

# LINGUAPAX REVIEW 2010

MATERIALS / 6



Organització de les Nacions  
Unides per a l'Educació,  
la Ciència i la Cultura

CENTRE UNESCO DE CATALUNYA  
**UNESCOCAT**

Col·lecció Materials, 6

# Linguapax Review 2010

*Linguapax Review 2010*

Col·lecció Materials, 6  
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# **LINGUAPAX REVIEW 2010**

**Centre UNESCO de Catalunya**

**Barcelona, 2011**

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## PRESENTATION

The beginning of 2011 has seen profound social upheaval which will significantly impact history, whatever happens next. The international economic crisis is developing into a type of social and moral crisis in many countries, especially in the Arab World. There is increasing demand on a global scale for a new, fairer political order that is none other than traditional democracy.

In the same way that many of us are expecting the economic crisis to teach us the need to transform production and consumption using sustainable parameters, the social and moral crisis should teach us that the only sustainable system over time and on a global level is the democratic system.

Building democracy is slow and difficult, and is often challenged by interests from the commercial world. However, it is the only path to understanding that, for now, there is no society without freedom. This freedom means guaranteeing, preserving and promoting the inalienable rights of citizens.

It goes without saying that, to a great extent, cultural rights are at the heart of a society that is democratic, free and cohesive. Without culture there would not be development. Within cultural rights, linguistic rights play an important role due to the importance of language to help us interpret and transform the world.

In this context, the international organisation Linguapax is more relevant than ever. Its mission is to defend and promote linguistic diversity as well as lin-

*L'any 2011 ha arrencat amb convulsions socials profundes que, passi el que passi d'ara endavant, ja han deixat una petjada important en la història. La crisi econòmica internacional s'està prolongant en forma de crisi social i moral en molts països, en especial del món àrab. S'incrementa a escala global l'ànsia per un nou ordre polític més just, que no és un altre que el de la vella democràcia.*

*De la mateixa manera que som molts els que esperem que la crisi econòmica ens ensenyi la necessitat de transformar els modes de producció i de consum sota paràmetres més sostenibles, la crisi social i moral ens hauria d'ensenyar que l'únic sistema que pot gaudir de sostenibilitat en el temps i tots els espais és el democràtic.*

*La construcció democràtica és lenta i pesada, es veu sovint assetjada pels interessos particulars que provenen del món econòmic, però és l'únic camí per comprendre que, ara com ara, no hi ha societat sense llibertat. Una llibertat que significa garantir, preservar i promoure drets inalienables de ciutadania.*

*No cal dir que els drets culturals són, en bona mesura, part del nucli vertebrador que configura una societat democràtica, lliure i cohesionada. Sense cultura no hi ha desenvolupament. I en el marc d'aquests drets, els lingüístics hi tenen un paper destacat atesa la importància de les llengües com mitjà d'interpretació i de transformació del món.*

*En aquest marc que dibuixem, la institució internacional Linguapax té més sentit que mai: una organització que té per missió defensar i promoure la diversitat lingüística i*

guistic rights around the world, always diligent to world events and adapting its strategy to the requirements of the moment. Without going far, and considering the here and now, it is clear to us that at a time of profound upheaval such as now, we have to respond calmly and analytically. We strongly believe that managing social crises should be based on knowledge and research.

The *Linguapax Review* is a new project that aims to be a «watchtower» on the situation of linguistic rights in the world, to make progress in promoting and identifying good practice, and denouncing the contravention of linguistic rights.

*Linguapax Review* is another part of the complex process of collaboration and initiatives which have to encourage us all to work towards societies that are more democratic, freer and more respectful of linguistic diversity. These conditions are essential if we are to pursue authentically sustainable human development, not only rhetorically, but also in practice.

