. The overall picture may be clearer if we adopt a binary system, in which 1 means "this drawback is present" and 0 "this drawback does not exist". We can thus reach four totals which will highlight the differences between the systems.

Obviously, such a way of proceeding is not objective. All criteria are treated as if

they were of equal importance, which, certainly, does not correspond to reality. But on what objective basis could their respective importance be evaluated? Another bias stems from the fact that this quantification method ignores differences which are far from being negligible in practice. If, as an average, six months of Esperanto afford a communication level that demands six years for another language, giving all systems which require language learning an equal mark of 1 for this criterion results in introducing a very serious bias.

Similarly, a 1 is ascribed to the interlingual system for the handicap criterion although observation of meetings shows that this handicap is impressively lower with Esperanto than with other foreign languages. But compared with the omnilingual system, the interlingual one still includes some measure of handicap, since the language being used is not the mother tongue and the difference between the linguistically gifted and the others is greater than when the mother tongue is used.

Whatever those reservations, it is interesting to note that the communication system with the most advantages and the fewer drawbacks is the interlingual one, even with a calculation method particularly unfair to it. In the following table it is assumed that, if the interlingual system were adopted, governments would organize the teaching of the interlanguage, which explains the presence of a 1 for the first criterion in the "interlingual" column. If only the present day situation were considered, there would be no previous government investment for this item and the figure should be 0. The sum for the "interlingual" column should then be corrected to 2.

As a matter of fact, for this same criterion, the zero attributed to the omnilingual system does not fully reflect reality. Even if all languages of the participating countries are accepted in the international entity concerned, governments still invest money in language teaching. The zero in this line represents the fact that the teaching of foreign languages is not necessary (and thus may be less seriously implemented) for ensuring an adequate representation at the international level when the omnilingual system is the one in use.

The four communication systems compare as follows for the eleven criteria that have been retained:

	<i>Oligolingual</i>	<i>Ethnolingual</i>	<i>Omnilingual</i>	<i>Interlingual</i>
(a) Prior investment by governments	1	1	0	1
(b) Prior investment by institutions	1	0	1	0
(c) Inequality and discrimination	1	1	0	0
(d) Language costs of meetings	1	0	1	0
(e) Language cost of document production	1	0	1	0
(f) Waiting time for documents	1	0	1	0
(g) Loss and distortion of information	1	1	1	0
(h) Duration of language study (participants)	1	1	0	1
(i) Language handicap	1	1	0	1
(j) Limitations and annoyances	1	1	1	0
(k) Probable future increase of drawbacks	1	0	1	0
Total level of disadvantages	11	6	7	3

## 6. Conclusion

Observation of linguistic communication according to the four approaches currently in use at the international level reveals that the interlingual system offers the most advantages, as well for the individual participants as for the governments and for the organizations in whose framework international communication is taking place. In other words, it is, with the ethnolingual system, the most cost effective, but it has over the latter the important advantage of avoiding discrimination and inequality among the persons concerned, and of demanding much less time and effort to reach the required level of linguistic competence.

However, this system has to face an important disadvantage which has not been included: apart from a few private associations, its introduction would have to be organized from scratch. In itself, this would not be so difficult if the chosen language were Esperanto because of the many features which make it particularly well adapted to the spontaneous functioning of the human brain. But the question must be posed against a whole background of political, social, cultural and economic forces which favor inertia and the preservation of privileges rather than a radical change leading to a more cost effective and democratic solution. In proportion to the world population, few people have the ability to really master English, yet the trend in international communication in recent years has been towards the ethnolingual system based on the use of that language only. This has

brought about the creation of a linguistic elite, which does not want to lose the many advantages it derives from belonging to the small circle of those who can take part in global communication.

Such being the situation, it might be warranted to include an additional criterion in the table presented above: "force of inertia to be overcome". If, for this additional point, we ascribe the 1 mark to the interlingual system, and the 0 one to the three others, the figure summing up the drawbacks increases to 4 for the interlingual system, but still remains below the drawback level of the others. The interlingual system thus comes out as the winner in the competition.

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## 250. Angewandte linguistische Gender-Forschung Applied Linguistic Gender Research

1. Einleitung
2. Grammatisches Genus
3. Sexismen im Lexikon
4. Zur Konzeptualisierung von gender in Sozio- und Diskurslinguistik
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### 1. Einleitung

Die linguistische Forschung zu Sprache und Geschlecht blickt inzwischen auf eine dreißigjährige Geschichte zurück. Zu Beginn der siebziger Jahre entstanden in den USA erste Studien und Überlegungen zum Zusammenhang von Patriarchat, Sprache und Diskurs. 1970 hatte Mary Ritchie Key auf der Tagung der American Dialect Society ihren Vortrag „Linguistic Behavior of Male and Female“ gehalten“ (1972), 1972 analysierten Casey Miller und Kate Swift im New York Times Magazine Sexismen im Vokabular und 1973 erschien Lakoffs Beobachtungsstudie dazu, wie Frauen in Sprache und Sprechen marginalisiert werden. In der patriarchalen Gesellschaft würden sie in der Sprache unsichtbar gemacht (Verschwinden im generischen Maskulinum) und sie praktizierten einen Sprechstil der Zurückhaltung, Unterordnung und Unsicherheit, der ihre gesellschaftliche Zweitrangigkeit absichere. Ebenfalls 1973 diagnostizierten Jacqueline Sachs, Philip Lieberman und Donna Erickson in einer Studie mit dem Titel „Anatomical and Cultural Determinants of Male and Female Speech“, dass Männer so sprechen als wären sie größer und Frauen so als wären sie kleiner. Prosodische Besonderheiten, die von der Größe des vokalnen Trakts unabhängig sind, wurden für diesen Eindruck verantwortlich ausgemacht. Linguistinnen widmeten sich fortan auch der Beschäftigung mit der textuellen Repräsentation der Geschlechter, z. B. in Kinderbüchern und Schulbüchern (Nilsen 1971; 1973). Es war das Ziel, über die vielen Äußerungsformen von Stereotypen in der Darstellung von Frauen und Männern aufzuklären.

Seither ist die linguistische Geschlechterforschung ein lebendiges Forschungsgebiet.

Sie beschäftigt sich mit Grammatik und Diskurs, mit Sprachsystem, Sprachwandel und Sprachverhalten, auch im Kulturvergleich (Günthner/Kotthoff 1991). Cameron (1998) und Coates (1998) haben einige wichtige Veröffentlichungen der feministischen Sprachwissenschaft in zwei Readern zugänglich gemacht. Inzwischen gibt es auch ein Handbuch zum Thema (Holmes/Meyerhoff 2003).

Der Schwerpunkt dieses Artikels liegt im Bereich der qualitativen und quantitativen Diskurs- und Soziolinguistik. Der Bereich des grammatischen Genus wird deshalb nur kurz gestreift (siehe Paragraph Sprache und Geschlecht).

### 2. Grammatisches Genus

Der Begriff „Genus“ hat sich im Deutschen nicht als Oberbegriff für soziales und kulturelles Geschlecht im Unterschied zu Sexus durchgesetzt (trotz einiger Versuche, z. B. bei Busmann/Hof 2000); er bleibt somit eng auf Grammatik bezogen. Der englische Terminus „gender“ hat sich statt dessen im deutschsprachigen Raum als Oberbegriff für soziale und kulturelle Geschlechterdimensionen eingebürgert.

Für das Deutsche haben Senta Trömel-Plötz (1978) und Luise Pusch (1979) die Debatte über den Zusammenhang von Genus und Sexus in der Sprache eröffnet und die in der Systemlinguistik vertretene These der Generizität des Maskulinums bei Personenbezeichnungen angezweifelt. Trömel-Plötz (1978) beschrieb die Ambiguität des Maskulinums für viele Kontexte als nahegelegte Referenz auf männliche Wesen und das Verschwinden weiblicher Wesen in der mentalen Repräsentation. Bis heute zeigen psycholinguistische Experimente immer wieder, dass Frauen eher „mitgedacht“ werden, wenn die syntaktisch-semantische Struktur die explizite Information enthält, dass neben Männern auch Frauen gemeint sind (Scheele/Gauler 1993; Schmidt 2002). Das Interesse der feministischen Sprachkritik gilt seither vornehmlich den Asymmetrien im Bereich der Personenbezeichnung und wirft Fragen auf nach dem Zusammenhang von Genus und Sexus, dem generischen Sprachgebrauch, Regeln der Kongruenz im Text, sowie nach stilistischen und kommunikativen Normen

des referentiellen und prädikativen Gebrauchs von Personenbezeichnungen und den entsprechenden Pronomina. Personenbezeichnungen für Frauen sind im Deutschen hauptsächlich durch Movierungen von maskulinen Formen abgeleitet, in der Regel durch „in“ (Schneider/Schneiderin) (Samel 1995; Schoenthal 2000). In den seltenen Fällen eines femininen Ausgangsworts bei Berufsbezeichnungen wird die maskuline Form nicht davon abgeleitet oder rückgebildet, sondern eine neue Bezeichnung eingeführt, die dann wieder die Ableitung der femininen von der maskulinen zulässt, wie z. B. Hebamme – Entbindungspfleger. Generische Maskulina fehlen für unattraktive Frauenberufe wie Putzfrau, Haushälterin (vgl. Pusch 1984; Wodak et al. 1987, 17). Umgekehrt fehlt für Männer eine Entsprechung für die Unterscheidung zwischen Frau und Fräulein. Zur Durchsetzung einer geschlechtergerechten Sprache eignen sich im Deutschen die Strategien der Feminisierung und Neutralisierung, beide in vielen Richtlinien veranschaulicht (Pusch/Trömel-Plötz/Hellinger/Guentherodt 1980; Pusch 1984; Häberlin/Schmidt/Wyss 1992; Kargl u. a. 1997). Dazu kommt die Schreibung mit dem großen I im Wort, die sowohl Feminisierung symbolisiert als auch Generizität beansprucht. Dieser „orthographische Glücksfall“ hat zu vielen Debatten Anlass gegeben; er wird gelegentlich im akademischen Bereich und in feministischen und verschiedentlich in linken Publikationen praktiziert (Brunner/Frank-Cyrus 1988; Braun 1996; Peyer/Wyss 1998). Im Westen Deutschlands, in Österreich und der Schweiz ist die weibliche Selbstreferenz mit Movierung viel weiter verbreitet als im Osten (Trepelmann 1998).

Da Personenbezeichnungen immer die oft komplexen Genus/Sexus-Regeln einer Sprache berücksichtigen, gestalten sie sich auch in den indoeuropäischen Sprachen sehr unterschiedlich (siehe beispielsweise Bierbach zum Französischen (1990) und Spanischen (1992), Miemitz (1997) zum Polnischen, die Artikel in van Leeuwen-Turnovcová 2002 zu weiteren slawischen Sprachen). Neuere Entwicklungen in diesem Bereich fassen die Beiträge in Hellinger und Bussmann (2000) zusammen.

### 3. Sexismen im Lexikon

Die sogenannten „Sexismen in der Sprache“ wurden in der Frauenbewegung thematisiert

(Spender 1984). Evident sind auch im Deutschen ungleiche Paare wie Junggeselle und Jungfer, Sekretär und Sekretärin. Die weiblichen Bezeichnungen haben negativere Konnotationen. Romaine (1999) fasst verschiedene Studien zusammen, die für viele Sprachen ein reichhaltiges Vokabular belegen für promiskuiöse Frauen, aber nur ein spärliches für promiskuiöse Männer. Selbst in der Semantik der an Männer gerichteten Schimpfworte wie *Bastard*, *mother fucker*, *Hundesohn* werden Frauen als Mütter degradiert. In einer kulturvergleichenden Studie zum Beschimpfungswortschatz fand Gregersen (1979), dass in 66 Sprachen sich die am stärksten verletzenden Schimpfworte auf Mütter beziehen. Nur 20 Sprachen haben überhaupt Beschimpfungen, die den Vater thematisieren. In rituellen, verbalen Angriffsduellen unter jungen Männern, wie sie von Labov (1972) für USA, von Gossen (1976) für Andenregionen und von Dundes, Leach und Özkök für die Türkei untersucht wurden, macht die Degradation der sexuellen Identität der Mutter die zentrale Semantik der gegenseitigen verbalen Angriffe aus („I fuck your mother“ als Prototyp).

Auch wenn davon auszugehen ist, dass beim Schimpfwortschatz durch den negativ-affektiven Gebrauch des Ausdrucks die ursprüngliche Inhaltsseite verlorengeht, werfen lexikalische Asymmetrien doch ein Licht auf kulturelle Geschlechterverhältnisse. Im Datenmaterial des Südwestdeutschen Sprachatlas wurden beispielsweise 543 Schimpfwörter gefunden. Davon entfallen 333 auf Frauen, 131 auf Männer und 79 auf Kinder. Damit steht für Frauen annähernd das Dreifache an pejorativen Ausdrücken zur Verfügung als für Männer (Schrambke 2002). Auf die Frau entfällt mit dem Merkmal plus sexuell freizügig die höchste Anzahl der Schimpfwörter, u. a. *Dreckbüchse*, *Hure*, *Fudel*, *Funzel*, *Luder*, *Mannsrolli*, *Musch*, *Rätsche*, *Röschi*, *Schelle*, *Schluder*, *Vettel*, *Zottel* (S. 250 ff). Dieser beeindruckenden Zahl stehen lediglich die männerspezifischen Ausdrücke *Bock* und *Hurenbock* sowie das bedeutungsähnliche Wort *Kloben* für den lüsternen alten Mann gegenüber. Dass die Schimpfwörter für die sexuell freizügige Frau am zahlreichsten belegt sind, hat mit der tradierten Sexualnorm zu tun, die von Frauen sexuelle Zurückhaltung verlangt.

Die zweitgrößte Gruppe der frauenbezogenen Schimpfwörter bilden diejenigen, deren Inhalt von den Gewährsleuten verschie-

dener Befragungen als herrschsüchtig und zänkisch angegeben wurden, u.a. *Furie*, *Gurre*, *Hexe*, *Reibeisen*. In Bornemanns Synonymenwörterbuch ist der herrschsüchtige Mann nur sechs Mal lexikalisiert (nach Schrambke 2002, 252). Trömel-Plötz (1984, 82) belegt auch für Sprichwörter („Wer sein Weib regieren kann, ist fürwahr ein ganzer Mann“), dass der Mann in der Familie dominant sein soll und die patriachale Kultur von der Frau Unterordnung, Rücksicht und Hilfsbereitschaft verlangt. Auffällig asymmetrisch sind auch die Ausdrücke verteilt, die das Merkmal +dick beinhalten. Hier stehen 35 Ausdrücke für Frauen sechs für Männer gegenüber. Die hohe Relevanzsetzung von kulturellen Schönheitsnormen hat damit zu tun, dass die Attraktivität der Ehefrau das Ansehen des Mannes steigerte.

#### 4. Zur Konzeptualisierung von gender in Sozio- und Diskurslinguistik

##### 4.1. Von intentionalen Akten zu Stil und Habitus

Die feministische Linguistik charakterisierte das Verhältnis der Geschlechter in der Kommunikation als eines von männlicher Dominanz und weiblicher Unterordnung (Thorne/Henley 1975; Trömel-Plötz 1984). Die Dominanz von männlichen Wesen wurde in den Anfängen der feministischen Linguistik als intentional von Männern kommuniziert konzeptualisiert. Diese wurde vorrangig an bestimmten Phänomenen festgemacht, wie z. B. vielen Unterbrechungen von männlicher Seite, hohen Redezeiten und hohen Direktheitsstufen bei Aufforderungen. Die kommunikationsbezogene Situationsbeschreibung kann so zusammengefasst werden: Der Mann hat ein starkes Selbstwertgefühl, ein hohes Prestige und gesellschaftliche Macht; die Frau hat von all diesem weniger. Die Macht des Mannes kommt in einem bestimmten Sprachverhalten zum Ausdruck, welches auf der Ebene von Mikrophänomenen beschreibbar ist. Z. B. unterbricht der Mann die Frau, zieht seine Themen durch, äußert unabgeschwächte Feststellungen und lässt die Frau die weniger beachtete „konversationelle Scheißarbeit“ (Fishman 1983) leisten, usw., weil *er* seine Dominanz intentional in seinem Redestil realisiert. *Sie* hat im Laufe der Sozialisation gelernt, den Mann in seiner Superiori-

tät anzuerkennen, mit ihm zu kooperieren und sich selbst zurückzustellen.

Für einige Kontexte konnten solche Arrangements belegt werden, jedoch nicht für alle (Günthner/Kotthoff 1991). Zur Absicherung einer Hierarchie zwischen den Geschlechtern ist individuelle Intentionalität nicht unbedingt nötig. Es mangelte in der feministischen Diskursforschung der 70er und frühen 80er Jahre z. B. am Konzept der Habitualisierung (Berger/Luckmann 1966; Bourdieu 1987, 1990) und Institutionalisierung der männlichen Dominanz (Goffman 1977; 1979). Intentionale Aktivitäten der Herstellung und Wahrung von Dominanz sind nicht unbedingt nötig, weil auch in differenzierten Gesellschaften Männlichkeit und Weiblichkeit habitualisiert werden und die Ebene des Bewusstseins nur zum Teil erreichen.

Der Zwei-Kulturen-Ansatz innerhalb der Kommunikationsforschung (Maltz/Borker 1982/1991; Tannen 1991) hat das Intentionalitätskonzept aufgegeben, insofern er die Enkulturation in geschlechterdifferente Sprechpraxen ins Zentrum gestellt hat, welche im Aufeinandertreffen zu Missverständnissen zwischen Frauen und Männern führen, die denjenigen aus interkulturellen Kontakten ähneln. Hier geht man davon aus, dass in den meist geschlechtsseparaten peer-Gruppen der Mädchen und Jungen nach anderen Regeln kommuniziert wird. So bilden sich in Kindercliquen differente Vorstellungen, Praktiken und Erwartungsrahmen für freundschaftliche Gespräche. Weibliche Unterlegenheit im Gespräch kann sich im Rahmen dieses Ansatzes jenseits einer Intention ereignen, wenn beide Geschlechter den Gesprächsstil an den Tag legen, in welchem sie sich am besten eingeübt haben. Die Kommunikationsstilunterschiede der Geschlechter wurden zunächst auf einer Achse von kompetitiv bis kooperativ angeordnet, in den letzten Jahren eher auf einer Achse von privat bis öffentlich (Tannen 1994; Schoenthal 1994; Kotthoff 1996). In Jungen- und Männergruppen herrschen z. B. Kommunikationsformen nach Normen öffentlicher Konkurrenzkommunikation, in Mädchengruppen nach Normen privater Verständigungskommunikation (Maltz/Borker 1982/1991; Braner 2003). Ein wichtiger Kritikpunkt an diesem Ansatz der zwei Kulturen besteht darin, dass er zu stark generalisierend verfährt und die Breite des Stilrepertoires von Frauen und Männern unterschätzt (Günthner 1992).

Es wurde außerdem davon ausgegangen, die Dominanz des Mannes stelle sich in der Kommunikation kontextübergreifend immer auf ähnliche Weise her. Heute sehen wir, dass es in westlichen Gesellschaften nur wenige Sprachverhaltensweisen gibt, die kontextübergreifend so oder so von Frauen und Männern unterschiedlich ausgeübt werden (Gal 1989; 1995; Baron/Kotthoff 2002). Die These, Männer würden Frauen systematisch mehr unterbrechen, können wir z.B. nicht aufrecht halten (James/Clarke 1993; Kotthoff 1993). Es ist auch nicht sinnvoll, jede Unterbrechung als Dominanzsignal zu interpretieren (Tannen 1993). Keinem Menschen haftet ein Gesprächsstil an wie Pech und Schwefel. Wir beherrschen eine ganze Bandbreite von Stilen, die aber je nach Kontext unterschiedlich angewendet werden und den Kontext als solchen auch mitproduzieren (Hinnenkamp/Selting 1989; Sandig/Selting 1997).

Die theoretische Fassung von „gender“ hat sich in den letzten Jahren neu konturiert. Obwohl ich nicht unterstelle, frühere Ansätze in der Linguistik seien allesamt essentialistisch gewesen, so ist doch das konstruktivistische Potential in der Theoretisierung von gender in den letzten Jahren deutlicher hervorgetreten (Kotthoff 1992a; Crawford 1995; Cameron 1997; Bucholz et al. 1999; 2001; Günthner 1994; 2001). Die gegenwärtige Debatte dreht sich darum, ob gender eher als Habitus im Sinne von Bourdieu gesehen werden sollte (Behnke/Meuser 2002) oder als „doing gender“ im Sinne von Fenstermaker/West (1995) oder als „indexing gender“ im Sinne von Ochs (1992). In den empirischen Sozialwissenschaften, in deren Tradition die diskursanalytisch ausgerichtete Geschlechterforschung steht, hat man sich schon seit den siebziger Jahren stark von der Ethnomethodologie (Garfinkel 1967) und der Goffmanschen Kommunikationssoziologie (1977/1994; 1979/1981) beeinflussen lassen. In dieser Richtung ging man nie davon aus, das biologische Geschlecht ziehe die Ausformung von kulturellem Geschlecht zwangsläufig nach sich. Da eigentlich von Anfang an (bei Garfinkel und Goffman z.B.) die Performativität von gender im Vordergrund der Beschäftigung stand und in einer mehrdimensionalen Relation zum Körper gesehen wurde, sind für die Diskurslinguistik die Schriften von Judith Butler (1993; 1995) weniger revolutionär als sie in den Geisteswissenschaften rezipiert

werden (Vinken 1993). Differenzen innerhalb der konstruktivistischen Ansätze drehen sich u. a. um einen kleinen, aber folgenreichen Unterschied in der Verortung des Körpers, der entweder als diskursiv konstruiert gesehen wird (bei Butler 1991; 1993; 2002) oder als in diskursive Konstruktionen vielfältig einbezogen (Kotthoff/Wodak 1997; Baron/Kotthoff 2002). Im ersten Fall ist gender arbiträr, hergestellt durch die Iteration von Sprechhandlungen. Im zweiten Fall wird die Materialität des Körpers als Faktorenbündel in einen Naturalisierungsprozess verwoben gesehen, der körperliche Phänomene auf unterschiedliche Weise einbezieht, von der Unterstreichung biologischer Unterschiede bis zur arbiträren Erzeugung von Differenz.

Da die Relevantsetzung von gender nur manchmal im Vordergrund von Kommunikation steht und oft unbewusst abläuft, scheint es sinnvoll, die diskursive Praxis, die ein Mensch ausbildet, als Bestandteil seines Habitus zu sehen. Bourdieu bezeichnet den Habitus als ein System dauerhafter und übertragbarer Dispositionen zu praktischem Handeln (1979/1987; 98). Sein Schlüsselkonzept bei der Genese des Habitus ist das der Inkorporierung der Kultur, der Geschichte, der Umwelt. Kollektive Dispositionen werden von den Menschenkörpern einverleibt, ohne in ihr Bewusstsein treten zu müssen. Lebensbedingungen erzeugen den Habitus über unmerkliches Vertrautwerden und spielerisches Einüben in Praktiken jenseits von Erklärungen. Explizite Überlieferungen treten hinzu.

Gender fassen wir im Unterschied zur Arbitraritätsannahme von Butler (2002) als sozialen Typisierungsprozess, der über individuelle Performanz hinausgeht. Die Performanz ist so angelegt, dass sie intersubjektive Typisierungen (re)produziert. Diese Erwartungen sind innerhalb einer Kultur mehr oder weniger (un)stabil. Gender ist somit stärker eine soziale als eine individuelle Kategorie, denn die individuelle Kontrolle darüber, wie stark gender zum Anschlag gebracht wird, ist beschränkt. Andere Menschen können das Handeln und Auftreten einer Person auch gegen deren Willen im Rahmen traditioneller Geschlechterordnungen bewerten. In der Gestaltung des Körpers spielt auch die Hervorhebung körperlicher Unterschiede eine Rolle. Trotzdem liegen große Spielräume für Kreativität da-

rin, auf welche Weise und wie stark sich jemand als weiblich oder männlich inszeniert und wie relevant diese Distinktion kommunikativ gemacht wird. Deshalb sprechen wir heute von Männlichkeiten und Weiblichkeiten (Connell 1995).

Obwohl es klar ist, dass sich diskurslinguistische Geschlechterforschung mit Kommunikationsweisen von Männern und Frauen zu beschäftigen hat, wurde doch in der ersten Phase das weibliche Sprechen sehr viel stärker berücksichtigt als das männliche und oft im Vergleich zu dem der Männer als defizitär angesehen (Johnson/Meinhof 1997). Damit folgte die Geschlechterforschung zunächst einer in der frühen Soziolinguistik verbreiteten Herangehensweise. Es resultierte daraus aber eine intensive Erforschung des weiblichen Sprechens (belegt bis 1994 in der Studienbibliographie von Groth und Peyer). Thorne (2002) erklärt, dass der Fokus zunächst für viele Jahre auf der Erforschung von Mädchen und Frauen lag, weil in diesem Bereich viele Mythen und Fehleinschätzungen des Faches aufgearbeitet werden mussten.

Heutige Geschlechterforschung sollte sowohl erklären können, warum gender so ein stabiler Faktor der Gesellschaftsordnung ist, als auch wie Veränderungen aussehen und zustandekommen. Es hat sich gezeigt, dass eine Verbindung von Diskursanalyse und Ethnographie dies am ehesten leistet. Eckert und McConnell-Ginet (1992) betonen, dass unser Sprachverhalten von den Aktivitäten geprägt ist, in denen wir uns engagieren und soziale Beziehungen eingehen. Cameron (1997, 34) unterstreicht, dass durch den Begriff der kommunikativen Praxis die Relationen von Sprache, Sprechen und Geschlecht zu vermittelten Relationen werden:

„The potential advantage of this is that it leads away from global statements, and the stereotypical explanations that frequently accompany them. Towards a more 'local' kind of account that can accommodate intra- as well as intergroup differences.“

Wir gehen zwar nicht davon aus, dass Geschlecht kontextübergreifend immer auf dieselbe Art und Weise symbolisiert und indexikalisiert wird. Trotzdem wird in spezifischen Sprechaktivitäten und Kommunikationsstilen, die in der Gesellschaft schon mit festen Assoziationen verbunden sind, u.a. eine besondere Ausprägung von gender indexikalisiert. Gender-Folien eignen sich für

die Inszenierung verschiedener Identitäten. Mit einem zurückhaltenden Gesprächstil (der eher als feminin gesehen wird) kann ein Mann sich z.B. in einem bestimmten Kontext als „Nicht-Macho“ oder als „neuer Mann“ inszenieren, eine Frau sich hingegen mit der gleichen Verhaltensweise als traditionelle Frau, da herkömmlich verschiedene Anzeichen für Zurückhaltung am stärksten bei Frauen gefunden wurde.

Geschlechterrelevante Themen und Attributionen sind manchmal im Vordergrund der Interaktion, z.B. bei sexueller Annäherung (Alberts 1992), bei sexistischen Witzen (Mulkay 1988), bei sexistischen Zwischenrufen zu den Reden von Parlamentarierinnen (Burckhard 1992) oder auch bei mokant-abwertender Berichterstattung über Politikerinnen (Bendix/Bendix 1992) in den Massenmedien. Oft bleiben sie als Habitus-Phänomene im Hintergrund. In der Zeitschrift *Discourse & Society*, z. B. in den Nummern 8 (1997) und 10 (1999) wird eine theoretische Debatte darüber ausgetragen, was die Ethnomethodologie unter „doing gender“ versteht (dazu auch Kotthoff 2002).

Im Bereich der kommunikativen Verhaltensweisen der Geschlechter sind die Forschungsergebnisse uneinheitlich. Dies erklärt sich zum einen dadurch, dass Männlichkeit und Weiblichkeit auch innerhalb einer Kultur sehr unterschiedlich kommuniziert werden, zum zweiten damit, dass gender in manchen Kontexten gar nicht relevant ist und zur „ruhenden Kategorie“ wird (Hirschauer 1993) und zum dritten damit, dass der Schwerpunkt der Forschung bislang nur auf dem Sprechen lag. Die performative Inszenierung von Geschlecht leisten Individuen aber sehr stark auf der Ebene der Gestaltung ihres Äußeren und auf der Ebene der Körpersprache. Beispielsweise lassen Mode-Analysen keinen Zweifel daran, dass in Haartracht, Schmuck, Kosmetik und Kleidung u. a. Ritualisierungen von Geschlecht betrieben werden (Barnard 1996; Richard 1998; Posch 1999). Im Bereich der Körpersprache reichen die geschlechtstypisierten Unterschiede vom breitbeinigeren Sitzen der Männer bis zu einer schrägen Kopfhaltung der Frauen (Henley 1977; Wex 1980; Mühlen-Achs 1993). Geschlechtertypisierung muss nicht unbedingt auf der Ebene des konversationellen Stils geleistet werden. Sie kann sich auch auf die Gestaltung des Äußeren beschränken. Im Bereich des



Sprachverhaltens gibt es verschiedene Anzeichen für einen Wandel des traditionellen Geschlechtermusters.

#### 4.2. Geschlecht, Prosodie und Stimme

Der Bereich von Stimme und Prosodie zeigt die Vernetzung von Kultur und Natur. Gemeinhin geht man wohl davon aus, dass im Bereich von Stimme und Prosodie die Anatomie für Unterschiede verantwortlich ist. Es gibt auch in der Tat anatomische Ursachen für Stimmunterschiede. Der weibliche Kehlkopf ist im Schnitt kleiner als der männliche, die Stimmlippen sind somit kürzer, und daher ist die Stimmgrundfrequenz von Frauen höher als jene von Männern. Ebenso ist der Vokaltrakt von Frauen kürzer, weshalb die Resonanzfrequenz von Frauen in der Regel um ca. 20% höher ist als die von Männern (Moosmüller 2002). Die Vibrationen der Stimmbänder sind für diese Grundfrequenzen weitgehend verantwortlich, welche in Hertz (Hz) gemessen werden. Je schneller die Vibration der Stimmbänder, umso höher sind Grundfrequenz und Ton. Lange Stimmbänder produzieren also tiefere Töne. Daher kommt es, dass Männer im Durchschnitt tiefer sprechen (ca. 100 Hz). Beide Geschlechter können aber eine ganze Bandbreite an Stimmlagen und Tonhöhen realisieren. Sie nutzen in der Regel ihre vollen Möglichkeiten nicht aus.

Auch die distinktiven Formanten, welche unsere Vokale unterscheiden, variieren erheblich von Person zu Person. Jacqueline Sachs hat darauf aufmerksam gemacht, dass die Unterschiede in den vokalischen Formantenfrequenzen zwischen Amerikanern und Amerikanerinnen größer sind, als man allein von den Unterschieden in der Größe des vokalen Trakts vorhersagen könnte. Außerdem stellen Formantenfrequenzen schon bedeutende akustische Hinweise auf das Geschlecht des Sprechenden Menschen dar, wenn dieser noch Kind ist und die Unterschiede in der Größe des vokalen Trakts noch gar nicht ausgebildet sind. Formantenfrequenzen stellen also ein Phänomen dar, bei welchem anatomische Unterschiede durch mehr oder weniger starke kulturelle Konventionen noch ausgebaut werden. Moosmüller (2002, 125) fasst Untersuchungen zusammen, die 225 Hz für japanische Frauen als Durchschnittswert belegen, 217 für spanische Frauen, 214 für Amerikanerinnen und für schwedische und niederländische Frauen einen Durchschnittswert

unter 200 Hz. Im Falle der Formantenfrequenzen haben wir es mit einem physiologischen Unterschied zu tun, der durch ein soziales Stereotyp verschärft wird. Je nach Kultur werden bestimmte Stimmregister für Männer und Frauen als „normal“ eingespielt. Ohara (1999) schreibt, dass eine hohe Stimmgrundfrequenz bei Frauen in Japan als attraktiv, süß, angenehm, sanft, nett, höflich, ruhig, jung und hübsch eingeschätzt wird, während Frauen mit einer tiefen Stimmgrundfrequenz als eigensinnig, selbstsüchtig, direkt, aufrichtig und stark wahrgenommen werden.

Intonation wird hauptsächlich als Tonhöhenbewegung wahrgenommen, womit in der Regel auch Veränderungen in der Lautstärke einhergehen. Grundfrequenzen sind dafür verantwortlich, dass wir bei Lauten Höhenunterschiede wahrnehmen können. Die Form der Tonhöhenbewegung, also der Intonation, ist gänzlich kulturell bedingt. In Sachs' Studie konnten die Geschlechter auch wesentlich besser anhand von Intonationskonturen identifiziert werden als anhand von Vokalausdrücken. Weibliche Wesen nutzen ein weiteres Spektrum der Tonhöhen und wechseln diese auch häufiger. McConnell-Ginet (1978) schreibt, dass unser Stereotyp des weiblichen Sprechens besagt, Frauen produzierten stärkere Tonhöhenbewegungen, ließen Töne länger ausgleiten und behauchten stärker. Wenn Frauen imitiert werden, tauchen diese Merkmale auf. Sie tauchen auch auf, wenn Männer als Schwule imitiert werden. Sie gelten als exaltiert und sind deshalb abgewertet. Typisch männliche Konturen könnten für Imitationen kaum genutzt werden, da sie als „neutral“ gälten. Stimme und typische Intonationskonturen gehören zentral zur Individuation. Sie sind nicht beliebig veränderbar. Sie werden als Gestaltphänomene wahrgenommen und sind nur von Expert/inn/en in ihren Komponenten analysierbar.

David Crystal schreibt:

„Intuitive impressions of effeminacy in English, for example, ... are mainly [based on] non-segmental [features]: a 'simpering' voice, for instance, largely reduces to the use of a wider pitch-range than normal (for men), with glissando effects between stressed syllables, a more frequent use of complex tones (e.g. the fall-rise and the rise-fall), the use of breathiness and huskiness in the voice, and switching to a higher (falsetto) register from time to time.“ (Zitiert nach McConnell-Ginet 1978, 550)

Einige Studien haben inzwischen belegt, dass Männer und Frauen unterschiedlich intonieren (z. B. Local 1982), dahingehend, dass Frauen dynamischer sprechen. Ruth Brend (1972) schreibt, Männer würden sehr hohe Tonhöhen vermeiden und ließen Töne nicht innerhalb einer Silbe lange gleiten. Sie vermeiden auch finale Muster, deren Ton wenig abfällt und häufige Tonsprünge.

Die Intonationsmuster, welche von Frauen verwendet werden, klingen emotional involvierter und emphatischer. Man kann ihnen keine klar umrissene Bedeutung zuordnen, da diese isoliert betrachtet nur unvollständig konventionalisiert ist. Sie werden aber als Kontextualisierungsverfahren eingesetzt (Couper-Kuhlen 1986). Generell wird mit stark bewegten Mustern emotionale Expressivität assoziiert.

Wir sehen also, dass es im Bereich von Stimme und Intonation Ritualisierungen von Männlichkeit und Weiblichkeit gibt.

#### 4.3. Gender und Sozialisation

Der Geschlechterunterschied ist für die Wahrnehmung von Säuglingen sehr relevant (daran richtet sich die Namengebung aus) und prägt vom ersten Tag an die Interpretation ihres Verhaltens und Aussehens (Bilden 1991). So wird das Schreien eines männlichen Babys von Erwachsenen beiderlei Geschlechts eher als Ausdruck von Aggression gehört. Als den Erwachsenen in einem vielzitierten Experiment erzählt wurde, dass ein kleines Mädchen schreie, interpretierten sie dasselbe Schreien desselben Kindes eher als Ausdruck von Angst (Condry/Condry 1976). Ein anderes Experiment zeigte, dass die gleichen Säuglinge, wenn sie als weiblich vorgestellt wurden, von den Proband/inn/en als zart, feingliedrig, zerbrechlich und niedlich beschrieben wurden, und so sie als männlich ausgegeben wurden, als groß, kräftig und stark (Bilden 1991). Kinder lernen durch eine solche Sicht auf sie indirekt ihre Selbstwahrnehmung. Im Zusammenhang mit der Interpretation ihrer Äußerungen und ihres Seins bilden sie die entsprechenden Gefühle aus. Mädchen empfinden sich selbst irgendwann als ängstlich und niedlich und präsentieren sich dann auch so – Buben entsprechend.

Das Sprechenlernen stellt den wesentlichen Schritt zum Hineinwachsen in die Kultur dar als sich selbst regulierendes Mitglied dieser Kultur. Stabile Unterschiede wie die der Geschlechter funktionieren nur, wenn sie von der Mehrheit in ähnlicher Form

als „natürlich“ angenommen werden, d. h. wenn sie unhinterfragt praktiziert werden, begleitet von dem Gefühl „ich bin richtig“. Cahill (1986) stellte dazu, wie dieses Hineinwachsen in eine weibliche und eine männliche Identität in der US-amerikanischen Kultur vonstatten geht, Beobachtungen in zwei amerikanischen Preschools an. Die Kinder spielten gern „Superhero“ und „Haus“. Sie lernten zunächst, ihre Rollen äußerlich anzuzeigen. Wir erwarten von den Mitgliedern unserer Kultur eine Übereinstimmung von Äußerem und Verhalten. Kinder lernen zunächst diesen Zusammenhang. So legten Mädchen sich beim Mütter-Spielen Schmuck an. Man vergegenwärtige sich, was das bereits für eine imponierende Umweltbeobachtung der Kinder zeigt. Ornamentierung des Körpers spielt eine zentrale Rolle im semiotischen Anzeigen von Weiblichkeit. Er beschreibt, wie zuerst für das Kind das Sich-Absetzen vom Baby-Status dominant wurde und dann die Mädchen/Junge-Klassifikation im Zusammenhang damit erfolgte. („Du bist ja noch ein Baby“ als Diskriminierung, „Du bist ja schon ein großer Junge/ein großes Mädchen“ als Kompliment). Beim Spielen erkennen die Kinder zunächst den fundamentalen Zusammenhang von sozialer Identität und Demonstration der Identität. Dann merken sie, dass sie nicht beliebigen Zugang zu Identitäten haben. Sie werden auf vielfache Weise durch Verhaltensweisen der Erwachsenen entmutigt, sich mit dem anderen Geschlecht zu identifizieren. Mit vier bis fünf Jahren haben sie die geschlechtsdifferente Selbstwahrnehmung und den entsprechenden Verhaltensstil in der Regel erworben.

Ab fünf werden geschlechtsseparate Freundschaftskreise für das Kind immer relevanter. Kinder engagieren sich in Aktivitäten, die für normal männlich oder weiblich gehalten werden. Lever (1976) fand, dass männliche Fünftklässler sich stark in kompetitiven Spielen engagierten, welche hierarchisch strukturiert sind und Mädchen in kooperativen Spielen in kleineren Gruppen. Hier wird die interaktionelle Konstruktion von unterschiedlichen Miniaturwelten von den Kindern ausgebaut – allerdings passend zu den Idealen der Gesellschaft. Junge-Sein habe dann mit körperlicher und geschicklicher Anstrengung und mit Situationsbeeinflussung zu tun und Mädchen-Sein mit Sich-Ausschmücken und indirekter Situationsbeeinflussung.

