Controlling Language: Who (or What) is in Control?

Fromm Institute - Winter Session 2019
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Language Reform (and Language Control) Through Language Planning and Policy
Language Control in Monolingual as Compared to Multilingual Societies

• All our examples of language control have pertained to English
  • Naming practices
  • Policing Women’s Speech
  • Preference for ONE VARIETY of English over an other
  • Prescriptivism with regard to English
  • Language reform with regard to English
Language Control in Monolingual as Compared to Multilingual Societies

• Imagine the complexity of these issues in places where several languages are spoken:

  • Governmental policy that advantages ONE LANGUAGE over another
  • Individuals being forced to use a language that is their 2nd language
  • Learning “prescriptive rules” for more than one language
Language Reform Through Language Planning and Policy

- Defining Language Planning and Policy

- A type of language reform (or language control) carried out by governmental authorities or agencies

- Consists of plans of action designed to shape language and language use at a local, state (regional) or national level
Language Reform Through Language Planning and Policy

• Defining Language Planning and Policy

• Purposeful effort to bring about change in the function, structure or acquisition of languages (or a variety of a language) within a speech community

• Sometimes carried out by grass-roots organizations

• Language planning and policies occur across the globe
Language Reform Through Language Planning and Policy

• Planning has to take place before a language policy can be implemented.

• The goal of language planning and policy can be social, political, economic – or all three.

• Language policies usually influence and control social behavior through the elevation of one language over another.
• The types of policies that we will review are all “political”

• Language policies are always decisions made to enhance, inhibit, or regulate some aspect of one or more languages
Language Reform Through Language Planning and Policy

• All language policies control some aspect of the use of some language in some social context

• All language policies wind up helping or “hurting” some group of people based on the language they speak and the culture that their language is embedded in
Language Reform Through Language Planning and Policy

- Language planning and policy can affect:
  - how people acquire language
  - how (when/where) a language is used
  - the structure of language
  - the function of languages or dialects
  - the linguistic (and civil) rights of people
Language Reform Through Language Planning and Policy

• The need for language planning and policy comes about as a result of various social and political situations

• When speakers from different language communities (within one national context) are in competition for limited resources (Spanish and English speakers in US public schools)
Language Reform Through Language Planning and Policy

• When different ethnic groups who speak different languages (within one national context) are competing for power (The Congo)

• When, for social or political reasons, a group that is a political (and linguistic minority), is denied basic rights and rebels (South Africa: Afrikaans and English speakers)
Language Reform Through Language Planning and Policy

• When a colonized country wins independence and wants to declare an indigenous language as the official language, instead of the colonizer’s language (Hindi over English in India)

• When political nation states change (the former Soviet Union, the former Yugoslavia) and new nations emerge
Language Reform Through Language Planning and Policy

• Immigration brings about other sorts of issues of linguistic diversity (Algerians to France)

• AND SOMETIMES language diversity results in a government providing valuable rights

• 1978: the U.S. Court Interpreters Act assures an interpreter to any victim, witness, or a defendant whose native language is not English
Goals of Language Planning

1. **Language Purification**: prescriptive guidelines intended to preserve the "linguistic purity" of a language (no foreign influences, no changes, etc. French with the l'Académie Française)

2. **Language Revival** – to reestablish the use of a language that has few native speakers (Hebrew)
3. **Language Reform** – purposeful change to specific aspects of a language (orthography, spelling, or grammar) intended to make it easier to use (Pinyin for Chinese / Mandarin)

4. **Language Standardization** – the effort to make a particular variety of a language the prestige dialect, by designating it as the standard language (Standard American English)
Goals of Language Planning

5. **Language Spread** – the attempt to increase the number of speakers of a language (English through economic power)

6. **Lexical Modernization** – creating or adapting new words (for example for technology) (Many examples)

7. **Language Maintenance** – preserving a group's native language as a first or as a second language when the language is threatened (American Indigenous Language instruction)
Goals of Language Planning

- Most extreme form of language planning and policy has as its goal a type of censorship.

8. **National / Political Power and Control** - eliminating a perceived political or cultural threat by outlawing a minority’s native language.

Example:
- Under the dictatorship of Franco, the Spanish language (Castilian Spanish) was declared the only official language.
- Public use of Galician, Basque, and Catalan was banned.
Language Ideologies Associated With Language Planning

• At least four language ideologies are associated with language planning decisions. These are beliefs about language, distinct from goals, which make the planner think their plans will work.

  1. **Internationalization**: The belief that adopting an official language that is taken from outside the community (a non-indigenous language) will broaden communication

Example: the imposition of English in India when Britain colonized India
2. **Linguistic assimilation**: The belief that everyone in a country (no matter what their native language is), should learn and use the dominant language of the society.