Miquel Àngel Essomba  
President of Linguapax

*els drets lingüístics arreu del planeta, sempre amatent als esdeveniments del món i adaptant la seva estratègia als requeriments del moment. Sense anar gaire lluny, i pensant en l'ara i l'aquí, tenim clar que en una època de convulsió profunda com l'actual, la resposta ha de ser calmada i aportar anàlisi; creiem fermament que les crisis socials cal gestionar-les partint del coneixement i la recerca.*

*Per això aquest 2011 neix Linguapax Review. Un projecte nou que, a mig termini, aspira a esdevenir una talaia privilegiada sobre la situació dels drets lingüístics al món i, d'aquesta manera, avançar en la seva promoció, en la identificació de bones pràctiques, en la denúncia de la seva vulneració.*

*Linguapax Review és, i serà, una peça més en el complex engranatge de complicitats i d'iniciatives que ens han de dur a tots a treballar per societats més democràtiques, més lliures i més respectuoses amb la diversitat lingüística. Unes condicions imprescindibles si allò que perseguim, no només en la retòrica sinó també en la pràctica, és un desenvolupament humà autènticament sostenible.*

Miquel Àngel Essomba  
President de Linguapax



# FOREWORD

With an international network consisting of more than forty active members linked in various ways to the promotion of language diversity, the idea of drafting a review on this topic has been on the Linguapax agenda for some time now. The authors, pooled in this first issue from the Linguapax network, have been asked to give an overview of the current opportunities and threats involved in the management of language diversity in their region, keeping in mind an audience as broad as possible. The collection of articles that follows forms, therefore, the first issue of a series of reviews which will deal with key themes related to the management of language diversity through a combination of both expert and activist perspectives.

The goal of this first Review is, thus, twofold. Firstly, it aims to present readers with a brief history of Linguapax, an idea, or rather an ideal, which, with or without UNESCO, has gathered many activists around the world in the promotion of language diversity in general and multilingual education in particular. Secondly, it sets out to assess what is happening to the world's languages in different continents with a view to raising awareness of language loss and the impact that this has on people's lives.

Therefore, in the first part of the Review, we can find contributions by some of the founding fathers of Linguapax, who, from different standpoints, give us their views on the beginnings of Linguapax as a UNESCO programme and how it later evolved into an international NGO. Crucially, we learn from the texts by Felix Martí, Miquel Siguan, Joseph Poth and Denis Cunningham that the now more than two decade old Linguapax philosophy is increasingly more relevant and meaningful in the present global context of rampant linguistic homogenisation. How to tackle this issue from a holistic perspective is precisely the theme developed by the introductory paper of the Review by professor Lachman Khubchandani. He speaks of the superceding dominant Eurocentric approaches that tend to objectify languages and, consequently, linguistic diversity, and he foregrounds a pluralistic framework, a kind of alternative 'communicative ethos', as he puts it, which takes into account oral traditions, such as those found in the Indian subcontinent, in which diversity is experienced in symbiotic and harmonious ways. This article is followed by a series of snapshots into different regions of the world provided by local sociolinguists. It is important to note that the regional perspectives often adopted here go beyond common reviews on language diversity which are exclusively limited to the nation state. These glimpses into the world's languages focus not only on the obstacles still to be overcome for linguistic diversity to be respected and promoted worldwide but also on some of the positive changes that have lately taken place. These papers delve into several

key topics in current sociolinguistics research such as the challenges that ensue from the introduction of literacy in primarily oral communities, the need to combine both top down and bottom up approaches to effectively promote minoritised languages, the complex processes of language shift in language ecologies where local, national and international languages are in contact, the links between language rights and other basic human rights (for instance rights to land or political and economic rights), the increasing recognition of cultural and linguistic diversity in supranational entities such as the European Union or the role that language plays in the sociopolitical tensions that often arise in highly plurinational nation-states such as the Russian Federation. The Review ends with some concluding remarks by Alicia Fuentes-Calle. We very much hope that this Review contributes not only to a better understanding of the current situation of many language communities around the world but also to strengthen advocacy for the ideals of peace and justice which form the backbone of the Linguapax philosophy.

Josep Cru  
Secretary of Linguapax

# **1. THE HISTORY OF LINGUAPAX**

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## 1.1 Materials for a history of Linguapax

Fèlix Martí

Honorary President of Linguapax



Unescocat (1987)

Kiev Declaration Group (Kiev, 1987)



Unescocat (1996)

Federico Mayor Zaragoza,  
Paul Ortega and Fèlix Martí (Bilbao, 1996)

In this yearbook, Linguapax's first, we aim to explore the history of Linguapax in greater detail with a set of texts that have great documentary value. These are materials that will be useful in the future for making a more complete historical monograph about the organisation.