Jungen pflegen viel mehr als Mädchen Spiele, in denen Aggression und Kompetition ausagiert werden (Gebauer 1997; Kyratzis 2002). Gefühle unterliegen der Gestaltung und diese ist vielfältig genderisiert (Kotthoff 2002), auch im Berufsleben (Hochschild 1983). Sprachverhaltensunterschiede werden ebenfalls früh beobachtet und sie geben Aufschluss darüber, dass sich Buben und Mädchen schon im Kindergartenalter an Geschlechternormen ausrichten. Knaben und Mädchen erwerben in westlichen Ländern eine andere Prosodie. Fichtelius et al. (1980) konnten zeigen, dass Erwachsene und Kinder, wenn man ihnen in Experimenten Kinderstimmen vorspielte, zu einem hohen Prozentsatz sagen konnten, ob ein Mädchen oder ein Junge spricht. Die Stimmhöhen wurden technisch gleichgehalten. Was sich unterscheidet, ist allein der Rhythmus und die Intonation. Mädchen intonieren variationsreicher. Andere Arbeiten (Local 1982) zeigten auch, dass Mädchen und Knaben zwischen fünf und sechs Jahren sich bereits darin unterschieden, dass die Mädchen mehr steigend und die Jungen mehr fallend intonierten. Vor allem bei Fragen und Feststellungen klingt steigende Intonation innerhalb des Wortes mit dem Hauptsatzakzent freundlicher. Einleitende Verben wie „ich meine/mein ich“, „ich finde/find ich“ oder „ich würde mal sagen“ haben die Funktion, die Sicherheit einer Äußerung abzuschwächen, sie zu subjektivieren. Perkins (1983) fand diese Formeln signifikant häufiger bei sechs- bis achtjährigen Mädchen als bei Buben. Perkins meint, Mädchen würden die Demonstration von Beziehungsorientierung frühzeitig lernen.

Gesprächsthemenunterschiede sind bei Mädchen und Knaben unter 12 schon fest etabliert. Buben reden viel über Sport und Mädchen über Schule, ihre Wünsche und Bedürfnisse. In der Studie von Haas zeigte sich, dass Knaben mehr unabgeschwächte Imperative verwendeten („Hau ab da“) – Mädchen machten mehr Komplimente und unterstützen sich gegenseitig mit Formulierungen wie „das ist eine gute Idee“. In den gemischten Gruppen lachten die Mädchen mehr als in den reinen Mädchengruppen. Haas schreibt, sie hätten unter sich nur halb so viel gelacht. Die Jungen machten in den gemischten Gruppen verstärkt Späße und die Mädchen reagierten darauf. Die Mädchen fingen an, die Knaben in ihren dominanten Rollen zu bestätigen. Sowohl die

Jungen als auch die Mädchen passten ihr Verhalten einander an – die Mädchen aber mehr. Im Kindergartenalter waren die Unterschiede im Scherzverhalten zwischen Mädchen und Jungen also noch schwach ausgebildet. Zwischen drei und sechs tat sich die Schere weiter auf und dann noch einmal beim Schuleintritt (McGhee 1979). Über die Ursachen herrscht noch keine völlige Klarheit und es gibt sicher verschiedene Faktoren, die hier zusammenwirkten. Es mag sein, dass Verrücktspielen, Faxen machen, Herumalbern usw. schon früh von den Erwachsenen bei Mädchen eher eingeschränkt wurde, da es als jugendlich empfunden wurde. Mit etwa sechs Jahren sind Kinder intellektuell fähig, sprachliche Doppeldeutigkeit wahrzunehmen, was eine Voraussetzung darstellt für viele Arten verbalen Humors (McGhee 1980). In diesem Alter zeigten Jungen mehr „silly rhyming, naughty words, (playful) untrue or incongruous statements, and so forth“ (McGhee 1980, 209) und sie übten sich mehr als Mädchen im Witzeerzählen. Jungen konkurrieren auch mit Witzen, in späterem Alter auch mit sexuellen Witzen (Fine 1990). Auch nonverbale Späße wie Verrücktspielen und Clown spielen kamen in McGhees Studien signifikant mehr von Jungen. Auf der Feindseligkeitsskala rangierte der Humor der Jungen ebenfalls im Durchschnitt höher (auch Oswald/Krappmann/Chowdhuri/von Salisch 1986 bestätigen diesen Trend).

Neuere Studien zeigen nur schwache Unterschiede im Scherzverhalten von Mädchen und Jungen unter ihresgleichen (Bönsch-Kauke 1999) und die humorstilistische Anpassung aneinander ist im gemischtgeschlechtlichen Kontext eher wechselseitig (Lampert/Ervin-Tripp 1998, 2005). In gemischter Gesellschaft frotzeln amerikanische Mädchen mehr als unter sich und Jungen zeigen mehr Scherzformen auf eigene Kosten. Bei beiden Geschlechtern nehmen Verhaltensweisen zu, die in gleichgeschlechtlichen Gruppen eher typisch für das jeweils andere Geschlecht sind.

Aufschlussreich sind Arbeiten zu Eltern-Kind-Interaktionen in verschiedenen Situationen (Essen, Spielen, Fernsehen, Besuch von einem anderen Kind ...), z. B. die Langzeitstudie von Wells (1979). Die Kinder waren zu Beginn der Untersuchung 3 Jahre und 3 Monate alt. Insgesamt wurden ungefähr 30% der Gespräche von den Erwachsenen angefangen, von den Müttern hauptsächlich

lich, da diese mehr mit den Kindern beschäftigt waren. Die Analyse dieser 30% zeigt Unterschiede im Bezug auf den Kontext, in dem Mädchen und Knaben angesprochen wurden. Mädchen wurden zu 56,8% im Zusammenhang mit Helfen und anderen ernstesten Aktivitäten angesprochen, Knaben nur zu 28,8%. Mädchen wurden nur zu 5,2% zum Spielen angeregt, Knaben zu 18,1%. Jungen wurden zu einer breiten Aktivitätenpalette animiert – Mädchen zum Helfen und anderen „nützlichen“ Betätigungen. Biener (1988) schreibt, dass Mädchen durch Anweisungen zu Hilfeleistungen wie „hol mal den Kakao“ auch im Kindergarten dauernd aus ihren Spielen herausgerissen werden und Knaben nicht.

Gleasons (1987) Analysen zum Gesprächsverhalten von Müttern und Vätern zeigen, dass Väter sehr viel mehr Befehle geben (doppelt so viele), vor allem an ihre Söhne, als Mütter dies tun. 38% aller väterlichen Äußerungen am Familientisch an die Kinder fanden in Befehlsform statt. Die Mütter verstanden ihre Kinder generell besser, da sie auch mehr Kontakt mit ihnen hatten. Sie verwendeten ihnen gegenüber ein reichhaltigeres Vokabular. Väter adressieren ihre Söhne häufiger als ihre Töchter mit groben Anredeformen wie „nutcake“.

Ochs und Taylor (1992) haben Gespräche zwischen Eltern und Kindern bei gemeinsamen Mahlzeiten analysiert. Dabei ist ein Ritual dominant, das sie „telling your day“ nennen. Sehr oft fordern Mütter ihre Kinder auf, dem Vater zu erzählen, was sie am Tag erlebt haben. Die Väter fragen die Kinder interessanterweise kaum selbst. Nachdem die Kinder erzählt haben, was ihnen widerfuhr, reagieren die Väter meist mit Bewertungen der Handlungen und Gefühle der Kinder. Die ganze Konstellation der Erzählsituation am Tisch konstruiert für alle den Eindruck: „Father knows best,“ wodurch dem Vater die Rolle der Autorität zugeschrieben wird. Für die Mütter wird eher die Rolle einer Mittlerin zwischen Vater und Kind konstruiert.

Neben dem Elternhaus ist vor allem die Kinderclique entscheidend für den konversationellen Stil, der sich bei Kindern ausbildet. Kinder erwerben ein mehr oder weniger weitgefächertes Stil-Repertoire.

#### 4.4. Peergruppen von Kindern und Jugendlichen

Im Rahmen der Soziolinguistik allein kann nicht geklärt werden, warum Mädchen und

Jungen zwischen 4 und 14, wo sich ihre Kommunikationsstile ausbilden, so stark in fast geschlechts-exklusiven Gruppen verkehren. Dieses Phänomen, welches auch die Koedukationsschule nicht verändert hat, ist bis heute insgesamt schlecht erklärt, zeigt aber, dass gender nach wie vor eine zentrale Identitätskategorie darstellt und in der Umwelt der Kinder eine Leitdifferenz ausmacht.

Marjorie Goodwin (1988; 1990) hat in ihrer Studie über das Sprachverhalten von schwarzen Kindern in Philadelphia, die sie monatelang bei ihren Spielen auf der Straße beobachtet und aufgezeichnet hat, festgestellt, dass Jungen und Mädchen sehr häufig unter sich spielen und sich ihre alltäglichen Interaktionen untereinander stark unterscheiden. Jungen verwenden sehr viel mehr unabgeschwächte Imperative. Die Mädchen hingegen bevorzugten inklusive oder fragende Aufforderungen vom Typ „Wir könnten jetzt die Ringe aufsammeln“ oder „sollen wir nicht mal die Ringe aufsammeln?“. In der Sozialstruktur der Jungen gab es kleine Bosse, die über längere Zeiträume hinweg das Sagen hatten, in den Gruppen der Mädchen war diese Rolle nicht von Bedeutung. Ihre Sozialstruktur organisierte sich eher horizontal über Nähegrade (beste Freundin), weniger über Statusunterschiede.

Goodwin betont aber, dass alle Kinder alle Sprachverhaltensweisen beherrschen. Im Umgang mit sehr viel jüngeren Kindern sprachen die sieben bis zwölfjährigen Mädchen auch in direkter Befehlsform. Die Kleinen sollten ihnen gehorchen, und die Mädchen beherrschen auch die Art der Rede, welche Gehorsam nach sich zieht. Auch Jungen passen sich in Spielen mit Mädchen teilweise deren höflicheren Redeweisen an; sie verwenden diese auch gegenüber Autoritäten. Beide Geschlechter beherrschen eine ganze Bandbreite an Stilen, jedoch verwenden sie sie nicht gleich stark.

Wenn man neuere deutsche Arbeiten zum Sprachverhalten in weiblichen und männlichen Jugendcliquen vergleicht, kommt man auch zu dem Schluss, dass die Jungen unter sich eher Rituale der Konfrontation pflegen und die Mädchen unter sich eher Rituale des freundlichen Miteinanders und der gegenseitigen Unterstützung (Deppermann/Schmidt 2000a; b; Branner 2003).

#### 4.5. Gesprächstilistische Besonderheiten

Über Verhaltensstile werden verschiedenste Kategorisierungen und Selbstkategorisie-

rungen vorgenommen, die wir innerhalb einer Kultur angemessen interpretieren können. Stile sind Gestaltphänomene. Die Selbststilisierung der Geschlechter verläuft auch sehr stark körpersprachlich und über die Gestaltung des Äußeren (Posch 1999; Eckert 2000). Normalerweise verfügen Männer und Frauen über ein gewisses stilistisches Repertoire, auch sprachlich. Die stilistischen Repertoires der Mitglieder von Gesellschaften sind aber unterschiedlich und hängen primär von den ihnen zugänglichen Praxisfeldern ab, bzw. von den Praxisfeldern, worauf sie schon in ihrer Sozialisation vorbereitet werden. Die interaktionale Soziolinguistik (z. B. Gumperz 1982) betont immer wieder, dass unterschiedliche Situationen auch sprachlich von den daran Beteiligten durch den verwendeten Kommunikationsstil inszeniert werden. Bevor ich zu konkreten Phänomenen komme, möchte ich auch darauf hinweisen, dass Verhaltensstile immer vor dem Hintergrund bereits existenter Erwartungen interpretiert und bewertet werden. Die im Folgenden referierten Untersuchungen zu stilistischen Phänomenen zeigen nur schwache Konsistenz.

#### 4.5.1. Unterbrechungen und andere Interventionen

Unterbrechungen galten in der frühen feministischen Linguistik als kompetitiver Eingriff in das Rederecht von anderen (West 1979), als Zeichen von Machtausübung. Generell wird in der Konversationsanalyse die Überlappung von der Unterbrechung unterschieden, welche tiefer in die Struktur der laufenden Sprecheräußerung eingreift und darum als Verletzung des Sprecherwechselmechanismus betrachtet werden kann.

Zimmermann und West haben versucht, die Kontextsensitivität des turn-taking-Mechanismus vorzuführen, vor allem zur Herstellung von Rangordnungen zwischen Frauen und Männern. Sacks et al. (1974) haben auf das „local particularization potential“ der Rederechtsverteilung ausdrücklich hingewiesen. Generell ist unbestritten, dass das turn-taking-System zur Herstellung von Statusgefällen ausbeutbar ist. In ihrer Studie von 1983 fanden Zimmermann und West bei zufällig aufgenommenen, gemischtgeschlechtlichen Paaren 48 Unterbrechungen ihrer Definition. Davon kamen 46 von Männern. In ihrer zweiten Studie bei fünf Paaren von Unbekannten in einem Laborsetting fanden sie 75% der 28 Unter-

brechungen von Männern gemacht. Aus heutiger Sicht erscheint es allerdings unzureichend, Interventionen, welche nur zwei- oder drei Silben vom Äußerungsende der Vorrednerin entfernt sind, die Prognose auf eben jenes Ende somit zulassen, als Unterbrechung zu werten. Dazu kommt, dass die Intonation in den Studien von West und Zimmerman beinahe völlig ausgespart worden ist und es auch keine Angaben zu den Gesamtrededauern der Beteiligten gibt. In den Definitionen der beiden ist auch nicht enthalten, ob die Unterbrechung erfolgreich war; es wird nicht zwischen turnbeanspruchenden Signalen und Unterbrechungen unterschieden. Dies ist auch problematisch. Ihre Ergebnisse, dass die Männer in den Gesprächen durch ihre vielen Unterbrechungen so dominant gewesen seien, könnte man relativieren durch die Frage, ob die Frauen ihre Beiträge eventuell so gut expandiert haben, dass die Männer nur durch viele Versuche der Rederechtsanbahnung zu Wort gekommen seien. In den vielen Studien zu Unterbrechungen herrschen keine einheitlichen Definitionen derselben. Kotthoff (1993) hat zum Oberbegriff Intervention Subkategorien entwickelt, die man unterscheiden sollte, bevor Strategieinterpretation und Quantifizierung aus der Forschungsperspektive Sinn machen. Ihr Vorwurf an den Großteil der quantifizierenden Arbeiten betrifft eine unzureichende Kategorienentwicklung und zu vorschnelle Interpretation. Sie schlägt vor, drei Ebenen der Analyse von Interventionen zu unterscheiden: Eine rein technische Analyseebene, eine Ebene erweiterter Lokalität und eine globale Ebene der Diskursstrategien insgesamt. Es wird die These vertreten, dass Interventionen nur unter Berücksichtigung anderer lokaler und globaler Kontextparameter interpretiert werden können. Arbeiten aus der Geschlechterforschung haben Dominanzverhältnisse oft zu schnell einzig an der Quantität unzureichend entwickelter Interventionstypen festgemacht.

James und Clarke (1993) haben alle zwischen 1965 und 1991 durchgeführten Untersuchungen zum Zusammenhang von Unterbrechung und männlicher Dominanzherstellung durchforstet und kommen zu dem Schluss, dass die meisten weder in gleichgeschlechtlichen Gesprächen noch in gemischtgeschlechtlichen einen signifikanten Unterschied in der Zahl der Unterbrechungen gefunden haben.

Tannen (1984, 1993) betont, dass nicht jede Unterbrechung als Dominanzsignal gewertet werden kann. Im Kontext anderer Verhaltensformen müssen bestimmte Unterbrechungstypen z.B. als Signale von hoher Involviertheit interpretiert werden. In diesem Bereich liegt ein beträchtliches interkulturelles Irritationspotential.

#### 4.5.2. Redezeit

Ein gängiges Stereotyp in der westlichen Welt sieht Frauen als redseliger als Männer („Ein Mann, ein Buch, eine Frau, ein Wörterbuch“). Verschiedene Studien haben hingegen herausgestellt, dass es in öffentlichen Zusammenhängen eher Männer sind, deren verbale Selbstdarstellung Zeit raubt. James and Drakich (1993) haben 63 Studien dazu ausgewertet, die zwischen 1951 und 1991 erschienen sind, der Großteil davon in USA. Für formale, aufgabenorientierte Interaktionen bestätigte sich, dass Männer höhere Redezeiten belegen, nicht jedoch für private Kontexte der Unterhaltung. In den formalen Zusammenhängen hatten die Männer häufig einen höheren Status als die Frauen. Dieser wird durch hohe Redezeiten, die u. a. der Kompetenzdarbietung dienen, bestätigt. Der Faktor Geschlecht interagiert oft mit dem Faktor Status.

Verschiedene Forscher/innen (Swacker 1979; Holmes 1992; Kotthoff 1992; 1993a) zeigen, dass in Seminaren, Fernsehdiskussionen, Konferenzen – dort also, wo das Reden statusaufbauend ist, Männer mehr Gebrauch davon machen, oft in Form expositorisch dargelegter Beiträge. Frauen hingegen tragen mehr bei in weniger formellen Kontexten und ihre kürzeren Beiträge erleichtern exploratives Sprechen (Edelsky 1984; Holmes 1992). Ihr Redestil dient eher der kooperativen Erarbeitung von Themen, an der auch Männer teilhaben. Tannen (1990) geht von der idealtypischen Unterscheidung von Statusorientierung vs. Beziehungsorientierung aus, die sie fortlaufend am Werk sieht. Die Redezeit der Frauen wird stärker als die der Männer mit vielen Hörersignalen, Modifikationen beim Widersprechen und unterstützenden Kommentaren ausgefüllt; sie dient somit eher der Dialogsicherung als der Selbstdarstellung.

Gräbel (1991) hat in der Untersuchung von fünf Fernsehgesprächen, bei denen Männer und Frauen annähernd gleich vertreten waren (es dauerte ein halbes Jahr,

solche zu finden), festgestellt, dass mehr Redezeit, eine größere Anzahl von Redebeiträgen, Unterbrechungsversuchen und Unterbrechungen eher statusbedingt waren als im schlichten Sinne geschlechtsbedingt. Hier gilt wie so oft: Gender interagiert mit anderen sozialen Kategorien.

Im großangelegten neuseeländischen Wellington Language in the Workplace Project (Holmes/Stubbe 2003) wurden Redezeiten bei Arbeitsbesprechungen und Sitzungen nach Status und Geschlecht verglichen. Auch hier korreliert Status mit langen Redezeiten während der Treffen. Das Team um Janet Holmes verglich auch Team-Besprechungen in weiblich und männlich dominierten Arbeitsfeldern und fand keine signifikanten Unterschiede in den Redezeiten weiblicher und männlicher Vorsitzender.

#### 4.5.3. Fragen

Seit Robin Lakoff in ihrer Abhandlung zu „Language and woman's place“ (1973) die These vertreten hatte, Frauen würden mehr Fragen stellen und Männer mehr Behauptungen, Feststellungen und Aufforderungen aussprechen, wurde dieser These verschiedentlich nachgegangen. Lakoff hatte die Neigung zum Fragen mit einem Mangel an Selbstvertrauen in Verbindung gebracht. Indirekte Sprechakte in Frageform wie „Kannst Du mal die Tür schließen?“ und Äußerungen mit Frage-Anhängsel vom Typ „Das war ein guter Film, nicht wahr?“ seien höflicher und eher typisch für Frauen, direkte Aufforderungen der Art von „Schließ die Tür“ seien eher typisch für Männer. Fishman (1983) konnte den Befund in einer Studie zur Paarinteraktion bestätigen. Von 370 Fragen, die in zwölfteinhalb Stunden gestellt worden waren, stammten 263 aus dem Mund von Frauen. Fishman meinte, Frauen würden Fragen zur Themeneinführung nutzen, da diese unbedingt eine Reaktion elizitieren. Auch in Schmidts (1988) Analysen des Gesprächsverhaltens in studentischen Arbeitsgruppen stellten die Studentinnen mehr Fragen als die Studenten, u. a. als Formen expliziter thematischer Bezugnahmen. In der von Dubois und Crouch (1979) analysierten Arbeitsbesprechung hatten hingegen nur die anwesenden Männer „tag questions“ benutzt. Holmes (1982) stellt klar, dass auch Fragen mit Anhängseln viele verschiedene Funktionen erfüllen. Anhängsel der epistemischen Modalität zeigten durchaus oft Unsicherheit, während es auch sehr herausfor-

dernde Fragetypen mit Anhängsel gebe und auch einfach solche, die dem Hörer eine Reaktion nahelegten. Coates (1996) schreibt über Gespräche unter Frauen, dass Fragen gestellt würden um Informationen einzuholen, um eine Person ins Gespräch zu ziehen, um eine Aussage abzuschwächen, ein neues Thema einzuführen und Expertenstatus zu vermeiden. All diese Funktionen dürften aber ganz einfach generell im Bereich des Fragens eine Rolle spielen.

Im Bereich der Fragen sind wohl die Stereotypen weiblichen und männlichen Sprechens stärker als tatsächliche Unterschiede (Kramarae 1981; Philips et al. 1987; Frank 1992), d. h. wir interpretieren aufgrund der gesellschaftlich vorgegebenen Muster von Weiblichkeit und Männlichkeit gleiche Kommunikationsweisen bei Frauen manchmal anders als bei Männern. Eine Studie von Bradley (1981) zeigt, dass Frauen, die Frageanhängsel wie „isn't it?“, „nicht wahr?“ etc. verwendeten, als weniger intelligent und weniger sicher eingeschätzt wurden als Männer, die dieselben Strukturen verwendeten. Stellen Frauen Behauptungen auf, ohne sie zu begründen, so werden sie ebenfalls als weniger intelligent wahrgenommen und diese Äußerungsform wird als mangelndes Wissen interpretiert, während gleiches Verhalten von Männern diese ungünstige Interpretation nicht hervorruft.

#### 4.5.4. Das Erzählen von Geschichten

Jenkins (1984) konnte in einer Studie zu Interaktionen bei Freizeittreffen junger Mütter zeigen, dass die Erzählungen unter den Frauen in auffälliger interaktiver Koproduktion konstruiert wurden. Themen der anderen wurden fortlaufend aktiv durch Rezeptionssignale unterstützt. Die Frauen schlossen sich explizit thematisch aneinander an. Ähnliches zeigte auch Kalčík (1975).

Johnson und Aries (1984) haben in einer Befragung herausgefunden, dass Frauen die Gespräche mit anderen Frauen für ihr persönliches Leben sehr viel wichtiger finden als Männer die Gespräche mit Männern. Bei Treffen mit Freundinnen bevorzugten die befragten Frauen unterschiedlichen Alters das Reden über persönliche Probleme, über eigene Erfahrungen und das Einholen von Bestätigung. Als bestätigend wird empfunden, wenn andere Frauen ähnlich empfinden und ähnliche Probleme kennen und davon erzählen. Den Gesprächen wird eine therapeutische Funktion beigemessen. Man

kommt sich näher über das Zeigen von Schwächen. Vor allem beim Reden über Probleme legen die Frauen Wert darauf, dass nicht nur eine Frau ein Problem erzählt, sondern dass dieses eine Problemrunde eröffnet. Wenn eine Frau beispielsweise von Schlafstörungen erzählt, schlossen sich die anderen mit ähnlichen Geschichten an. Sie machten damit deutlich: Dein Problem ist eines von uns. Vergleichbare Selbstöffnungen spielen in Männergruppen keine wesentliche Rolle. Auch Tannen (1990/1991) weist darauf hin, dass es unter Männern weniger üblich sei, auf eine Problemerkzählung mit ähnlich gelagerten Problemgeschichten zu reagieren, sondern eher konkrete Ratschläge zu geben. Der Hörer wird somit interaktionell zum Experten für die Lösung des Problems und kann dem Sprecher eine kleine Lektion erteilen. Problemerkzählungen spielen in Frauen- und Männerunden tendenziell eine andere Rolle und werden konversationell anders behandelt. Dies mag auch damit zu tun haben, dass gemeinsames Beklagen der widrigen Umstände des Lebens eher Bestandteil weiblicher Freundschaftsrituale ist (Tannen 1990/1991).

Günthner (1997) zeigt für Beschwerdegeschichten, in denen sich eine Erzählerin über Abwesende und deren Verhalten empört, emotional gleichgerichtetes „Mitgehen“ von Zuhörerinnen (Ko-Entrüstung). Die Hörerinnen reproduzieren in ihren Kommentaren den emotionalen Zuschnitt der Erzählung. Sie stellen die Übereinstimmung mit der Haltung der Erzählerin deutlich heraus.

#### 4.5.5. Direktheitsstufen bei Direktiva

Direktiva sind Sprechhandlungen, mit denen versucht wird, jemanden zu veranlassen, etwas zu tun. Die linguistische Pragmatik geht davon aus, dass wir besonders bei direktiven Aufforderungen und Anordnungen Direktheitsstufen unterscheiden können – vom unabgeschwächten Imperativ bis zur Andeutung (Ervin-Tripp 1976; Brown/Levinson 1987). Des Weiteren geht sie davon aus, dass die Direktheitsstufen mit der sozialen Beziehung der Interagierenden zu tun haben, mit Rang, dem Gewicht der Zumutung und Vertrautheit.

Goodwins bereits erwähnte Studie (1990) basiert auf Audioaufnahmen zwischen schwarzen Jungen und Mädchen aus der Arbeiterschicht (zwischen 9 und 14 Jahren) beim Spielen in einer städtischen Nachbar-

schaft. Ihre Analyse zeigt, dass die Jungen wesentlich höhere Direkttheitsformen bei Aufforderungen verwenden, sehr oft reine Imperative vom Typ: „Gib die Schere her“ oder „Hau da ab.“ Im Gegensatz dazu finden sich bei den Mädchen mehr modalisierte Formen mit „let's x“, Modalverben im Konjunktiv („we could/you could“) und abschwächende Adverbien. Die Jungen errichteten unter sich eine eher hierarchische Sozialstruktur, die Mädchen eher eine egalitäre.

West (1990, dt. 1993) hat sich mit Anordnungen von Ärzten und Ärztinnen gegenüber Patient/inn/en beschäftigt. Die Daten zeigen, dass die Ärzte gegenüber den Patient/inn/en hauptsächlich unabgeschwächte Imperative, Notwendigkeitsaussagen, Willensbekundungen und andere starke Direktiva verwenden. Sie erreichen damit nur eine schwache Kooperation der Patienten. Die Ärztinnen äußern eher Vorschläge, woraufhin die Patient(inn)en oft Formen von Einverständnis zeigen. Die Ärztinnen erreichen mit ihren höflicheren Vorschlägen insgesamt die bessere Kooperation mit den Patient/inn/en.

#### 4.5.6. Zur Rahmung von Autorität, Expertentum und Kompetenz

Interaktionen in der Berufswelt und im öffentlichen Leben sind in hierarchische Strukturen eingebettet. Bis auf den heutigen Tag sind Männer in allen Gesellschaften innerhalb dieser Hierarchien höher platziert. Die Arbeitswelt stellt für Frauen eine besondere Herausforderung dar, da sie erst in diesem Jh. prinzipiell dort alle Hierarchieebenen erreichen können. Die feministische Forschung ist sich darüber einig, dass Aufstiegsschwierigkeiten von Frauen u. a. mit Kommunikationsweisen und deren Bewertung zu tun. Die Zuschreibung von Kompetenz und Autorität ergibt sich nicht von selbst, sondern hat mit der kommunikativen Selbstdarstellung von Menschen zu tun und mit Traditionen der Wahrnehmung derselben.

Erste Studien zur Rahmung von Kompetenz und Expertentum förderten auffällige Geschlechtermuster zutage. Leet-Pellegrini (1980) hatte mehrere Zweiergruppen zu dem Thema „Gefahren des Fernsehens für Kinder“ diskutieren lassen. Jeweils eine Person aus der Konstellation hatte sie vorher zum Experten für das Thema gemacht. Sie hatte ihr vorher Informationsmaterial zum Lesen

gegeben. Typischerweise wirkte sich das Kompetenzgefälle in den Gesprächen so aus, dass die informierte Seite mehr redete, mehr Unterthemen einführte und mehr unterbrach. Die uninformierte Seite stellte mehr Fragen und gab Rezipienzsignale von sich. Experten bekommen klassischerweise mehr Redezeit und sie definieren Themen und Standpunkte und vermitteln diese. Dieses Muster zeigte sich in der Frau-Frau-Konstellation und in der Mann-Mann-Konstellation. Die Asymmetrie war sehr auffällig, wenn der Mann der Experte war und die Frau die Laiin. Interessanterweise zeigt sich das typische Muster einer Laien-Experten-Interaktion nicht, wenn die Frau die Expertin war und der Mann der Laie. In dieser Konstellation entwickelten beide Seiten Aktivitäten zum Ausgleich des Gefälles. Das Expertin-Laien-Gefälle schien zur Frau-Mann-Konstellation nicht zu passen. Die Frau trat dem Mann gegenüber nicht deutlich als Expertin auf. Er bestätigte sie auch nicht in der Rolle, indem er ihr kaum Fragen stellte, sie somit also nicht zur Ausbreitung ihres Wissens einlud. Sie teilte sich mit ihm die Redezeit mehr oder weniger gleich.

In den achtziger und neunziger Jahren zeigten viele weitere Studien, dass Männer eine stärkere Kompetenzdarstellung betreiben und sich mehr als Autorität inszenieren (Schlyter 1993; Kuhn 1992; Kendall/Tannen 1997; Baron 1998; Thimm 1998).

Case (1985; 1988) identifizierte in ihren Studien zu Kommunikationsformen von Managern und Managerinnen zwei vorherrschende Stile, die mit Geschlecht korrelieren. Sie charakterisierte den Stil der Managerinnen als persönlicher und unterstützender, den der Manager als autoritär, auf Status und auf Durchsetzung bedacht. Offenes Konkurrieren, Aggression, Slang-Ausdrücke, Fluchen und Witzeln spielten im Sprechstil der Manager eine wichtige Rolle. Diese Ergebnisse entsprechen denen von Tannen (1994), die in verschiedenen großen Firmen festgestellt hat, dass Frauen und Männer ihre Redebeiträge anders rahmen. Die Männer benutzen für die Diskussion ihrer Ideen eher Oppositionsformate, die Frauen verbinden ihre neue Ideen eher mit solchen, die bereits im Raum sind. Auf die Redebeiträge der Männer wird von anderen mehr Bezug genommen. Auch Case schreibt, dass der interaktionale Stil der Männer sich sehr zu deren Vorteil auswirkt und ihnen Einfluss zuschreibt.



Die in den Studien zu Tage geförderten Unterschiede haben damit zu tun, dass Männer im öffentlichen Raum traditionell schon immer zu Hause waren und sich von Kindesbeinen an in den dort herrschenden Stil hineinsozialisieren.

Verschiedene Analysen von Fernsehdiskussionen im deutschsprachigen Raum zeigen, dass bei unterschiedlichen Themen für Frauen eher Betroffenrollen hergestellt werden und für Männer die statushöhere Rolle des Experten für die anstehenden Fragen, auch bei ähnlicher Kompetenz im Gegenstandsbereich (Kotthoff 1992; 1997). Die Herstellung dieser Asymmetrie ist auch hier folgenreich für die entstehende soziale Mikroordnung der Diskussion. Experten bekommen klassischerweise mehr Redezeit und sie definieren Themen und Standpunkte und vermitteln diese. Die Herstellung des geschlechterbezogenen Gefälles ist durch und durch interaktiv, d.h. Männer agieren von vorn herein als Experten, indem sie z. B. ihr Wissen ausführlich darlegen. Frauen erzählen eher von ihren Beobachtungen oder persönlichen Erfahrungen. Beiden Geschlechtern werden diese Rollen aber auch von anderen Teilnehmenden nahelegt, z. B. von Moderatoren.

Auch als Patient/inn/en gestalten Männer und Frauen den Arztbesuch nicht gleich. Menz et al. (2002) berichten, bei Männern diene die Darstellung von chronischem und vielfältigem Krankheitserleben häufig einer Selbstdarstellung als „Experte“, also als gut informiert über das Krankheitsthema, Medikationen und therapeutische Maßnahmen, sowie der Selbstdarstellung als „Insider“, also auf Du und Du mit dem Personal und erfahren mit den Abläufen in Krankenhäusern. Die Relevanzsetzung auf das Schmerzerleben diene Männern ebenfalls öfters zu ihrer Selbstdarstellung als gut informierte Patienten, stärker aber der Darstellung des Besonderen und des Ernstzunehmenden ihrer Erkrankung. Frauen zeigen sich als von einer Krankheit betroffen.

#### 4.5.7. Konversationeller Humor

Auch Humor, Lachen und Komik sind beteiligt an der Ausformung von Geschlechterverhältnissen. Traditionell genossen Männer auf diesem Gebiet viel größere Freiheiten als Frauen. Die Einschränkung der weiblichen Komik und des weiblichen Gelächters reichte von der Abwertung und

Nichtbeachtung ihrer Praktiken, von ihrer Verbannung in den privaten Raum bis hin zur negativen Stereotypisierung in der Humorforschung (Kotthoff 1988/1995, Crawford 1995).

In den westlichen Gesellschaften gibt es verschiedene Anzeichen für einen Wandel in der Geschlechterpolitik des Humors. Die historisch überlieferte generelle Inkompatibilität der Inszenierung von Weiblichkeit mit aktivem und gar aggressivem Scherzen beginnt sich allmählich aufzulösen. Das heißt nicht, dass gender gar keine Größe von Relevanz mehr ist für Scherzaktivitäten, es heißt nur, dass Geschlechterordnungen kontextuell unterschiedlich hergestellt werden. Die Krassheit des alten Musters vom aktiv scherzenden Mann und der rezeptiv lächelnden Frau findet sich in der westlichen Welt nicht mehr kontextübergreifend (Kotthoff 2003). Wir verwenden allerdings heute auch andere Methoden in der Humorforschung, die besser geeignet sind, subtile Arten des Witzelns und Scherzens zu erfassen. Die diskursanalytischen Methoden der Analyse von Humor werden seiner Dialogizität eher gerecht als frühere Laborstudien oder impressionistische Wiedergabe von Beobachtungen oder Beschränkungen auf schriftliche Repräsentationen von Witzen. Im Rahmen von Scherzkommunikation wird sich nicht nur amüsiert, sondern es wird auch Imagearbeit betrieben und vieles mehr. Junge Männer können das so oft für Frauen belegte Scherzen auf eigene Kosten nutzen, um ein Macho-Image von sich zu weisen (Lampert/Ervin-Tripp 2003), brave Mittelschichtmädchen können in ihrer Pflege von sehr kooperativen Formen des Scherzens indexikalieren, dass sie „die netten Mädchen von nebenan“ sind (Ardington 2005; Braner 2005). Vor allem in Spielfilmen werden die Kapazitäten des Humors für die Kreation spezifisch genderisierter Figuren genutzt (Davies 2005). Humor im Gespräch kann die herrschende Asymmetrie einer Situation sowohl bestätigen, als auch unterlaufen (Holmes 2005), er kann sexistisch sein (Mulkay 1988), traditionelle Geschlechternormen aber auch karikieren. Holmes/Stubbe (2003) weisen auf erhebliche Unterschiede im Scherzverhalten der Geschlechter an geschlechtsseparaten Arbeitsplätzen hin. Die vor dreissig Jahren oft belegte humoristische Zurückhaltung der Frauen finden sie in der heutigen Arbeitswelt Neuseelands allerdings nicht mehr.

Das weibliche Geschlecht nutzt die Mehrdeutigkeit spaßiger Modalitäten auch, um im Kontakt mit dem anderen Geschlecht Initiative zeigen zu können (Eder 1993). Geschlechterdifferenzen stehen auch in diesem Bereich im Zusammenhang mit anderen Parametern, die in der Ausformung eines Scherzstils ebenso eine Rolle spielen, wie Alter, Situation, Kultur, Temperament, soziales Milieu.

#### 4.5.8. Institutionelle Diskurse

Auch in institutionellen Diskursen gibt es sowohl Konstanz im Arrangement der Geschlechter als auch Veränderungen. Gender ist hier Bestandteil einer Ideologie über die Institution selbst.

Werfen wir einen Blick auf die Schule. Spender lenkte 1984 die Aufmerksamkeit auf den Befund, dass Lehrpersonen Mädchen an weniger Beachtung als Jungen gewöhnen und somit an die selbstverständliche Einnahme von Plätzen im Hintergrund. Verschiedene Studien zum Lehrverhalten zeigten, dass Lehrer/innen den Jungen weitaus mehr Zeit widmeten und Raum zum Sprechen gaben als den Mädchen (Fuchs 1993).

Heide Frasch und Angelika C. Wagner haben in zwei Untersuchungen in insgesamt 47 Klassen das Verhalten von 51 Lehrpersonen (etwa zur Hälfte Frauen und zur Hälfte Männer) unter die Lupe genommen. In jeder Klasse wurde jeweils eine Unterrichtsstunde in den Fächern Mathematik, Sachkunde und Deutsch auf folgendes hin untersucht:

- wie häufig melden sich die Jungen und Mädchen,
- wie oft werden sie ohne vorheriges Melden aufgerufen,
- wie oft werden sie mit Melden aufgerufen,
- wie oft werden sie zum Lesen aufgerufen,
- wie oft werden sie gelobt,
- wie oft werden sie getadelt,
- wie oft bekommen sie Disziplintadel,
- wie oft wenden sich die Schülerinnen und Schüler selbst an die Lehrpersonen.

Die Ergebnisse der Untersuchungen zeigen, dass Jungen signifikant öfter aufgerufen werden als Mädchen, wenn sie sich melden. Jungen müssen sich 3,9 mal melden, um einmal aufgerufen zu werden – Mädchen 4,6 mal. Auch wenn Jungen sich nicht melden, werden sie tendenziell häufiger aufgerufen.

Durchschnittlich werden sie auch etwa doppelt so oft gelobt, nicht aber signifikant öfter getadelt. Allerdings bekommen sie häufiger Rüffel wegen ihres Betragens. Dafür dürfen Mädchen aber öfter laut vorlesen. Punkte eigenständiger Kontaktinitiierung mit den Lehrern oder Lehrerinnen sind die Mädchen genauso rege wie die Jungen. Das jugenbegünstigende Verhalten zeigen nicht nur die Lehrer, sondern auch die Lehrerinnen. Nur in der zweiten Untersuchung trat ein schwach ausgeprägter Unterschied dahingehend zutage, dass die Lehrer die Mädchen noch etwas mehr übersahen.