Example: the English-only movement in the United States.
3. **Linguistic pluralism**: the belief that there is value to having multiple languages within one society.

Example: the coexistence of French, German, Italian, and Romansh in Switzerland.
4. **Vernacularization**: the belief that restoring an indigenous language (and adopting it as the official language) has value

Example: Quechua in Peru
Language Control in Monolingual and Multilingual Societies

- For all of these examples, we need to distinguish personal bilingualism from societal/national bilingualism.

- In some multilingual countries, many people speak only one language (Belgium, Canada, India, South Africa, and Switzerland).
Language Control in Monolingual and Multilingual Societies

• In some monolingual countries, people speak more than one language (France, USA)

• In still other countries, there is one official national language but there are other official languages in different regions of the country (Brazil, China, Russia, Spain, India)
Monolingualism / Multilingualism Across the World

• OVERALL, 60% of world population speaks at least 2 languages
• Monolingual: 40% of world population
• Bilingual: 43% of world population
• Trilingual: 13% of world population
• Multilingual: 3% of world population (more than 4 languages)
• Polyglot: < 1% of world population (5 + languages)

What about language policy in the USA?
Language Planning and Policy in the USA

• The discussion about language in the U.S. has mostly been about English in relation to one or more other languages - English only or English and other languages

• Where no official national language policy exists (like in the USA), the prevailing language situation usually “becomes” the policy

• In the US, English is the *de facto* official language
Some common beliefs about language in the USA:

- USA is a monolingual country (not entirely!)
- English is the official language (it is not!)
- Monolingualism in normal (not really!)
- Americans are all monolingual English speakers (about 80%)
# Language Spoken at Home by Ability to Speak English - Population 5 Years and Over

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language Spoken</th>
<th>Ability to Speak</th>
<th>Approximate Population: 2010</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Speak only English</td>
<td></td>
<td>301,150,892</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spanish:</td>
<td></td>
<td>39,769,281</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Speak English &quot;very well&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td>236,929,699</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Speak English less than &quot;very well&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td>16,357,882</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French (incl. Cajun):</td>
<td></td>
<td>1,203,941</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Speak English &quot;very well&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td>958,091</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Speak English less than &quot;very well&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td>245,850</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
I can't believe how some people are singing the national anthem in Spanish!

I can't believe how some people are singing it in English!

Come on! Or the La-a-a-a-and of the Free!

Hey! Git down! And the home of the brave!
Language Planning and Policy in the USA 🇺🇸

- In the USA, English IS the primary language of:
  - education
  - business
  - government (state, federal, and local)
  - the media and entertainment industry

- BUT the USA has never had an official language

- National English-only movements have always failed
Another common misconception is that the US has always been monolingual.

There is an insufficient awareness of the fact that multilingualism has always been part of American life.

Heritage (country of origin) languages (in addition to English) have always survived in private schools, homes, churches, and clubs.
• Native American (Indigenous) languages were in use before European came to North America

• Two Estimates: languages in the Western Hemisphere at the time the first European arrived
  
  • 40 million people who spoke 1,800 different languages
  • 15 million speakers who used more than 2,000 languages
Language Planning and Policy in the USA - Language Timeline

• At the time of the 13 colonies, English, Dutch, French, and Native American languages (most common language was Algonquian) spoken

• Spanish, French, German, Dutch, and English speaking communities existed before movement west and before large waves of non-English speaking immigrants
Language Planning and Policy in the USA - Language Timeline

- 1850 - 2010 - “A state-by-state look at the history of U.S. immigration by country of origin” and the languages immigrants brought with them

- [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=behsmaHh2bg](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=behsmaHh2bg)

- English, German, Spanish, Chinese (Mandarin and Cantonese), Norwegian, Swedish, Italian, Russian, Ukrainian, Greek, Filipino (Tagalog), Korean, Indian Languages
Policy and Planning at the Time of the Continental Congress

• It is a myth that German lost by one vote and was almost the language of the USA

• At the time of the Continental Congress, important documents were translated into French and German to win support for the War of Independence
Policy and Planning at the Time of the Continental Congress

• The big debate was whether to establish an official “academy” to set standards for American English.

• There is evidence that a bigger debate was wanting to distinguish American English from British English.

• But there was always some intolerance towards other languages.
English ONLY
I WANT YOU
TO SPEAK ENGLISH
OR GET OUT!
• History of the imposition of English (and Anglo culture) on minorities goes back to the “deculturation” of Native American populations through the system of English-only boarding schools.

• Historically, the federal government employed schooling as the primary tool for cultural and linguistic eradication to assimilate Native American communities.
In the 19th and early 20th centuries, federal language and education policy authorized complete assimilation.

The goal was to “civilize” the American Indian to create a homogeneous American population with little linguistic or cultural difference.