First of all, you can read a text from 2006 on the beginnings of Linguapax that was written by one of the figures present when it was founded, Professor Miquel Siguan from the University of Barcelona. Secondly, you'll see some explanations by Joseph Poth, former director of UNESCO's Language Division, on the responsibilities exercised by UNESCO in relation with Linguapax between 1987 and 2000. The third text, written by the secretary general and later president of the International Federation of Language Teacher Associations (FIPLV), Denis Cunningham, discusses the intense collaboration between the FIPLV and Linguapax from its beginnings to the present day. The fourth text is a chapter from Fèlix Martí's memoirs, published in Barcelona in 2006 by Linguapax's dedicated publishing company, Proa. Fèlix Martí is the person with the most experience with Linguapax, whether as part of UNESCO or later with the UNESCO Centre of Catalonia.

While waiting for the monograph that we'll need to make a thoroughly detailed history of Linguapax, we dare to propose three clearly differentiated stages. The first corresponds to the foundational period, from 1987 to the retirement of Viktor Koptilov, a UNESCO official who had called the meeting of experts from which Linguapax sprang (Kiev, 1987). Notable in this

first stage is the Kiev Declaration and the seminars in Sitges (Linguapax II, 1988) and Saarbrücken (Linguapax III, 1990). The second stage dates from 1994, the year that Linguapax IV was held in Barcelona on the initiative of UNESCO and the UNESCO Centre of Catalonia, and ends in 1999, when Federico Mayor became director general of UNESCO. This was a phase characterised by UNESCO's clear desire to get involved in protecting languages and fostering multilingual education. They were golden years for Linguapax thanks to the enthusiastic devotion of Joseph Poth, who became director of a new Language Division with a strong technical team, and to the organisational and financial support of the UNESCO Centre of Catalonia and UNESCO Etxea (UNESCO Centre of the Basque Country). At this time, Linguapax experienced a double transformation. It ceased to be a European project and became a truly global project on one hand, and it expanded its aims on the other. Improvement to language policies, attention to community needs and the promotion of linguistic diversity in the media and cyberspace were added to the initial mission to foster multilingual education to contribute to international understanding and peace. The third stage begins with the creation of the international NGO Linguapax in 2001, with its headquarters at the UNESCO Centre of Catalonia, to give continuity to the programmes that UNESCO stopped leading. Linguapax became a network formed by sociolinguists, language community experts, officials from national and international organisations concerned with the lives of languages and people and representatives of organisations dedicated to teaching languages or to facing global challenges. It began to promote actions tailored to the needs of the different continents and to create local and universal events in favour of linguistic diversity as a way to contribute to democracy, human rights, sustainability and peace.

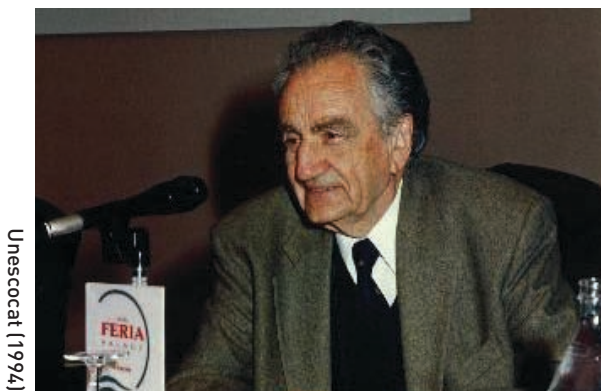
Due to its history, Linguapax has become established as an international network that shares a single philosophy when assessing the problems that affect linguistic diversity, formulating technical and political recommendations and proposing plausible models for linguistic coexistence. It condemns new forms of cultural and linguistic colonialism and the passivity with which globalisation processes that dilute diversity are accepted. Linguapax honours the people who have distinguished themselves by protecting the lives of languages. Thus, the International Linguapax Award has been given to celebrate the fine examples set by Bartomeu Melià, Jerzy Smolicz, Aina Moll, Tove Skutnabb-Kangas, Fernand de Varennes, Maurice Tadadjeu, Natividad Mutumbajoy, Maya K. David, Neville Alexander, Katarina Te Keikoko Mataira, Miquel Siguan and Robert Phillipson. Linguapax offers collaboration both with grassroots communities and with governments that so desire, as well as with international governmental and nongovernmental organisations. Outstanding examples of this are its different forms of joint action with UNESCO, its participation in initiatives of the European Union, the Council of Europe, the European Bureau for Lesser-Used Languages (EBLUL) and the African Academy of Languages (ACALAN), and its new status