Dweck et al. (1978) haben sich die schulischen Interaktionen noch genauer angesehen und fanden heraus, dass Jungen von Lehrpersonen kaum Rückmeldungen bekommen, die auf mangelnde Fähigkeiten abheben, sondern eher auf Fehlverhalten (zu unordentlich, unaufmerksam, zu wenig motiviert). Bei den Mädchen hingegen würden Misserfolgsrückmeldungen häufig mangelnde intellektuelle Fähigkeit als Ursache nahelegen. Jungen bekämen eher eine Botschaft mit dem Tenor „Du könntest, wenn Du wolltest“ und Mädchen eher eine mit dem Tenor „Du hast Dir Mühe gegeben, aber es hat leider nicht gereicht.“ Auch Erfolgsbewertungen können diese Doppelbödigkeit aufweisen. Bei Mädchen wird häufiger auf Ordnung und Fleiß verwiesen. Bei Jungen wird trotz formaler Mängel die gute Idee, die pfiffige Lösung usw. gelobt.

In den letzten Jahren sind solche und ähnliche Befunde überall (z. B. in Lehrerfortbildungen) stark diskutiert worden und haben zu einer Sensibilisierung und zu Veränderungen geführt. Derzeit scheint sich die Problemlage zu verschieben. Nicht zuletzt durch die Vergleichsstudie zum Bildungsstand PISA 2000 (Baumert et al. 2001), die u. a. länderübergreifend schlechtere schulische Leistungen der Jungen zutage förderte, rücken Jungen verstärkt als Problemgruppen ins Zentrum. Plötzlich wird die Schule als zu „girl-friendly“ (*The Times* 2000, 17. April) hingestellt. Die Jungen hätten zu wenige Identifikationspersonen in den unteren Klassen, da es dort nur Lehrerinnen gäbe. Berühmte Fußballer mögen bitte eine Kampagne machen, um die Jungen wieder mehr zum Lesen von Büchern zu motivieren. Es geht die Befürchtung um, vor allem der schulische Lesestoff sei eher an den Interessen der Mädchen ausgerichtet. Analysen der Interaktionsmuster in schulischen Klein-

gruppen von Mädchen und Jungen im Unterricht weisen diejenigen der Mädchen als leistungsstärker aus. Davies (1999) arbeitet in geschlechtervergleichenden Interaktionsanalysen heraus, dass die Lerngruppen der Jungen sehr oft vom zu erarbeitenden Ziel abweichen, die lernwilligen Jungen viele Störungen und Angriffe von anderen bewältigen müssen. Leistungsunwillige Jungen rauben solchen mit schulfreundlichen Einstellungen und Verhaltensweisen Kraft und Energie zur Bewältigung der unterrichtlichen Anforderungen. Das Abweichen von schulischen Normen mag unter Jungen eine Art von „doing gender“ darstellen. Auch die Untersuchung von Eckert 2000 macht klar, dass Jungen aus schulfernen sozialen Schichten Maskulinitätsideale entwickeln, die zu der Mittelschichtsausrichtung des schulischen Umfelds (einschließlich seiner Freizeitaktivitäten) in Kontrast stehen. Jungen aus Milieus der Mittelschicht betreiben hingegen „doing gender“ im schulkompatiblen Sport- und Technik-Bereich. Schulische Erfolgsunterschiede und ihre Geschlechter- und Schichtenordnung werden in den nächsten Jahren anspruchsvolle diskurslinguistische Forschungsdesigns erfordern.

Vor allem elektronische Kommunikation muss verstärkt einbezogen werden. Gegenwärtig sieht es so aus, dass Mädchen und Jungen vor allem von mobilen Telefonen und ihrem Short Message Service gleichermaßen starken Gebrauch machen, vom Internet jedoch weniger (Buchen/Phillipper 2002). Jungen sind in dem Bereich enthusiastischer.

Erfolg in der Schule garantiert nicht unbedingt den gleichen Erfolg im Erwerbsleben.

Die Erforschung von Interaktionen am Arbeitsplatz ist für die linguistische Geschlechterforschung von zentraler Bedeutung. Mädchen haben in westlichen Gesellschaften vom Bildungsstand her mit den Jungen inzwischen gleichgezogen (sie an manchen Stellen überholt), was sich aber bislang noch nicht so ausgewirkt hat, dass Frauen sich nun auch zu gleichen Teilen in den oberen Positionen der Hierarchie in der Berufswelt finden. Mit Tannen (1994) und Wodak (2003) ist davon auszugehen, dass in der Arbeitswelt insgesamt Bewertungsnormen herrschen, die für traditionell männliche Kommunikationsformen günstiger ausfallen.

Nach wie vor gibt es Arbeitsbereiche mit einer geschlechtsbezogenen Schlagseite

(z. B. Kindergärtnerinnen und Elektroingenieure). Innerhalb eines Ansatzes, der gender im Rahmen von „communities of practice“ verortet (Eckert/McConnell-Ginet 1992), ist es keine Frage, dass die Interaktionen am Arbeitsplatz neben der Gestaltung der kollegialen Beziehung auch durch die Arbeit selbst geprägt sind, die beispielsweise bei Kindergärtnerinnen in ihrer Kommunikation mit den Kindern liegt und bei den Ingenieuren sachorientierter verläuft. Holmes und Stubbe (2003) haben Redestile in frauen- und männerdominierten Bereichen bei neuseeländischen Regierungsorganisationen miteinander verglichen. „Doing gender“ zeigte sich an frauendominierten Arbeitsplätzen in markierteren Formen des Eingehens auf die Beiträge der Kolleginnen, indirekten Aufforderungen, komplexen Aushandlungen gemeinsamer Vorgehensweisen, themenbezogenen Scherzen. Unter den männlichen Arbeitern hatte „doing gender“ mit Fluchen, Sich-gegenseitig-auf-den-Arm-Nehmen, kameradschaftlichen Strategien des Sich-Dinge-direkt-ins-Gesicht-Sagens zu tun. Die Autorinnen beleuchten das Sprachverhalten einer Managerin näher, die einem männlich besetzten Arbeitsfeld vorsteht; diese habe einen Kommunikationsstil entwickelt, der eine in dem Kontext erfolgreiche Synthese darstelle aus traditionell weiblichen Stilmerkmalen und traditionell männlichen. Mit diesem Stil könne sie sich sowohl durchsetzen als auch die Anerkennung ihrer männlichen Untergebenen erreichen.

Wenn Frauen in vormalig männlich besetzte Bereiche vordringen, wie z. B. den der Polizei, wird für alle Beteiligten Adaptation nötig. McElhinny (1992) beschreibt die Polizeiarbeit als traditionell von Männern dominiert und in ihren Bestandteilen der Außentätigkeit, körperliche Stärke und Geschick fordernden Einsätze, Technikangewiesenheit und vielem mehr als mit Männern assoziiert. Die im Job verlangte Gefühlsarbeit der Distanz zum Geschehen und des Bewahrens eines kühlen Kopfs, auch wenn es hoch hergeht, ist genderisiert. McElhinny analysiert Interaktionen im Arbeitsumfeld als auch die Arbeitsberichte der Polizistinnen. Diese Berichten drehen sich oft um Situationen, in denen die Polizistin irgendwo in der Stadt eine Auseinandersetzung schlichten musste. Sie erleben sich selbst dabei zu Beginn der Arbeit als zu freundlich und zu verbindlich und diagnostizieren, dass sie sich ihr Lächeln abgewöh-

nen mussten, weil dies von den Leuten als unprofessionell und ihre Autorität schmälern wahrgenommen wurde. In ihrer Arbeit machten sie die Erfahrung, dass ihre berufsbedingte Verkörperung staatlicher Autorität damit einhergeht, unpersönlich zu interagieren.

In klassischen Frauenberufen im Service-Bereich sieht die damit einhergehende Gefühlsarbeit erheblich anders aus. Die von Luftlinien, Geschäften und Firmen von Luftbegleiterinnen, Verkäuferinnen und Sekretärinnen verlangte Selbstdarbietung schließt Freundlichkeit, Lächeln, entgegenkommende Wärme ein (Hochschild 1983). Diese Gefühlsdarbietung wird aber nicht als Leistung der Frauen gesehen, sondern einfach ihrem „netten Wesen“ zugeschlagen.

## 5. Korrelationale Soziolinguistik

### 5.1. Offenes und verdecktes Prestige

In den meisten soziolinguistischen und dialektologischen Arbeiten, in denen die Kategorie Geschlecht eine Rolle spielt, ist diese Kategorie verwoben mit der Kategorie Schicht; Kriterien der Zuordnung von Schicht entstammten eher der männlichen Welt. Linguistische Varietäten, die für Männer mit Prestige verbunden sind, sind dies nicht in jedem Fall auch für Frauen. Standard- und Nonstandard-Varietäten sind außerdem nicht in jedem Fall mit „overt“ und „covert prestige“ gleichzusetzen, wie es in der korrelationalen Soziolinguistik zunächst (z.B. Labov 1966; 1972a; 1972b; Trudgill 1972; 1974) gesehen wurde.

In der Soziolinguistik ist vielfach belegt worden, dass Frauen sowohl auf der phonetisch-phonologischen, als auch auf der morpho-syntaktischen Ebene mehr zur Standardvarietät neigen (Labov 1966; Trudgill 1972; Mattheier 1980; Feagin 1980 etc.). Labov interpretierte diesen Befund (1972) dahingehend, dass Frauen, die häufig einen niedrigeren gesellschaftlichen Status innehaben, die Standardvarietät nutzen, um ein höheres Prestige zu signalisieren. Diese Interpretation wird von vielen Forschern geteilt. Sprecher/innen gehobener Sprachformen werden üblicherweise als kompetenter und intelligenter eingeschätzt als Dialektsprecher/innen, denn Dialekt wird stärker mit Aggressivität und Derbheit verbunden (Elyan et al. 1978). Vor allem im beruflichen Alltag signalisierten Frauen durch ihre gehobene

Sprachform das Bemühen, anerkannt zu werden. Jedoch wird die Zuordnung von ‘Standard = Prestige’ in dieser Schlichtheit heute für unzulässig gehalten. Zum einen gibt es Untersuchungen über Regionen, in denen Männer stärker Standard sprechen als Frauen (ältere dialektologische Studien wie Bach 1934; Hofmann 1963; Ammon 1973; Milroy 1980; Nichols 1983, Modaresi 1987) und zum anderen kann man nicht so einfach die Standardvarietät mit höherem Prestige gleichsetzen, wie Trudgill (1972) bereits gezeigt hat. Es gibt situationell und subkulturell bedingte unterschiedliche Prestigeformen. Und es scheint gerade bei den Frauen einen auffälligen, situationsbedingten Codewechsel, das sogenannte „switching“, zu geben. Jeder Mensch verfügt über ein Stilkontinuum und wählt je nach Situation einen eher formellen oder informellen Stil, bzw. kreiert die Situation durch die Stilwahl mit. Aber die Kompetenz innerhalb dieses Stilkontinuums ist unterschiedlich. Frauen nutzen das Stilkontinuum insgesamt mehr als Männer (Eckert 2000).

Informelles Prestige hat Trudgill als „covert“ bezeichnet. In Subkulturen der unteren Schichten kann „covert prestige“ gerade durch Verletzungen der standardisierten Sprechweise entstehen. Die Sprecher der Nonstandard-Varietäten grenzen sich u.a. sprachlich von den Mittelschichten ab. Sie verwenden die Soziolekte als „ingroup“- und Solidaritätsmarkierungen. Wer „fein“ spricht, gehört nicht dazu.

Die mit dem Nonstandard verbundenen informellen Prestigeformen wurden in vielen Untersuchungen stärker bei Männern gefunden (Bach 1934; Labov 1966; 1972a; Trudgill 1974; Macaulay 1978; Mattheier 1980, Brouwer 1986, etc). Verschiedene Untersuchungen, wie auch die von Bach aus den 30er Jahren, zeigten allerdings bereits beide Trends. Bei den ländlichen Hausfrauen beobachteten die Forscher konservative Dialektsprechweisen und bei den Städterinnen starke Neigung zum Standard.

Macaulay hat z.B. in seiner Untersuchung der sozialen Stratifikation des (i) in Glasgow gefunden, dass die Frauen der unteren Mittelschicht die Standardaussprache [i] mehr verwenden als die Männer der höheren Schicht. Als „vernacular“-Aussprache gilt [ʌ] (vernacular = Nonstandard). Macaulay (1978; 135) gibt folgende „male and female scores for (i)“ in Glasgow:

Obere Mittelschicht	Männer: 69.00	Frauen: 80.00
Untere Mittelschicht	Männer: 55.25	Frauen: 71.25
Obere Arbeiterschicht	Männer: 53.25	Frauen: 55.00
Untere Arbeiterschicht	Männer: 50.00	Frauen: 53.00

Bzüglich dieser Variable gilt, dass die Frauen aller Schichten mehr zur Standardausprache neigen als die Männer. Der Sprung ist besonders deutlich zwischen den Frauen der oberen Arbeiterschicht und denen der unteren Mittelschicht. Dieser Schicht wurde insgesamt schon von Labov (1972a) eine besondere Sensitivität für Prestigeformen bescheinigt, die er mit deren erhöhter Anpassung an die Mittelstandsnormen erklärte. Die Mittelschicht selbst gehe mit den Normen locker um. Für Frauen sei dieser Druck vermutlich besonders stark. Wenig berücksichtigt wurde, dass in der Spracherhebungssituation für die Frauen mit dem männlichen Forscher möglicherweise eine andere Situation kreierte wurde als mit den Männern. Die stärkere Standardsprechweise der Frauen könnte damit zusammenhängen, dass die Frauen mit dem Wissenschaftler mehr Distanz kommunizierten als die Männer dies taten.

Es ergibt sich oft der Eindruck, dass situationsunabhängig Sozio- und Dialekte in den modernen Gesellschaften eher mit Männlichkeit und die Standardsprechweisen eher mit Weiblichkeit assoziiert werden. Die Variable Geschlecht verkompliziert in der Tat die schichtenspezifischen Unterschiede. Frauen der unteren Mittelschichten zeigen eine stärkere Neigung zur Prestigevarietät; Männer der Mittel- und Oberschichten scheinen hingegen vom Standard abweichende Formen zu nutzen, um sich als männlich zu inszenieren. Trudgills (1972) Selbstbewertungstest zeigte bereits, dass Frauen sich die Standardsprechweise sogar dann attribuieren, wenn sie sich dieser kaum befleißigen; bei den Männern zeigte sich Umgekehrtes. Trudgill nahm also an, dass die Geschlechter verschiedene Varietäten favorisieren und dass dem Nonstandard auch eine besondere Art von Solidaritätsprestige zugesprochen werden kann, zumindest unter Männern. Auch in Hofmanns (1964) Untersuchungen standen die subjektiven Äußerungen der ungelerten Arbeiterinnen, die real mehr Dialekt sprachen als die Arbeiter, im Gegensatz zu ihrem objektiven Verhal-

ten. Sie behaupteten von sich, Hochdeutsch zu sprechen.

Diese Annahme, dass Frauen eher zu „overt prestige“-Formen neigen und Männer zu denen des „covert prestige“ kann aber so auch nicht stehenbleiben. Wie bereits erwähnt gibt es ja auch gegenteilige Untersuchungsergebnisse.

## 5.2. Varietäten in der Arbeitswelt

Die Milroys (Milroy & Milroy 1978; L. Milroy 1980; 1982; Coates 1986) haben linguistische Variation in drei traditionellen Arbeitergemeinden in Belfast untersucht: Ballymacarett (ein protestantischer Stadtteil von Ost-Belfast), Hammer (ein protestantischer Stadtteil von West-Belfast) und Clonard (ein katholischer Stadtteil von West-Belfast). Sie hatten die Hypothese, dass das Ausmaß der Verwendung der Dialektvarietät mit der Intergration der Sprecherin/des Sprechers in enge soziale Netzwerke zu tun haben müsste. Je enger und multiplexer (verschiedenartig verbunden, z.B. durch Verwandtschaft, Nachbarschaft, Arbeit usw.) das Netzwerk, umso eher können eigene Normen gelebt werden. Die Untersuchung integriert teilnehmende Beobachtung. Lesley Milroy (1980; 1982) entwickelte eine Skala der Netzwerkdichte. In Ballymacarett und Hammer rangierten die älteren und die jungen Männer hoch in dem „Network Strength Score“, das auf 5 Faktoren basiert. In Ballymacarett arbeiten die Männer traditionell zusammen im Hafen und im Schiffsbau. In Hammer und Clonard gibt es mehr männliche Arbeitslosigkeit. Dort erreichten auch die Frauen recht hohe Netzwerkwerte.

Der Grad an Zugehörigkeit zu einer Gemeinschaft sollte in Zusammenhang gebracht werden mit der Sprechweise des Individuums. Die Forscher/innen nahmen an, dass diejenigen, die in enge Netzwerke integriert sind, mehr Nonstandard sprechen.

Eine linguistische Variable stellte das intervokalische (th) dar, wie in „brother“. Im vernacular wird das „th“ ausgelassen. Alle drei Stadtteile zeigen, dass die Männer die Auslassung des „th“ mehr betreiben als die Frauen. In Ballymacarett, einem Gebiet mit traditioneller geschlechtlicher Rollenverteilung, sind die Unterschiede am radikalsten. Die jungen Frauen (18–25) sprechen das „th“ und damit Standard, die jungen Männer sprechen es fast überhaupt nicht. Bei der älteren Generation der 40–55jährigen ist der männlich-weibliche Unterschied weniger

ausgeprägt. Auf diesen interessanten Befund kommen wir später noch ausführlicher zu sprechen. Die Variable (a) zeigt andere Tendenzen. In Wörtern wie „hat“ sind für das „a“ 5 Aussprachen möglich, wobei die stärkste Nonstandardaussprache fast wie ein schwaches, diphthongisiertes „e“ klingt. Interessanterweise zeigte sich, dass die jungen Frauen aus Clonard die Nonstandardform „backing of a“ mehr verwendeten als die jungen Männer. Bei den älteren Leuten zeigten sich die üblichen Unterschiede, wie in Ballymacarett insgesamt. In Hammer zeigten die jungen Leute bezüglich der a-Variable gar keine Unterschiede. Besonders interessant aber ist das Ergebnis aus Clonard. Innerhalb einer Generation hatte sich die geschlechtsspezifische Verwendungsweise der Variable a verändert. Clonard ist ein Bezirk mit hoher Männerarbeitslosigkeit. Familienstrukturen sind hier starken Veränderungen unterworfen; der Prozentsatz der im gemeinsamen Arbeitsleben stehenden Frauen ist stark angestiegen. Hier gehören die Frauen engen sozialen Netzwerken an. Sie hatten diesbezüglich die höchsten Werte. Ihr Sprachverhalten hat sich geändert. Sie sprechen eher so wie die Männer aus Ballymacarrett als wie die Frauen aus den anderen drei Stadtteilen. Aber es wird dem Sprachverhalten der Männer nicht völlig gleich. Die Frauen machen die th-Tilgung nicht mit. Dieser Sachverhalt, dass die jungen Frauen aus Clonard sich sowohl von den älteren Frauen als auch von den Männern unterscheiden, findet sich häufiger in der Literatur, ohne dass er sonderliche Beachtung erföhre.

Nichols hat in ihrer Untersuchung über das Sprachverhalten von schwarzen Frauen und Männern in Coastal South Carolina und Georgia z.B. auch gesehen, dass die jungen Frauen mehr zum Standard des Englischen neigten als die Männer und die alten Frauen. Die alten Frauen sprachen aber wiederum mehr Non-Standard als die alten Männer. Sie fasst die unterschiedlichen Befunde über die Sprechweisen schwarzer Männer und Frauen so zusammen:

„Language use patterns within the Black speech community suggest that, where educational and occupational opportunities are limited, women will show more conservative linguistic behavior than men in their group. When these opportunities begin to expand, they do so along sex-segregated lines. White-collar jobs in sales, nursing, and elementary school teaching are opening up prima-

rily for women, in part because of the low salaries associated with such jobs. Somewhat paradoxically, such jobs are also ones that require knowledge and use of standard English, even heavy investment in higher education. Blue-collar jobs in construction work traditionally have been more available to men than to women. While paying far more than the white-collar jobs held by many women, these blue-collar jobs now open for Black men require little or no use of the standard language variety, either in speaking or writing.“ (1983, 63)

Nach Nichols hatten die älteren Frauen gar keinen Grund, sich den Standard anzueignen. Sie arbeiteten im Haus und auf dem Feld. Sie sprachen stärker als die Männer eine Mischung aus Creole (Gullah) und Black English. Nichols (1983) führt dies u. a. auf mangelnde Bildung und Berufstätigkeit zurück. Fest steht, dass die Arbeitswelt dieser Frauen, eine stärker allgemeinverständliche Sprache nicht nötig machte, während dies in der Arbeitswelt der jungen Frauen von großer Bedeutung ist. Diese jungen Frauen üben typische Kommunikations- und Sozialberufe aus, im Unterschied zu den zum „Nonstandard“ neigenden jungen Frauen aus dem Belfaster Stadtteil Clonard. Die Lehrerinnen, Krankenschwestern und Verkäuferinnen interagieren über alle Netzwerkengrenzen hinweg. Die jungen Frauen unterscheiden sich auch hier sprachlich sowohl von den jungen Männern als auch von der Generation ihrer Mütter.

Einen ähnlichen Befund diskutiert Ammon (1973). Er stellte im schwäbischen Raum starke Unterschiede in den älteren und mittleren Jahrgängen zwischen Hausfrauen und berufstätigen Frauen fest. Letztere neigen stark zum Standard. Es wird hier weniger als bei Nichols oder Milroy/Milroy spezifiziert, welche kommunikativen Anforderungen der Beruf stellt. Alle diese Studien legen nahe, dass mit einer gewissen Zwangsläufigkeit die berufstätige Frau sich der Standardsprechweise zuwendet. Es wird nicht weiter gefragt, ob nicht auch die enorme Veränderung innerhalb des Frauenlebens, welche in den letzten 40 Jahren vorgegangen ist, einen Einfluss auf den starken Sprachwandel zwischen alten und jungen Frauen hat.

### 5.3. Sprache als Abgrenzungsverfahren

Die Sprache der Frauen gleicht sich der der Männer an und wird ihr verschiedentlich aber doch nicht ganz gleich. Es muss inner-

halb der Varietäten weiter differenziert werden, wenn man in den teilweise inkonsistenten soziolinguistischen Untersuchungsergebnisse mit der Variable Geschlecht doch Konsistenz erkennen will. Verschiedene Untersuchungen zeigen (z.B. Nichols 1983; Milroy/Milroy 1978), dass dort, wo die Frauen auch „Nonstandard“ sprechen, dieser vom männlichen „Nonstandard“ abweicht. In den Studien von Milroy und Milroy in Belfast zeigte sich, dass die Clonard-Frauen die zum Nonstandard gehörende (th)-Tilgung nicht mitmachten. Ihr Nonstandard spielte sich nicht in den gleichen Bereichen ab wie der männliche.

Der Sprechstil kann symbolisch ausgebeutet werden. Wenn ein Stil für Männer subkulturelles Prestige symbolisiert, können Frauen diese stilistischen Konnotationen nutzen um gleichfalls Gruppenzugehörigkeit zu kommunizieren. Sprechweisen, die auf der Standard-Nonstandard-Achse ansiedelbar sind, lassen sich zu verschiedenartigen Stilisierungen nutzen und damit zur Symbolisierung von Identitätskategorien. Wenn mit den älteren Frauen und ihrem Dialekt Nichtmodernität verbunden wird, laufen die Frauen Gefahr, durch zu starken Dialektgebrauch eine Wahrnehmung in dieser Richtung naheulegen. Man kann eine spezifische Identität kommunizieren über Abgrenzungen und Anleihen in beiden Richtungen.

Es gibt geschlechtsspezifische und geschlechtsübergreifende Prestigezuordnungen, die beide stilistisch genutzt werden können (Cheshire 1982). Auch innerhalb des Standard und des Nonstandard können Frauen und Männer sich sprachlich voneinander abgrenzen. Es kann Konvergenz (gleiche Schicht, gleiche Gruppe etc.) und Divergenz (anderes Geschlecht, andere soziale Rollen) kommuniziert (zur Akkomodationstheorie siehe Giles and Smith 1979) werden, je nach Situation und Intention. Welche sprachlichen Mittel dazu genutzt werden, ergibt sich aus den Stilisierungspotenzen dieser Mittel. Soziolinguist/inn/en haben herauszufinden, welche Variablen zur Markierung von Geschlechterdifferenz und welche zur Schichtdifferenz und/oder Formalitätsmarkierung der Situation genutzt werden können. Die Zugehörigkeit zu einer Schicht scheint tendentiell eher bei Männern bestimmend für ihr Sprachverhalten. Die „Unruhe im Tabellenbild“ (Ruoff 1973) ist weniger irritierend, wenn man sich

Frauen und Männer als Subjekte vorstellt, die Sprache zwar hauptsächlich unbewusst, aber doch zielgerichtet zur Situationsdefinition und Identitätskategorisierung nutzen. Man kann dann allerdings nicht dabei stehenbleiben, Schicht und Geschlecht mit Sprachvariablen einfach zu korrelieren, sondern muss in bestimmten Situationen prozessual den Einsatz der sprachlichen Distinktionsverfahren nachzeichnen.

Die phonetisch-phonologische Untersuchung von Wodak (1981; 1982; 1985) und Moosmüller (1984) zum Sprachverhalten von Müttern und Töchtern in Wien zeigte, dass Familienmerkmale, Persönlichkeitsscharakteristika, Beziehungsmuster, Konfliktstrukturen u. a. die Variation innerhalb der Wiener Umgangssprache bestimmen. So wurde eine Theorie der sozio-psychologischen Variation begründet (Wodak/Moosmüller 1982). Es wurde herausgearbeitet, dass gerade der Sprachwandel der Frauen neben den soziologischen Parametern noch durch psychologische bestimmt wird. Die Mutter spielt für Söhne und Töchter eine andere Rolle. So wissen wir aus der psychoanalytischen Literatur, dass Söhne den Trennungskonflikt mit der Mutter anders erleben; bei den Töchtern ist er mühsamer. Die Untersuchungsinteressen lauteten: Nutzen Töchter Sprache zur Markierung der eigenen Identität? Grenzen sie sich womöglich sprachlich stärker als Söhne von den Müttern ab? Kommt es zu sprachlicher Variation in Abhängigkeit von der Mutter-Beziehung, der Familienstruktur und der angestrebten neuen Identität der Kinder (sozialer Aufstieg/Abstieg, anderes Geschlechtsrollenbild usw.)? Inwieweit können wir durch die Untersuchung der Sprache der Mütter und ihrer Töchter Einblick in den Prozess der Geschlechtsidentifikation gewinnen, wie auch in die Entstehung geschlechtsspezifischer Unterschiede?

In einer ersten Pilotstudie wurde versucht, der Mutter-Tochter-Beziehung anhand eines interdisziplinären theoretischen und methodischen Ansatzes gerecht zu werden (Wodak 1981). Im Rahmen dieser Untersuchung wurden zunächst Aufsätze 12-jähriger Schüler/innen zum Thema „Meine Mutter und ich“ qualitativ und quantitativ analysiert.

Des Weiteren wurden mit den Kindern und den Müttern Interviews durchgeführt, die danach phonetisch transkribiert und nach

soziophonologischen Indikatoren durchkämmt wurden.

Die Gesamtergebnisse fasst Wodak (1985, 204) wie folgt zusammen:

- Es gibt „Familienstile“ – „Mutter-Tochter-Stile“, die nicht mit der allgemeinen Schichttendenz übereinstimmen.
- Berufstätige Frauen sprechen formaler als Hausfrauen, in allen Schichten und Altersklassen.
- Bei einer konfliktreichen Mutterbeziehung gibt es große Unterschiede zwischen den Sprechstilen von Mutter und Tochter: selbst wenn die allgemeine Tendenz dahingehend läuft, dass die Jugend informeller spricht, kann dies gegenläufig sein (siehe auch Wodak/Moosmüller 1981).
- Die Unterschiede zwischen Mutter und Tochter, selbst bei einer relativ guten Mutter-Tochter-Beziehung, sind größer als bei Mutter und Sohn, da die Tochter ihre eigene (Sprach)identität durch die Trennung von der Mutter etablieren muss.
- Sozial aufsteigende und absteigende Töchter sprechen hyperkorrekt (mehr als Burschen), wobei zwei Faktoren hier zusammentreffen: die Verleugnung der Herkunftsschicht und die gleichzeitige Trennung von der Mutter, die – unter anderem – ja die Werte und Normen der ursprünglichen Schicht vertritt. Die Anpassung an Peergroups dürfte ebenfalls eine große Rolle spielen.
- Das Thema des Gesprächs beeinflusst zusätzlich die Stilvariation, wobei die Gewichtung derselben Themen bei den einzelnen Familienmitgliedern verschieden sein kann (emotionale Besetzung eines Themas, Tabuisierung, Ideologiekonflikte).

In dieser Studie wird ein Unterschied fokussiert, der auch in anderen Studien schon aufgefallen war, der zwischen Müttern und Töchtern. Besonders auffällig ist auch, dass die Töchter der unteren Mittelschicht in dieser Studie die meisten Dialektmerkmale verwendeten, welches den bisherigen Annahmen über Aufsteiger/inn/en widerspricht. Es kann nur mit deren „Oppositionshaltung“ erklärt werden, die sich stark gegen die Mütter richtete. Insgesamt war der Schichtfaktor bei den Töchtern nicht mehr so wichtig wie bei den Müttern und den Männern insgesamt.

Auch bei Nichols und Milroy hatten sich große Unterschiede im Sprachverhalten der jungen und der älteren weiblichen Generation gezeigt, viel mehr als bei den Männern. Vermutlich spielen auch dort psychologische Abgrenzungsbemühungen eine Rolle und außerdem der stärkere gesamtgesellschaftliche Wandel der Frauenrolle.

Eckert (2000) verbindet in ihrer Studie über die Sprache von Jugendlichen in Detroit auf eine sehr überzeugende Weise quantitative Variationsanalyse und qualitative Ethnographie. Die Jugendlichen im schulischen Umfeld von „Belten High“ stellen unter sich die Distinktion von „Jocks“ und „Burnouts“ her (und „in-betweens“); erstere orientieren sich eher an den auch von der Schule anerkannten Werten im Freizeitbereich, letztere zeigen eine schulferne Orientierung. Obwohl die unterschiedlichen Orientierungen der Jugendlichen mit deren Herkunft aus der Mittel- bzw. Unterschicht von Detroit zu tun haben, geht es Eckert um mehr als die simple Korrelation von Varietät und Schicht. Sie zeigt in einer ausführlichen Ethnographie die Werte und Verhaltensweisen der Jugendlichen im Bezug auf Freundschaft, Sport, Paarbildung und vieles mehr. Linguistische Variation wird damit sichtbar als verwoben mit der Symbolisierung sozialer Identität, die wiederum viel zu tun hat mit Interessen und Aktivitäten. Ein „jock“ oder ein „burnout“ zu sein ist für Jungen und Mädchen nicht das Gleiche. Die Geschlechter unterscheiden sich in der Art ihrer Beliebtheit im schulischen Umfeld, in ihren sozialen Rollen in der Clique und ihren Zukunftshoffnungen. Die Institutionalisierung traditioneller Geschlechterarrangements, des heterosexuellen Marktes und der Verliebtheitsrituale wird an der „high school“ sichtbar. Für die Mädchen formalisiert sich eine Unterstützungsrolle, z. B. als „cheerleaders“ bei Sportaktivitäten der Jungen oder bei der Organisation von Tanzveranstaltungen. Gewalt und die Fähigkeit, sich im Dschungel der Stadt schlau durchzukämpfen, sind unter den männlichen „burnouts“ wichtige Themen; die weiblichen „burnouts“ tun sich selten mit der Demonstration ihrer Kampfkraft hervor. Die männlichen „jocks“ kommunizieren im Sport und im Umgang mit Computertechnologie (beliebte Freizeitbeschäftigungen) ein Image starker Selbstkontrolle und Kompetition. Für die Mädchen ist die Gestaltung ihres Äußeren und ihr ansprechendes Auftreten



ein viel zentraleres Anliegen (weniger bei den „jock“-Mädchen). Für beide Mädchengruppen gilt es, die Attribution, eine Schlampe (slut) zu sein, zu vermeiden. Das hat nach wie vor auch mit der Demonstration von sexueller Zurückhaltung zu tun. Eckert untersucht eine syntaktische Variable, „negative concord“ und sechs vokalische Variablen als mögliche sprachliche Differenzmarker. Doppelte Verneinung zeigte sich als stärkster Marker für „vernacular“ und abgesenktes (e) als stärkster Marker für die Prestige-Varietät. Hier taucht das bereits bekannte gender-Bild auf, welches für die Mädchen der „jocks“ die höchsten Werte der Prestige-Varietät zeigt (crossover-Effekt) und für die männlichen „jocks“ hohe „vernacular“-Werte. Ansonsten ergibt sich in der Studie aber ein höchst differenziertes Bild der verschiedenen Variablen, die einen unterschiedlichen Status für die Kommunikation von Identität haben.

#### 6. Geschlecht und soziales Milieu in qualitativ ausgerichteten Studien

Das Projekt „Kommunikation in der Stadt“ (Leitung: Werner Kallmeyer) steht in der Tradition der interaktionalen Soziolinguistik. Die in vier Bänden publizierte Studie leistet eine überzeugende Verbindung von städtischer und gruppenkultureller Ethnographie und Interaktionsanalyse. Die in diesem Rahmen von Schwitalla (1995) durchgeführte Studie zum Vergleich von zwei Frauengruppen beschreibt deren Sprachverhalten vergleichend im Bezug auf das Variationsspektrum von Standard und Dialekt, ihre Phraseologie, ihre Themenpräferenzen und Formen der Höflichkeit, des Scherzens, der Herstellung von Gemeinsamkeit und der Konfliktaustragung. Die Analyse der kommunikativen Stile der beiden Frauengruppen bezieht sich auf verschiedene linguistische Ebenen von Phonologie bis Pragmatik. Schwitalla fußt seine kommunikative Stilistik einer sozialdemokratischen Gruppe von Arbeiterinnen und kleinen Angestellten und einer Literaturgruppe aus der Mittelschicht auf der Konzepte: a) des face-work in Anlehnung an Goffman und Brown/Levinson, b) eine kommunikative Theorie der Gefühlsprozessierung, und c) den Begriff der ‚Modalisierung‘ des Sprechens. Unter Stil versteht Schwitalla analog zu Sandig/Selting 1997: „überindividuelle Formgebungen von Äußerungen sowie Realisierungsweisen

sprachlicher Handlungstypen und die damit gegebenen Sinndimensionen, mit denen eine Sprechergruppe ihre spezifische Weltsicht in allen von ihr als relevant gesetzten Aspekten ausdrückt“ (S. 283). Schwitalla findet in vielen Bereichen auffallende Stil-Unterschiede zwischen den beiden Gruppen. In der sozialdemokratischen Frauengruppe werden z. B. Zorn und Unmut direkt geäußert. Das „negative face“ spielt eine ganz besondere Rolle, da es thematisch in der Gruppe oft um bedrohte Selbstbestimmungsrechte der Frauen geht und sich das Gemeinschaftsgefühl stark über den gemeinsamen Kampf um diese Rechte bildet. Des weiteren kommunizieren die Sozialdemokratinnen ihre geteilten Einstellungen häufig in Konfrontationserzählungen und lustigen Grottesken. Es herrscht starke emotionale Expressivität. Die Literaturgruppe spricht modalisierter, eher andeutend und ironisiert inhaltliche Betroffenheit. Auch im Bereich des Rederechtsmanagements zeigt die Studie sozialstilistische Unterschiede dahingehend, dass in der Literaturgruppe die Überlappungen viel kürzer sind als in der Arbeiterinnengruppe, die sich weniger rücksichtsvoll gibt. Insgesamt finden sich im Sprachverhalten der Literaturgruppe mehr stilistische Merkmale, die in der feministischen Linguistik als typisch weiblich beschrieben wurden, als in dem der Arbeiterinnengruppe.

#### 7. Einflussfaktor Medien

Alle Analysen massenmedialer Produktionen, seien es Fernsehnachrichten, Comics, Werbung, Spielfilme, Hochglanzbroschüren, politische Kommentare oder Bilderbücher für Kinder zeigen, dass gender fast immer bedeutsam gemacht wird und meist stereotyp inszeniert wird (Velte 1995). Bilten (1991) fasst viele Studien zusammen, die den Medieneinfluss auf Kinder als Verstärkung dichotomer Stereotypen fassen. Die Würdigung der Forschung in diesem Feld sprengt den Rahmen dieses Handbuchartikels. Genderisierte Glaubensvorstellungen werden vor allem in der Werbung kontinuierlich bestätigt. Deshalb beschränke ich mich auf dieses Segment.

Werbung ist im Alltag der westlichen Gesellschaft omnipräsent. Wir rezipieren sie mit verschiedenen Bewusstseinszuständen, oft nebenbei. Sie produziert Idealbilder der Geschlechter (Goffman 1979/1981). Allein in USA hat die Werbeindustrie ein jährliches

Budget von 250 Milliarden Dollar (Martin/Schumann 1996). Ritualisierte Ausdrucksformen von Geschlechterverhältnissen, die im Alltag zwar als Geschlechterglaubensvorstellungen und als soziales Geschlecht vorhanden sind, aber auch unterlaufen werden, sind in der Werbung hyperritualisiert. In „gender advertisement“ zeigt Goffman (1979/1981) anhand von Bildwerbung, wie normativ und asymmetrisch die Geschlechterglaubensvorstellungen sind, welche sie vermittelt. Reklame-Designer unterliegen den Grenzen ihres Mediums. Sie müssen etwas darstellen, was leicht verständlich ist und die Betrachtenden für ihr Produkt einnimmt. Auf Reklamefotos werden Alltagsszenen simuliert, die unsere Orientierung darauf richten, was ein Mensch dort tut oder sagt. Reklame-Designer wählen überwiegend anerkannte positive, soziale Typisierungen, „so dass wir idealisierte Personen vor uns sehen, die ideale Mittel anwenden, um ideale Ziele zu erreichen – wobei sie selbstverständlich mikro-ökologisch so arrangiert sind, dass sie eine ideale Beziehung zueinander anzeigen“ (Goffman 1981a, 115). Die Figuren sind also im Bild so platziert, dass ihre räumliche Stellung zueinander ein Anzeichen für ihre mutmaßliche soziale Stellung zueinander bietet. Dieser Verfahren bedienen sich auch behördliche Mitteilungen und politische Parteien. Auch sie stellen ihre Aussagen dramatisch dar. Goffman behauptet, dass die Aufgabe der Reklamedesigner derjenigen aller Gesellschaftsmitglieder nicht unähnlich ist, die ihre sozialen Situationen mit rituellen Zeichen ausstatten, die eine schnelle Orientierung der Beteiligten aneinander ermöglichen. Beide nutzen wahrnehmbare Mittel der Selbstdarstellung. „Und beide bedienen sich der gleichen elementaren Mittel: Absichtsbekundung, mikroökologische Aufzeichnung sozialer Strukturen, anerkannte Typisierung und gestische Externalisierung innerer Reaktionen“ (1981, 116). Goffman analysiert Bildmaterial und zeigt, wie auf Reklamefotos relative Größe eingesetzt wird, um Dominanz und Unterordnung zu signalisieren. Er vergleicht z. B. dargestellte männliche und weibliche Berührungen von Gegenständen. Der Mann packt an, z. B. die Jägermeisterflasche, und hält sie fest. Frauen deuten Berührungen oft nur an. Statt des utilitären männlichen Zugriffs zeichnen sie nur die Linien eines Gegenstandes nach. Weibliche Selbstberührungen sollen das Ge-

fühl vermitteln, dass der Körper etwas Kostbares sei. Wenn auf einem Bild Mann und Frau direkt zusammenarbeiten, dann übernimmt der Mann die Leitung der Aktivität. Man sieht den Herrn Doktor eine Tabelle lesen und die Krankenschwester, welche auch einen Blick von der Seite darauf wirft. Frauen werden oft abgebildet, wie sie Hilfe annehmen. Er hilft ihr aus einer Schaukel heraus und lässt sie von seinen Weintrauben abbeißen. Der Mann bietet sicheren Halt. Häufig steht die Frau an ihn gelehnt. Die Frau liegt oft, Männer sind höher arrangiert. Liegende Stellungen sind ein konventioneller Ausdruck von Hilflosigkeit und sexueller Verfügbarkeit. Erhöhte räumliche Standorte symbolisieren höhere soziale Ränge. Frauen werden auch oft in Schräglagen gezeigt, Männer in geraden. Schräge Kopfhaltungen vor allem gelten als Ausdruck von Demut.