1819, the government created the Civilization Act, which included a mandatory English language policy.
WE SURE HOPE YOU SPEAK OUR OFFICIAL LANGUAGE.
• 1990 - Public Law 101-477 “repudiating past policies of eradicating Native Indian Languages”

• New policy declared that Native Americans were allowed to use their own languages.

• The United States "declares to preserve, protect and promote the rights and freedom of Native Americans to use, practice, and develop Native American Languages.”
English-only movement

• In the 1960s and 1970s languages other than English were accommodated in many American schools

• Then, in the 1990s, that thinking changed due to the “English-only movement”

• 30 (32?) states now have English-only policies

Language Planning and Policy in Specific States and Cities

• **California** (considered the most linguistically diverse state in the USA)

• As of Sept 2017: Estimates says that 220 languages are spoken in California

• 44% of residents speak a language other than English at home

• 7 million Californians say they don’t speak English well
Language Planning and Policy in California

- Approved November 4, 1986: California Proposition 63, the “English Is the Official Language of California” Amendment

- Proposition 63 declared that English is the official language of the State of California
Language Planning and Policy in California

- Approved Nov 8, 2016: California Proposition 58 “California Multilingual Education Act”

- Proposition 58 repealed bilingual education restrictions enacted by the 1998 Proposition 227 "English in Public Schools"

- “Allows schools to establish non-English-only education programs”
Language Planning and Policy in California

• Proposition 58 - 2016: Ballot Text:

  • Preserves requirement that public schools ensure students obtain English language proficiency.
  
  • Requires school districts to solicit parent/community input in developing language acquisition programs.
Language Planning and Policy in California

• Proposition 58 - 2016: Ballot Text:
  • Requires instruction to ensure English acquisition as rapidly and effectively as possible.
  • Authorizes school districts to establish dual language immersion programs for both native and nonnative English speakers.
Language Planning and Policy in New York City

- Language policy about public services, not education

- 2017: Approx. 1 in 4 New Yorkers have “limited English proficiency” (data from the NYC Office of Immigrant Affairs)

- Local Law 30, enacted July 1, 2017, requires NYC city agencies to provide translations of public and emergency services documents in 4 new languages — Arabic, French, Urdu, and Polish.
Language Planning and Policy in New York City

• Also requires city agencies to provide free interpreting services and to post multilingual signage on the availability of the services

• A July 22, 2008 NY citywide policy required agencies to provide services in 6 languages — Spanish, Chinese, Russian, Bengali, Haitian Creole, and Korean

• These new language requirements are written into the Administrative Code as a permanent part of New York City law
A Few Examples of Language Planning and Policy Around the World

• Canada 🇨🇦
  
  • English and French are the official languages of Canada
  
  • Canada's constitution says: English and French "have equality of status and equal rights and privileges as to their use in all institutions of the Parliament and Government of Canada."
  
  • At the provincial level, there is a good deal of variation. Some provinces are mostly French-speaking and some English-speaking but all have legal protections for everyone
A Few Examples of Language Planning and Policy Around the World

- Canada

- “Official bilingualism” describes the policies, constitutional provisions, and laws that ensure legal equality of English and French in the Parliament and courts of Canada, protect the linguistic rights of English and French-speaking minorities in different provinces, and ensure a level of government services in both languages across Canada.
IF ONLY THE SPIRIT WOULD LAST ALL YEAR ROUND

JOYEUX NOËL
ENGLISH LANGUAGE MINORITY RIGHTS
FROM QUEBEC

MERRY CHRISTMAS
FRENCH LANGUAGE MINORITY RIGHTS
FROM OTTAWA
A Few Examples of Language Planning and Policy Around the World

• Canada

• 1967 “Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism”

• “A bilingual country is not one where all the inhabitants necessarily have to speak two languages; rather it is a country where the principal public and private institutions must provide services in two languages to the citizens, the vast majority of whom may well be unilingual.”
A Few Examples of Language Planning and Policy Around the World

• France

• French is regulated by l'Académie Française, “the pre-eminent French council for matters pertaining to the French language.”

• Officially established in 1635 by Cardinal Richelieu, the chief minister to King Louis XIII.
A Few Examples of Language Planning and Policy Around the World

• France 🇫🇷

• The main role of the Académie Française is to regulate French language.
  • It sets the standards for acceptable grammar and vocabulary
  • It reacts to language change by adding new words and updating meaning of existing words.
A Few Examples of Language Planning and Policy Around the World

• France 🇫🇷

• The Académie Française tries to minimize the influx of English words into French by inventing French equivalents.

• Hard to replace “le sandwich” or “le weekend”
A Few Examples of Language Planning and Policy Around the World

• **Israel**

  • The revival of Hebrew to a living spoken language (previously a language that had no native speakers) is unique

  • No other example exists of a written sacred language becoming a national language spoken as a first language by millions of speakers
A Few Examples of Language Planning and Policy Around the World

• Israel 🇮🇱

• (1920s) - Modern Hebrew was created from Ancient Hebrew

• Hebrew belongs to the Canaanite group of languages.