as a full member of the Multilingual Intercultural Cooperation Network (RE-CIM), which brings the states of Latin America together. In the nongovernmental sphere, mention must be made again of the International Federation of Language Teacher Associations (FIPLV), the International Pen Club, the Escarré International Centre for Ethnic and Minorities and Nations (CIE-MEN), the Foundation for Endangered Languages, Terralingua, UNESCO's chairs in Linguistics in Mons and Barcelona and especially the Linguapax schools forming part of the UNESCO Associated Schools. Probably the best way to visualise a history that covers nearly a quarter of a century is to examine the list of the current members of Linguapax's Advisory Board and of the regional and subregional delegates. They are heirs to a happy story and ambassadors for the organisation on every continent. They are sources of inspiration for Linguapax in the present and the future: Étienne Sadembo, Ben Elugbe, Carole Bloch, Djaranga Djita Issa, Fary Ka Silate, Hermas Mwansoko, Malika Ahmed Zaid Chertouk, José Antonio Flores Farfán, Bruna Franchetto, Olenka Bilash, Nick Emlen, Frances Fister-Stoga, Maya Khemlani David, Bosya Kornusova, Sonja Novak-Lucanovic, Thomas Stolz, UNESCO Etxea, Lluís Bernabé, Margaret Florey, Vigdís Finnbogadóttir, Anvita Abbi, Bartomeu Melià, Bernard Comrie, Bjorn Jernudd, Carles Torner, Denis Cunningham, Dónall Ó Riagáin, Fernand de Varennes, François Grin, Ignace Sanwidi, Isidor Mari, Jane Freeland, Jan-Jacques van Vlasselaer, Jon Landaburu, Joseph Poth, Joseph Sheils, Lachman Khubchandani, Luis Enrique López, Miquel Strubell i Trueta, Neville Alexander, Rosaleen Howard, Susana Cuevas, Tasaku Tsunoda and Te Ripowai Higgins.

## 1.2 The beginnings of Linguapax

Miquel Siguan  
Professor Emeritus of the University of Barcelona  
Chairman of the Linguapax Advisory Committee

### Talk given on 20 February 2006 in the Main Hall of the University of Barcelona



Unescocat (1994)

Miquel Siguan at the IV Linguapax Conference (Barcelona, 1994)



Unescocat (1994)

Dubrovnik Professors Seminar (Dubrovnik, 1994)

I have been asked on behalf of Linguapax's leadership to welcome you to Barcelona and to this meeting. And I think that the best way to express this welcome is to remember the beginnings of Linguapax, moments in which I was closely involved. From 26 to 30 January 1987, UNESCO organised an international meeting at the University of Kiev on the topic «Teaching foreign languages for peace and understanding». The meeting's promoter was Professor Victor Koptilov, in charge of language issues at UNESCO at that time, and the participants were experts appointed by UNESCO in addition to representatives from the International Federation of Language Teacher Associations and the European Bureau for Lesser-Used Languages (EBLUL).

The meeting took place at the University of Kiev, the capital of Ukraine, which at that time was part of the USSR, due to the interest that Professor Oleg Semenetz, dean of the Faculty of Letters, had in the subject, and to the fact that Koptilov was a former professor in the same faculty. As an anecdotal detail, I'll add that it was very cold in Kiev at that time (on the first day the thermometer read 18 degrees below zero as we left the hotel), and that same day we were all very surprised to hear Gorbachev's announcement on the radio that *perestroika* had begun.

The basic idea of the seminar in Kiev, which was explicit in its title, was that foreign language instruction gave students broader perspectives on the world, broke national egocentricity and thereby contributed to international understanding and solidarity. In the final session, the organisers charged me with formulating the conclusions and resolutions that could be deduced from the presentations throughout the seminar. Shamelessly relying on the paper that I had presented, I asserted that the objective sought would not simply be achieved by teaching foreign languages but depended on the spirit and purpose for which they were taught. It was not an issue of adding an ethnocentric view linked with one language to an equally ethnocentric view linked with another language, as foreign language teachers needed to consider that their task is to open students' eyes to the linguistic and cultural diversity of the world, as well as to the fact that languages are tools of communication that should be placed first of all in the service of understanding and solidarity. Emphasis should be placed on what they have in common rather than what differentiates them, and the importance of translation should be stressed.