Willems und Kautt (2000) haben in der Tradition von Goffmans Dramatologie und Bourdieus Konzept des Habitus eine qualitative Analyse von ca. 3200 Werbeanzeigen, die zwischen 1989 und 1997 geschaltet wurden, durchgeführt. Mediengenres wie Werbung gehören für sie zu den „Mega-Bühnen (...), auf denen alltagskulturelle Sinnbestände (re-)präsentiert werden“ (2000, 349). Sie stellen sowohl die Frage nach der kulturellen Reflexivität von Werbung als auch die ihrer sozialisatorischen Produktivität. Zunächst halten sie fest, dass die Darstellung weiblicher Erotik (und der in der Regel fehlende Produktbezug) nach wie vor zu den universalen Werbestrategien gehört. Die so häufig konstituierte Blickordnung der Werbung mit der spärlich bekleideten Frau im Zentrum des Bildes „potenziert in gewisser Weise die alltägliche Blickpraxis, indem sie die Limitierungen, denen der männliche Blick in ‚pragmatischen‘ Kontexten unterliegt, eliminiert“ (Willems/Kautt: 2000, 350). Die abgebildeten Frauen wenden sich scheinbar an den sie betrachtenden Mann, der zum unsichtbaren Helden der Szenerie wird. In der Darstellung von Frauen häufen sich symbolische Impressionen von Zartheit, Zärtlichkeit und Empfindlichkeit. Sie geraten ständig in Euphorie über Kleinigkeiten, womit das Schema des Kindes als Grundmodell bestätigt wird. Der Mann hingegen wird affektgedämpft und selbstkontrolliert gezeigt, somit die Eltern-Seite der Folie repräsentierend. Für die Radiowerbung zeigt Kotthoff (1994) ebenfalls dieses Muster.

## 8. Schluss

Wir begegnen in der Diskurs- und Soziolinguistik keiner stabilen Differenz zwischen männlichen und weiblichen Sprechstilen. Es macht für die meisten Kulturen wenig Sinn, von einem „genderlect“ zu sprechen. Die kulturellen Konzepte von Männlichkeit und Weiblichkeit und auch deren kommunikative Inszenierungen sind flexibel genug, um Varianz zuzulassen, wozu auch historischer Wandel gehört. Und doch ist gender als soziale Kategorie genausowenig seiner Relevanz beraubt wie Schicht, Ethnie oder Alter. Diese Relevanz wird zwar nicht in jedem Kontext gleichermaßen inszeniert, ist aber den Mitgliedern einer Gesellschaft als abgelagertes Wissen um Typisierungen verfügbar. Medien arbeiten mit diesen Typisierungen und verstärken sie.

Im Sinne der Erforschung von Performanz sind in Zukunft Sprechstile stärker in Bezug zu setzen zu anderen Formen der Stilisierung des Selbst, z. B. zu Normen der Gestaltung des Körpers. Da gender ein Gestalt-Phänomen ist, muss damit gerechnet werden, dass es innerhalb des performativen Rahmens durchaus zu Verschiebungen kommen kann, Körper-Repräsentationen (wie das Herausstellen sexueller Attribute durch die Kleidung) beispielsweise an Gewicht gewinnen können, sprachliche Differenzen dann vielleicht an Gewicht verlieren. Nicht umsonst sehen sich die gender studies als interdisziplinäres Unterfangen.

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## 251. Sociolinguistics and Speech Therapy Soziolinguistik und Sprachtherapie

1. Introduction
2. Perspective and policy
3. Assessment models
4. Systematic variation and communication disorders
5. The social context of communication disorders
6. Sociolinguistic education in speech and language pathology
7. Literature (selected)

### 1. Introduction

Although *speech therapy*, or *speech and language pathology*, would appear to be an obvious venue for the practical application of sociolinguistic knowledge, the history of

this interface has sometimes been more ideal than real. Philosophically, sociolinguistics was firmly grounded in the twentieth century's relativistic roots of cultural anthropology with its focus on the description of locally situated behavioral norms and social processes (e. g. Hymes 1964; Burling 1970; Wardhaugh 1998; Trudgill 2000). Speech and language pathology, on the other hand, has been defined traditionally by a service orientation influenced by a medical model and an educational model (Crystal 1981; Supple 1993). Furthermore, the research paradigm of speech and language pathology was molded through its early development within behavioral psychology (Wolfram

1976a; Shames/Wiig/Secord 1994) whereas sociolinguistic research methodology was influenced primarily by linguistics and sociology.

## 2. Perspective and policy

The initial interaction between sociolinguistics and speech and language pathology led to a confrontation between the primary descriptive orientation of sociolinguistics and the prescriptive model of speech and language pathology. Normative behavior in speech and language pathology was defined in terms of codified, standard varieties of language or socially dominant languages in multilingual situations. Accordingly, speakers from vernacular languages or dialects – including those from regionally distinct backgrounds – were assessed as deficient in their language development by comparison with the normative population (Wolfram 1993a; Supple 1993). Sociolinguistics thus confronted speech and language pathology initially in the so-called *difference-deficit controversy* about language variation (Baratz 1968; Taylor 1969; Dittmar 1976) that took place in the late 1960s and 1970s. From a sociolinguistic perspective, the imposition of external language norms from socially dominant groups resulted in the assessment of disproportionate numbers of nonstandard dialect and vernacular language speakers as language disordered when, in fact, they were simply manifesting a natural language difference.

The intervening years have seen perspectives within speech and language pathology shift from a fundamental confusion between a language disorder and socioculturally based language difference to institutional positions that now mandate that clinicians NOT treat sociolinguistic differences as disorders (ASHA 1983; Lahey 1990; 1992). By the early 1980s, the American Speech-Language-Hearing Association, the world's largest and most influential speech pathology organization, with more than 100,000 members, issued the following, sociolinguistically informed position on social dialects:

“It is the position of the American-Speech-Language-Hearing Association (ASHA) that no dialectal variety of English is a disorder or pathological form of speech or language. Each social dialect is adequate as a functional and effective variety of English. Each serves a communication function as well as a social solidarity function. It maintains

the communication network and the social construct of the community of speakers who use it. Furthermore, each is a symbolic representation of the historical, social, and cultural background of the speakers.”

(Asha 1983, 22–23)

The ASHA position on dialect differences has important implications for service delivery to linguistically and culturally diverse student populations. Based on this policy statement, Cole (1983, 25) offered the following set of competencies for speech and language pathologists with respect to language differences:

1. knowledge of the particular dialect as a rule-governed linguistic system
2. knowledge of nondiscriminatory testing procedures
3. knowledge of the phonological and grammatical features of the dialect
4. knowledge of contrastive analysis procedures
5. knowledge of the effects of attitudes toward dialects
6. thorough understanding and appreciation for the community and culture of the nonstandard speaker

The impact of a sociolinguistic perspective in speech and language therapy is obvious in the adoption of ASHA's policy statement, although the practical implementation of this policy is still sometimes unrealized given pervasive language ideologies that continue to invoke the *Linguistic Inferiority Principle* in which “the speech of a socially subordinate group will be interpreted as inadequate by comparison with that of a socially dominant group.” (Wolfram/Schilling-Estes 1998, 6). As Supple (1993, 24) notes for the United Kingdom and elsewhere, “the sociolinguistic model has now become firmly entrenched within the field of communication disorders. However, while this fact is acknowledged, it is unfortunately often not given the necessary focus in the day-to-day clinical setting.”

## 3. Assessment models

No area of speech and language pathology is more in need of sociolinguistic knowledge than the assessment of language development (Terrell 1983). Historically, the field has relied on a battery of standardized, quantifiable discrete point tests that focused on different levels of language organization such as phonology, morphology, and lexi-

con. In evaluating such tests in terms of a set of proposed sociolinguistic principles, Vaughn-Cooke (1980) concluded that many of the standardized testing instruments of speech and language development do not meet reasonable linguistic and sociolinguistic guidelines for valid language assessment. For example, some of the tests do not allow for legitimate regional, social, or ethnic language variation. Furthermore, tests often focus on the more superficial aspects of language rather than the underlying categories and relationships. Thus, inflectional morphology (e. g. regular and irregular plural suffixes in English) and surface-level grammatical structures (e. g. indefinite forms in negative sentences) are often examined instead of underlying semantic-propositional categories such as negation, possession, and identity in the assessment of language capability.

In response to some of these criticisms, current assessment instruments have undergone several types of revisions. First of all, more standardized tests now allow alternative regional and/or vernacular dialect forms as “correct” responses in the scoring guidelines. In the United States, it is increasingly common for standardized, discrete point tests of language development to provide a list of dialect variants – structural items that should be scored as correct if the test taker represents a given dialect group. For example, a test might accept the phonetic production [tuf] for *tooth* or the pluralization of *mouse* as *mouses* if the test taker is identified as a speaker of one of the vernacular dialects of American English that regularly uses these variants (Wolfram/Schilling-Estes 1998). In some cases, existing standardized tests have been re-normed specifically for speakers of particular dialect groups, such as African American Vernacular English in the United States (Washington/Craig 1992; 1999). One current research trend is designing tests that specifically target the structures of nonstandard dialects, such as the specific structures of African American Vernacular English ([www.umass.edu/synergy/fall98/ebonics](http://www.umass.edu/synergy/fall98/ebonics)) or the communication skills of bilingual (Spanish/English) Hispanic children in the United States ([www.temple.edu/commsci/aquiles](http://www.temple.edu/commsci/aquiles)).

Another trend is moving assessment away from discrete point surface forms altogether as it investigates the language organization at the deeper levels, for example, targeting

units that constitute underlying semantic categories (Bloom/Lahey 1978; Vaughn-Cooke 1983; Lahey 1988; Stockman/Vaughn-Cooke 1986). This development is based on the assumption that the more superficial and limited the scope of language capability tapped in a testing instrument the greater the likelihood that the instrument will be inappropriate for culturally and linguistically different populations. Correspondingly, there has been a movement towards using language samples of conversational speech as a basis for assessment rather than discrete point testing, although there are some sociolinguistic issues that make language samples less than ideal for assessment (Stockman 1996).

#### 4. Systematic variation and communication disorders

One of the most fundamental contributions of variation studies in sociolinguistics over the past several decades is the observation that varieties of language are sometimes differentiated not by the discrete or categorical use of forms, but by the relative frequency with which different variants of a form may occur (e. g. Labov 1966; Wolfram 1969; Trudgill 1974). While such variability is inherent within the system, the relative frequency of items is systematically constrained by two types of effects: (1) social constraints (so-called *external constraints*), ranging from prototype social demographic factors (Labov 1966) to interactional networks (Milroy 1987) and identity factors (Le Page/Tabouret-Keller 1985; Eckert 2000); and (2) independent linguistic factors (so-called *INTERNAL CONSTRAINTS*) involving structural linguistic context and composition (Labov 1969; Guy 1993). The study of such systematic fluctuation has become a sociolinguistic staple, showing amazing replicability of at least “more” and “less” relationships for a range of variable language phenomena. For example, systematically constrained variability has been demonstrated for language situations that include stable and changing dialect relations (Labov 1966; Wolfram/Schilling-Estes 1998) interlanguage (Dickerson 1975; Adamson 1988; Tarone 1988), and first language acquisition (Kovac 1980; Wolfram 1989). Thus, Reading (1977), in studying children’s variable production in the acquisition of normative /s/ production, found a number of systematic

internal linguistic constraints in terms of preceding phonological environment (e.g., normative /s/ production was favored according to the hierarchy: fricative > stop > nasal) and following phonological environment (nasal > stop > fricative).

There are at least two ways in which an understanding of systematic variation impacts the study of communication disorders. One relates to the interpretation of normative variable behavior, the other relates to an understanding of language change in the remediation process. Consider, for example, a case in which an understanding of variable behavior is critical to the accurate assessment of variable plural suffix absence in a vernacular dialect of English. Plural suffix absence is a well-established characteristic of several different kinds of vernacular dialects of English, including some varieties that apply this rule fairly generally (e.g. African American Vernacular English as described in Wolfram 1969; Labov 1972; Poplack/Tagliamonte 1994; Rickford 1999) and some that apply this rule to restricted noun subsets (e.g. nouns of weights and measures as described for dialects such as Irish English (Supples 1993) and Appalachian English (Wolfram/Christian 1976). However, plural suffix absence is an inherently variable phenomenon and the level of plural absence for the general version of the rule typically involves between 10–33% of the cases where a plural might potentially be absent (Labov 1972; Wolfram 1969). Our understanding of the normal variable nature of plural *-s* absence for an AAVE speaker gives us a basis for interpreting the variable responses of an AAVE speaker in terms of “variable normalcy.” For example, the absence of one of the three tokens of plural *-s* suffix on a standardized test might fall within the limits of normalcy for an AAVE speaker (since normal rates of *-s* absence range from 10–33%), but the absence of all instances, or even a majority, would not match the normal range of variable *-s* absence for this variety. The diagnostician runs the risk of a false positive identification of a speaker if some incidence of *-s* absence in the indigenous vernacular is not accommodated in the interpretation of the results; at the same time, the interpreter runs the risk of a false negative interpretation if dialect credit is given for all instances of plural *-s* absence since it is not categorical in the dialect. Variable linguistic phenomena both dif-

ferentiate and characterize various varieties of a language, and these dimensions cannot be ignored in interpreting inherently variable linguistic data.

Another application of the variation paradigm to speech and language pathology relates to our understanding of systematic variation in relation to language change, whether it be language change over time, normal first or second language acquisition, or the replacement of disordered items with normative variants as a part of the remediation process. The acquisition of structures does not take place instantaneously, even when the new structures end up being categorical in the target variety. Instead, new and changing structures go through a period of systematic variation in which the old and the new structures coexist.

The model of language change associated with the variationist paradigm in sociolinguistics seems quite applicable to the kind of language change that takes place when a client moves from a disordered or delayed variant to a normative variant. Following Bailey (1973), it may be hypothesized that there are a number of stages that change goes through in the ideal movement from the categorical use of one variant to its categorical replacement by another. In between these two points are variable stages that will show systematic constraints related to the “earlier” or “later” stages of the change.

Although change does not always follow the ideal model, the patterned nature of variation in change is sufficiently documented to allow its application to a broadly based set of language situations, including those of concern within communication disorders. Bailey (1973) and others (e.g. Chambers/Trudgill 1998) have even maintained that there is a prototype *RATE OF CHANGE* that is associated with the model, namely the *f*-shaped curve in which a given change begins quite gradually; after reaching a certain point, it picks up momentum and proceeds at a much faster rate. Finally, it tails off slowly before reaching completion. While the variation model, including the rate of change corollary, has not yet been verified empirically in the examination of language remediation, it offers a powerful model for understanding and describing variation and change in communication disorders. It may even offer a non-arbitrary basis for interpreting “cut-off” points in determining the fundamental acquisition of units.

## 5. The social context of communication disorders

Several developing trends in the field of communication disorders point to a growing theoretical and practical concern for the fact that language use is a highly contextualized, socially-embedded process potentially influenced by a wide array of sociolinguistic factors (Hymes 1974; Preston 1986). One trend inspiring the increased consideration of language contextualization comes from the growing discomfort with the ecological validity of assessment and remediation models that, according to Kovarsky and Crago (1991, 44) “fragment language behaviors into discrete, quantifiable components which bear little resemblance to the intricate manner in which language users function in the real world”.

Although the field of communication disorders has sometimes venerated the experimental method and the use of standardized, discrete point language assessment, it has now been forced to confront more broadly based sociolinguistic issues that challenge assumptions about the validity of data restricted to experimental and specialized assessment contexts (Wolfram 1976b; 1983). It is essential to consider contextual issues related to language assessment and remediation for all subjects, but particularly for those subjects who represent linguistically and culturally diverse backgrounds.

There are two primary ways in which context must be factored into the equation of the prototypical clinical situation where assessment and remediation traditionally take place. On the one hand, clients bring to the clinical setting a set of sociocultural schemata that determine how they make sense of the social occasion. For the orderly interpretation of data, subjects must enter into the clinical frame so that the language variables being assessed or manipulated can be tapped in a meaningful way. How subjects “make sense” of clinical contexts based on their background experiences is, however, a fundamental sociolinguistic question.

One of the sociolinguistic predicaments that may arise in a clinical setting is the *extraction problem*, in which subjects fail to enter into the experimental frame constructed by the experimental designer (Wolfram 1976b). Instead, subjects apply to the occasion sense-making strategies, including language usage schemes, from their socio-

cultural background experiences. In one sociolinguistic study of an experimental testing context, for example, Emihovich (1990) shows how a subset of subjects attempted to give meaning to standardized, tape-recorded instructions for a comprehension task by “personalizing” the situation. Subjects thus created an interpretation of the instructions that made sense in terms of background experience but not necessarily one that was in line with assumptions of the experimental task.

Experimental situations are a kind of speech event in their own right that calls forth a specialized kind of sociolinguistic behavior. This may result in a specialized *sociolinguistic task problem*. In one ethnographic study of the role of vernacular dialects in special education, Adger, Wolfram, and Detwyler (1993) uncovered sociolinguistic behavior that could be explained only by appealing to the particularized context of the testing task. In fact, Adger, et al. (1993) show that pattern pressure from the task frame actually outweighed subjects’ grammatical intuitions and resulted in a specialized type of hypercorrection as a by-product of the task. The ethnographic observation and ethnomethodological probing of responses to test items indicates that the specialized context of the testing occasion can indeed set up a very specialized sociolinguistic context – a context that needs to be described and understood in its own right if speech and language pathologists are to interpret data from such occasions in a reasonable way.

The increasing concern for language functions vis-à-vis language form within communication disorders has moved the field towards a more broadly based ethnographic vantage point. Under the loosely defined rubric of *pragmatics*, developing concern with speech acts, speech events, conversational routines, and discourse narratives has clearly stretched the limits of the traditional, interactional clinical setting. It is now common practice to include in an assessment battery a line of inquiry that can tap representative dimensions of language functions (Gallagher 1991). In this respect, the field of communication disorders is aligning itself more with the division in linguistics that focuses on the empirically based study of language use rather than cognitively based organizational principles of universal grammar.

A functionally oriented perspective in communication disorders has obvious implications for the type of data collected, the procedures used in collecting data, the contexts in which data are collected, and the analytical tools used in analyzing and interpreting data. For example, in many instances, this focus compels clinicians to gather more qualitative types of data – as viewed from the vantage point of an ethnographer – and to adopt appropriate ethnographic roles vis-à-vis the traditional, prescribed clinical context. The observational domain for communication is thus extended to include a variety of contexts beyond the clinical setting. Furthermore, this viewpoint requires clinicians to consider communication norms and definitions of communicatively disordered behavior in a more community-embedded context (Crago 1988) – a viewpoint that is also aware of a client's social networks in the community (Milroy 1987).

Another trend relying on an underlying sociolinguistic perspective relates to the practical issue of *generalization* in remediation. Of the various types of generalization (e.g. paradigmatic and syntagmatic structural transfer) traditionally recognized in the field of communication disorders (Winitz 1975), the most elusive type has always been so-called *situational transfer*, in which clinical behavior is generalized to everyday communication. Identifying and programming the stages of situational transfer in order to access the array of everyday contexts for language use is essentially a sociolinguistic problem (Rice 1986). As such, it calls for a significant understanding of the multifarious dimensions of the ethnography of speaking as a starting point (Kovarsky/Crago 1991). Traditional sociolinguistic dimensions of situation – participants, purposes, genres, and norms for participating in speech events – must all be recognized and programmed into the process that moves a person from the speech event of the therapy room to everyday conversation (Katz 1990).

#### 6. Sociolinguistic education in speech and language pathology

One of the incipient roles for speech and language pathology is a proactive educational one with respect to sociolinguistic diversity. This role is especially appropriate for clinicians who serve educational systems, but it

may be an appropriate role for those who serve in other settings as well. There are a couple of reasons for supporting such a role for speech and language pathologists (Wolfram 1993b). For one, there is a historic reason, as clients representing legitimate dialect divergence have traditionally been referred to speech and language pathologists for treatment along with those having genuine language pathologies. Speech and language professionals thus are positioned to play a strategic role in those institutional settings that remain operationally confused about the distinction between disorder and difference. This list includes educators, health care professionals, other assessment specialists such as psychologists, and clients themselves.

There is also an ethical reason for this stance that relates to the continued tolerance of language discrimination in society. As Milroy and Milroy (1999, 2) put it:

“Although discrimination on the grounds of race, religion, and social class is not now publicly acceptable, it appears that discrimination on linguistic grounds *is* publicly acceptable, even though linguistic differences may themselves be associated with ethnic, religious and class differences.”

Concern for social and educational equity with respect to language differences ought to be a sufficient sociopolitical motivation for involving speech and language pathologists in the education process about language variation, since the basis for language discrimination ultimately derives from an unjustified set of underlying attitudes and primitive beliefs about language differences. It stands to reason that language professionals who are knowledgeable about legitimate language differences might be responsibly involved in this process.

Furthermore, the ascribed role of the speech and language pathologist as a recognized language expert should place clinicians in a position to be heard on language matters. When speech and language pathologists speak about language, people listen. Adger et al. (1993) observe that the speech and language pathologist is the cultural guardian of language in education, so that even when educators and administrators don't listen, the clinician still bears the moral authority to speak. And some educational institutions may be particularly receptive to the sociolinguistic message in

light of the current educational attempts to expand language awareness programs (Wolfram/Adger/Christian 1999).

Finally, in many educational settings there is an expanding role for speech and language pathologists in mainstream classroom education (Simon 1987). For example, in the United States it is becoming increasingly common for speech and language pathologists to augment language activities in the mainstream classroom, in addition to their traditional "pull out" therapy sessions with students. Speech and language pathologists are taking a more active and a more collaborative role related to general educational activities involving language. Speech and language pathologists may therefore use some of these collaborative educational opportunities to introduce students and professional colleagues to the orderly nature of sociolinguistic diversity.

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## 252. Therapeutic Discourse/Therapeutischer Diskurs

1. Introduction
2. Linguistic and psychological interest in the topic
3. The role of language in psychoanalysis
4. Lacan’s ‘Language of the Self’
5. Brief therapy
6. Cognitive therapy
7. Therapeutic discourse as a focus of linguistic theory
8. Language and power in the therapeutic context
9. Literature (selected)

### 1. Introduction

Linguists and psychotherapists alike approach this topic looking for answers to several questions:

First, how can (mere) language cure – that is, be *therapeutic*? What kind of language cures?

Secondly, how do therapists use language as a diagnostic or window into the mind? Who decides what is ‘normal’ or ‘abnormal’ linguistic behavior, and how?

Finally, what do the special uses of language in psychotherapy reveal about language use more generally? Just as syntacticians have traditionally used ungrammatical sentences as tests of the rules of grammar, so pragmaticists and semanticists might look for naturally occurring, but recognizably aberrant, structures against which to test their hypotheses. What about a patient’s or client’s utterances leads therapists to make interpretations or interventions – what do they recognize as unusual or even pathological? In what part or parts of the grammar is pathology to be located?

### 2. Linguistic and psychological interest in the topic

Hence linguists and therapists share an interest in language. As social scientists, both

address the question: What does it mean to be human? But despite these connections, the fields diverge in their attempts to understand language.

Linguists who have examined psychotherapeutic discourse use the special linguistic behaviors of the psychotherapeutic interview to understand:

- the relationship between the organization of the psyche, and the organization of the grammar (Edelson 1975; Lakoff 1968);
- the structure of conversation (Labov and Fanshel 1977);
- the role of indirectness in therapeutic discourse, in diagnosis, and elsewhere in the special circumstances of the therapeutic relationship (Ferrara 1994);
- the relationship between language form, therapeutic intervention, and power (Lakoff and Coyne 1993).

To examine these questions, linguists use the theories of pragmatics and sociolinguistics developed over the last half century by philosophers of language and sociolinguists, for example J. L. Austin (1962) on the connection between language and action (‘performativity’), and the relationship between speaker’s intention and hearer’s understanding (‘illocutionary force’); H. P. Grice (1975) on the relationship between direct and indirect expression (‘conversational implicature’); Penelope Brown and Stephen C. Levinson (1987) on cross-cultural forms and understandings of politeness (‘face’ and ‘face-threatening acts’). Linguists tend to construe their task as using a special kind of language to illuminate the workings of language in general.

Psychotherapists have a more practical interest in the intersection between language and therapy. Their patients/clients come to them in distress. Their job is to relieve that

distress using their own and their client's language in various ways, depending on the theory within which they are working. For a classical psychoanalyst, the task may be to figure out, from the narratives patients produce, the origin of their symptoms, seeing themselves as physicians who diagnose illness and treat its symptoms with interpretations and other verbal interventions (analogous to medications (cf. Freud 1911–15, who speaks of the 'dosage' and 'titration' of interpretations)). For psychotherapists working in Bateson's model (cf. Bateson 1972; Haley 1963; Watzlawick, Beavin and Jackson 1967), attention to language is focused in the present, the time of the interview and the presenting problem; there is much less concern with discovering the traumas in the past that have led to this distorted current communication. Cognitive therapists encourage clients to perceive themselves as understanding the world through a frame (cf. Tannen 1979) that is not working well for them, and to realize that by making changes in that frame they can change their reality.

### 3. The role of language in psychoanalysis

A major contribution of Sigmund Freud was the understanding of the connection between unclear communication and psychic distress. In his early writings (e. g. Freud 1900), he saw distorted communication (whether in the form of dream-symbols, jokes, slips of the tongue, or hysterical or obsessional symptoms) as the basis of neurosis. Children learn that some things may not be acknowledged even to themselves – especially sexual or aggressive desires. So they dam them up in the unconscious. But these urges find expression in distorted form. A hysteric, in this theory, finds herself literally unable to see, yet there is no physical impediment to vision. Freud might interpret the blindness as the patient's way of saying that seeing something is intolerable: parental intercourse, for instance. The analyst hears the patient's story and senses a lack of connection in it, and makes an interpretation that connects the symptom with what it stands for, making the unconscious conscious. The analyst's interpretation takes the patient's communication from the illogical form of the primary process (an infantile state of psychic organization) to the undistorted logic of adult (secondary process) ideation. Since the dis-

tortion no longer functions, it disappears and the patient can see again. Neurosis is a misuse of language; psychoanalysis connects language to meaning once more.

In his 'Papers on Technique' (Freud 1911–15), Freud discusses the use the therapist is to make of the patient's utterances on the couch. The therapist is to start off by explaining to the patient the 'fundamental rule' of psychoanalysis: "[W]hatever comes into one's head must be reported without criticizing it" (1912, 107); [the patient] "must relate everything that his self-observation can detect, and keep back all the logical and affective objections that induce him to make a selection from among them ..." (ibid., 115). But this generally proves impossible, and the analyst's job is to remain alert (listening with 'evenly suspended attention') to violations, which become the basis of interpretations. One can see here an implicit understanding of Grice's (1975) principles of conversational logic. When a patient has to resort to implicature despite being instructed not to, there are grounds for interpretation.

Freud's concept of interpretable language stops at the level of the word or phrase, and thus is relatively concrete and small-scale. Later developments of psychoanalysis deepen and extend the linguistic territory accessible to psychoanalytic interpretation. In this, the development of psychoanalytic theory and technique during the twentieth century parallels the development of linguistic theory and technique. In both, the first attempts to codify and make sense of language took place at the level of the concrete, small-scale, and finite: the sound (in linguistics), the word, the phrase. Distortion occurs through the inappropriate 'translation' of the words of language into other forms of expression. Interpretation removes the need for and function of this kind of symbol-substitution. By the middle of the century, transformational generative grammar viewed sentences as the products of psychological rules: sentence types were related via the elementary operations of addition, deletion, substitution, and permutation. Psychoanalysts began to see psychic processes in very similar terms not long afterward, explaining defense mechanisms as based on psychic processes analogous to the elementary operations of transformational syntax (Edelson 1975; Lakoff 1978). The mechanism of denial is a sort of deletion; reaction-formation, a form of permutation.

Still later, pragmaticists and sociolinguists were turning their attention to larger, more abstract, and less determinate units: the utterance (Austin 1962) and the conversational turn (Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson 1974). The early work of Schafer (1976) incorporates speech-act theory into psychoanalysis. Misunderstanding the performative intention of a speaker (including oneself), or misunderstanding the indirect illocutionary force of an utterance creates confusion and distress; interpretation consists of recognizing the ambiguity and discerning the contextually appropriate meaning. Recent work in sociolinguistics and pragmatics has focused on still larger, more abstract and indeterminate units: the narrative and the discourse (Labov 1972; Schiffrin 1994), focusing on coherency and cohesion in narratives, and discovering that, like sentences, they are rule-governed. Similarly psychoanalysts began to rethink interpretation: writers like Schafer 1980 and Spence 1982 see psychic distress as derived from living with a distorted life story; in analysis patient and therapist work together to construct a coherent narrative.

Recent writers also look differently at the therapeutic conversation itself. Classical analysis saw the nonprofessional partner as a passive *patient*, whom the doctor's active interventions cure. Interpretation is one-sided: the patient must accept it, or is suffering from 'resistance'. But just as deconstructionists and American literary theorists such as Stanley Fish have been reinterpreting the relationships among author, reader, and text as collaborative and equally creative; and linguists have come to view the meanings of texts as created jointly by all participants, with none having sole interpretive rights; so recent revisions of psychoanalytic theory understand therapy as a collaborative discourse. The patient (or client: see below) comes in with a problematic narrative that is creating distress. Patient and therapist collaborate on the re-weaving of the narrative, until the result is both coherent and cohesive and acceptable to both.

This revision of role necessitates a change in vocabulary. Today probably the majority of contemporary therapists refer to those in treatment not as 'patients' but as 'clients'. This shift represents a significant reinterpretation of the therapeutic situation: not as cast in the medical model, but framed as an egalitarian and collaborative relationship in

which one partner may have more knowledge, but the other is still an active and intelligent participant.

#### 4. Lacan's 'Language of the Self'

While derivatives of ego psychology are probably still dominant in America in the early 21<sup>st</sup> century, other psychoanalytic models exist as well, in particular the version of psychoanalysis developed by Jacques Lacan. Lacan, a French theorist closely linked with Derrida and deconstructionism, believed that Freud, in shifting his interests from the id to the ego, had betrayed his own revolution. He developed a distinct version of psychoanalysis, with its own theory of how language creates and ameliorates psychic distress. Like Freud, Lacan (1968) saw language, or discourse, as creating mind. The mind is itself a linguistic construct: the unconscious and conscious in (typically imperfect) communication. We are aware of the discourse of the conscious and accept it as our own; but if we are aware at all of the communicative attempts of the unconscious, we sense them as strange – the 'discourse of the other'.

Lacan borrows from Saussure the distinction between the linguistic 'signifier' and the concept it represents, the 'signified'. For Lacan the signifier has supremacy over the signified: we make meaning not only by a simple link between the two, but via what Lacan calls a 'signifying chain', the linkage between a word or signifier, its metaphorical and metonymic extensions, and ultimately the concept it represents. In general we are not conscious of the intermediate links on the chain.

The aim of analysis, for Lacanians, is to make explicit those complex chains of meaning, the roles played by metaphor and metonymy, which may be cultural but may also be individual and idiosyncratic. The analyst's interpretations lead the patient to understand explicitly the linguistic (expressive or discursive) relationships among the signifier and the signified; the unconscious and the conscious; and the word and the concept.

#### 5. Brief therapy

Orthodox analysis is normally lengthy, as narratives must be told and examined, interpretations made again and again. It seems to work most uncontroversially for individuals, rather than couples or families. If one

member of a couple or family is treated alone, the result very often is the dissolution of the relationship as the couple's dysfunctional interactive patterns may have kept the relationship working. Starting in the 1940s, theories arose not only in response to these and other problems with orthodox analysis, but also because their originators came to see the relationship between language, distress, therapy, and alleviation quite differently from their psychoanalytic colleagues.

Many versions of 'brief therapy' developed from the ideas of Gregory Bateson 1972. Bateson's first work in this area focused on schizophrenia, which he saw as arising from parental (generally maternal) miscommunication with the affected child. The parent communicates *paradoxically*: says one thing verbally but nonverbally signifies the opposite. The child (whose power and communicative skills do not allow him or her to question the parent's utterance) tries to make sense of the communication but fails. He or she has been put into a *double bind*: a situation in which it is necessary to obey paradoxical injunctions. The only way out is insanity: the refusal to engage in meaningful communication at all.

Bateson suggested that the schizophrenic (and in later work, others caught in similar paradoxes) could escape from distress and incompetence only by moving beyond the double bind to a higher level of understanding at which the paradox was broken or resolved, what he called 'deutero-learning'. It consists in learning to learn: learning to see the two prongs of the paradox as a single interpretive option, and recognizing the possibility of another option, ignoring the problematic communication or otherwise treating it as nonsensical, rather than attempting to satisfy the creator of the paradox by obedience. The trick was not to try to 'understand' the unintelligible, or to make sense of incoherence, but to use it as an opening ploy in the creation of a different communicative model.

Bateson and his successors made this theory the basis of 'brief' or 'paradoxical' therapy (cf. Haley 1963; Watzlawick, Beavin, and Jackson 1967). They treat only families or couples, and they permit only a finite number of sessions, determined at the start of the relationship. Their assumption is that the couple/family is in distress because of bad communication among its members (as classical psychoanalytic assumes that neur-

osis occurs because of disrupted communication between the parts of an individual's psyche). While they do not necessarily rule out the possibility that a family's bad communication is due to the deep-seated problems of one or more of its members, they see the therapist's role as operating to change the family's communicative practices here and now: to interfere directly and explicitly in the ways the members use language so that they can no longer use it for the same disruptive ends. Sometimes, for example, they identify a strategy developed by one or more member of the family as problematic. A psychoanalytically oriented family therapist would attempt to discover the reason for this use of bad communication. The brief therapist will make the pattern explicit, showing how the same pattern keeps recurring in different forms. This explicit recognition of dysfunctional behaviors makes it difficult for the family to continue to use them 'by accident' or without 'meaning' to. They have acquired new meanings and functions. At the very least, the other members can now comment on them. Power relations shift.

Some brief therapists go still further, creating paradoxes reminiscent of the double bind in an attempt to break old patterns irrevocably. When a negative pattern is identified explicitly the therapist, rather than discouraging its use, will assign it as 'homework' to be done and then discussed at the next session. When it becomes something clients 'must' do, rather than something they 'just happen' to do, its meaning is reversed and it no longer provides the gratification it did in its original contextualization. The family is forced to change its strategies of communication.

## 6. Cognitive therapy

Still other models have been devised to supersede psychoanalysis. One currently very popular form is cognitive therapy (Beck 1976). Cognitive therapy, as the name implies, make use of a major concept of cognitive psychology, the *frame* (Tannen 1979), an idea that has also been productive in semantics, pragmatics, and sociolinguistics. Frames are defined as 'structures of expectation': people perceive reality through frames that direct their interpretations of experience. In a classroom frame, one expects to hear a lecture, and interprets the lecturer's utterances accordingly. If at a party someone

proceeded to orate in the same way, it would seem bizarre. In the same way we frame our life experience. Someone might see himself as one to whom nothing good ever happens because he doesn't deserve it. Then whatever happens, he will see it as bad, and rightly so, and will make no attempt to change it. The stories people tell, to themselves and others, about themselves and their lives ensure that they will repeat those histories, since they fit the frame that has been set up.

Cognitive therapists teach clients to recognize and reject the negative frames they have created, and to change language to restructure them. Clients learn that the old, unsuccessful versions of their stories are only one set of possibilities, to which they can create alternatives.

#### 7. Therapeutic discourse as a focus of linguistic theory

The foregoing sections have concentrated on the use made by therapists of theories of language. But the relationship between language and therapy can be viewed from the other side. Linguists have made use of the special uses and understandings of language by therapists and their patients/clients to shed light on language form and function more generally. While there has not been a great deal done in this area, there has been some interesting work.

It would seem to be a natural extension of linguistics, especially pragmatics and sociolinguistics, to investigate the linguistic practices of the therapeutic consulting room. Along with language in the courtroom, therapeutic discourse is a case in point of language that is, in an Austinian sense, world-changing: by language alone people can alter their minds and therefore the world in which they move. More mysterious is how that takes place: how abstract words can change concrete reality.

The first work to look at therapeutic discourse from at least a partially linguistic perspective (of the three authors, only Hockett was a linguist) is a short book by Pittenger, Hockett, and Danehy (1960), *The First Five Minutes*. In this work the researchers take the first five minutes of a psychoanalytic session and investigate it in close detail: the verbal language, paralinguistics, and gestures by patient and analyst. The authors make use of many of Bateson's theoretical observations, for example that

humans are always communicating with one another, whether they mean to or not, across a wide array of channels; that they are always, intentionally or not, communicating about themselves whatever else they are explicitly saying; that all communication is culturally determined; that any message is overdetermined, i. e. has multiple meanings.

As a structural linguist, Hockett was compelled not to make inferences about intention and understanding – not to engage in 'mentalist' interpretation. But the next relevant work, published in the late 1970s, Labov and Fanshel's (1977) *Therapeutic Discourse*, makes much use of recent developments in transformational syntax, linguistic pragmatics, and conversation analysis. The authors study tapes of a series of therapeutic sessions with a young woman suffering from anorexia nervosa. Like Pittenger, Hockett, and Danehy, Labov and Fanshel examine the discourse from all available perspectives, but they concentrate on speech acts and conversational logic. In particular the authors focus on the development, by therapist and client, of a narrative: what the client's symptoms mean for her, and how they have come over time to mean what they mean. This book was influential in moving psychoanalysis to understanding the importance of narrative, and through its microanalyses of the discourse of the sessions, demonstrates the relationships between linguistic forms (words, syntax, speech acts, etc.) and the functions for which, intentionally or otherwise, they may be used in discourse (e. g. as explanation, defense, criticism, or denial).