• The Canaanite languages are a branch of the Northwest Semitic family of languages

• https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Language_reform
A Few Examples of Language Planning and Policy Around the World

• Israel

• (1920s) - Modern Hebrew by:
  • simplification of the grammar (especially of the syntax) according to Indo-European models,
  • coinage of new words from Hebrew roots based on European models,
  • and simplification of pronunciation rules.

• https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Language_reform
A Few Examples of Language Planning and Policy Around the World

• Israel

• How it happened:
  • Jews in Palestine had been mainly Arabic-speaking
  • 1800’s Jews started arriving in Palestine from different parts of the world
  • Existing Jewish community of Palestine in the first half of the nineteenth century were mainly Arabic-speaking
  • New arrivals used Hebrew as a lingua franca
A Few Examples of Language Planning and Policy Around the World

• Israel

• Simultaneously, at the end of the 19th century and into the 20th century Hebrew started being used in Europe as a literary language

• So the revival of Hebrew was taking place in Europe

• Then also in Israel
A Few Examples of Language Planning and Policy Around the World

- **Israel** 🇨🇮

- 1881, while in Paris, Ben-Yehuda, a Hebrew lexicographer and newspaper editor, began speaking Hebrew with friends.
- The process was linguistic but also political.
- Part of a political movement that became associated with the ideology of a national Jewish state or Zionism.
A Few Examples of Language Planning and Policy Around the World

• Israel 🇮🇱 today:
  • The Israeli population is a linguistically and culturally diverse community
  • 35 languages and dialects are spoken
  • 1948 State of Israel established - Modern Hebrew was one of 3 official languages (English, Arabic and Hebrew)
  • July 2018, Hebrew declared the sole official language of the state of Israel, with Arabic having "special status"
A Few Examples of Language Planning and Policy Around the World

- **Israel** today:
  - Almost entire population speaks Hebrew - either as native speakers or a proficient 2nd language speakers
  - Arabic is used mainly by Israel's Arab minority - (1/5 of population)
  - English is spoken as a 2nd language by the majority of the Israeli population
Language Planning and Policy in Highly Populated Countries

Populations (2017):

China - 1.338 billion

India - 1.225 billion

United States of America - 309.3 million
Language Planning and Policy in Highly Populated Countries

- India

- 22 major languages in India, written in 13 different scripts, with over 720 dialects.

- The official Indian languages are Hindi and English

- Hindi is spoken by 25% of the total Indian population - including dialects of Hindi termed as Hindi languages, the total is around 44% of Indians
Language Planning and Policy in Highly Populated Countries

- India
- States specify their own official language
- The Constitution of India includes details about nation-wide language policies
- Also what languages are to be used for the official purposes of each state in the country
- Also specifies what languages are to be used for communication between states
States and union territories of India by the most commonly spoken official language
China

There are at least eight different linguistic groups, in addition to hundreds of dialects and variations. Most of the times they are not mutually understandable. The official language is Mandarin Chinese, based on the dialect of the ethnic group the Han, originally from the North.
More Examples: Language in Yugoslavia Before It Split Apart

• The 3 official languages of Yugoslavia were
  • Serbo-Croatian, Slovenian, and Macedonian

• The minority languages of Yugoslavia (in order of usage) included:
  • Albanian, Hungarian, Turkish, Bulgarian, Romanian, Italian, Vlach, Czechoslovak, Slovak, Ruthenian, and Gypsy
Language in Yugoslavia Before It Split Apart

• When Yugoslavia broke up, seven different countries resulted. Language Planning was needed for each.
  • Serbia,
  • Croatia,
  • Bosnia & Herzegovina,
  • Macedonia,
  • Slovenia,
  • Kosovo,
  • Montenegro
Kosovo - Example of Language in a New Nation

- Kosovo 2008 (declared independence from Serbia)
- Constitution names Albanian and Serbian the two official languages
- 2011 census - Almost 95% of population speak Albanian as their native language
- Next is South Slavic languages and Turkish
- Due to North Kosovo's boycott of the census, Bosnian resulted in being the second-largest language after Albanian. However, Serbian is de facto the second most spoken language in Kosovo
The Harshest Type of Language Planning: Language Genocide

• The history of outlawing or censoring a language is extremely complicated

• Includes conflict between groups, wars, and ultimately careful language planning

• Unless a language dies during the time that it is outlawed, many languages survive and have a resurgence.
The Harshest Type of Language Planning: Completely Outlawing a Language

Language Genocide - Censoring the Use of a Language

Next Week: (FINAL CLASS!)
Language Censorship
And Language Change