The final declaration was welcomed at UNESCO's headquarters, and Linguapax became a programme sponsored by the organisation, especially when Federico Mayor assumed the post of director general of the organisation shortly thereafter. Unfortunately, UNESCO was steeped in an economic crisis that made it impossible to earmark funds for new programmes. Moreover and more significantly, UNESCO had been reticent to take on language-related initiatives because state governments are extremely possessive and touchy on this subject. Thus, since its beginnings, Linguapax was only surrounded by the enthusiasm of those of us who had launched it.

Taking advantage of the fact that we organised a seminar on «Languages and education» each year in Sitges, we dedicated the seminar to Linguapax the next year, in 1988. The seminar took place in Sitges from 19 to 22 October, and a committee was formally constituted to follow up on the initiative on the last day. Members of this committee included Professor Koptilov and the dean of the University of Kiev, Semenetz; as well as Marcel de Grève, president of AIMAV and Professor Raasch of Saarland University (Saarbrücken), who committed to organising a new seminar at said university. Later, the text compiling the presentations made

at the seminar in Sitges was published in a volume entitled: *Las lenguas y la educación para la paz* («Languages and education for peace») (Horso, Barcelona, 1990).

A meeting of the International Committee was held in Venice from 6 to 9 October 1989, and the seminar in



International Mother Language Day celebration  
(Barcelona, 2006)



Saarbrücken took place in 1990. This seminar was entitled Linguapax III and was held at Saarland University. The text of both the presentations and the final resolution was published in the book: Albert Raasch (ed.) *Peace through language teaching / La paix par l'enseignement des langues / Frieden durch Fremd sprachenunterricht* (Saarbrücken, 1991).

The final resolution, addressed to UNESCO and the governments of the member states, asserts the idea of promoting peace by using language instruction and explores ways of guiding language teaching in agreement with this aim.

The published book shows the relation of the meeting's attendees, including Classen-Bauer (Lüneburg, Germany), Marcel de Grève (Brussels), Freudenstein (Marburg, Germany), Irina Khaleeva (Moscow), Brigitte Kruh (Potsdam), Irmela Neu (Bonn), Albert Raasch (Saarbrücken), Oleg Semenets (Kiev), György Szépe (Budapest), Elisabetta Zuanelli (Venice) and Victor Koptilov (UNESCO).

The lack of a stable base made it very difficult to give continuity to the programme, so the UNESCO Centre of Catalonia and its senior leader, Fèlix Martí, decided to provide this continuity. From this foundation, Linguapax expanded its aims and took on commitments to maintain linguistic plurality around the world and to protect endangered languages. A good example of this effort is the international meeting that took place in Barcelona as part of the Universal Forum of Cultures in May 2004 under the motto «Linguistic diversity, sustainability and peace». Another good example is the work carried out to constitute a worldwide network, of which your presence here today gives evidence.

And that is how I'll end my talk. Linguapax already has already had a relatively long history and has undergone significant changes, but the final aims remain the same. Linguistic diversity is not an obstacle to be eliminated in order to facilitate understanding among peoples, but rather the opposite: it is a wealth that must be preserved and the only way to do so is to increase mutual understanding. This aim also embraces political and legal aspects, but in this project language teachers stand on the first line.

### 1.3 Les débuts du projet Linguapax et sa mise en place au siège de l'UNESCO.

Joseph Poth  
Former director of UNESCO  
Division of Languages

#### La naissance d'un symbole



Unescocat (1994)

IV Linguapax Conference participants (Barcelona, 1994)



Unescocat (1994)

IV Linguapax Conference (Barcelona, 1994)

«Lingua facit gentem !» C'est la langue qui fait la nation ! Les anciens savaient déjà que les frontières linguistiques sont plus difficiles à franchir que les fleuves, les montagnes et les océans qui séparent les peuples les uns des autres...