A more recent work also uses tapes from therapeutic sessions and applies microanalytic techniques to them: Kathleen Ferrara's (1994) *Therapeutic Ways with Words*. Ferrara has two main aims: first, to discuss the therapeutic conversation from an ethnographic perspective, as discourse. How do members of a culture (and therapist and client are members of our culture) use language to accomplish their ends? In this sense, Ferrara's examination uses therapeutic discourse as simply a special case of conversational strategy as it is employed by members of western (English and American) societies. Secondly, she focuses on the data as specifically *psychotherapeutic* discourse: assuming that many of participants' aims in this kind of discourse are the same as in any other, in what ways is the discourse of therapy different – both in form and function –

from the 'ordinary conversation' Freud saw therapeutic discourse as representing? Ferrara uses an array of pragmatic and sociolinguistic theories and methods: Labovian and Schiffrinian discourse analysis; Gricean and Austinian ordinary language philosophy; and the conversation analysis pioneered by Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson (1974).

### 8. Language and power in the therapeutic context

Finally, there is one more intersection of the interests of sociolinguistics and psychotherapy: therapeutic dialogue as an exemplar of power imbalance. Conversation analysts often assume that all parties to a conversation have equal power and therefore equal opportunity to contribute and make meaning. But in virtually all kinds of psychotherapy, this assumption is false, since the therapist is 'healthy' and expert, the one who can 'cure' the other, and therefore the one with the right to make interpretations of the other's life, utterances, and symptoms. That greatly restricts the patient's or client's possibilities – a restriction the latter is assumed to be willing to accept in order to get 'help', and one which can be beneficial.

But when the participants come into therapy from real-world positions of inequality – if the therapist is male and the client female; or the former upper-class and the latter lower – then there is a real danger of harmful misinterpretation, or the use of the tools of therapy to convince the client to 'adjust' – to behave in a way more compliant to the needs of the more powerful members of the culture. In this case therapy can be used not to benefit the client, but to mask the desires of the larger society to reinforce and justify the status quo.

Lakoff and Coyne (1993) discuss this problem in their treatment of Freud's case of Dora. They consider Freud's case history from a number of angles: the language of both participants, and what it seems to mean; Freud's own probable distortions in the telling of the story; and whether the problems in this case arise from Freud's situation in a society with particular assumptions, and the vulnerability of psychoanalysis to abuses of this kind, or whether (as the authors suggest) the dangers to a vulnerable client illustrated in this case history could happen as well in other forms of psychotherapy, and in other social milieux.

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## 253. Sociolinguistics and Intercultural Communication Soziolinguistik und interkulturelle Kommunikation

1. Introduction: What is intercultural communication?
2. Intercultural contact and communication issues
3. Analysing intercultural interactions
4. An illustrative analysis
5. Developing intercultural competence
6. Literature (selected)

### 1. Introduction: What is intercultural communication?

Intercultural communication is concerned with communication between people from different sociocultural groups. It focuses on the role played by culture-level factors (in contrast to individual and universal factors), and explores their influence on the communication process. As Gudykunst (2000) explains, the terms ‘cross-cultural’ and ‘intercultural’ are often regarded as interchangeable, but in fact are different. Cross-cultural studies are comparative in nature, and compare, for example, English strategies for starting conversations with German ones; intercultural studies, on the other hand, examine interactions between people from different cultural backgrounds, such as conversations between English and German students. This article focuses on intercultural communication, since the need for application relates primarily to this aspect. Nevertheless, as explained in section 3.5, if intercultural phenomena are to be explained adequately, it is essential to refer to comparative data.

Culture is notoriously difficult to define. In intercultural communication, culture is usually interpreted in rather broad terms; for example, Roberts/Davies/Jupp (1992, 114) explain it as “that which defines the group part of an individual’s identity in terms of learned and shared behaviour.” Culture is thus associated with social groups, but of course there are many different ways of dividing people into social groups, depending on the criteria used; e.g. sex – gender groups, ethnicity – ethnic groups, age – generation groups, religion – religious groups, nationality – national groups, occupation – professional groups, language – linguistic groups.

In intercultural communication, the criteria used most frequently to differentiate so-

cial groups are language, ethnicity, and nationality. In fact, communication between members of any of the other groups could technically be regarded as intercultural communication, and some authors (e.g. Scollon/Scollon 1995) include such a range. However, the focus of intercultural communication studies is typically on communication between people who speak different languages, have different ethnic backgrounds, and/or have different nationalities.

### 2. Intercultural contact and communication issues

#### 2.1. Intercultural contact

Intercultural communication obviously occurs in intercultural contact settings. These settings, and the types of people who may be involved, can be very variable; for example, they could involve students who go overseas to study and who thus interact with local students and staff and perhaps with students from other countries; they could involve business people who go abroad, either for short visits or for long-term postings, and who interact with local business people as well as other members of the local community; they could involve service sector staff, such as doctors, nurses, or employment agency staff, who work in multicultural settings, or employees of companies that have a culturally diverse workforce.

Naturally, intercultural communication occurs in a very wide range of domains, including education, international business, healthcare, the workplace and the community. According to Fan (1994), from a language point of view, there are three main types of contact situations: cognate variety situations, which involve participants who speak the same language but possess different sociocultural rules (e.g. mainland and overseas Chinese); partner variety situations, which involve native speaker – non-native speaker interaction; and third-party variety situations, in which the participants use a language that is nonnative for all of them (e.g. Japanese – Chinese interacting in English). For a discussion of other variables that can distinguish different types of intercultural contact, see Bochner (1982).

## 2.2. Communication issues

Intercultural communication is typically regarded as potentially very problematic. Needless to say, not all intercultural communication is problematic, and conversely, serious communication problems can occur in intracultural communication. Nevertheless, the emergence of intercultural communication as a field and the rapid expansion of intercultural training courses are largely the result of the difficulties perceived to be associated with communication across cultures. Sometimes the difficulties may involve communication breakdown, in which the participants misunderstand each other's messages in some way (see, for example, Thomas 1983 on pragmatic failure). However, as Bilbow (1997) points out, in many intercultural interactions there may be no obvious communication breakdowns, yet the participants may 'misperceive' each other because of differences in communicative styles.

What kind of problems, then, are reported as occurring in intercultural encounters? Here are some examples of genuine difficulties that have been described in the linguistics literature. Tyler (1995) analyses a tutoring session between a Korean teaching assistant who was a computer science graduate and an American student who needed help with a programming assignment. Both participants were motivated to perform well, yet at the end of the tutoring session, both of them approached the supervisor independently and complained about the other's uncooperative attitude. Marriott (1990) analyses an interaction between two businessmen, one Australian and one Japanese, who met for the first time to explore business possibilities between their two companies. After the meeting, both participants evaluated the interaction somewhat negatively, especially in terms of the way the other handled the event. Gumperz/Jupp/Roberts (1979) analyse a job interview involving a South Asian candidate and a white British panel. The interviewers did not offer the candidate the job because they felt he was unable to explain his suitability for the position; they also found him rather aggressive and difficult to deal with. The candidate, on the other hand, felt he had been discriminated against. Bailey (1997) explores service encounters involving Korean retailers and African American customers.

Through interviews he finds that the African American customers often felt that the Korean retailers were racist and looked down upon them, while the retailers often felt that the African Americans were selfish and imposing. Vann (1997) examines conversational speech data gathered in Barcelona from two social networks that differed principally by language preferences. He discusses the impact that political ideology and language use can have on a bilingual community, especially in terms of the social, economic and political conflict that it can foment. Bunte/Franklin (1992) describe the problems faced by Paiute and Navajo witnesses when they appeared at formal hearings over land rights in Arizona. White Americans evaluated some speakers' testimonies as irrelevant or incoherent, and judged the speakers to be senile, while several of the Paiute informants became hostile because of the way they were questioned in court. The authors claim that differences in role expectations and communicative styles were responsible for these negative mutual impressions.

It seems that problems such as these can be divided into two main (but interrelated) types: (a) task-related problems, i. e. difficulties in achieving certain goals (e. g. getting a job, clinching a contract, winning a court case, motivating staff, understanding someone's problem), and (b) relationship problems, i. e. problems of misunderstanding, misinterpretation and misattribution, which can result in prejudice, negative stereotyping and/or open conflict. Obviously these kinds of problems can easily occur in intracultural communication, so they cannot automatically be attributed to 'cultural differences'. Nevertheless, sometimes they may justifiably be, and in-depth analyses of the sources of the problems can be helpful for those involved.

## 2.3. Intercultural competence and training

Since intercultural encounters can be difficult to manage effectively, this has stimulated interest in the notion of intercultural competence and has led to the development of intercultural training courses. Brislin/Yoshida (1994) maintain that good training programmes should aim to: (1) assist people to positively enjoy intercultural contact and to benefit from it; (2) assist people to develop positive and respectful intercultural relationships, in which the positive feelings are



reciprocated; (3) assist people in intercultural settings to accomplish the tasks associated with their work; (4) assist people to deal effectively with the inevitable stress that accompanies intercultural experiences.

To achieve these aims, Brislin/Yoshida (1994) propose a four-step approach to intercultural training. Step one is awareness raising: training to heighten awareness of the cultural component of communication, including self-awareness and sensitivity to circumstances. Step two is knowledge provision: providing trainees with appropriate knowledge relating to their immediate concerns, such as housing or visa regulations; to intercultural issues in general, such as culture shock, anxiety and prejudice; and to culture-specific information which will provide them with useful background knowledge such as on the history, politics etc. of a given country/region. Step three is emotional management: training which helps people understand and deal with the emotional impact of crossing cultures. And step four is skills development: training which helps trainees put into practice the things that they have gained head-knowledge of.

#### 2.4. The contribution of sociolinguistics

What then can sociolinguistics offer the field? The main contribution is to provide the tools and conceptual frameworks needed for in-depth analysis of intercultural interactions. In most books and journals on intercultural communication (e.g. Samovar/Porter 1995; Lustig/Koester 1996; Gudykunst 1998, the *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*), there is little or no analysis of actual intercultural interactions. The chapters and articles deal with issues such as definitions of culture, why cultures differ, fundamental cultural values, the communication process, and intercultural competence, and propose and evaluate conceptual models that aim to predict and/or explain differences between cultural groups. The focus is thus on cultural groups and their characteristics, rather than on the interaction between members of those cultural groups.

Yet as has been noted above, the problems that people experience are on an interactional level, and as Bond/Žegarac/Spencer-Oatey (2000) explain, “‘Culture’ values like Power Distance do not apply to individuals [...] What is missing is a linkage from the cultural-level construct to an individual-

level construct”. Without this, there is a serious risk of dangerous generalisations. What is needed is a careful analysis of actual intercultural interactions, along with meaningful ‘unpackaging’ of culture as an explanatory variable (Bond/Žegarac/Spencer-Oatey 2000). Sociolinguistics has a tremendous amount to offer this process. It can provide the concepts and tools that allow such in-depth analyses of actual intercultural interactions, and it can thereby play a major role in raising people’s awareness of what really happens (and what maybe goes wrong) in the communication process. The next section thus identifies the different concepts and methods (many of which are dealt with earlier in articles in this handbook) that intercultural communication researchers need to draw on.

### 3. Analysing intercultural interactions

I believe that systematic analyses of actual intercultural encounters should involve the following five main components. This section considers each of these components in turn, identifying the concepts, frameworks and methodological approaches that can help inform such analyses.

#### 3.1. Describing the interactional context

One important component of an intercultural encounter is the interactional context in which it takes place. This includes both the *type* of interactional context it is, as well as the *actual* interactional context. By type of interactional context, I mean the type of communicative event/activity that it is (e.g. job interview, lecture), the type of setting it normally takes place in (e.g. lecture theatre, formal meeting room), the norms that are associated with it (e.g. norms of discourse organisation and management), the number of people who are ‘typically’ present and their normative role relations (e.g. expected amount of inequality between lecturer and student), and so on. By actual interactional context, I mean the characteristics of the *actual*, rather than the typical context. So for example, a particular lecture may take place in a large tiered lecture-theatre or in a small room with movable chairs, the participants could be 20 or 300, and the lecturer could know the students well and have developed a comfortable rapport with

them or they could be virtual strangers to each other.

This kind of description of the interactional context draws heavily on work in the ethnography of speaking. For example, the features that Hymes (1972) identified as necessary for an adequate description of a speech event include several that relate to the interactional context, including setting, participants, ends, and norms. A more in-depth perspective on participants is provided by pragmatics, and especially politeness theory, which explores issues such as power and distance relations, and the rights and obligations of participants towards each other.

### 3.2. Describing background factors

All interactions take place within a broader social context, and so to understand intercultural interactions in depth, it is necessary to consider relevant background factors. These can include socio-political or linguistic factors such as the prestige of a given language or ethnic group, fundamental cultural values in given societies, such as degree of individualism – collectivism or power distance, and the relative importance in given societies of certain ‘politeness’ considerations such as modesty or cost – benefit.

To provide adequate descriptions of such background factors, we need to draw on work in three broad areas: 1) work in language-contact studies, anthropological linguistics, and ethnographic description; 2) work in social and cross-cultural psychology on fundamental dimensions of cultural values (e.g. Hofstede 1991; Schwartz 1994) and social ‘rules’ (e.g. Argyle 1986); and 3) work in pragmatics on politeness maxims (Leech 1983; Spencer-Oatey 2002).

### 3.3. Describing interactional behaviour (i. e. the verbal and nonverbal behaviour of an intercultural interaction)

Description of the verbal behaviour of an interaction is obviously crucial, and needs to include relevant information from different linguistic levels (e.g. descriptions of prosodic, lexical, morpho-syntactic and pragmatic features), as well as information about choice of code. Nonverbal behaviour is also a vital part of the communication process, and so any description should ideally include non-verbal components (e.g. kinesic, proxemic, paralinguistic and chronemic features).

Work in the ethnography of speaking (Hymes 1972) identifies a number of aspects of interactional behaviour that need describing, including act sequences (e.g. the message form, or wording of what is said, and message content such as topic content and topic shift); instrumentalities (e.g. the channel or mode of communication, such as oral or written); key (the tone, manner or spirit in which a speech act is carried out), and genre (the formal characteristics of categories of language).

A very large amount of cross-cultural linguistic work has been carried out within the field of pragmatics, especially within the framework of politeness theory. Perhaps because of the major influence of Brown/Levinson’s (1978/1987) classic work on politeness and their notion of face-threatening acts, very many studies have focused on the performance of speech acts, and have explored issues such as use of the different semantic components of given speech act sets, directness/indirectness in performing speech acts such as requests, and the use of hedges and boosters (e.g. Blum-Kulka/House/Kasper 1989; Gass/Neu 1995). This clearly provides a useful set of analytic tools. However, relationships are obviously not only managed through the effective handling of certain (face-threatening) speech acts, and so as Spencer-Oatey (2000) argues, politeness theory needs to examine other components such as discourse and style. To gain insights into these, we need to turn to discourse analysis, conversational analysis and genre analysis. Work in these areas has provided tools for analysing features such as the discourse structure of an interaction (e.g. for a business negotiation meeting, the opening section, the various negotiation steps or stages, the closing section); the topic(s) of an interaction (e.g. topic choice, topic development, topic control); cohesion and coherence; the management or mismanagement of turn-taking; and preference organisation.

Descriptions of code choice and code-switching relate to work in bilingualism. And descriptions of nonverbal behaviour need to draw on work in anthropology (e.g. Hall 1959; 1966; Birdwhistell 1970), which provides classifications of nonverbal behaviour and explores the functions, meanings and significance of different types of nonverbal behaviour in varying contexts.

### 3.4. Describing interactional orientations and perceptions

In describing an intercultural interaction, it is important not only to describe the behaviour itself and the contextual and background factors relating to the behaviour, but also to describe how people orient towards an interaction, and how they interpret or react to it as it unfolds. For example, it is useful to know whether people start an interaction with positive intentions or with negative stereotypes and prejudice, and whether they feel annoyed, imposed upon or encouraged by given remarks or whole encounters.

Work in social psychology provides insights into social stereotyping and prejudice, and the effects that this can have on intergroup encounters. Accommodation theory focuses more specifically on the communication process, and explains the influence on people's communicative behaviour of sociopsychological orientations such as intergroup versus interpersonal orientations, and convergent versus divergent orientations. Politeness theory has traditionally maintained that it is generally "in every participant's best interest to maintain each others' face" (Brown/Levinson 1987, 61), and has concentrated on face-supportive behaviour. However, there are obviously occasions when people choose to attack or ignore other people's face concerns, and so Turner (1996) and Culpeper (1996) both argue that politeness theory needs to incorporate this notion. Spencer-Oatey (2000) thus suggests that participants can hold any of the following four orientations towards each other: rapport enhancement orientation (a desire to strengthen or enhance harmonious relations), rapport maintenance orientation (a desire to maintain or protect harmonious relations), rapport neglect orientation (a lack of concern or interest in the quality of relations between the interlocutors, perhaps because of a focus on self), and rapport challenge orientation (a desire to challenge or impair harmonious relations).

Needless to say, there can be mismatches in people's initial orientations and their actual reactions or perceptions, and different participants may react in different ways. It is important, therefore, to find out from people how they interpreted a given interaction (or certain incidents within it) by asking them directly. Work in interactional socio-

linguistics demonstrates the importance of doing this, and shows how post-event playback and/or analysis can be used to obtain this kind of information.

### 3.5. Explaining intercultural interactions

Analyses of intercultural interactions not only need to provide these various types of description, but also need to try and explain what happens, and why miscommunication and/or misperception does or does not occur. To achieve this, it is necessary to draw on a range of theoretical concepts and models within both linguistics and psychology.

Cognitive psychology deals (*inter alia*) with the representation of social knowledge, and the concepts of prototype, schema, frame and script are originally drawn from this field. The notion of frame was also developed by the sociologist, Goffman (1974). These cognitive concepts help us understand how contextual and background information is represented in the brain, and how people draw on them in ongoing interactions. Work in interactional sociolinguistics draws heavily on these concepts, and Gumperz's (1982; 1992a; 1992b) work on contextualisation cues has been particularly influential. Gumperz demonstrates that people's use of language is not a static reflection of a predefined social context; rather, the communicative context is interactively construed by the participants. When speakers produce utterances, they use detectable linguistic features to make them interpretable in the context – the so-called *contextualization cues*. If the participants are to interpret each other's contextualization cues as each speaker intended, obviously they need to have shared knowledge of the contextualization cues they are each using. But in intercultural interactions, this common repertoire of contextualization conventions is often lacking, and so mismatches occur in the meanings intended and the meanings inferred. As Shea (1994, 359) points out, "Because these metacommunicative interpretive processes are tacitly situated below the level of ordinary awareness, speakers do not realize that ... they inadvertently misinterpret the other speaker's intention. Participants tend to unthinkingly attribute the communicative difficulties they encounter to the negative personal (or cultural) traits of the other speakers." Sarangi (1994) criticises this explanatory approach because it explains everything in terms of culture-level

contextualization conventions, and minimises the impact of the interactional context. He thus calls for a communicative activity perspective, which combines the notion of contextualization cues with communicative activity conventions. This approach is compatible with work in pragmatics by Wierzbicka (1994) and Bond/Žegarac/Spencer-Oatey (2000) on cultural scripts.

Different explanatory perspectives are provided by politeness theory. Brown/Levinson (1978/1987) maintain that face is a universal concern and that it is the key motivating force for politeness. They argue that there are two main types of face (negative face, which is a person's want to be unimpeded by others, and positive face, which is a person's want to be appreciated and approved of by selected others), and that cultural groups can differ in their interactional ethos: some groups have a general preference to orient towards negative face concerns, while others have a general preference to orient towards positive face concerns. So when people with different preferences interact with each other, misperceptions and misattributions can occur. Similarly, problems can arise when people have differing norms as to which strategies to use in which contexts.

Both of these explanatory approaches make the assumption that people from different sociocultural groups have (or may have) different patterns or norms for producing and interpreting language. However, we cannot simply assume this is the case, and we certainly should not deduce it from isolated examples of problematic intercultural interactions. It is vital to carry out systematic research to verify (or discount) it empirically, and for this, contrastive sociolinguistic studies are vital. Spencer-Oatey (2000) maintains that cultural differences can occur in at least the following aspects: contextual assessment norms, whereby people from different sociocultural groups may assess features of the interactional context somewhat differently; sociopragmatic conventions, whereby they may hold differing sociocultural principles for managing relationships effectively; and pragmalinguistic conventions, whereby they may have differing conventions for selecting and interpreting linguistic strategies. And of course there can be differences in the inventory of linguistic strategies available in different lan-

guages (e. g. Japanese has a complex system of honorifics that does not exist in English), as well as differences in the fundamental cultural values held e. g. the preference to maintain or reduce differences in power because of 'power distance' values (Hofstede 1991).

However, even if contrastive sociolinguistic studies reveal normative differences between two given groups, this cannot in itself explain adequately any problems that occur during intercultural interactions. It simply assumes that the interactants use their mother tongue patterns, but does not explain why. Further insights can be gained by drawing on pragmatic transfer theory and accommodation theory. Normally, transfer is studied in the context of second language acquisition, but as Žegarac/Pennington (2000) point out, pragmatic transfer does not have to involve a second or foreign language; it can just as easily occur when people speak the same language but have different sociocultural backgrounds. These authors draw on relevance theory within pragmatics to explain miscommunications and misperceptions that occur in a number of intercultural encounters. An additional explanatory perspective is provided by accommodation theory. This theory points not to processing problems and mismatches, but rather to the speakers' preferences re converging to or diverging from each other's norms, and to the identity that they thereby negotiate (Ylänne-McEwan/Coupland 2000).

#### 4. An illustrative analysis

This section illustrates how intercultural interactions can be analysed in this way by examining Bailey's (1997) study of interethnic service encounters between immigrant Korean retail merchants and their African American customers. Bailey first provides some historical background to the situation, thus providing a description of the interactional background to the encounters. He also describes the interactional context, mentioning relevant features of the setting, such as the bulletproof glass in some shops which makes verbal interaction with customers difficult. In analysing the verbal and nonverbal behaviour of the encounters, Bailey draws particularly on conversation analysis. He focuses on features of the interaction that seem to be particularly important, such as the length of the encounters, whether the encounter is purely transac-

tional (i. e. task-focused) or whether it also has an interactional or relationship element, and whether the shopkeepers take a proactive or reactive interactional stance. Bailey builds up a small corpus of contrastive data, by recording encounters between Korean retailers and Korean customers, between Korean retailers and African American customers, and between African American cashiers and African American customers. He also carries out ethnographic and post-event interviews with the participants, to find out their reactions to and perceptions of the encounters. He found that for the intercultural encounters, both Korean and African American participants often evaluated the interaction somewhat negatively, especially in terms of the way the other handled the event. After analysing this data, he concludes that Koreans and African Americans hold different conceptions of several aspects of the interactional context: of the goal of a service encounter, of the storekeeper – customer relationship, and of the kinds of talk that are appropriate in a service encounter. Bailey then explains the problems that emerged in the intercultural interactions by referring to Brown/Levinson's (1978/87) concepts of positive and negative face, and by drawing on Gumperz's (1982) notion of contextualization cues.

Other detailed linguistic analyses of intercultural encounters can be found in, for example, Bilbow (1997), Birkner/Kern (2000), Günthner (2000), Marriott (1990), Miller (1995), Spencer-Oatey/Xing (1998; 2000), and Tyler (1995).

##### 5. Developing intercultural competence

How, then, do analyses such as these help people manage intercultural encounters more effectively? Their main contribution lies in the insights they provide into the communicative process, and their role in raising people's awareness of relevant issues. Bilbow (1997) suggests, for example, that the analytic material can be used for training purposes. He proposes that selected portions of intercultural encounters can be presented to trainees from different sociocultural groups, and the participants can be encouraged to discuss their perceptions and interpretations of the portions. The aim of this training is to help participants understand how their own discourse can affect other people's percep-

tions of them, and why other people may speak as they do.

What then does it mean to become intercultural competent? Is it related to communicative competence? Hymes (1972) put forward the notion of communicative competence as part of his critique of Chomsky. He argued that if people are to become competent speakers within their own community, they need to know more than the grammatical rules of their language – they also need to know the rules of use which enable them to use language appropriately. Hymes thus put emphasis on sociolinguistic competence. He was concerned with first language acquisition and with communication among native speakers; however, the concept was transferred to the aims and objectives of foreign language teaching and became a key concept in the communicative approach to foreign language teaching. Byram (1997) argues that this is misleading, because it implicitly suggests that foreign language learners should model themselves on first language speakers. This is problematic because it implies a 'deficit' view of intercultural communication. It implies that nonnative speakers need to acquire the sociolinguistic and sociocultural skills and knowledge of native speakers, and that intercultural training should help them acquire such skills.

Many people regard this as inadequate for several reasons. Firstly, intercultural communication does not only occur between native and nonnative speakers. As mentioned in section 2.1, there are two other main types of contact situations: those which involve participants who speak the same language but possess different sociocultural rules, such as British and Americans, and those in which the participants use a language that is nonnative for all of them, such as French and Finnish people interacting in English. Secondly, whose sociolinguistic and sociocultural norms should be taken as the standard? For third-party contact situations, it does not make sense to select the norms of native speakers of English. And even if they were selected, whose norms should be taken? Not only is it problematic choosing between different nationalities such as British and American, even identifying the norms within a country is difficult because there is tremendous variation between different social classes, regions, ages and so on. Thirdly, in our current world of global contact and multiculturalism, few

people interact with just one other cultural group; their intercultural contact involves people from many different cultural groups. Naturally, it is impractical to acquire the sociolinguistic and sociocultural norms of every group; what is more useful is a more generic intercultural competence.

Byram (1997, 50–3), therefore, argues that, for foreign language learners, intercultural competence should be defined in terms of the following objectives: attitudes (curiosity and openness, readiness to suspend disbelief about other cultures and belief about one's own), knowledge (of social groups and their products and practices in one's own and in one's interlocutor's country, and of the general processes of societal and individual interaction), skills of interpreting and relating (ability to interpret a document or event from another culture, to explain it and relate it to documents from one's own), and skills of discovery and interaction (ability to acquire new knowledge of a culture and cultural practices and the ability to operate knowledge, attitudes and skills under the constraints of real-time communication and interaction). Yet the debate continues. Acquiring the norms of another cultural group is not always perceived in 'deficit' terms, especially when there are few links to language proficiency. For example, in some business contexts, learning about (and maybe acquiring) the norms of a certain cultural group can offer a distinct competitive advantage. For instance, when Western business people learn to be less task-focused and more relationship-oriented during the early stages of business negotiations with the Chinese, this is often distinctly to their advantage. It seems, therefore, that much more research is needed into the notion of intercultural competence, and how it is applied in different contexts. Surely sociolinguistics can make a major contribution to this debate.

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## 254. Applied Social Dialectology / Angewandte Sozialdialektologie

1. Introduction
2. Dialectology and educational practice
3. Dialects in legal contexts
4. Dialects in the media
5. Dialectology in public
6. Conclusion
7. Literature (selected)

### 1. Introduction

In the second half of the twentieth century, scientific research on dialects established a knowledge base from which to address social problems involving dialect differences. Most of these problems derive from the fact that prevailing attitudes toward vernacular dialects continue to be largely negative or patronizing, although some community norms assign covert prestige to their use in some settings (Trudgill 1972) and certain vernacular dialects or structures are associated with positive attributes such as toughness and honesty (Wolfram, Adger, & Christian 1999). Despite such favorable evaluations in selected cases, dialect prejudice is endemic in public life, widely tolerated, and institutionalized in social enterprises that affect almost everyone, such as education and the media. There is limited knowledge about and little regard for linguistic study showing that all varieties of a language display systematicity and that the elevated social position of standard varieties has no scientific linguistic basis. This knowledge deficit results from limited formal education in linguistics and is reinforced by a powerful “correctness dictum” (Preston 1996) and folklore about language and language variation (Wolfram 1999). As a result of limited public understanding about basic sociolinguistic facts, dialect misinformation and stigmatization are difficult to attack.

In this chapter, we describe some applications of the social dialectology of English. The work we mention exemplifies ways in which findings from dialect research have been brought to bear on social institutions and processes, especially in education. All of it directly addresses dialect-related inequity or impaired understanding due to dialect differences. While comparable work can be carried out for dialects of other languages, we confine ourselves to applied dialectology related to the English language.

### 2. Dialectology and educational practice

Without a doubt, the primary locus of applied dialectology of English is in education, and the primary focus is teaching the standard language variety to speakers of vernacular dialects. This application represents a subtle philosophical shift in a long-standing educational undertaking. Traditionally, schools attempted to teach the standard variety using methods based on language myths, rather than dialect research. However, in the last three decades, the educational stance toward vernacular varieties has begun to shift. These days the linguist’s observation that no dialect is superior to another on structural grounds is often acknowledged in educational circles, but it is unfortunately not usually fully comprehended or embraced. Because teacher preparation does not routinely include a robust introduction to educational linguistics (Baugh 1999), teachers are unlikely to have the informational and ideological background that would encourage appreciation of a range of language varieties. It is even less likely that they will have the detailed knowledge about those varieties to support second dialect teaching and learning that might address the social disadvantage associated with vernacular dialects in educational and work settings.

Teachers who are not well informed about the structure of their students’ language varieties are likely to draw on the inaccurate popular notions about language reinforced in their own education and in extant instructional texts. Without curricular materials containing accurate dialect descriptions and realistic assumptions about educational settings, standard dialect instruction has been difficult and confusing for both teachers and students. For example, a program document designed to help college freshmen increase proficiency in the standard dialect incorrectly lists “He be at the pool hall” as the “Neighborhood English” equivalent of “Corporate English” “He’s at the pool hall” (Parker & Crist 1995). (The target structure here is African American Vernacular English [AAVE] invariant *be* that signals habitual action [Fasold 1972]. It equates to Standard English “He’s often/usually at the pool hall.”)



### 2.1. Programs and materials for teaching a standard variety as a second dialect

Materials that represent dialect research to audiences of educators and demonstrate its practical application to educational pursuits – reading and writing, as well as speaking – are beginning to appear. There are some high quality materials for using dialect research in standard language instruction for speakers of particular dialects (Christian 1997). Here we point to some that are well grounded in linguistic research and pedagogical method and that can serve as models for materials development elsewhere. They clearly illustrate applications of dialectology.

In Australia, the Catholic Education Office, Kimberley Region, has developed materials for teachers of Aboriginal students who speak Aboriginal English or an English-based creole (Berry & Hudson 1997). (The authors distinguish between *dialect* and *creole* and note that teachers need to recognize the range of linguistic features.) The goal is to help students develop Standard Australian English as a second dialect, a language skill that the indigenous community expects the schools to foster. The book provides background needed by teachers, including an overview of the languages and English dialects in the Kimberley Region of Western Australia, and it describes the linguistic features that teachers can expect to hear and see in their classrooms – information that teachers will need in order to understand their students' language behavior and to lead instruction on the second dialect. The book is replete with activities using a contrastive analysis approach to learning Standard English: games, drills, code-switching activities, and reading materials that incorporate a variety of dialects and creoles. These activities, intended for repeated use, are keyed to what the authors identify as stages in acquiring Standard Australian English as a second language: awareness of dialect differences, separation (distinguishing between vernacular and standard varieties), code-switching (shifting between varieties on command), and control (spontaneous shifting).

Several aspects of this resource collection are instructive. It balances three crucial perspectives: relevant linguistic research, sound pedagogy, and community feedback. The first author is a teacher with significant ex-

perience in teaching Aboriginal students and working with parents; the second author, also a teacher with connections to the community, has conducted research on an Aboriginal language and an Australian creole. The book grew out of their collaboration in implementing a program of professional development on language variation for teachers. During this experience, they discovered a need for more extensive materials, both to enhance teachers' knowledge and to engage students in active learning. Complementing the significant practical knowledge the two authors brought to their writing, Diana Eades, a linguist who has worked on language use in Aboriginal communities, provided consultation to the project. Such a collaboration provides the diverse expertise needed to apply dialectology appropriately and accurately. In addition to this solid basis in practice and research, the book is attractive and inviting. It includes interesting information for teachers and students about language (e. g., "Kriol and many Aboriginal English dialects are like Russian, Chinese and Indonesian and have no special word to make the link [i. e., no copula] as can be seen by the Aboriginal English example above, 'E happy'", p. 137). Captioned drawings contrast expressions in Standard and Aboriginal English. Finally, the book is highly practical. In addition to the classroom activities, the book includes line drawings that may be duplicated and case studies of teachers' experiences with language differences at school. These features are important ingredients to increase the chances of applications having the desired effect.

A Standard English instructional program developed in Canada, *Caribbean Students in Canadian Schools (Book 2)* (Coehlo 1991), bears similarities to the Australian program. It too aims to help students add Standard English to their first dialects through learning activities that involve contrastive analysis. It too is well grounded both in linguistic description and in classroom practice. The program takes the view that the language of Caribbean students in Canadian schools is quite variable, ranging from basilectal varieties that are creoles to standard English varieties. It provides a generalized comparison of Caribbean English Creole and Standard Canadian English, but it makes clear that not all features are characteristic of any one Caribbean variety. Along with examples of specific instruc-

tional activities for teaching and learning a second dialect, the book provides detailed discussion of program design and instructional strategies, particularly related to literacy. For example, the use of the language experience approach that elicits text from students and then has them read and analyze aspects of their own texts is discussed with reference to speakers of diverse dialects. There is a great deal of attention to the political situation in which the students live, especially in terms of the social bias against their race and their language varieties.

In this regard, the Canadian program contrasts with others that simply note that there are various appropriateness conditions that govern dialect shifting, rather than connecting those patterns with social, economic, and political power. Clark, Fairclough, Ivanic, & Martin-Jones (1990) observe that British language awareness programs for teaching Standard British English to speakers of other Englishes acknowledge the integrity of students' own language systems, but they gloss over the matter of language and power, implying that speaking a standard variety is politically neutral. The traditional sociolinguistic notion of contextual appropriateness leaves unexamined the question of power and control: Why is it that certain forms are appropriate in certain contexts? Who benefits from this distribution, and who loses? Why is the link between learning Standard English and economic advantage readily accepted (i. e., students need proficiency in the standard dialect to gain access to good jobs), but the relationship with sociopolitical control is not typically recognized (i. e., those with social and political power do not need to learn a second dialect, and they may freely criticize dialects that are not standard)? The Coehlo volume in particular raises these issues so that teachers can understand and discuss them with students learning a second dialect.

#### 2.1.1. Dialect instruction in political context

The politics of dialects and the political dimensions of second dialect instruction exploded into view in the generally outraged, often outrageous public response in the United States to the Oakland (California) School Board's December 1996 policy statement concerning second dialect instruction for speakers of a variety that the policy

called Ebonics (after Williams [1975]). For their part, the School Board acknowledged the association between the standard dialect and school success, and the role that the dialect might be playing in the school performance of African Americans students, who as a group had been performing more poorly than those of other ethnicities in their schools. But their assertion that Ebonics, "the primary language of African American students" (Oakland Ebonics Resolution, p. 25) should be taken into account in teaching Standard English so riled the public that no reasonable dialogue about the soundness of this approach could be carried on. The media reported comments by public figures based on misinterpretations of the School Board's policy – central among them that Ebonics would be used as a language of instruction and that teachers would need to learn it. The fact that the School Board's initial policy statement contained some misleading statements about the nature of language variation (key among them, that Ebonics is genetically based – which was intended to mean related to African languages, but popularly interpreted to mean based in human genetics) may have contributed to the confusion; but the sheer volume of comment, the numbers and the identity of those who felt qualified to comment, and the intensity of emotion expressed roughly index the strength of sociopolitical norms pertaining to vernacular dialects. The specter of sanctioning vernacular dialect use in schools provoked a hearing before the U.S. Senate Committee on Appropriations (Subcommittee on Labor, Health and Human Services, and Education) at which several linguists testified about the research base on African American Vernacular English (see, for example, Taylor 1999).

The Ebonics controversy provided an opening for applying dialectology in situ. The issues raised called for research-based information about features of the dialects in question, and, as importantly, an analysis of the forces at work based on an understanding of sociolinguistic principles. Suddenly linguists, who had grown accustomed to public diffidence regarding language variation, were being sought out. Linguists were interviewed on radio and TV; their writing appeared in newspapers, magazines, and other publications for lay audiences (e. g., Rickford 1997). They debated policies – that of the Oakland School Board, as well as pro-

posed federal and local policies to limit public funding for dialect-related school programs.

#### 2.1.2. Dialect and school achievement

Generally obscured in the Ebonics debate was the important question of whether teaching Standard English makes a difference in students' school performance – the Oakland School District's goal. For our purposes, does the application of dialectology positively affect the problem being addressed? Rickford (1999) points out that the Standard English Program that is being used in some California schools, including several in Oakland (the district policy that ignited the Ebonics debate involved extending this program to other schools), has not yet published evaluation data that speak to the relationship between program participation and student achievement. But another Standard English instructional program, The DeKalb County (Georgia) Bidialectal Program – a small, elective program for elementary school students – has collected data across its ten-year history. Standardized test scores show higher gains in reading for students in this program than for comparable students who are not in the program (Harris-Wright 1999).

The Standard English as a second dialect programs mentioned here all use the results of research on dialects. They employ contrastive analysis between standard and vernacular structures as a pedagogical method, and they all assert the worth and the practical value of both vernacular and standard dialects. However, program implementation is vulnerable to the knowledge, skills, and attitudes of teachers and the commitment of teachers, students, and parents. Substantial specialized teacher education is likely to be needed to fill knowledge gaps: Second dialect programs cannot succeed unless teachers have reasonable scientific understanding about language variation. In addition, students must be convinced that they would benefit from the ability to use a standard dialect. Older students especially may view learning the standard dialect as a capitulation to the dominant society with which the standard variety is identified (Cheshire 1982; Fordham 1998; Rampton 1991). And parents, who like other members of a society are likely to devalue the vernacular, may need some of the same education that teachers receive, particularly

with regard to the notion of bidialectalism and the place of the vernacular in instructional programming.

#### 2.2. Dialect awareness

Complementary to but independent of programs and materials for teaching a standard dialect to vernacular speakers, dialect awareness programs are designed to teach students about the phenomenon of language variation. Standard dialect instruction addresses language learning; dialect awareness instruction involves learning about language. Berry and Hudson (1999) list awareness of variability as the first step toward bidialectalism, but awareness is a valuable goal for all students, whatever their native dialect background. Wolfram observes that “language variation affects us all, regardless of region, class, or ethnicity, and dialect awareness programs seem to be the only way to counter the destructive social, educational, and political effects of misguided notions about this phenomenon” (1999, 62). In addition to this social mission, a rationale for dialect study in schools includes the fundamental goals of teaching accurate information about language and providing students with opportunities to experience scientific inquiry in analyzing linguistic data sets.

Over the last decade, Wolfram and his colleagues have developed and pilot tested dialect awareness curricula for middle school students, with accompanying teachers' manuals (e. g., Wolfram, Dannenberg, Anderson & Messner 1996). Students are introduced to dialects of English and some of the prejudices that surround them by viewing the popular video *American Tongues* (Alvarez & Kolker 1987). To counter popular judgements about dialects as sloppy and incorrect, students study dialect patterning by examining sets of phonological and syntactic data from various dialects including their own. Students also collect dialect information in their communities to reinforce their understandings of dialect systematicity. Comparing data from the local dialect with that from other dialects supports the notion that everyone speaks a dialect and invites conversation about correctness and social equity. Other activities for enhancing students' dialect awareness include reading literature that incorporates multiple dialects (Meier 1999; Rickford 1996; Wolfram, Adger & Christian 1999).

### 2.3. Dialects and reading

Descriptive knowledge about dialects has also been brought to bear on reading, both for helping children learn to read in the language variety that is most familiar to them and for helping researchers and educators understand the differential performance of vernacular speakers on standardized tests of reading.

2.3.1. Dialect readers. Some years ago, in an attempt to mitigate reading difficulty that might be due to the differences between Standard English and African American Vernacular English, researchers developed prototype reading materials incorporating grammatical and lexical features of AAVE (Fasold & Wolfram 1969). They envisioned a reading program that would introduce literacy in the child's dialect and provide a transition to reading Standard English texts with vernacular and standard dialect versions placed side by side. Later texts would gradually eliminate vernacular constructions. Although a program of dialect readers was developed and field tested (Simpkins & Simpkins 1977), it was eventually dropped because of criticism from traditional educators and community leaders who viewed the approach as educationally unsound and unnecessary (Labov 1995). Recently, however, interest in dialect readers has revived (Rickford & Rickford 1995). The Rickfords and their students have conducted limited research on using dialect readers, which include both vernacular and standard versions of the text, for reading remediation in middle schools. Their work, which is still quite preliminary, suggests that vernacular dialect readers may be most effective for this purpose.

2.3.2. Dialectology and research on reading. Although dialect readers represent a sensible approach to the disparity in reading achievement between African American students and other groups, there has been scant experimental research on the relationship between speaking AAVE and performance on reading tests. Recently, Labov and his colleagues have been investigating this relationship in order to inform the development of reading programs for African American students who speak AAVE and related teacher education (Labov, Baker, Bullock, Ross, & Brown 1998). They found some correlation of reading errors with features of AAVE, but far more of the difficulties that

African American children experienced in reading were the same as those of other children. A similar conclusion was reached by investigators of the influence of dialect on reading by speakers of vernacular Pueblo English varieties (in Native American communities in New Mexico). In oral reading samples, there was considerable phonological influence observed from the spoken dialect, but little influence on processing of grammatical relationships or meaning (Wolfram, Christian, Leap, and Potter 1979).

Other studies of reading in elementary school classrooms have revealed additional sources of dialect-related reading problems in the form of differential instructional practices that are tied to students' use of AAVE features. Collins (1988, 1996) shows that children in low level reading groups are more likely to be restricted to low level skills instruction than to receive reading comprehension strategy instruction. In oral reading, they are likely to be corrected for "errors" that are attributable to dialect influence instead of decoding or comprehension difficulty. In an often-cited but not yet replicated study of dialect and reading in a first grade classroom, Piestrup (1973) found that vernacular speakers whose teachers critically marked their use of vernacular features actually came to use more, not fewer, vernacular features over time.

### 2.4. Dialectology and testing

Dialect differences pose a real threat to the validity of standardized educational testing and assessment instruments. These tests assume an invariant construct against which individual performance can be measured, as well as a means of communication that is fully shared. Tests of language performance are particularly vulnerable. They do not allow for predictable language variation.

The currently accepted model in communication disorders holds that language norms are to be defined on the basis of a client's local speech community (ASHA 1983). A language pathology then would be diagnosed by comparing an individual's speech and language to local norms, not an idealized standard variety. Thus accurate speech/language assessment requires dialect-sensitive instruments and clinicians with descriptive knowledge of dialect structures in the client's own speech community (Adger, Wolfram, Detwyler & Harry 1993).

Unless assessment appeals to the local norms, it is likely to assign false positives as well as false negatives: Predictable vernacular features may be wrongly labeled pathological, and unpredictable features may be wrongly interpreted as characteristic of the vernacular. Some standardized language assessment instruments now include vernacular dialect descriptions, but they do not ensure equitable assessment because they do not account for geographical variation in social dialects nor for inherent variability.

The link between vernacular dialect use and misdiagnosis of language pathology is not the only concern about assessment issues in applied dialectology. Many assessments of aptitude, achievement, and intelligence are based on writing or identifying standard forms of the language, without regard for vernacular dialects. As a result, while vernacular dialect features in writing have little effect on communicative goals, they may take on major significance in formal evaluations. For example, a high stakes achievement test may include items like the following question, where test-takers are asked to determine whether the part in italics is correct: "By the time Nick arrived at the campsite, the tents had been set up, the fire was lit, and there *wasn't hardly* anything to do except relax and enjoy the mountain air" (Ehrenhaft 1994). Many speakers of vernacular dialects would have to respond according to the norms of another variety in order to be scored as correct on that item. Evaluations based on extended writing samples contain similar problems, if raters interpret vernacular features as signals of low performance (and therefore, low aptitude, achievement, or intelligence). Since language is so intricately involved in most assessments as the medium of transmission, the knowledge base of dialectology and other linguistic sciences must be applied to promote validity in the measurements.

This section suggests that understandings from dialect research have been introduced broadly, if not always comprehensively, into educational settings. One explanation for linguists' focus on schools as an important work site is the potential to change social attitudes. Schools protect and perpetuate the correctness dictum that abjures dialects other than standard ones. Changing knowledge and practice with regard to language differences in schools contributes toward assuaging inequitable treatment of vernacular-

speaking students. At the same time progress toward a better-informed view of language variation in education has the potential to effect more equitable views of language differences elsewhere.

### 3. Dialects in legal contexts

Findings from dialect research have been applied in other institutional domains, including the judiciary. In recent years, linguists have been called as expert witnesses in criminal trials involving taped evidence. Analysis of taped data cannot be used to establish that the taped speaker and the accused person are the same person, since dialect features are characteristic of groups, but it can be used to show that the accused is not a member of the group that speaks the recorded dialect (Finegan 1997). Thus in one case, Dumas (1990) isolated a small set of dialectally diagnostic phonological features (such as diphthong reduction in Southern U.S. speech) from a surreptitiously recorded tape and constructed a set of sentences using these features. She recorded the accused reading these sentences. Comparing recorded items from the defendant's reading with those from the tape introduced during the trial showed that the two samples were not produced by speakers of the same dialect.

Dialect research has also been used in court in cases claiming national origin discrimination – but Lippi-Green (1994) recounts a number of cases in which assessments of speakers' "accents" based on popular beliefs prevailed even when there was conflicting expert testimony from a linguist. In one case, a judge dismissed a linguist's testimony that Hawai'ian Creole is not incorrect: "The linguist, the judge stated, was not an expert in speech" (Matsuda 1991, cited in Lippi-Green 1994, 160.) She points out that in contrast to the expert testimony of psychologists, whose expertise the courts do not pretend to share, linguists address a matter that the courts "deem within their own powers of reasoning and expertise" (189). Preston's work on dialect perception is relevant here. Based on studies of popular knowledge and attitudes about dialect, Preston (1996) shows that public knowledge about dialects is not just a matter of degree, as linguists have said, but also a matter of mode: facets of dialect information, accuracy of the information,

level of detail, and the degree to which dialect features are controlled. Public knowledge about dialects is different from linguists' knowledge, but because nonlinguists see themselves as having knowledge about dialect, they may see no reason to seek expertise in this domain.

Happily, dialect evidence is not always rejected in court cases. Perhaps the best-known case of linguistic evidence contributing centrally in a case of discrimination is *King v. Ann Arbor* (1978), a case brought by parents claiming that their children's poor reading performance was due to the school's failure to take African American Vernacular English into account in teaching reading. Considering evidence from school records presented by linguists, the judge ruled in the parents' favor (Smitherman 1999). As a result, it was ordered that teachers receive professional development related to dialects and reading, and learn about their students' language structure.

#### 4. Dialects in the media

Recently, linguists have begun to investigate media dialects as a potentially important influence on attitudes toward members of social groups. Although this work has not been applied, as far as we know, we treat it here because it is eminently applicable.

Of the syntactic, phonological, and lexical features that characterize a dialect, certain ones are highly salient, others less so. Because they readily identify speakers as members of a social group, these items lend themselves to caricature. An interesting and at least potentially useful application of dialectology is a line of research on stereotyping in the media. For example, Dobrow and Gidney (1998) examined the use of dialect features and other signs of ethnic identity in children's television, a powerful force in shaping social attitudes. Looking at 12 shows, they found that dialect stereotypes were used to indicate a character's personality or status as a hero or villain, or as serious or comic. In general, the dialects of American English used by villains are associated with low socioeconomic status, and those used by comic characters show regional marking and lower status; but in one show, villains used "a recognizable, if somewhat exaggerated, BBC English" (p. 115). Lippi-Green (1997) reports analysis of 24 animated films produced by The Walt Disney

Studios. Among her findings is the preservation of social stereotypes in the use of AAVE by male characters who were unemployed and oriented toward music and pleasure. Both the Dobrow and Gidney, and the Lippi-Green studies found that dialects were evoked through a very limited set of items, as Preston's research would predict (1996). The social utility of these studies lies in the explicit evidence of stereotyping that they identify. Dobrow and Gidney (1998) point out the timeliness of their research for informing those who are seeking changes in the children's television industry.

Similar lines of analysis in applied dialectology can illuminate social problems and contribute to addressing them in medical services (see Wolfram & Cavendar 1992) counseling (see Chen-Hayes, Chen, & Athar n.d.), business and commerce, and political domains, among others.

#### 5. Dialectology in public

Dialectologists have begun to write about their work and present it in various forms for a general audience, in order to spread accurate information about dialects broadly and to influence public understanding about non-elite dialects and their speakers. *Hoi Toide on the Outer Banks* (Wolfram & Schilling-Estes 1997) presents a non-technical but accurate account of the dialect spoken on one of North Carolina's barrier islands (Ocracoke). Samples of the Ocracoke Brogue are available on cassette tape and CD, another product made possible by the research of Wolfram and his colleagues. Heightened public interest in AAVE sparked by the Ebonics debate of the late 1990s also led to a number of responses from experts. John Rickford, for example, has written extensively about the dialect for new venues, among them an article in *Discover* magazine (December 1997) and a trade book, *Spoken Soul: The Story of Black English* (J. Rickford & R. Rickford 2000). The book paints a full picture of AAVE as sociolinguistic and cultural practice with detailed accounts of AAVE in the minstrel tradition, in literature and contemporary comedy, and in the Black church and other symbolic contexts. It also includes a thorough structural profile of the dialect that is accessible to the non-linguist willing to work a bit to comprehend linguistic methods. Web-based resources are also emerging to share the results of

dialectology with diverse audiences. Organizations such as the American Dialect Society <www.americandialect.org>, the Center for Applied Linguistics <www.cal.org>, and the Linguistic Society of America <www.lsadc.org> are making accurate information about dialects available on their Web sites. Dialect recordings and archives of related materials have been available in national and local collections, providing some access to more or less raw materials (Christian 1986). For example, the U.S. Library of Congress (in the Archive of Folk Culture and the Recorded Sound Reference Center) has extensive archives of folk music and folk speech, with recordings dating to the early days of aluminum discs. A new home for dialect research findings is the local museum. Products from research on the Ocracoke Brogue, conducted by the North Carolina Language and Life Project, are on display in a small museum on Ocracoke island managed by the Ocracoke Historical Preservation Society and visited by tourists. The museum sells *Hoi Toide on the Outer Banks*, and royalties from these sales revert to them. Research on the English of a native American tribe, the Lumbees of eastern North Carolina, is represented in a video that is shown at the Museum of the Lumbee in Pembroke, North Carolina, the tribe's ancestral home.

## 6. Conclusion

The applications sketched here – by no means a comprehensive inventory of worthy undertakings – suggest that applying dialectology involves a range of activity types. Among them is identifying and describing dialect contrasts that have social consequences – such as in testing that does not allow for predictable dialect responses – or that help to explain educational problems such as low reading and writing scores. Another activity type is translating dialect research for non-linguists, a task that cuts across other activity types but also stands on its own as an application when it is calculated not only to disseminate scientific knowledge but to influence the attitudes that perpetuate social problems. A further application of dialectology is using these descriptions and translations to bring about change: for example, developing programs for teaching the standard variety and materials for preparing teachers to staff these programs.

What is the role of the dialectologist in these activities? Is it simply a matter of doing linguistics or is it something more? A number of linguists have argued that those who gather data in a community must find ways to reciprocate by contributing to the community (see Rickford 1997 for a discussion of the issues and a synthesis of these arguments). However this is done, it is likely that issues of knowledge, power, and socio-cultural traditions will arise. And these issues along with the linguistic structures of interest, must be recognized and considered in the pursuit of applied dialectology.

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## 255. Rhetorik/Rhetoric

1. Rhetorik als systematische Entwicklung von Kommunikations- und Gesprächsfähigkeiten
2. Das Feld der praktischen Rhetorik
3. Der Beitrag der Soziolinguistik zur praktischen Rhetorik
4. Literatur (in Auswahl)

### 1. Rhetorik als systematische Entwicklung von Kommunikations- und Gesprächsfähigkeiten

Der Begriff und die Disziplin 'Rhetorik' besitzen eine ebenso lange wie wechselvolle Geschichte (für einen Überblick vgl. Ueding/Steinbrink 1994). Wie viele zentrale wissenschaftliche Begriffe, ist auch der Begriff 'Rhetorik' – nicht zuletzt als Resultat dieser Geschichte – mehrdeutig und unscharf. Dies macht es erforderlich, explizit zu definieren, was in diesem Zusammenhang unter Rhetorik verstanden wird: Mit Rhetorik wird hier sowohl die *Praxis* wie auch die *Theorie* der *angeleiteten, systematischen Entwicklung und Veränderung muttersprachlicher kommunikativer Fähigkeiten* bezeichnet. Zu unterscheiden sind demnach praktische bzw. angewandte Rhetorik als konkrete Praxis der Entwicklung und Schulung kommunikativer Fähigkeiten und theoretische Rhetorik als wissenschaftliche Reflexion darüber, wie das Lehren und Lernen von Kommunikation am besten zu bewerkstelligen ist. Dabei ist die praktische Absicht für die theoretische Rhetorik konstitutiv.

Gemessen an anderen Definitionen liegt der vorgestellten Gegenstandsbestimmung ein weites Verständnis von Rhetorik zugrunde: Es beschränkt sich weder nur auf die Praxis noch nur auf die Theorie. Es umfasst sowohl den Erwerb neuer wie auch die Veränderung vorhandener kommunikativer Fähigkeiten (Optimierung, Umlernen). Ferner ist es auch nicht auf bestimmte kommunikative Fähigkeiten und Gesprächsformen (z. B. die ursprünglich im Mittelpunkt stehende Rede) eingegrenzt, sondern zieht alle kommunikativen Fähigkeiten in Betracht, sofern ihre Entwicklung und Veränderung auf angeleitete und systematische Weise erfolgt. Letztlich ist es auch nicht auf besondere Wirkungsintentionen und Formen kommunikativer Beeinflussung und Überzeugung beschränkt (vgl. Rehbock 1980). Aus dem Bereich der Rhetorik sind nach dieser Definition allerdings Prozesse des ungesteuerten Erwerbs bzw. der natürlichen Veränderung kommunikativer Fähigkeiten ausgeschlossen. Auch der gesteuerte oder ungesteuerte Erwerb kommunikativer Fähigkeiten in einer Fremdsprache ist nicht ihr Gegenstand.

Rhetorik in diesem Verständnis wird nicht nur an den Universitäten betrieben, sondern in fast allen gesellschaftlichen Bereichen. Die Aufgaben der theoretischen Rhetorik werden gegenwärtig nicht von einer einzelnen, einheitlichen wissenschaftlichen Disziplin bearbeitet, sondern sie werden mit unterschiedlichen Perspektiven von verschiedenen Wissenschaften wahrgenommen. Dies reicht von der Disziplin *Rhetorik*,

soweit sie an den Universitäten vertreten ist, über die *Psychologie* (inklusive therapeutischer Konzepte wie Gesprächstherapie, Transaktionsanalyse, Neurolinguistisches Programmieren etc.), zur *Pädagogik* und *Sprechwissenschaft* bis hin zur *Linguistik*, insbesondere in Gestalt der angewandten Gesprächsforschung. In den genannten Disziplinen koexistieren die verschiedensten theoretischen Ansätze, eine konsistente oder gar konsensuelle Theorie des Lehrens und Lernens von Kommunikation existiert bisher nicht. Die Reflexion darüber, wie Kommunikations- und Gesprächsfähigkeiten systematisch entwickelt werden können, firmiert in diesen Disziplinen außer unter 'Rhetorik' auch unter Begriffen wie Gesprächspädagogik (Allhoff 1992), -erziehung (Vogt 1995), -didaktik (Vogt 1997), Didaktik der mündlichen Kommunikation (Pabst-Weinschenk 1994; Grünwaldt 1998), Didaktik rhetorischer Kommunikation (Bartsch 1998), Förderung von Gesprächsfähigkeiten (Neuland 1995; Fiehler 1998b) bzw. Gesprächskultur (Neuland 1996) oder Gesprächsrhetorik (Kallmeyer 1996).

Praktische Rhetorik findet nur zum geringsten Teil im universitären Rahmen statt. Hauptsächlich erfolgt sie in den verschiedenen gesellschaftlichen Bereichen und Institutionen. Auf dem wachsenden Feld der Kommunikationsschulung, das zugleich auch ein riesiger Markt ist, treffen sich die verschiedensten Personen, Konzeptionen und Disziplinen mit einem breiten und differenzierten Angebot (vgl. Abschnitt 2). Von unterschiedlicher Qualität ist dabei das Verhältnis zur theoretischen Rhetorik. Vielfach wird gegenwärtig beklagt, dass ein systematischer Bezug zur Theorie fehle bzw. dass die praktische Rhetorik sich auf die Verwendung theoretischer Versatzstücke beschränke (Hess-Lüttich 1991).

Da es in diesem Artikel primär um die Anwendung linguistischen Wissens geht, d. h. um den Beitrag, den die Soziolinguistik zur Lösung von Problemen der gesellschaftlichen Praxis leisten kann, wird im folgenden die praktische Rhetorik im Zentrum stehen. Zugleich werde ich die Darstellung auf den Bereich der Entwicklung *mündlicher* kommunikativer Fähigkeiten beschränken.

## 2. Das Feld der praktischen Rhetorik

Die angeleitete, systematische Entwicklung von muttersprachlichen Kommunikations-

und Gesprächsfähigkeiten erfolgt gegenwärtig – mit und ohne Bezug auf den Begriff 'Rhetorik' – aus vielfältigen Motiven, in ganz unterschiedlichen Formen, in den verschiedensten Zusammenhängen, mit sehr unterschiedlichen Zielen und in Hinblick auf sehr verschiedene Fähigkeiten.

Fragt man nach den *Motiven*, so sind es vor allem tatsächliche und vermeintliche Sprach- und Kommunikationsprobleme, wie viele Menschen sie im beruflichen, öffentlichen und privaten Bereich erleben, die zu einer gewaltigen gesellschaftlichen Nachfrage nach einer angeleiteten, systematischen Entwicklung und Erweiterung von Kommunikationsfähigkeiten führen (Antos 1996). Diese Probleme resultieren vor allem aus den steigenden kommunikativen Anforderungen, die die gesellschaftliche Differenzierung mit sich bringt, und aus dem Umgang mit neuen Kommunikationstechnologien. So wächst der Anteil kommunikationsintensiver Berufe beständig. Kommunikation hat sich zu einer zentralen Produktivkraft und Kommunikationsfähigkeit zu einer gesellschaftlichen Schlüsselqualifikation entwickelt.

Was die *Formen* angeht, so erfolgt die Schulung von Gesprächsfähigkeiten in verschiedenartigsten Kursen, Seminaren und Trainings, durch verschiedene Formen von Beratung (z. B. als Coaching) oder durch das Selbststudium entsprechender Ratgeberliteratur (vgl. Bremerich-Vos 1991; Antos 1996).

Die Entwicklung von Kommunikations- und Gesprächsfähigkeiten geschieht in verschiedenen *Zusammenhängen*. Sie findet in der Schule ebenso statt wie in der beruflichen Aus- und Weiterbildung oder im Rahmen der Freizeit auf private Initiative (z. B. in Volkshochschulkursen). Da die Ausbildung von Gesprächsfähigkeiten in der Schule (im Vergleich zum Erwerb von Schreibfähigkeiten) nur einen geringen Stellenwert besitzt und da beständig neue kommunikative Anforderungen entstehen, entwickelt sich praktische Rhetorik zunehmend zu einem lebenslangen Prozess.

Häufig genannte *Ziele* der praktischen Rhetorik sind das Überwinden oder Vermeiden von erfahrenen Kommunikationsproblemen, der Erwerb berufsnotwendiger kommunikativer Fähigkeiten, Persönlichkeitsentwicklung oder der Erwerb von Möglichkeiten, andere zu beeinflussen und zu manipulieren.

Die *kommunikativen Fähigkeiten*, die geschult werden, lassen sich zu drei Komplexen zusammenfassen:

- (a) Erwerb bzw. Optimierung bestimmter *Gesprächsformen oder -typen* (z. B. eine Rede halten, Verkaufsgespräche führen, eine Besprechung leiten etc.);
- (b) Erwerb bzw. Optimierung der *Fähigkeiten zur Bearbeitung lokaler Gesprächsaufgaben* (z. B. dem anderen zuhören, sich angemessen einbringen, den anderen ausreden lassen, auf frühere Beiträge eingehen, einen Konflikt austragen etc.);
- (c) *Sprachliche und sprecherische Gestaltung* der Gesprächsbeiträge (z. B. „Sprich in ganzen Sätzen“, „Vermeide ähs“ etc.).

Unterschiede bestehen auch in Hinblick auf die zugrunde liegende Konzeptualisierung von Kommunikation und in den Auffassungen, mit welchen Methoden man sie lehren und lernen kann (Fiehler 1999). Letztlich zeigen sich auch Differenzen beim Zugang zur Realität des Kommunizierens (Beobachtung, Rollenspiele, authentische Gesprächsaufzeichnungen), bei der Identifizierung von spezifischen Kommunikationsproblemen, bei der Erfassung der vorhandenen kommunikativen Fähigkeiten der TeilnehmerInnen und bei der Bestimmung von Veränderungsnotwendigkeiten.

### 3. Der Beitrag der Soziolinguistik zur praktischen Rhetorik

Betrachtet man das Feld der praktischen Rhetorik genauer, so muss man feststellen, dass linguistisches Wissen über Kommunikation und Gespräche in den gängigen Formen von Beratung und Training kaum eine Rolle spielt und dass es auch nur in Ausnahmefällen LinguistInnen sind, die in diesem Feld hauptberuflich arbeiten (vgl. Hess-Lüttich 1991; Hartig 1994; Brünner/Fiehler 1999; zur historischen Dimension des Verhältnisses von praktischer Rhetorik und Sprachwissenschaft vgl. Cherubim 1992). Dies ist verwunderlich, da die Analyse von Kommunikationsprozessen zum genuinen Gegenstand der Linguistik gehört und keine andere Disziplin über ein so breites und empirisch fundiertes Wissen über Kommunikation und Gespräche verfügt wie die Soziolinguistik, insbesondere in Gestalt der Gesprächsforschung. Im folgenden soll deshalb das Verhältnis von Gesprächsforschung und Anwendung umrissen (3.1) und

die Methodik einer gesprächsanalytisch fundierten Entwicklung kommunikativer Fähigkeiten skizziert werden (3.2). Sodann werden Felder benannt, in denen die angewandte Gesprächsforschung tätig war und ist (3.3), und Besonderheiten einer gesprächsanalytisch fundierten Entwicklung von kommunikativen Fähigkeiten beschrieben (3.4).

#### 3.1. Gesprächsforschung und Anwendung

Die Gesprächsforschung hat sich – in mehreren Varianten und unter verschiedenen Bezeichnungen (Gesprächs-, Konversations-, Diskurs-, Dialog-, Kommunikations-/ -analyse, -forschung, -linguistik) – in den letzten 25 Jahren in der Linguistik und Soziologie etabliert. Ihr Ziel ist die wissenschaftliche Erforschung der *Organisationsprinzipien* von Kommunikation und der *Regularitäten* des kommunikativen Handelns in Gesprächen. Die *Aufzeichnung* authentischer Gespräche, ihre detaillierte *Verschriftlichung* (Transkription) und die *Analyse* dieser Transkripte unter aus dem Material entwickelten Fragestellungen bilden den Kern der gesprächsanalytischen Arbeitsweise (für Näheres vgl. Becker-Mrotzek/Meier 1999; Deppermann 1999). Auf der Basis dieser Methodologie hat die Gesprächsforschung umfangreiche Untersuchungen zu den kommunikativen Besonderheiten der verschiedenen gesellschaftlichen Institutionen (Schule, Gericht, Arzt-Patienten-Kommunikation, Bürger-Verwaltungs-Kommunikation, Kommunikation im Unternehmen etc.), der massenmedialen und der privaten Kommunikation durchgeführt (vgl. Becker-Mrotzek 1999). Resultat dieser Untersuchungen sind generalisierende deskriptive Aussagen über Regularitäten des Gesprächsverhaltens (z. B. befolgte Regeln, Muster, Handlungsschemata). Sie beziehen sich auf Gespräche generell, auf einzelne Gesprächstypen und auf lokale Gesprächsaufgaben.

Mitte der 80er Jahre beginnt die Gesprächsforschung den Bereich der angeleiteten Entwicklung kommunikativer Fähigkeiten wahrzunehmen (Kallmeyer 1985). Sie ist dabei noch nicht auf praktische Anwendung ausgerichtet, sondern versteht sich primär als wissenschaftliche Disziplin. Das Arbeitsfeld und die Arbeitsweise der Gesprächsforschung enthalten jedoch Elemente, die eine praktische Anwendung ihrer Ergebnisse befördern: Die Aufzeichnung und Untersu-

chung von *authentischen Gesprächen* (sehr häufig aus institutionellen und professionellen Kontexten), der Umgang mit den Personen im Feld, die häufig im Zusammenhang mit der Datenerhebung den Wunsch nach *Rückmeldung von Ergebnissen* äußern, und die beobachtete kommunikative Praxis, bei der aus der Außenperspektive häufig *Probleme und Störungen* auffallen, legen es in besonderer Weise nahe, diese Praxis nicht nur zu *beschreiben*, sondern auch über Möglichkeiten einer *Veränderung* oder *Verbesserung* nachzudenken. In einem zweiten Schritt interessieren sich gesprächsanalytische Untersuchungen also auch für die systematische Identifizierung von *Verständigungsproblemen* und *Kommunikationsstörungen* in den verschiedenen Interaktionsformen und Gesprächstypen. Neben das Wissen um Organisationsprinzipien und Regularitäten der Kommunikation tritt so ein Wissen über typische Sprach- und Kommunikationsprobleme, die bei bestimmten Gesprächsformen und -aufgaben auftreten. Sprach- und Kommunikationsprobleme sind damit die zentrale Schnittstelle der Gesprächsforschung zu ihrer Anwendung in Kommunikationsberatung und -training (vgl. Antos 1996; Fiehler 1998a).

Resultat dieser Entwicklung ist, dass die Gesprächsforschung sich in einem steigenden Maß auch als anwendungsorientierte Disziplin versteht. Seinen organisatorischen Ausdruck fand dies 1987 in der Gründung des Arbeitskreises 'Angewandte Gesprächsforschung', der sich die Umsetzung gesprächsanalytischer Forschungsergebnisse in Kommunikationsberatung und -training sowie die theoretische Reflexion dieser Umsetzung zur Aufgabe gemacht hat (vgl. Becker-Mrotzek/Brünner 1992).

### 3.2. Methodik der angewandten Gesprächsforschung

Der Arbeitsprozess der angewandten Gesprächsforschung im Rahmen von Kommunikationsberatung und -training lässt sich idealtypisch als eine Abfolge von fünf Schritten beschreiben (zu Konzeption und Ablauf gesprächsanalytischer Trainings vgl. auch Becker-Mrotzek/Brünner 1999a):

- (1) Zunächst muss die kommunikative Praxis, die als ungenügend empfunden wird, möglichst authentisch und in ausreichendem Umfang dokumentiert werden. D.h. der erste Schritt besteht in der Erstellung einer *Datenbasis*.

Dies geschieht zeitlich vor Beratung und Training, damit die Aufzeichnungen transkribiert und ausgewertet werden können. Ergänzt wird dies dadurch, dass der/die GesprächsanalytikerIn sich mit der Einbettung und dem institutionellen Rahmen der Gespräche vertraut macht. Die Ermöglichung und Durchführung entsprechender Gesprächsaufnahmen ist im Regelfall eine *conditio sine qua non* für eine gesprächsanalytische Kommunikationsberatung und -schulung. D.h. andere Formen der Problemvergegenwärtigung (wie der Rekurs auf Erfahrungswissen, Beschreibungen der Probleme durch die Beteiligten, teilnehmende Beobachtung durch GesprächsanalytikerInnen oder die Verwendung von Aufnahmen des gleichen Gesprächstyps, die analoge Kommunikationsprobleme zeigen, aber aus einem anderen Zusammenhang stammen), sind zwar als begleitende Maßnahmen sinnvoll, allein aber unzureichend. Auch Simulationen der betreffenden Gespräche – vor oder innerhalb des Trainings – sind eine Datengrundlage zweiter Wahl und nur sinnvoll, wenn sie durch sorgfältige Konstruktion dem authentischen Fall möglichst angenähert sind (vgl. die Methode 'Simulation authentischer Fälle' in Becker-Mrotzek/Brünner 1999b).

- (2) Der zweite Schritt besteht in der *Identifikation von Sprach- und Kommunikationsproblemen* durch den/die GesprächsanalytikerIn in der Datenbasis.

Die Datenbasis in Form von Aufzeichnungen und Transkripten authentischer Gespräche ist für den/die GesprächsanalytikerIn Grundlage für die Diagnostik von Sprach- und Kommunikationsproblemen. Die Verwendung von *Transkripten* spielt dabei eine zentrale Rolle. Durch sie unterscheidet sich die Arbeitsweise von GesprächsanalytikerInnen wesentlich von anderen Trainingskonzeptionen. Transkripte sind die 'Zeitlupe' und das 'Mikroskop' des Gesprächsanalytikers, mit deren Hilfe sowohl die Genese wie auch die Auswirkungen von Sprach- und Kommunikationsproblemen detailliert und systematisch untersucht werden können (vgl. Laluschek/Menz (1999, Abschnitt 3.2) für ein illustratives Beispiel einer solchen Problemanalyse). Die Probleme werden anhand der Transkripte herauspräpariert, wobei das bereits erarbeitete gesprächsanalytische Wissen über Kommunikationsprobleme, die für bestimmte Gesprächsformen und -aufgaben charakteristisch sind, im

Hintergrund steht. Die Analyse zielt weniger auf singuläre oder überwiegend persönliche Probleme der Interaktionsbeteiligten, sondern auf überindividuelle strukturelle Probleme bei der Realisierung kommunikativer Aufgaben im Rahmen spezifischer Gesprächstypen. Die Analyse des Gesprächsmaterials unter dem Aspekt von Kommunikationsproblemen erfolgt zeitlich vor dem Training. Die Trennung von Analyse- und Trainingskontext vermeidet Ad-hoc-Analysen, wie sie bei Gesprächsbesprechungen in der Trainingssituation üblich sind.

Die allgemeine Struktur des Prozesses der Diagnose von Sprach- und Kommunikationsproblemen lässt sich wie folgt charakterisieren:

- (I) Ein *faktisches Kommunikationsverhalten* wird – im Prozess des Monitorings der Kommunikation oder in der nachträglichen Reflexion – mit Vorstellungen darüber konfrontiert, wie Kommunikation sein soll. Es wird an Zielvorstellungen – oder allgemeiner: an *Normen für kommunikatives Verhalten* – gemessen.
- (II) Eine *Diskrepanz* wird registriert. Gemessen an diesen Normen ist die faktische Kommunikation nicht so, wie es die Normen vorsehen.
- (III) Die Diskrepanz wird *negativ bewertet*. Durch die negative Bewertung gewinnt das in Frage stehende Kommunikationsverhalten den Status eines Kommunikationsproblems. Die negative Bewertung dieser Diskrepanz, also die Feststellung einer kommunikativen Defizienz, erzeugt zugleich die Motivation zur Lösung oder Beseitigung des Problems.

Festzuhalten ist, dass im Prozess der Diagnose von Kommunikationsproblemen – wie klar bewusst auch immer – Normvorstellungen eine zentrale Rolle spielen. Die Identifizierung kann immer nur auf der Grundlage normativer Vorstellungen darüber erfolgen, wie Kommunikationsverhalten sein sollte. Im Zuge der Diagnose ist auch zu entscheiden, ob es sich bei einem auffälligen Phänomen überhaupt um ein *Kommunikationsproblem* handelt. Kommunikationsprobleme sind ein spezifischer Typ von Problemen, und es ist eine vorgängige Entscheidung, ob man ein Problem (dominant) als eines der *Kommunikation* oder als eines z. B. der Persönlichkeit, der sozialen

Beziehung oder der Arbeitsorganisation typisieren will.

Die Analyse der Datenbasis zielt aber nicht nur auf die Herausarbeitung von Kommunikationsproblemen ab. Ergänzend gilt die Aufmerksamkeit auch Passagen, die im Verständnis des/der Gesprächsanalytikers/ in bzw. der TeilnehmerInnen besonders gelungen erscheinen. An ihnen lässt sich zeigen, welche Verfahren und Strategien bei der Bearbeitung von Gesprächsaufgaben positive Wirkungen und Bewertungen hervorrufen und worauf diese Wirkungen und Bewertungen im Einzelnen beruhen. Gerade im Kontrast zu Verhaltensweisen, die problematisch wirken, kann so eine Didaktik des gelingenden Kommunizierens entwickelt werden.

- (3) Der dritte Schritt besteht in der *Vermittlung* der Diagnoseergebnisse an die TeilnehmerInnen im Training und der *Aushandlung*, welche dieser Probleme bearbeitet werden sollen.

Im Training geht es zunächst darum, dass auch die TeilnehmerInnen an Beispielen aus dem Datenmaterial darlegen, in welcher Hinsicht und an welchen Stellen sie die Kommunikation als unvollkommen empfinden und wo sie Kommunikationsprobleme identifizieren. Dabei geht es insbesondere auch um die Explikation und Bewusstmachung der *Normen für Kommunikationsverhalten*, die die TeilnehmerInnen im Kopf haben und auf deren Grundlage sie Gespräche bewerten und Kommunikationsprobleme identifizieren.

TeilnehmerInnen und GesprächsanalytikerInnen brauchen keineswegs darin übereinzustimmen, was sie als Kommunikationsproblem(e) identifizieren: Hier kann Übereinstimmung, aber auch weitgehende Divergenz bestehen. Dies ist einerseits zurückzuführen auf unterschiedliche Relevanzen und Wissenshintergründe, andererseits aber auch auf unterschiedliche Normen als Beurteilungshintergrund. Wenn Divergenzen bestehen, ist ein gemeinsamer Prozess der Aushandlung erforderlich. Am Ende dieses Prozesses muss ein Konsens im Sinne eines Arbeitsbündnisses hergestellt sein, welche Probleme bearbeitet werden sollen und welche Zielvorstellungen bzw. Normen für das Kommunikationsverhalten gemeinsam als grundlegend betrachtet werden.

- (4) Zum faktischen Kommunikationsverhalten, das die Kommunikationsprobleme produziert, werden in einem

vierten Schritt systematisch *alternative Verhaltensweisen* gesucht und diskutiert. Im Zentrum steht die *Explikation und Bewusstmachung des Alternativenspektrums* und die Sensibilisierung für mögliche Verläufe der Kommunikation, nicht die Präskription einzelner Verhaltensweisen.

Auch die systematische Explikation des Alternativenspektrums erfolgt gemeinsam mit den TeilnehmerInnen. Wichtig ist hier, Verhaltensmöglichkeiten nicht nur durch die reine Negation oder Umkehrung problematischer Verhaltensweisen zu bestimmen (z. B.: Dem anderen ins Wort zu fallen ist problematisch. Deshalb ist es generell zu vermeiden.), sondern möglichst vielfältige Alternativen in ihren Konsequenzen, Wirkungen und Implikationen zu durchdenken. Dass nicht nur *eine* Alternative favorisiert, sondern jeweils mehrere diskutiert werden, hat zudem die Funktion, eine Polarisierung der Möglichkeiten in 'richtig' vs. 'falsch' oder 'gut' vs. 'schlecht' zu vermeiden und das positive wie negative Potential jeder einzelnen Möglichkeit zu verdeutlichen.

Die Suche und Diskussion von Alternativen zielt damit auch nicht auf eine Entscheidung für eine der Verhaltensweisen ab. Es bleibt den TeilnehmerInnen überlassen, aus diesem Spektrum diejenigen Verhaltensweisen auszuwählen, die ihnen für die eigene Person am geeignetsten erscheinen, um sie in der Praxis auszuprobieren. Diese prinzipielle Offenheit, die Präskription soweit wie möglich vermeidet, stößt dabei häufig auf andersgeartete Erwartungen der TeilnehmerInnen, die wissen wollen, was denn nun 'richtig' ist. Wesentliches Lernziel der angewandten Gesprächsforschung ist aber gerade die Einsicht, dass dies im Bereich der Kommunikation oft nicht eindeutig und allgemeingültig gesagt werden kann.

- (5) Die alternativen Verhaltensweisen werden von den TeilnehmerInnen im Training und dann in ihrer beruflichen Praxis erprobt, und in einer erneuten Beratung bzw. einem weiteren Training wird auf der Grundlage neuer Aufzeichnungen analysiert, ob sich diese Alternativen bewährt haben (*gesprächsanalytische Evaluation*).

Der zentrale Ort für die Erprobung alternativer Verhaltensweisen sind nach Gesprächsanalytischer Auffassung nicht Gesprächssimulationen im Training (wenngleich auch sie wichtige Funktionen haben), sondern es

ist die Kommunikation in der (beruflichen) Praxis außerhalb des Trainings. Das bedeutet, dass diese Praxis erneut dokumentiert und analysiert werden muss. Gesprächsanalytisch basierte Trainings sollten demnach keine einmalige Veranstaltung sein, sondern sich zyklisch wiederholen. Gesprächsverhalten ist nach Auffassung der Gesprächsforschung nicht etwas, was man punktuell erlernt und dann für alle Zeit 'beherrscht', sondern etwas, was eines permanenten Trainings und eines fortgesetzten Bemühens um Kultivierung bedarf.

Wesentliche Besonderheiten gesprächsanalytischer Trainings bestehen in der Art und Weise der *Bewertung von Kommunikationsverhalten* und in dem *Typ der Normen*, auf den sie rekurrieren.

Auch die Gesprächsforschung kommt, wenn sie im Kontext der Förderung von Gesprächsfähigkeit agiert, nicht ohne Bewertungen und Normen aus. Sie kommen vor allem bei der *Diagnose von Kommunikationsproblemen* und der *Alternativenfindung* zum Tragen. Dabei ist die angewandte Gesprächsforschung aber generell darum bemüht, dass es primär nicht *ihre* Bewertungen und Normen sind, sondern dass hinsichtlich dieser Bewertungen und Normen mit den Beteiligten Konsens hergestellt wird. Jedoch sollten Verhaltensweisen, bei denen sich durch empirische Analysen zeigen lässt, dass sie systematisch zu Kommunikationsproblemen führen, grundsätzlich vermieden werden. Normativ handelt die angewandte Gesprächsforschung auch, wenn sie eingeübte Regularitäten, Muster und Gesprächsschemata bewusst macht und dafür plädiert, sie auch der zukünftigen kommunikativen Praxis zugrunde zu legen. Normen können – um daran zu erinnern – deskriptiv basiert oder präskriptiv sein. Normen, auf die GesprächsanalytikerInnen im Prozess der Anwendung rekurrieren, sind im wesentlichen *deskriptiv* begründet. Sie beruhen auf Einsichten in Organisationsprinzipien und Regularitäten der Kommunikation, wie sie in kommunikationsanalytischen Untersuchungen gewonnen und beschrieben werden.

Für die Gesprächsforschung spielt es eine wesentliche Rolle, ob und wie weit ein Gesprächsverhalten von deskriptiv ermittelten 'Normalformen' (Cicourel 1975; Giesecke 1982) abweicht. Normalformen, wie sie sich in kommunikativen Regeln, Mustern oder Handlungsschemata widerspiegeln, sind ge-

sellschaftlich für bestimmte Zwecke ausgebildete Standardlösungen für die Bewältigung kommunikativer Aufgaben. Sie legen das Gesprächsverhalten nicht im Detail fest, aber sie umreißen den Rahmen, in dem es sich bewegt. Die Normalformen haben sich gesellschaftlich vielfach bewährt und sind im Zuge ihrer Ausarbeitung optimiert worden. Wechselseitig wird erwartet, dass man sie benutzt und dass man nicht ohne Not gegen sie verstößt, sie modifiziert oder sie außer Acht lässt. Sie besitzen so die *normative Kraft des Faktischen und Bewährten*. Bei einer Abweichung von Normalformen erhöht sich deutlich die Wahrscheinlichkeit von Kommunikationsproblemen, und ein erheblicher Teil der beobachteten Kommunikationsprobleme ist in der Tat Resultat der Abweichung von den betreffenden Normalformen.

Mit empirischen Regularitäten als Basis für ihre Empfehlungen unterscheidet sich die Gesprächsanalyse von vielen anderen Formen der Sprachkritik, der Kommunikationsberatung und des Kommunikationstrainings. Die gängige Praxis in vielen Trainings besteht darin, präskriptive Normen für Kommunikationsverhalten zu propagieren und in rezeptartigen Handlungsanweisungen zu operationalisieren, wobei häufig unklar ist, wie sich diese Normen legitimieren und wodurch die Annahme gesichert ist, dass die Befolgung der Handlungsanweisungen wirklich zu einer 'besseren' oder 'effektiveren' Kommunikation führt (vgl. Fiehler 1995a).

Neben der Veränderung derjenigen Verhaltensweisen, die zu Kommunikationsproblemen geführt haben und führen, bilden *kognitives Lernen* über Regularitäten und Organisationsprinzipien von Kommunikation sowie eine allgemeine *Sensibilisierung* für Gesprächsprozesse wichtige Komponenten gesprächsanalytisch basierter Trainings. Außer durch die 'klassische' Wissensvermittlung im Lehr-Lern-Diskurs geschieht beides vor allem im Kontext von *Transkriptanalysen*. Die gemeinsame Untersuchung von Transkripten kann sich außer auf die Problemanalyse auch auf vielfältige Aspekte des 'Funktionierens' von Gesprächen beziehen und für diese sensibilisieren (vgl. Schmitt 1999).

### 3.3. Anwendungsfelder

Die dargestellte Methodik wurde von GesprächsanalytikerInnen in verschiedenen ge-

sellschaftlichen Bereichen erprobt (vgl. vor allem Fiehler/Sucharowski 1992; Brünner/Fiehler/Kindt 1999; Becker-Mrotzek/Brünner 1999c). Überwiegend war dabei professionelles Gesprächsverhalten Gegenstand der Schulung. Beratungs- und Trainings-schwerpunkte der angewandten Gesprächsforschung liegen in folgenden Feldern:

- Wirtschaftskommunikation (Betriebliche Ausbildung: Brünner 1992; Reklamationsgespräche: Fiehler/Kindt 1994; Fiehler/Kindt/Schnieders 1999; Besprechungen: Dannerer (1999); Schmitt/Heidtmann (i.D.); außerbetriebliche Kommunikation: Becker-Mrotzek 1994; Becker-Mrotzek/Brünner i.V.).
- Bürger-Verwaltungs-Kommunikation (Becker-Mrotzek/Ehlich/Fickermann 1992; Wiedemann/Femers/Nothdurft 1993; Spranz-Fogasy 1999).
- Medizinische Kommunikation (Menz/Nowak 1992; Spranz-Fogasy 1992; Lalouschek 1998; 1999; Streck 1999; Schultze 1999).
- Pflegekommunikation (Krankenpflege: Walther/Weinhold 1997; Weinhold 1997; Altenpflege: Sachweh 1999).
- Beratungsgespräche (Aidsberatung: Bliesener 1992; Genetische Beratung: Hartog 1992; Telefonseelsorge: Behrend/Gülich/Kastner 1992; Gülich/Kastner 1999).
- Schulische Kommunikation (Entwicklung von Gesprächsfähigkeiten bei SchülerInnen: Becker-Mrotzek 1995; Becker-Mrotzek/Brünner 1997; Fiehler 1998b; Neuland 1995; 1996; Vogt 1997; Lehreraus- und -weiterbildung: Bremerich-Vos 1992; Boettcher/Bremerich-Vos 1986; Friedrich 1999).
- Interkulturelle Kommunikation (Liedke/Redder/Scheiter 1999).

### 3.4. Besonderheiten einer gesprächsanalytisch fundierten Entwicklung von kommunikativen Fähigkeiten

Die Besonderheiten und Vorteile einer gesprächsanalytisch fundierten Beratung und Kommunikationsschulung lassen sich in folgenden Punkten zusammenfassen:

- *Fundus*: Es kann auf die umfangreiche von der Gesprächsforschung erarbeitete Wissensgrundlage über Muster und

Organisationsprinzipien der Kommunikation einerseits und über typische Formen von Kommunikationsproblemen andererseits zurückgegriffen werden.

- *Empirisch*: Die Diagnose von Kommunikationsproblemen erfolgt durch die Analyse authentischer Gespräche des Alltags und der Berufspraxis.
- *Mikroskopisch*: Die Verwendung von Transkripten ermöglicht eine genauere und detailliertere Analyse von Kommunikationsproblemen.
- *Analytisch*: Jeder Beratung und jedem Training geht die gründliche Analyse des empirischen Materials voraus. Kommunikationsprobleme werden so systematisch und empirisch erhoben. Die zeitliche Trennung von Analyse und Beratung/Training ermöglicht einen vollständigeren Überblick über auffällige und problematische Phänomene in den einzelnen Gesprächen, als er bei einer Ad-hoc-Besprechung zu erreichen ist.
- *Dialogisch*: Ob etwas ein Kommunikationsproblem ist, wird nicht allein vom Berater/Trainer gesetzt, sondern in einem Diskussionsprozess mit den Beteiligten geklärt.
- *Alternativenorientiert*: Im Zentrum steht die Explikation und Bewusstmachung des Alternativenspektrums, nicht die Präskription einzelner Verhaltensweisen.
- *Zyklisch*: Die Beratung und das Training werden nicht als einmaliger Akt verstanden, sondern als etwas, was sich rundenweise wiederholen sollte.
- *Evaluation*: Die zyklische Struktur der Beratung erlaubt einerseits eine Bestimmung der Effekte des Trainings und andererseits eine empirisch fundierte Analyse der Transferprobleme.

Inhaltlich bedeutet die Anwendung der Gesprächsforschung in Kommunikationsberatung und -training eine *Einschränkung* und *Spezialisierung* ihres Erkenntnisinteresses. Sie richtet ihre Aufmerksamkeit nicht mehr überwiegend auf Organisationsprinzipien und Regularitäten, sondern verstärkt auch auf Sprach- und Kommunikationsprobleme. Systematische Anwendung stellt aber zugleich auch eine Bereicherung der Gesprächsanalyse dar, insofern sie den Kontakt zu den verschiedensten gesellschaftlichen Bereichen vermittelt und ihr neue Datenquellen und empirisches Material er-

schließt. Anwendung ist auch die Voraussetzung für eine Professionalisierung der Gesprächsforschung im Beratungs- und Trainingssektor. Dieser Bereich stellt für die in dieser Hinsicht ja nicht unbedingt verwöhnten SprachwissenschaftlerInnen ein relevantes Berufsfeld dar: „Indem die Angewandte Gesprächsforschung allmählich beginnt, auf den steigenden Beratungsbedarf in zentralen gesellschaftlichen Bereichen zu reagieren, könnte sie – als eine der wenigen Teildisziplinen der Linguistik – deren öffentlich stets noch bezweifelte ‘gesellschaftliche Nützlichkeit’ eindrucksvoll demonstrieren.“ (Neuland 1996, 171).

Die *Grenzen* der Anwendung von Gesprächsforschung liegen dort, wo die *Kommunikationsprobleme* enden und andere Typen von Problemen – psychische, soziale – beginnen. Hier ist sie nicht primär zuständig, wohl aber in Kooperation mit anderen Disziplinen und Trainingskonzeptionen gefragt und gefordert, weil diese Probleme in der Regel *auch* in Kommunikationsprozessen Ausdruck finden. Eine weitere Grenze liegt da, wo Kommunikationsprobleme sich nicht oder nicht primär in unmittelbarer Interaktion manifestieren, so z.B. bei Problemen der Organisation gesellschaftlicher Kommunikation, Problemen im Rahmen von Sprachkontakt, sprachbiographischen Problemen etc. Hier greift ihre Methodologie nur begrenzt. An diesen Punkten besteht die Chance und Notwendigkeit zu einer interdisziplinären Zusammenarbeit mit anderen Disziplinen, in der beide Seiten versuchen, ihre Methodologien und Erkenntnismöglichkeiten systematisch aufeinander zu beziehen.

#### 4. Literatur (in Auswahl)

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## 256. Aufklärung von ideologischem Sprachgebrauch Revealing the Implications of Ideological Language Use

1. Gegenstandsbereich und Gliederung
2. Zu den Grundbegriffen
3. Aufklärungskonzepte
4. Anwendung
5. Fazit und Ausblick
6. Literatur (in Auswahl)

### 1. Gegenstandsbereich und Gliederung

Um ideologischen Sprachgebrauch offen zu legen, braucht man einen Ideologie-Begriff inkl. einer zumindest impliziten Theorie vom Zusammenhang zwischen Sprache und Ideologie(n); die Absicht, durch bessere Einsicht ein neues Bewusstsein bei den Adressaten zu schaffen; und schließlich geeignete sprachbezogene Erkenntnisse und Analysetermini. Darüber hinaus sind letztlich bei der Aufklärung von ideologischem Sprachgebrauch Wertungen im Spiel, die auf gesellschaftlichen Normen jenseits der (Sprach-)Wissenschaft beruhen und über deren Verhältnis zur linguistischen Analyse zu reflektieren ist. Texte, in denen entsprechende Voraussetzungen und Intentionen erkennbar sind, gehören damit zum Gegenstandsbereich des vorliegenden Artikels, ohne dass Ausdrücke wie *Ideologie* und *ideologisch* explizit darin vorkommen müssen. Parallel zur öffentlichen Kritik von ideologischem Sprachgebrauch und teilweise in Wechselwirkung haben sich im Anspruch ausdrücklich linguistisch legitimierte, ideologie- und sprachkritische Ansätze entwickelt. Obwohl Ideologien sich auch in Alltagstextsorten manifestieren können, stehen politische und massenmediale Einzeltexte (vgl. Artikel 157) oder ganze Diskurse (vgl. Art. 9, 71 u. 159) im Zentrum der Aufklärung von ideologischem Sprachgebrauch.

Der vorliegende Artikel versteht sich als Fortschreibung und Ergänzung des Überblicks aus der 1. Auflage (Dieckmann 1989). Er geht nicht auf die Kritik an „Sprachideologien“ (vgl. Joseph/Taylor 1990; Schieffelin/Woolard/Kroskirty 1998) ein, die in diesem Handbuch an anderer Stelle vielfach relevant (insbesondere im Abschnitt VIII) werden.

### 2. Zu den Grundbegriffen

#### 2.1. Ideologie

Der kleinste Nenner gängiger Definitionen von Ideologie lässt sich in etwa mit „zumindest ausschnittshafte Gesellschaftsdeutung mit System- und Orientierungscharakter“ umreißen. Ein erstes Differenzierungskriterium für die einzelnen Ansätze bildet, darauf aufbauend, die Frage nach dem Zusammenhang von Wahrheit und Ideologie. Entweder man sieht in Ideologien sachlich unzutreffende Gesellschaftsdeutungen bzw. falsches Bewusstsein und hält eine objektiv richtige, ideologiefreie Erkenntnis gesellschaftlicher Strukturen und Funktionsweisen für möglich. Das ist prinzipiell die Position des Positivismus (vgl. Salamun 1992, 8 ff), aber auch des traditionellen Marxismus, der diesen Anspruch aus der Wissenschaftlichkeit der materialistischen Theorie begründet. Dann ist *Ideologie* ein abwertender Begriff und bildet ein exklusives Gegensatzpaar mit Wahrheit. Oder man bezweifelt im Sinne der Wissenssoziologie (Berger/Luckmann 1969) die Möglichkeit einer objektiven Erkenntnisposition außerhalb gesellschaftlicher Interessen. Dann ist *Ideologie* ein neutraler Analyseterminus und Ideologien dienen keineswegs nur als Machtinstrumente der Herrschenden, sondern können genau so gut den Fokus des Widerstands benachteiligter Gruppen bilden (van Dijk 1998, 11). Diese Position mündet keineswegs in einen grundsätzlichen Ideologie-Relativismus. Für oder gegen einzelne Ideologien lässt sich auf der Basis konsensueller Erkenntnis, gemeinsamer Werte und gesellschaftlicher Zweckmäßigkeitsüberlegungen argumentieren. Die Aufdeckung ideologischer Behauptungen und die Herausarbeitung versteckter Normen bzw. allgemeiner: die Explizierung des Nicht-Gesagten, aber Mit-Gedachten bieten zahlreiche Ansatzpunkte für die sprachbezogene Analyse. Auch wenn heute wissenschaftstheoretisch das multiple und konnotativ neutrale Ideologieverständnis dominiert, bleibt *Ideologie* mit der doppelt negativen Konnotation der „Unwahrheit“ und Irreführung behaftet.

Gleichzeitig sind die Systeme gesellschaftlicher Überzeugungen, die als Ideologien

bezeichnet werden, in ihrem Deutungsbe-  
reich reduzierter und weniger ausformuliert  
als die klassischen Großideologien, für die  
eindeutige, weithin akzeptierte und detail-  
liert ausgeführte Referenztexte existieren.  
Dieser Verlust an Explizitheit wirft die Fra-  
ge nach der Abgrenzung von 'Ideologie' zu  
anderen Konzepten auf, die wie 'Kultur'  
(Geertz 1973, 193 ff; CCCS 1978), 'soziale  
Identität' (vgl. Art. 154) oder 'Mentalität'  
Formen des kollektiven Bewusstseins mit  
Orientierungscharakter bezeichnen. So integ-  
rieren neuere Mentalitätsdefinitionen gerade  
das, was an Ideologien nicht gewusst oder  
formuliert wird, aber einem kollektiven  
Bewusstsein entspricht (Vovelle 1982, 21).  
Ideologien können als „selbstverständliche  
Sinngeheimnisse“ allmählich zu Mentalitäten  
absinken (Sellin 1985, 581 ff; vgl. auch  
Schöttler 1989). Auch die kognitive Lingui-  
stik beschäftigt sich mit kollektiven Tiefen-  
strukturen und Bildlichkeiten (Lakoff/John-  
son 1980, Lakoff 1987), allerdings beruht  
der Ansatz auf der Vorstellung von genetischen  
und durch die Körperlichkeit des  
Menschen bedingten Prädispositionen.

## 2.2. Ideologie und Sprache

Wie andere Bewusstseinsinhalte auch lassen  
sich Ideologien nur sprachlich systematisch  
explizieren und werden überwiegend sprach-  
lich vermittelt. Aufklärung von ideologi-  
schem Sprachgebrauch als linguistische Ar-  
gumentation setzt dort an, wo es um den  
Einfluss der sprachlichen Mittel auf eine  
konkrete Äußerung (*parole*) oder grund-  
sätzlicher um die Auswirkungen der Mate-  
rialität eines Diskurses, einer Einzelsprache  
(*langue*) bzw. der menschlichen Sprachfä-  
higkeit überhaupt (*langage*) auf alle Äuße-  
rungen geht. Die Relevanz und Reichweite  
der sprachbezogenen Ideologiekritik nimmt  
in dieser Reihung von Stufe zu Stufe zu. Da-  
mit stellt sich auch die Frage, wie weit sich  
das Denken überhaupt von sprachlichen  
Vorgaben frei machen kann. Unterschiedliche  
Positionen zum Grad des Sprachdeter-  
minismus haben unmittelbaren Einfluss  
auf die Einschätzung der Relevanz und der  
Erfolgsaussichten einer Aufklärung von  
ideologischem Sprachgebrauch. In der ko-  
gnitiven Linguistik wird die These vom  
sprachlichen Weltbild (Whorf 1956) gene-  
tisch bzw. universalistisch interpretiert (Pi-  
res de Oliveira/Lakoff 2001, 28 f), ideologi-  
sche Aufklärung aber ausdrücklich ermutigt  
und selbst praktiziert. Diskurstheoretiker in

der Nachfolge Foucaults (1969) u. a. beto-  
nen eher den Determinismus hegemonialer  
Diskurse. Der Fokus ihres aufklärerischen  
Interesses kehrt sich damit um: Ein Ziel ist,  
„Diskurse zu 'entmystifizieren', indem Ideo-  
logien entschlüsselt werden“ (Weiss/Wodak  
2003, 14).

## 2.3. Manipulation

Die textuell basierte Ideologie-Analyse ver-  
kompliziert sich, wenn Sprecher nicht ihre  
wirkliche Gesellschaftsdeutung vertreten.  
Diese Problematik wird meist unter dem  
Begriff der (sprachlichen) *Manipulation* ab-  
gehandelt, der vielfältige Definitionen er-  
fahren hat. Neben dem marxistischen Be-  
griffsverständnis von *Manipulation* als  
zwangsläufigem Versuch der bürgerlichen  
Klasse, die Arbeiterschaft über ihre wahren  
Interessen zu täuschen, stehen allgemeine  
Vorstellungen von Irreführung der breiten  
Bevölkerung durch Wirtschaft und Politik,  
die sich raffinierter PR-Mittel und Werbe-  
techniken bedienen, um die demokratische  
Willensbildung in ihrem Sinne nach Belie-  
ben zu lenken. Wissenschaftstheoretisch ist  
der Manipulationsbegriff außerordentlich  
problematisch, insbesondere für die Lin-  
guistik. Er unterstellt einen unmittelbaren  
Zugang zum Denken von Sprechern/Grup-  
pen und deren „wahren“ Absichten. Dieser  
wird aus einer Gesellschaftsdeutung des  
Analysierenden abgeleitet, die außerhalb  
des untersuchten Textes liegt. Die ideologie-  
kritische Analyse versucht nun, die ver-  
schleierte Ideologiehaltigkeit und das wirk-  
lich Gemeinte zu explizieren. Es ist fraglich,  
wie weit derartige Interpretationen intersub-  
jektiv nachvollziehbar sind, wenn man die  
vorgängige Gesellschaftsanalyse nicht teilt.  
Der Manipulationsbegriff lässt sich aller-  
dings auch eng am Sprachgebrauch in Tex-  
ten festmachen, wenn persuasive Strategien  
nicht im Einklang mit einem rationalen,  
„herrschaftsfreien Diskurses“ (Habermas  
1981) stehen. Die Aufdeckung sprachlicher  
„Tricks“ zur Vereinnahmung oder Irrefüh-  
rung der Adressaten stellt ein wichtiges Teil-  
ziel ideologiekritischer Aufklärung dar.  
Durch den Vorwurf der individuellen Un-  
wahrhaftigkeit führt der Manipulationsbe-  
griff zu einer starken Moralisierung. Das  
gilt auch für unpersönlichere Manipulati-  
onsbegriffe, bei denen der einzelne Autor le-  
diglich Produkt gesellschaftlicher Struktu-  
ren ist, die unbewusst zu einer ideologischen  
Kollusion mit den Klasseninteressen führen.

### 3. Aufklärungskonzepte

#### 3.1. Ideologischer Sprachgebrauch als falsche Weltsicht

Wer Ideologie als Gegensatz zu Wahrheit versteht, sieht sich im Besitz dieser objektiven Erkenntnis der Wirklichkeit und misst daran ideologisch verfälschte Behauptungen. Es handelt sich um eine grundsätzliche Haltung in der Aufklärung von ideologischem Sprachgebrauch. Sie ist auch in den Medien und der politischen Diskussion weit verbreitet, da sie dem spontanen Wirklichkeitsverständnis der großen Mehrheit entspricht und die klar konturierten Alternativen Wahrheit vs. Ideologie leichter zu vermitteln sind. Die Überprüfung der Richtigkeit von Aussagen ist zunächst keine Frage der verwendeten sprachlichen Mittel. Das grundsätzliche Ideologieverständnis bzw. die Wirklichkeitstheorie haben jedoch unmittelbare Auswirkungen auf Gegenstand und Form einer ideologiekritischen Sprachanalyse. So beruht die ideologische Zeichenwie die Metaphernkritik meist auf der Vorstellung eines unmittelbaren Realitätszugangs.

#### 3.2. Sprachgebrauch im Zeichen von Großideologien

Den politischen Diskurs der Mitte des 20. Jhs. bestimmte ein Ideologieverständnis, das sich auf die beiden Großideologien Sozialismus/Marxismus und Liberalismus/Kapitalismus reduzieren lässt – mit den besonders heftig kritisierten Spielarten Stalinismus/Kommunismus bzw. Faschismus/Nationalsozialismus. Für den traditionellen Marxismus bringen die ökonomischen Verhältnisse des Kapitalismus zwangsläufig ein falsches Bewusstsein hervor, dem insofern weniger durch Sprachkritik als vielmehr durch eine Änderung der gesellschaftlichen Verhältnisse zu begegnen ist. Diese Auffassung stellt eine Variante des unter 3.1 dargestellten Aufklärungskonzeptes dar, schöpft die Gewissheit der richtigen Erkenntnis aber nicht aus einem intuitiven Wirklichkeitsverständnis oder dem Positivismus, sondern aus den theoretischen Schriften des Marxismus. Deshalb besteht auch ein grundsätzliches Misstrauen gegen den Versuch von Bewusstseinsveränderungen durch Sprachkritik, da diese lediglich auf den Überbau abzielt. Erst der Neomarxismus sieht das Über-/Unterbau-Verhältnis differenzierter

und legitimierte die sprachbezogene Analyse als eigene Methode mit seiner Empfehlung einer „linguistischen Therapie“ (Marcuse 1969, 20).

Der Erfolg der nationalsozialistischen Ideologie erschien aus bürgerlicher Perspektive nicht zuletzt als Resultat der „Verführung durch Sprache“ gesehen, so dass es unzählige Titel zur „Sprache des Nationalsozialismus“ (Kinne/Schwittalla 1984) mit vielen sensiblen Beobachtungen (Klemperer 1947) und mehr oder weniger linguistischem Anspruch gab, in denen Charakteristika des NS-Vokabulars (Berning 1998), der NS-Sprachlenkung und der rhetorischen Strategien von NS-Reden beschrieben und auf ihr fortwirkendes „Gift“ hingewiesen wurde (Sternberger/Storz/Süsskind 1957ff). Im Zuge des Kalten Krieges und der Auseinandersetzung mit dem Kommunismus bzw. der DDR bemühte man sich dann verstärkt, Kennzeichen totalitärer Sprache allgemein zu beschreiben und im Rahmen der Schlagwortforschung Inventare typischer Vokabeln und Sprachstrategien einzelner Ideologien aufzustellen (Straßner 1987). Dabei ist die aufklärerische Absicht und die Nähe zur traditionellen rhetorischen Analyse bzw. zur Persuasionsforschung (Hoffmann 1998, O’Keefe 2002) meist sehr deutlich spürbar (ausführlicher Dieckmann 1989, 1784ff).

#### 3.3. Ideologien als auf Werten basierte Teildeutungen

Das Ende der Großideologien mit Totalitätsansprüchen (vgl. Salamun 1992, 40ff) und das Vordringen wissenssoziologischer Theorien sprechen für offenere Ideologiedefinitionen, die auch auf gesellschaftsbezogene *Teil*-Deutungen mit einem vergleichsweise geringen Explizititätsgrad passen (s. 2.1.). Schon in den 60er Jahren hatte die kritische Theorie eine Art „technokratische Hintergrundideologie“ der modernen – nicht nur kapitalistischen – Industriegesellschaft (Habermas 1968, 48ff) identifiziert und deren Eindimensionalität (Marcuse 1964) kritisiert. Gegen diese wenden sich ab den 70er Jahren die Neuen Sozialen Bewegungen, die positive Gegen-Entwürfe propagieren, in denen sie Teilaspekte wie Umweltschutz, Frieden oder die Nicht-Diskriminierung benachteiligter sozialer Gruppen (Frauen, Ausländer, Schwule/Lesben u.a.) betonen (Scott 1990; Laraña 1994). Da der Begriff ‘Ideologie’ aber weiterhin vor allem mit Großideologien assoziiert wird, taucht das

Wort *Ideologie* als Selbst- oder Fremdzuschreibung im Zusammenhang mit diesen partikularen modellierenden Systemen nur selten auf.

Das Schwergewicht der Ideologiekritik verlagert sich auf Negativ-Ideologien wie Rassismus, Patriarchismus, Militarismus oder Ökonomismus (Ausbeutung der Natur), da sie universalen Menschenrechten bzw. den demokratischen Grundwerten Nicht-Diskriminierung, Schutz des menschlichen Lebens oder Erhalt der natürlichen Ressourcen widersprechen. Über ihre Ablehnung besteht ebenso gesellschaftlicher Konsens wie über die genannten positiven Werte. Ideologiekritik ist hier letztlich immer eine Wertekritik. Die kritisierten Ideologien liegen aber höchstens historisch in expliziter Form vor und werden von niemandem offiziell vertreten. Es geht also zunächst immer um die Aufdeckung verschleierte Formen dieser Ideologien. Die sprachbezogene Ideologiekritik wird dadurch noch wichtiger, aber auch spekulativer. Mit der Basierung der Ideologiekritik auf konsensuellen Werten geht eine verstärkte Moralisierung der Ideologiediskussion einher. An Stelle der wissenschaftlich richtigen Weltdeutung des Marxismus tritt die moralisch richtige mit vielen linguistisch vorschnellen Schlüssen (vgl. Jung 2001 b). Die Sensibilisierung für diskriminierende Sprachgebräuche gegenüber sozial benachteiligten Gruppen ist in ihrer explizit präskriptiven Ausprägung als Sprachgebot selbst Gegenstand der vor allem in den USA geführten ideologiekritischen Debatte um „political correctness“ geworden, bei der es nicht zuletzt um Sprachvorschriften geht (Berman 1992; Molyneux 1993; Discourse & Society 2003).

#### 3.4. Aufklärung als kommunikationsethischer Ansatz

Die unterschiedlichen ideologiekritischen Aufklärungsansätze laufen alle in Gefahr dogmatisch zu werden, da sie mit dem Anspruch unmittelbarer Wirklichkeitserkenntnis, wissenschaftlicher Objektivität, interessenadäquater Gesellschaftsdeutung oder moralischer Richtigkeit auftreten. Offener Aufklärungskonzepte wollen nicht ihrerseits bestimmte Gesellschaftsdeutungen vorgeben, sondern auf der Basis kommunikationsethischer Maximen (Heringer 1990) die Interpretations- und Entscheidungsfreiheit des Einzelnen durch sprachliche Analyse stärken. Entsprechende Konzepte schlagen

den Bogen zum geistesgeschichtlichen Emanzipationsbegriff und können sich dabei u. a. auf den „Kritischen Rationalismus“ berufen, der ideologiekritisch die vielfältigen Verfahrensweisen der Dogmatisierung von Erkenntnissen und Überzeugungen herausarbeitet (Albert 1991, 96ff, Salamun 1992, 10f).

In dieser Tradition werden Wahrheitspostulate, sprachliche Hegemonialansprüche und Deutungsmonopole einzelner gesellschaftlicher Interessengruppen zurückgewiesen, indem man in linguistischen Analysen die prinzipielle Arbitrarität des sprachlichen Zeichens, die Interessengebundenheit seines Gebrauchs und die unhintergehbare Pluralität von Sichtweisen (Ideologien i.w.S.) bewusst macht. Diesem Vorhaben dienen neben exemplarischen Analysen (Wimmer 1982, Heringer 1990) auch Darstellungen des öffentlich sensiblen ideologischen Wortschatzes bzw. der „semantischen Kämpfe“ in wichtigen Feldern der gesellschaftlichen Diskussion (Strauss/Hass/Harras 1989; Stötzel/Wengeler u. a. 1995; Jung/Niehr/Böke 2001). Hier fließen viele Ergebnisse aus dem Feld der Forschung zur „Sprache in der Politik“ (vgl. Art. 159) bzw. „Sprache in den Medien“ (vgl. Art. 157) ein, da Politiker sich permanent bei ihrer Wählerschaft der Bindungswirkung von Ideologien bedienen müssen und die Medien das wichtigste Vehikel dieser Konsens- oder Dissensproduktion sind.

## 4. Anwendung

Bei ihrer Verbreitung schöpfen einzelne Ideologien immer aus einem allgemeinen Inventar speziell persuasiver sprachlicher Möglichkeiten. Charakteristisch für die Tendenzen der Aufklärung über ideologischen Sprachgebrauch sind jedoch die Häufungen und die spezifischen inhaltlichen Füllungen. Der folgende Überblick soll hier exemplarisch wichtige Bereiche und typische Ergebnisse der Aufklärung von ideologischem Sprachgebrauch deutlich machen.

### 4.1. Anwendungsformen

Ideologiekritische Sprachanalysen lassen sich hinsichtlich ihrer Reichweite differenzieren. Sie können (a) einzelne Sprachgebräuche und Textstrukturen betreffen, sich (b) oberhalb der Textebene sich auf Diskurse beziehen oder (c) auf der sprachsystematischen Ebene (Lexik/Semantik, Syntax, Pragmatik) ansetzen. Während (a) eine

Form der Äußerungskritik ist, stellt (b) den Übergang zur kontextfreien Systemanalyse (c) dar. Gleichzeitig wird auch der Gesellschaftsbezug immer abstrakter und unpersönlicher. Lexik und Semantik lassen oft unmittelbare Bezüge zu einer bestimmten Ideologie erkennen. Die große Mehrzahl der Einheiten, die in den Fokus der Aufklärung von ideologischem Sprachgebrauch geraten (Wörter, Strukturen, Satz- und Textsortenmuster oder Argumentations- und Textstrategien) sind alltäglicher und ideologisch neutraler Bestandteil des Ausdruckrepertoires einer Sprache. Allerdings werden immer wieder dieselben sprachlichen Erscheinungen thematisiert. Sie bilden das typische Formeninventar ideologischen Sprachgebrauchs, ihr gehäuftes Vorkommen hat Indikatorcharakter und ihre Analyse gehört zum Standardrepertoire des Aufklärers.

Die Begriffskritik richtet sich meist gegen Veränderungen etablierter oder das Aufkommen neuer Konzepte. Den Neologismen wird der seit längerer Zeit stabile Sprachgebrauch entgegen gesetzt, wobei man sich auf Wörterbücher und individuelle Autoritäten beruft. Eine typische Argumentationsfigur zum Beweis ideologisch verfälschten Sprachgebrauchs ist der Etymologismus, d. h. der Verweis auf die Herkunft/ Ursprungsbedeutung eines Wortes bzw. der Wortbestandteile als eindeutige „Definition“ der ursprünglichen und insofern „wahren“ Bedeutung. Die Addition der Wortbildungselemente ergibt aber niemals eine eindeutige Definition des bezeichneten Konzeptes, sondern stellt lediglich einen mnemotechnischen Hinweis auf die (ursprüngliche) Benennungsmotivation dar. Besonders verbreitet als Kritik an der Beziehung zwischen Begriff/Wort und Realität ist der Vorwurf, die Wirklichkeit zu beschönigen. Ein mit negativen Assoziationen und klaren moralischen Wertungen verbundener Begriff wird vermieden, obwohl er den Sachverhalt nach Meinung des Kritikers genau trifft, und durch einen neutralen, positiv oder zumindest weniger negativ konnotierten Ausdruck ersetzt. Das kann z. B. auch bedeuten, dass Menschen, Tiere, Natur konzeptuell „versachlicht“ werden, was die Werte orientierte Sprachanalyse kritisiert (vgl. 3.3.). Die Euphemismuskritik richtet sich nicht nur gegen beschönigende Neologismen für unangenehme Wahrheiten, sondern auch gegen etablierte Ausdrücke, deren „Weltsicht“ als verharmlosend demaskiert wird (s. u. 4.2.).

Oberhalb der an eine konkrete Ideologie gebundenen Wortkritik wird in der Entlarvung ideologischen Sprachgebrauchs typischerweise auf sprachliche Erscheinungen abgehoben, die im Bereich der grammatischen und rhetorischen Mittel bzw. der Textstrategien liegen (vgl. Hodge/Kress 1993; van Dijk 1998, 200ff, 263ff). Phänomene wie die Agenstilgung in Passivsätzen, durch die Urheber/Ursachen von Handlungen ausgeblendet werden, bieten ein besonderes Mystifizierungspotenzial. Bei der Abgrenzung von Eigengruppe und Fremdgruppe stehen Pronomen und andere Formen der Wir/Sie-Konturierung im Fokus des analytischen Interesses. Geht es um die Grenze zwischen Tatsachen, Wahrscheinlichkeiten, Vermutungen und Spekulationen, zwischen Absichten und Handlungen, spielen Faktizität von Verben und die vielfältigen Modalisierungsmöglichkeiten eine wichtige Rolle. Enorme Manipulationspotenziale bieten die Formen der Redewiedergabe inklusive des Gebrauchs von Indikativ oder Konjunktiv. Weitere Beispiele für linguistisch gut bekannte und beschriebene, in ideologischer Hinsicht besonders manipulationsverdächtige sprachliche Phänomene sind alle lexikalischen Kategorisierungssysteme, aber auch spezielle Phänomene wie die Existenzpräsupposition bei Nominalisierungen – sie kann nicht direkt, sondern nur metasprachlich in Frage gestellt werden; der generische Singular, der in Verbindung mit Gruppenbezeichnungen unter Sterotypieverdacht gestellt wird; eine den Adressaten unangemessene Fachworthaltigkeit, die den Ideologiegehalt durch scheinbar objektive Wissenschaftlichkeit verdeckt; alle unmittelbar mit Machtausübung verbundenen direktiven Sprechakte, die keineswegs nur in Form von Imperativen erfolgen und oft erst durch eine detaillierte Analyse der Sprecherasymmetrien offensichtlich werden – die Liste ließe sich fast beliebig verlängern.

Auf der Textstrukturebene (Titscher et al. 1998) setzt sich die sprachbezogene ideologische Analyse u. a. mit der Rolle von Beispielen und Anekdotenerzählungen, Bildern und rhetorischen Stilfiguren auseinander. Bei der Sprachbildanalyse verschiebt sich die Frage nach dem Wahrheitsgehalt hin zur Frage nach der Adäquatheit der metaphorischen Analogie. Der Übergang zwischen metaphorischem und nicht-metaphorischem Verständnis ist jedoch fließend. Es ist umstritten, inwiefern die ursprüngliche Bild-



lichkeit „verblasster Metaphern“ noch wirksam ist oder negative Konsequenzen hat. Die aufklärende Thematisierung von Metaphern versucht die grundsätzliche Differenz zwischen Wirklichkeit und Bild aufzudecken bzw. bewusst zu halten und richtet sich gegen irrationale, unterschwellige Wirkungen der Metaphorik (etwa die Evokation von Bedrohungsszenarien). Die sprachbezogene Ideologiekritik steht hier in der Tradition der Redeanalyse, altbekannte Phänomene werden aber linguistisch präziser gefasst. So wird die Analyse der Bildlichkeit nun auch mit Erkenntnissen der kognitiven Linguistik untermauert. Übergänge zu einer allgemeinen Nachzeichnung und Bewertung der Textaussagen sind fließend, etwa wenn die Argumentationsanalyse auf der Basis klassischer Schemata schiefe Gegensätze, Widersprüchlichkeiten und andere Schwächen aufdeckt. Über die Untersuchung einzelner Texte hinaus geht schließlich die Diskursanalyse, wenn sie ideologische Strukturen in einer Vielzahl thematisch zusammenhängender Texte aufdeckt. Bei der Aufklärung von ideologischem Sprachgebrauch werden nicht nur explizit politische Texte der Ideologienanalyse unterzogen, sondern auch Alltagstexte. Dann stehen weniger die persuasiven Strategien als vielmehr sprachliche Erscheinungen mit Indikatorfunktion und unbewusste ideologische Bruchstücke im Vordergrund.

#### 4.2. Anwendungsbereiche

Historisch gesehen wurde im 20. Jh. vor allem über den Sprachgebrauch der Großideologien aufgeklärt, am intensivsten wohl über die Sprache des Nationalsozialismus (vgl. Kinne/Schwitalla 1994). Als besonders charakteristisch kann der Wortschatz der nationalsozialistischen Rassenlehre und des Antisemitismus mit seinen ausgrenzenden Benennungen für einzelne Bevölkerungsgruppen und Euphemisierungen zur Verhüllung von Massenmord sowie die gleichfalls dehumanisierende Krankheits- und Ungeziefermetaphorik gelten, die die physischen Gewalt gegen Menschen legitimierte. Der Faschismus versucht darüber hinaus, einen überindividuellen Volkswillen zu hypostasieren, den der Führer verwirklicht. Deshalb gilt die besondere Aufmerksamkeit sprachlichen Strategien der Identitätskonstruktion, angefangen vom Gebrauch der Personalpronomen ich/wir bis hin zu Personifizierungen von Kollektivbegriffen wie *Volk*. Dem Na-

tionalsozialismus scheint es besonders gelungen zu sein, die Vorstellungen und Denkschemata der breiten Bevölkerung in Phraseologie und Metaphorik zu vereinnahmen und die damalige Opposition „sprachlos“ zu machen (Maas 1984). Die Auseinandersetzung mit dem Marxismus sowjetischer Prägung setzte teilweise an ähnlichen Beobachtungen an und versuchte sprachliche Gemeinsamkeiten totalitärer Ideologien herauszustellen, die alle dem Kollektiv einen besonderen Stellenwert einräumen. Die Existenz zweier deutscher Staaten und die permanente sprachliche Auseinandersetzung mit der DDR (Schlosser 1990) sensibilisierten besonders für die Untersuchung ideologischer Polysemie bzw. Deontik (Hermanns 1989) bei Leitbegriffen bzw. lenkte die Aufmerksamkeit auf ideologische Bezeichnungsvarianz, bei der zwar die Referenz, aber nicht die Prädikation identisch sind.

Der „semantische Kampf“ zwischen den Konservativen und der Neuen Linken, die altbekannte Begriffe im politischen Meinungsstreit einfach „umfunktionierten“, bestimmte die öffentliche Ideologiekritik der späten 60er und der 70er Jahre. Beklagt wurde die Tendenz, bislang „neutrale“ politische Leitbegriffe wie *Demokratie* zu „ideologisieren“ (Biedenkopf 1975). Die Forderung, zu einer gemeinsamen politischen Sprache mit einheitlichen Bedeutungen zurückzukehren, spiegelt ein strukturkonservatives Muster der Kritik an ideologischem Sprachgebrauch wider, um einem neu aufkommenen „ketzerischen Diskurs“ seine Ausdrucksmöglichkeiten zu nehmen (Bourdieu 1982, 52ff). Der Wortstreit ist unvermeidbare Folge gesellschaftlichen Wandels, bleibt aber der Fokus für die politische Sprachkritik (Eppler 1992). Die 68er-Bewegung brachte zahlreiche neue Impulse in die öffentliche Wahrnehmung des Zusammenhangs von Sprache und Ideologie ein, die in der politischen Sprachpraxis der neuen sozialen Bewegungen weiterentwickelt wurden. Sie weiteten die Ideologisierung des gesellschaftspolitischen Vokabulars auf Fach- und Alltagssprache insgesamt aus und stellten neue Formen des „Sprachkampfes“ in den Vordergrund (vgl. Stötzel/Wengeler 1995, 639ff). Auffällige Neologismen machen als explizite Gegenwörter zum etablierten Vokabular den Ideologiegehalt der bisherigen Ausdrücke deutlich und ermöglichen gleichzeitig ein im Selbstverständnis ideologiefreies Reden.

Die feministische Sprachkritik hat mit dieser Form der „praktischen Aufklärung“ von ideologischem Sprachgebrauch die größte Breitenwirkung erzielt und auch am stärksten den möglichen Ideologiegehalt grammatischer Strukturen herausgearbeitet (vgl. Artikel 153 u. 250). Den Militarismus im Sprachgebrauch der Politik und des Militärs deckt die Friedensbewegung auf, so zum Beispiel Euphemisierungen in Form Entpersonifizierung menschlicher Opfer und Anthropomorphisierungen von Massenvernichtungswaffen (Chilton 1985, Burkhardt 1989). Die Umweltbewegung bzw. die „ökologische Linguistik“ (Fill 1993; Harré/Brockmeier/Mühlhäusler 1999; Fill/Mühlhäusler 2001) haben sich u.a. bemüht, Anthropozentrismen und rein verwertungsbezogene Sichtweisen von Tieren und Pflanzen im (Fach-) Diskurs und Lexikon der Industriegesellschaften offen zu legen. Im Kontext der Anti-Rassismus-Bewegung sollen fremdenfeindliche Stereotypen (vgl. allgemein Art. 155) und Sprachgebräuche demaskiert und ein praktischer Beitrag zu einem vorurteilsfreien, nicht-diskriminierenden Reden über Ausländer und andere kulturell differente Gruppen geleistet werden. In diesem Bereich sind besonders viele Studien mit linguistischer bzw. medienwissenschaftlicher Analyserichtung und breitem methodischen Spektrum entstanden (vgl. Jung/Wengeler/Böke 1997, 7–16). Auch der Sprachgebrauch im Alltag gerät als Indikator für verheimlichte oder unbewusste Reste von „Rassismus“ in den Blick. Es werden Gesprächsstrategien untersucht, Argumentations- und Toposanalysen (Wengeler 2003) durchgeführt und vielfältige Varianten der Diskursanalyse praktiziert (Wodak 1990; Fowler 1991; van Dijk 1993; Matouschek/Wodak/Januschek 1995). In der Bildanalyse potenziell ausländerfeindlicher Diskurse erlangte die weit verbreitete Flutmetaphorik besondere Prominenz, deren unterschwelliges Bedrohungspotenzial möglicherweise heftige Abwehrmechanismen bei der Bevölkerung provoziert.

## 5. Fazit und Ausblick

Die Aufklärung von ideologischem Sprachgebrauch hat sich immer stärker von der Analyse ausformulierter ideologischer Texte hin zu lediglich implizit ideologischen Äußerungen und von der Wort über die Text- zur Diskursebene verlagert. In jüngster Zeit

werden gerade im Rahmen der Ideologiekritik zahlreiche Konvergenzen zwischen Vertretern einer sozialen und Vertretern einer genetischen Auffassung von Sprache deutlich. Einerseits gilt das Interesse der „sozialen Kognition“ (van Dijk 1998), andererseits wird versucht, das soziale und kulturelle Element in Metaphernkonzepte der kognitiven Linguistik zu integrieren (vgl. dazu die Beiträge in Dirven et al. 2001, insbesondere das aufschlussreiche Interview/Streitgespräch zwischen Lakoff und Pires de Oliveira). Auch in den politischen Zielen ähneln sich die einzelnen Anwendungsstudien sehr (Lakoff 1996).

Mehr als zuvor stellt sich heute die Frage, welchen spezifischen Beitrag eine linguistische Ideologiekritik im Rahmen der sozialwissenschaftlichen Diskursanalyse leisten kann (Jung 2001 a). Angesprochen sind Wissenschaftstheorie wie Fachverständnis, gerade wenn es um den Einbezug von Argumentations- oder Bildanalysen, aber auch um Formen der vergegenständlichten Ideologiekritik, Text-/Bild-Kombinationen, Mentalitätsforschung und kulturelle Studien geht. Wenn die vielfältigen Ergebnisse des Forschungsfeldes „Sprache in der Politik“ (Burkhardt 1996 bzw. Art. 159) inklusive des Ertrags der linguistischen Begriffskritik mit der „Kritischen (Diskurs-)Linguistik“ (Hodge/Kress 1992; Fairclough 1995; Jäger 1999) und der französischen Tradition (z. B. Guilhaumou 1988 sowie die Gruppe um die Zeitschrift *Mots* 1980ff.) besser zusammenwachsen sollen, muss ein gewisser Konsens über die Korpuskonstitution und empirische Verfahren bestehen, um die „subjektiven Evidenzen der Lektüre zu verhindern“ (Pêcheux in Woetzel/Geier 1982, 395). Schließlich ist zu sehen, wie sich der Konnex von öffentlicher und fachlicher Sprach-/Ideologiekritik in Zukunft gestalten wird, da die komplexeren Methoden sozialwissenschaftlicher Diskursanalysen im Unterschied zur Begriffs- und Bildkritik den Medien nicht direkt zu vermitteln sind.

Problematisch bleiben bei der besonders politiknahen linguistischen Ideologiekritik Objektivierung und Grad der intersubjektiven Reproduzierbarkeit bei unterschiedlichen Positionen. Wo Nicht-Expliziertes offen gelegt wird, ist ein großer Teil der Ergebnisse zwangsläufig Spekulation. Obwohl sich ein wertfreies Ideologieverständnis theoretisch ausgebreitet hat, wird die eigene Gesellschaftsdeutung kaum als *Ide-*

logie bezeichnet oder als solche expliziert. Die linguistische Ideologiekritik kann Instrumente an die Hand geben, um die sprachlichen „Tricks“ der Ideologen zu durchschauen, ohne gleichzeitig die Gesellschaftsdeutung des Aufklärers als ‚wahr‘, ‚richtig‘ oder ‚moralisch besser‘ darzustellen. Die Aufgeklärten oder sich selber braucht man dabei nicht als völlig autonome Erkenntnissubjekte zu sehen. Denn die mittlerweile weithin akzeptierte epistemologische Prämisse, dass es keine Erkenntnismöglichkeit außerhalb eines vergesellschafteten Subjektes gibt, lässt sich kommunikationsethisch so umsetzen, dass man die jeweiligen Positionen und deren typische Versprachlichungen aufdeckt, Bewertungskriterien für die Präferenz der ein oder anderen Ideologie nennt, aber auch die Fehlbarkeit der eigenen Überzeugungen bewusst hält.

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## 257. Linguistic Human Rights/Sprachliche Menschenrechte

1. What are linguistic human rights?
2. Linguistic human rights in education
3. Positive developments and gaps
4. Literature (selected)

### 1. What are linguistic human rights?

#### 1.1. Language rights + human rights = linguistic human rights

Most people knowledgeable about human rights have not heard anything about the concept of linguistic human rights. Language rights emerged as a major international concern after the First ‘World’ War and the Peace Treaties contained some language rights for minorities. Minority rights and language rights figured together prominently during the era of the League of Nations, prompted by politicians and minority movements and were written into constitutions and treaties but were mainly seen as the field of expertise of lawyers, rather than linguists or other language experts. Human rights are rights that every individual has, simply because of being human. In theory they are supposed to be so fundamental, so inalienable, that no state (or person) is allowed to violate them. This is of course far from the case, even on paper. An international human rights regime started to develop in a prominent way directly after the Second ‘World’ War under the auspices of the United Nations. Most of the initial rights were individual rights. This resulted in most of those rights which during the League of Nations had included some

language rights, namely minority rights (which are collective per definition), not being developed. One of the arguments was that if every individual had certain rights, people were protected as individuals and collective rights were not needed. Minorities were seen, for instance by American delegates to the UN human rights instruments drafting bodies, as “a European problem”. Today, certain collective rights are increasingly being included in the human rights regime. A somewhat bold general claim would be that European regional instruments contain fewer collective rights and fewer binding duties/responsibilities than the 4 African instruments (clear even in the name of the first general instrument, the African Charter on Human and Peoples’ Rights, 1981). The Organization of American States’ 14 instruments (where the United States of America, one of the 35 member states, has significantly only signed 3; see UNESCO 1999, 30–32) resemble the European instruments. There is as yet no inter-governmental human rights system at the regional level in Asia, but several attempts have been made to concretise a regional stance on human rights, with governments and NGOs highlighting different viewpoints (see Muntarbhorn 2000, for an overview; see also Beetham 2000, for a discussion of universality and cultural differences in human rights).

Language rights and human rights have been brought together as linguistic human rights only recently. Some language-related rights are so fundamental that every individ-

ual has to have them simply because that individual is a human being, in order for basic physical and mental needs to be met, and for a dignified life. Many of these rights can only be met if the collective that the individual belongs to has collective rights. These necessary individual and collective language rights are linguistic human rights (hereafter LHRs). On the other hand, there are rights related to languages which are important but not necessary in the sense discussed here. The right to learn foreign languages of one's choice might be an example. This kind of language-related enrichment-oriented rights might be called language rights, but they are not linguistic human rights. This article gives a short overview of why linguistic human rights are needed, why educational language rights are the most vital rights for the maintenance of linguistic diversity, what linguistic human rights exist in education, and what some positive new developments and gaps are. The discussion will mostly relate to half of the world's languages only, namely oral languages, but with some remarks in relation to the other half of the world's languages, the sign languages.

### 1.2. A continuum from linguistic human rights to linguistic genocide

Languages which are official languages obviously enjoy a lot of rights (see de Varennes 1996 for an overview) and in most cases one might suggest that native speakers of these languages enjoy all LHRs. Juan Cobarrubias (1983) has developed a taxonomy of policies, which a state can adopt towards a (minority) language, with the following stages: "1. attempting to kill a language; 2. letting a language die; 3. unsupported co-existence; 4. partial support of specific language functions; 5. adoption as an official language". A directly LHRs-related similar taxonomy or continuum of LHRs might start at (a) linguistic genocide, and continue through (b) discrimination on the basis of language, (c) non-discrimination prescription and (d) conditional acceptance of some LHRs, to (e) full unconditional LHRs.

Linguistic genocide, a possibly provocative and emotionally charged expression, has to be scientifically described and also legally defined. From a research point of view, using Cobarrubias' taxonomy, linguistic genocide involves actively "killing a language" (without killing its speakers, as in physical genocide) or, through passivity,

"letting a language die". "Unsupported co-existence" mostly also leads to minority languages dying. From an international law point of view, we can use definitions of genocide and linguistic genocide from the *UN Genocide Convention*. Two types of UN definitions are relevant. The first type is those two definitions, which still are part of the 1948 *UN International Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide* (E 793, 1948):

Article II (e), "forcibly transferring children of the group to another group"; and Article II (b), "causing serious bodily *or mental* harm to members of the group" (emphasis added).

First language attrition and loss have been described fairly extensively in research literature and fiction. Sandra Kouritzin (1999) describes many cases in Canada where immigrant minority children have lost a language within one generation so that they as adults, for instance, are no longer able to speak to their parents. Lily Wong Fillmore has described the consequences for families in the U.S.A. (1992). Peter Mühlhäusler discusses results of linguistic imperialism in the Pacific (1996). Pirjo Janulf (1998) shows in her longitudinal study that of those Finnish immigrant minority members in Sweden who had had Swedish-medium education, not one spoke any Finnish to their own children. Even if they themselves might not have forgotten their Finnish completely, their children were certainly forcibly transferred to the majority group, at least linguistically. This happens to millions of speakers of threatened languages all over the world. For oral minority students education through the medium of a dominant majority language often leads to the students using the dominant language with their own children later on. Over a generation or two the children are linguistically and often also culturally assimilated, forcibly transferred to a dominant group. Since there are no alternatives in formal education (i.e. schools or classes which teach mainly through the medium of the threatened indigenous or minority languages), the transfer happens by force. For it to be voluntary, alternatives should exist, and parents would need to have enough reliable information about the long-term consequences of the various choices. None of these conditions are usually fulfilled for indigenous or minority parents and children, i.e. the situations where children

lose their first language, can often be characterised as genocide.

Since most Deaf children are born to hearing parents, parents and children do not have the same mother tongue by origin, and many of the Deaf children will in their turn have hearing children. Deaf children of hearing parents are in many countries still taught through oral methods, i.e. taught lip-reading and speaking in a dominant majority language, to the exclusion of a sign language. They are not learning their "own" language, a sign language, which is for all Deaf children the only type of language through which they can express themselves fully, i.e. it is their mother tongue by competence. Thus both oral indigenous and minority children and Deaf children, taught predominantly through the medium of a dominant oral majority language, are undergoing linguistic genocide: both groups of children are forcibly transferred from their 'own' language group to dominant majority language group.

The second type of UN definition is the specific definition of linguistic genocide, which was included in the final Draft of the Convention. In preparatory work for the UN Genocide Convention, linguistic and cultural genocide were discussed alongside physical genocide, and were seen as serious crimes against humanity (see Capotorti 1979). When the Convention was accepted in the UN General Assembly, Article 3 covering linguistic and cultural genocide was voted down by 16 states, and it is thus not included in the final Convention of 1948. But even when the states members of the UN in 1948 voted down the Article on linguistic and cultural genocide, there was wide agreement about how to define the phenomena. Thus what remains is a definition of linguistic genocide, which most states then in the UN were prepared to accept:

Article III (1) "Prohibiting the use of the language of the group in daily intercourse or in schools, or the printing and circulation of publications in the language of the group".

'Prohibition' can be direct or indirect. If there are no minority teachers in the pre-school/school and if the minority language is not used as the main medium of education, the use of the language is indirectly prohibited in daily intercourse and in schools, i.e. it is a question of linguistic

genocide. Most minority education in the world is thus tantamount to linguistic genocide, as defined by the UN. So is the education that most indigenous first nations have had and that many of them still have (see e.g. Hamel 1994; Jordan 1988; Fettes 1998). Skutnabb-Kangas (2000) gives hundreds of examples of this prohibition and the harm it causes.

Subtractive formal education which teaches children something of a dominant language at the cost of their first language (i.e. mother tongue by origin, as for oral minority children and for Deaf children with Deaf parents, or mother tongue by competence, as for Deaf children of hearing parents), is genocidal. Instead, learning new languages should happen additively, in addition to their own languages.

## 2. Linguistic human rights in education

### 2.1. Linguicism or LHRs in education

The haves and have-nots in the world are partially constructed on the basis of their ethnic origins and culture (their cultural capital) and on the basis of which languages (and variants of these) they know or do not know (their linguistic capital). Ethnicism and linguicism, are akin to and in the process of replacing traditional biologically argued racisms. They have been defined (Skutnabb-Kangas 1988, 13) as "ideologies, structures and practices which are used to legitimate, effectuate and reproduce an unequal division of power and (both material and non-material) resources between groups which are defined on the basis of 'race' (biologically argued racism), ethnicity and culture (culturally and ethnically argued racism: ethnicism), and language (linguistically argued racism: linguicism)."

Linguicism is a major factor in determining whether speakers of particular languages are allowed to enjoy their linguistic human rights. Linguicism is a much more sophisticated way of preventing the use of a language than brutal, visible genocide (for instance the type that the Kurds, especially in Turkey, are the victims of). Firstly, indigenous peoples and minority groups are, both structurally and through attempts at colonising their consciousness to make them believe in the ideology of monolingual reductionism, prevented from developing

their languages as one of the most important bases for being and for reproducing themselves as distinct groups or as peoples wanting self-determination. Secondly, groups are invisibilised and invalidated not only by refusing to allow their languages in official use and on school timetables but also with the help of the labels used about the groups and/or their languages. We use Sign languages as an example. In a written statement on Sign languages and the European Charter, Mr. Fernando Albanese, the then Director of Environment and Local Authorities in the Secretariat General of the Council of Europe, does “not think on the basis of the information in my possession that the Charter applies to Sign Languages” (quoted in Krausneker 1998, 22). The ‘information’ that Mr. Albanese claims to possess is in fact serious misinformation. He claims that “the Sign Languages are connected with a handicap and not with the membership to a group, ethnically, religiously or linguistically different from the majority of the population of a state”. In relation to the definition of a “regional or minority language” for the purposes of the Charter, which requires that this language be “different from the official language(s) of the State; it does not include either dialects of the official language(s) of the State or the languages of migrants” (Article 1(a)ii), Mr. Albanese uses the following argument to exclude Sign languages. He thinks that the essential element required by the definition, namely “the difference in respect of the official language(s) of the State” is missing, because “[i]f I understand it correctly, Sign Languages are means of communication *within any language*” (1998, 22; emphasis added). In April 2000 the Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, rejecting the demand by the Danish Association of the Deaf that Sign language be included when Denmark ratifies the Charter, quoted the Council of Europe’s legal department and argued that Sign Language did not fulfil the criteria for being a minority language; it is a “means of communication” rather than a (historical) language, also because the Danish Deaf use the Danish language in its written form as their written language. (This is of course what practically every Deaf community in the world does, even the ones who have been accorded official minority status by the states they live in. Most Sign languages do not as yet have ‘writing systems’. If languages

without (everyday use of) their own writing systems were not seen as languages, some two thirds of the world’s oral languages would also disappear, not be seen as languages.) All these arguments are false and based on complete ignorance of languages in general and Sign languages in particular, as any researcher in the area can testify (see Jokinen 2000 for an overview of LHRs and Deaf demands). Thirdly, peoples are denied self-determination because it is claimed that they do not possess one of the prerequisites for nationhood, a language: they only speak a dialect or a vernacular; or what they sign is not a language, it is just iconic, or a means of communication. And fourthly, people are made to believe that both this and the unequal division of power and material resources in general is fair, through hegemonic colonising of their minds with the dominant elite’s ideas, mediated through (the dominant) language.

As compared to physical colonisation, physical violence and biologically argued racism, these are more sophisticated and more vicious means of widening the gaps in the world, of converting the have-nots into never-to-haves, and of concealing the responsibility of the elites for the increasingly fast pace of destroying the planet. Many scholars foresee the killing (or, as many of them call it, death) of at least 50% of the world’s close to 7000 oral languages within our children’s lifetime, and pessimistic but very realistic estimates say that 90% of today’s oral languages may be seriously threatened or extinct in 100 years’ time (e.g. Krauss 1992). Nobody has even made predictions of how many sign languages are doomed to extinction. The threat to linguistic diversity is thus much greater than the threat to biodiversity. See, for example, Posey (ed.) 1999, especially the article on language diversity by Maffi/Skutnabb-Kangas/Andrianarivo; Maffi 2000; 2001; Harmon 1995; 2002. A good place to continue is Terralingua’s web-site, <<http://www.terralingua.org>>. “Terralingua is a non-profit international organisation devoted to preserving the world’s linguistic diversity and to investigating links between biological and cultural diversity”.

Thus LHRs in education are central for the maintenance of languages and for the prevention of linguistic and cultural genocide, regardless of whether this education takes place in schools, formally, or in homes



and communities, informally, and regardless of whether and to what extent literacy is involved. Transmission of languages from the parent generation to children is the most vital factor for the maintenance of both oral and sign languages. When more and more children gain access to formal education, much of their more formal language learning, which earlier occurred in the community, takes place in schools. If an alien language is used in schools, i.e. if children do not have the right to learn and use their language in schools, the language is not going to survive. "Modernisation" has accelerated the death/murder of languages, which without formal education had survived for centuries or millennia. One possible tool in maintaining and developing languages is to refer to the human rights system, when demanding mother tongue medium education.

## 2.2. What educational linguistic rights exist in international and regional covenants?

What linguistic human rights do international and European human rights instruments contain, especially in education. The linguistic protection of national minorities rests according to van der Stoep on two human rights pillar,

"the right to non-discrimination in the enjoyment of human rights; and the right to the maintenance and development of identity through the freedom to practice or use those special and unique aspects of their minority life – typically culture, religion, and language.

The first protection can be found, for instance, in paragraph 31 of the Copenhagen Document, Articles 2 (1) and 26 of the ICCPR, Article 14 of the ECHR, Article 4 of the Framework Convention, and Article 3 (11) of the 1992 UN Declaration. It ensures that minorities receive all of the other protections without regard to their ethnic, national, or religious status; they thus enjoy a number of linguistic rights that all persons in the state enjoy, such as freedom of expression and the right in criminal proceedings to be informed of the charge against them in a language they understand, if necessary through an interpreter provided free of charge.

The second pillar, encompassing affirmative obligations beyond non-discrimination, appears, for example, in paragraph 32 of the Copenhagen Document, Article 27 of the ICCPR, Article 5 of the Framework Convention, and Article 2 (1) of the 1992 UN Declaration. It includes a number of rights pertinent to minorities simply by virtue of their minority status, such as the right to use their language. This pillar is necessary because a pure

non-discrimination norm could have the effect of forcing people belonging to minorities to adhere to a majority language, effectively denying them their rights to identity ..." (OSCE High Commissioner on National Minorities 1999, 8–9).

Minorities have some support for other aspects of using their languages in areas such as public administration, courts, the media, etc. (Frowein/Hofmann/Oeter's edited books about minority rights in European States 1993 and 1994 give excellent overviews of Europe). But international and European binding Covenants, Conventions and Charters provide in fact very little support for linguistic human rights in education, and language is accorded in them much poorer treatment than other central human characteristics such as "race", gender and religion. Often language disappears completely in educational paragraphs. When it is there, the Articles dealing with education, especially the right to mother tongue medium education, are more vague and/or contain many more opt-outs and modifications than any other Articles, as many books and articles on linguistic human rights show (see, e.g., Guillorel/Koubi (red.) 1999; Kontra et al. (eds.) 1999; Phillipson/Skutnabb-Kangas 1994; 1995; 1996; Skutnabb-Kangas 1996a; b; 1999; Skutnabb-Kangas/Phillipson 1994; 1997; 1998). Some exemplification follows.

In many of the post-1945 human rights instruments, language is mentioned in the preambles and in general clauses as one of the basic characteristics (together with "race", "sex" and "religion", on the basis of which individuals are not to be discriminated against in their enjoyment of human rights and fundamental freedoms (e.g. in the joint Art. 2, *UN Universal Declaration*, and Art. 2.1, ICCPR; Art. 13 of the UN Charter, Art. 13). This shows that language has been seen as one of the most important characteristics of humans for enjoyment of their human rights.

But when we move from the preambles of the human rights instruments to the binding clauses, and especially to the educational clauses, all or most of the non-linguistic human characteristics are still there while language often disappears completely, as, for instance, in the *UN Universal Declaration* (1948) where the paragraph on education (26) does not refer to language at all. Similarly, the *ICESCR*, having mentioned language on a par with race, colour, sex, re-

ligion, etc. in its general Article (2.2.), explicitly refers to 'racial, ethnic or religious groups' in its educational Article (13), but omits here reference to language or linguistic groups:

... education shall enable all persons to participate effectively in a free society, promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations and all racial, ethnic or religious groups ...

The *ECHR* of 1950 is equally silent on not only language rights in education but even more general minority rights, says Patrick Thornberry (1997, 348–349): "The Convention does not establish individual minority rights nor collective rights of minorities. Case-law has gradually mapped out what the Convention demands and permits". Several new Declarations and Conventions to protect minorities and/or minority languages have been passed in the 1990s. But even in many new instruments language has been omitted, for instance in the UN Centre for Human Rights in Geneva's a *Model National Legislation for the Guidance of Governments in the Enactment of Further Legislation against Racial Discrimination*, written for the UN Year Against Racism (1996). "Race, colour, descent, nationality or ethnic origin" are mentioned in the definition of racism but there is no mention of language.

If language-related rights are included and specified, the Article dealing with these rights, in contrast to the demanding formulations and the few opt-outs and alternatives in the articles dealing with other characteristics, is typically so weak and unsatisfactory that it is virtually meaningless. The clauses about other human characteristics create obligations and contain demanding formulations, where the states are firm duty-holders and "*shall*" do something positive in order to ensure the rights; there are few modifications, few opt-out clauses and alternatives. But not so for language, especially in education.

In the *UN Minorities Declaration*, adopted by the General Assembly in December 1992, most of the Articles use the obligating formulation '*shall*' and have few let-out modifications or alternatives – except where linguistic rights in education are concerned. Compare, for example, the unconditional and supportive formulations in Article 1 about identity, with the education Article 4.3. (emphases added, '*obligating*' in italics, '*opt-outs*' in bold):

"1.1. States *shall protect* the existence and the national or ethnic, cultural, religious and linguistic identity of minorities within their respective territories, and *shall encourage* conditions for the *promotion* of that identity.

1.2. States *shall adopt appropriate* legislative and other measures to achieve those ends.

4.3. States *should* take appropriate measures so that, *wherever possible*, persons belonging to minorities have *adequate* opportunities to learn their mother tongue or to have instruction in their mother tongue."

Who is to decide what constitutes 'appropriate measures', or 'adequate opportunities', and what is 'possible'?

We can see a similar pattern of vague formulations, modifications and alternatives in the *European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages* (22 June 1992, in force since 1 March 1998). A state can choose which paragraphs or subparagraphs of the European Charter it wishes to apply (a minimum of 35 is required). Again, the formulations in the education Article, 8, include a range of modifications, including 'as far as possible', 'relevant', 'appropriate', 'where necessary', 'pupils who so wish in a number considered sufficient', 'if the number of users of a regional or minority language justifies it', as well as a number of alternatives, as in 'to allow, encourage or provide teaching in *or* of the regional *or* minority language at all the appropriate stages of education' (emphasis added).

Of course there are real problems in writing binding formulations which are sensitive to local conditions. Still, it is clear that the opt-outs and alternatives in the Charter permit a reluctant state to meet the requirements in a minimalist way, which it can legitimate by claiming that a provision was not 'possible' or 'appropriate', or that numbers were not 'sufficient' or did not 'justify' a provision, or that it 'allowed' the minority to organise teaching of their language as a subject, at their own cost.

The *Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities* (from November 1994, in force since February 1998) again has an Article covering medium of education which is so heavily qualified that the minority is completely at the mercy of the state:

"In areas inhabited by persons belonging to national minorities traditionally or in substantial numbers, *if there is sufficient demand*, the parties shall *endeavour* to ensure, *as far as possible* and

within the framework of their education systems, that persons belonging to those minorities have adequate opportunities for being taught in the minority language or for receiving instruction in this language (emphases added).”

The Framework Convention has been criticised by politicians and even by international lawyers, who are normally very careful in their comments, like Patrick Thornberry, Professor of Law at Keele University. His general assessment of the provisions, after a careful comment on details, is:

“In case any of this [provisions in the Convention] should threaten the delicate sensibilities of States, the Explanatory Report makes it clear that they are under no obligation to conclude ‘agreements’ Despite the presumed good intentions, the provision represents a low point in drafting a minority right; there is just enough substance in the formulation to prevent it becoming completely vacuous” (Thornberry 1997, 356–357)

A still more recent attempt to promote language rights, a *draft Universal Declaration of Linguistic Rights*, handed over to UNESCO in Barcelona in June 1996), also suffers from similar shortcomings, even if it for several beneficiaries (language communities and, to some extent, language groups) represents great progress in relation to the other instruments described. Still, indirectly its education section forces all others except those defined as members of language communities (which roughly correspond to national territorially based minorities) to assimilate. The Declaration is under revision at UNESCO. News and/or details about some human rights instruments can be checked at the following web-sites: The European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages <<http://www.coe.fr/eng/legaltxt/148e.htm>>; Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities <<http://www.coe.fr/eng/legaltxt/157e.htm>>; Draft Universal Declaration of Linguistic Rights <<http://www.linguistic-declaration.org>>. Many documents on language and law can also be downloaded from Mercator Linguistic Law and Legislation’s web-site <<http://www.troc.es/ciemen/mercator/index-gb.htm>>.

### 3. Positive Developments and Gaps

#### 3.1. Recent positive developments

In addition to traditional examples of countries where at least some ‘minorities’ (in

terms of numbers) have more or less equal LHRs to majorities (Canada, Finland, Switzerland; India), there are some recent examples of what can be considered positive developments, at least on paper. Obviously implementation needs to follow (a problem in, for instance, South Africa and India). Without implementation, monitoring and proper complaint procedures many of the possibilities in the new or emerging instruments below are lost. What follows is a short list, with follow-up addresses, of some examples of positive recent human rights instruments, draft instruments, recommendations, declarations or comments.

1. UN, Human Rights Committee: General Comment on UN International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, Article 27 (4 April 1996, UN Doc. CCPR/C/21/Rev. 1/Add. 5).
2. UN, Working Group on Indigenous Populations: Draft Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples; <<http://www.unhchr.ch/html/menu4/subres/9445.htm>>.
3. CIEMEN (Mercator Programme, Linguistic Rights and Law); The International Pen Club (Committee for Translation and Linguistic Rights): The draft Universal Declaration of Linguistic Rights (handed over to UNESCO in June 1997); <<http://www.troc.es/ciemen/mercator/index-gb.htm>>.
4. The Third World Network, Malaysia; The Cultural Environment Movement, USA; and the World Association of Community Radio Broadcasters, AMARC: Peoples Communication Charter (including an International Hearing on Language Rights, in May 1999, in The Hague; <<http://www.waag.org/pcc>>.
5. OSCE, High Commissioner on National Minorities: The Hague Recommendations Regarding the Education Rights of National Minorities & Explanatory Note; <<http://www.osce.org/>>.
6. The 1997 Harare Declaration from an OAU (Organisation for African Unity) Conference of Ministers on Language Policies in Africa.
7. The Asmara Declaration on African Languages and Literatures, 17 Jan. 2000; <<http://www.outreach.psu.edu/C&I/A11Odds/declaration.html>>.

*The Hague Recommendations*, 5 on the list, are most directly related to education. These educational guidelines, worked out by a small group of experts on human rights and education (including TSK), represent an authoritative interpretation and concretisation of the minimum in present human rights standards (see also van der Stoep 1997, Rothenberger 1997). Even if the term used is “national minority”, the guidelines also apply to other groups, for instance immigrated minorities, and one does NOT need to be a citizen in order to be protected by the guidelines (both these observations follow from the UN Human Rights Committee’s General Comment on Article 27, 1 on the list above).

In the section “The spirit of international instruments”, bilingualism is seen as a right and responsibility for persons belonging to national minorities (Art. 1), and states are reminded not to interpret their obligations in a restrictive manner (Art. 3). In the section on “Minority education at primary and secondary levels”, mother tongue medium education is recommended at all levels, including bilingual teachers in the dominant language as a second language (Articles 11–13). Teacher training is made a duty on the state (Art. 14). Finally, the Explanatory Note states that

“submersion-type approaches whereby the curriculum is taught exclusively through the medium of the State language and minority children are entirely integrated into classes with children of the majority are not in line with international standards” (p. 5).

If The Hague Recommendations were to be implemented, linguistic genocide in education could be stopped and children would have some of the most vital LHRs. Several books elaborate how this can be done in practise (e. g. May, ed. 1999; Skutnabb-Kangas, ed. 1995).

### 3.2. Gaps

Only some important gaps will be mentioned, with European examples. Despite applauding linguistic diversity, official EU policies and policies of most of the member countries in their application hierarchise languages in ways which counteract diversity and form a threat to many languages. The hierarchisation is clear even within the elite of the first division. Spanish has in the February 1999 version of the *Ethnologue*

(<http://www.sil.org/>), the best available inventory of the world’s (oral) languages, overtaken English so that it is now registered as the language with the second largest number of mother tongue speakers in the world, after Mandarin Chinese. Still, it is hardly ever even mentioned as a fourth candidate for a European lingua franca (in addition to English, French and German). Among the 20 official and working languages of the EU, several languages with some kind of official status in member countries are missing (Banque and Catalan just to mention two). The *European Charter* is supposed to be an inclusive, positive language rights instrument. Still, it excludes many more languages in Europe than it includes. It excludes explicitly immigrant languages and ‘dialects’ of languages. Covertly, it has also excluded all Sign languages, using completely false argumentation, as is shown above in 2.1. The often appalling ignorance about basic language matters is a serious gap, and it should be the ethical responsibility of researchers to remedy it. False information or lack of information about both research results and details in human rights instruments that the various countries have signed and ratified are also more the rule than an exception when decisions are made about the education of immigrant minorities. Important language status planning decisions are based on this type of false information, even in situations where the correct information is easily available and has in fact been offered to the decision makers. Sadly, also many researchers suffer from this lack of information. Here more transdisciplinary co-operation between, for instance, human rights lawyers, sociolinguists and educationists, is urgently needed (see the Introduction in Kontra et al. 1999; May 1999, 2001). Often Western researchers also suffer from ethnocentricity, and lack of knowledge of the languages and cultures of others (see Kontra 2000).

Obvious inconsistencies or lack of logic are also common. Some Nordic ‘development co-operation’ supports multilingual education schemes in, for instance, Latin America, while working against similar schemes for immigrant minorities in the Nordic countries (see Danish examples in Skutnabb-Kangas 2000, 552–553; see Brock-Utne 1999 on more general criticism).

But lack of linguistic human rights is not only an information problem. The political

will of states to grant linguistic human rights is the main problem. Human rights, especially economic and social rights, are, according to human rights lawyer Katarina Tomaševski (1996, 104), to act as correctives to the free market. She claims (*ibid.*, 104) that the “purpose of international human rights law is [...] to overrule the law of supply and demand and remove price-tags from people and from necessities for their survival.” These necessities for survival include not only basic food and housing (which would come under economic and social rights), but also basics for the sustenance of a dignified life, including basic civil, political and cultural rights – and linguistic human rights are a part of cultural rights. The message from both sociologists like Zygmunt Bauman and human rights lawyers like Katarina Tomaševski and many others is that unless there is a redistribution of resources for implementing human rights, progress will be limited. It is probably not even of any use to spread knowledge of human rights as a basis for self-directed human development, unless the resources for implementation follow, and that can only happen through a radical redistribution of the world’s material resources.

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#### Abbreviations:

- European Charter = (Council of Europe's) European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages
- ECHR = the European Convention on Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms
- Framework Convention = (Council of Europe's) Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities
- ICCPR = UN International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights
- ICESCR = UN International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights
- OSCE = Organisation for Security and Co-Operation in Europe
- UN Universal Declaration = United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights
- UN Charter = United Nations Charter of Human Rights
- UN Minorities Declaration = the UN Declaration on the Rights of Persons Belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities

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## Subject Index / Sachregister

The Index is a combined key word- and subject index. It thus contains both words or constructions actually appearing in handbook articles (key words) and phrases composed to summarize the contents of particular segments of text (subject headings). A word has been considered to be a key word only when it is introduced as a term or when it is defined in the corresponding text passage. A word which is merely mentioned is not considered as a key word and no reference is made to the passage in question.

The numbers in the Index refer to page numbers of the three handbook volumes (I, II, III, = volume numbers; 1,2,3 ... = page numbers).

In accordance with the bilingual character of the handbook, the Index contains English and German key words. Homographs and quasi-homographs such as 'variation/Variation' or 'sociolinguistics/Soziolinguistik' have usually been listed together. Cross-references are not systematically made between English and German key words; it is thus advisable to look up a key word under both its English and its German form.

For complex key words multiple entries have been made when individual elements of the phrase have key word character.

The main entry for abbreviations such as IQ or LDMS is the abbreviated form.

Only names of languages and of learned organisations are listed here.

Das Register ist ein gemischtes Stichwort-Schlagwort-Register. Das bedeutet, dass die Registerinträge einmal aus Wörtern oder Fügungen bestehen, die in den Handbuchartikeln selbst vorkommen (Stichwörter), und zum andern aus Fügungen, die den Inhalt von Textabschnitten zusammenzufassen (Schlagwörter). Als Stichwort wurde ein Wort nur dann aufgenommen, wenn es an der ausgewiesenen Stelle entweder als Terminus oder definitorisch eingeführt wird. Einfache Erwähnungen eines Wortes wurden nicht erfasst.

Die Ziffern der Registerinträge verweisen auf die Seiten der drei Handbuchbände (I, II, III, = Bandzahlen; 1, 2, 3 ... = Seitenzahlen).

Das Sachregister enthält, entsprechend der Zweisprachigkeit des Handbuches, englische und deutsche Stichwörter. Homographie bzw. quasihomographie Wörter, wie 'Variation/variation' oder 'Soziolinguistik/sociolinguistics', wurden oft zusammengefasst. Zwischen englischen und deutschen Stichwörtern sind nicht immer Verweise gegeben. Es ist daher zweckmäßig, ein Stichwort in seiner englischen und seiner deutschen Form nachzuschlagen.

Für komplexe Stichwörter wurden Mehrfacheintragungen vorgenommen, wenn die einzelnen Teile Stichwortqualität haben.

Abkürzungswörter wie IQ, LDMS sind in der abgekürzten Form alphabetisiert.

Namen wurden nur von Sprachen und wissenschaftlichen Organisationen aufgenommen.

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