Si la prévalence affirmée du binôme Langue/Nation correspond presque toujours aux attentes et aux besoins des communautés autochtones dont elle légitime les revendications identitaires, elle sert aussi trop souvent de prétexte aux États constitués pour justifier une politique dominatrice, fondée sur l'usage officiel exclusif d'une langue unique et glottophage.

Portés par le courant des idées modernes qui refusent désormais d'avaliser la hiérarchisation des peuples, celle de leurs cultures et de leurs langues qui ont ensanglanté le monde

au fil des siècles, les représentants de la communauté internationale, réunis à Kiev (Ukraine) en 1987, sous l'égide de l'UNESCO, signèrent l'acte de naissance de Linguapax. Comme son nom le suggère, ce projet était conçu comme une réponse d'ordre linguistique à la « guerre des langues » puisqu'il proposait de lier l'enseignement des langues maternelles et étrangères à la promotion de la compréhension internationale et de la paix.

Les réunions de Sitges (Linguapax II) en 1988 et de Sarrebruck (Linguapax III) en 1990, confirmèrent et approfondirent ces orientations initiales. La qualité des échanges et le caractère concret des recommandations qui marquèrent ces premiers travaux contribuèrent puissamment à ancrer le projet Linguapax dans les structures de l'UNESCO.

## La synergie entre le Siège de l'UNESCO et le Centre UNESCO de Catalogne. Le co-pilotage de Linguapax.



Unescocat (1996)

Federico Mayor Zaragoza at the International Seminar on Language Policies (Leioa, 1996)

C'est à la suite de la «Trobada IV» (Rencontre IV) tenue en 1994 à Barcelone, que Linguapax devait prendre sa dimension véritablement internationale et s'imposer dans le paysage éducatif mondial. Les acquis de cette importante réunion, financée grâce au soutien catalan, amenèrent le Secteur de l'Éducation de l'UNESCO à établir un protocole formel de fonctionnement du projet. Aux termes

de ce protocole, Linguapax relevait désormais d'une « gestion décentralisée, caractérisée par le partage des responsabilités à tous niveaux entre le Siège à Paris et le Centre UNESCO de Catalogne ». Quand à la codirection du projet, elle était assurée par le Président du Comité international de Linguapax (également Directeur du Centre UNESCO de Catalogne) et par le spécialiste du Programme linguistique au Siège (doc. Unesco ED/ECS. 31.01.96).

Pour renforcer encore la synergie autour de Linguapax et lui offrir une « visibilité » accrue, Monsieur Federico Mayor, Directeur général de l'UNESCO, adressa à ses Directeurs généraux adjoints, aux Sous-directeurs généraux, à tous les responsables de bureaux, offices et divisions du Siège ainsi qu'à ceux des unités permanentes hors Siège, une note intitulée «Pluralisme linguistique, éducation pour la paix et dialogue des cultures» ( DG/Note/98/8 24 février 1998).

Cette note, véritable charte méthodologique, proposait des orientations claires pour un schéma directeur du projet et identifiait des axes de progrès pour son suivi. Elle offrait aussi à Linguapax de nouveaux instruments en vue de favoriser sa croissance et son enracinement pérenne dans les programmes réguliers de l'UNESCO. À cet effet, le Directeur général annonçait la création imminente d'une Division des Langues au Siège de l'UNESCO ainsi que la mise en place, à un très haut niveau, d'un « Comité de pilotage » interne à l'Organisation dont le secrétariat serait confié à ladite division. De plus, pour faciliter la coordination des activités liées à l'éducation multilingue, il procédait à la mise en place d'un «Comité consultatif restreint» externe dont la présidence était confiée à Monsieur Félix Marti, Président du Comité international Linguapax.

Doté d'outils institutionnels de poids, fort également des appuis matériels, humains et intellectuels mis à sa disposition par le Siège et par le Centre UNESCO de Catalogne, le projet Linguapax pouvait désormais donner la pleine mesure de ses ambitions.

## Le rythme de croisière et les réalisations marquantes du projet

Grâce à la mise en application immédiate des décisions du Directeur général, la dimension internationale de Linguapax, marquée par une présence effective sur le terrain, s'est rapidement affirmée dans un grand nombre d'interventions menées à la demande des États membres ou de leurs institutions accréditées, notamment en Afrique où les urgences éducatives étaient fortes.

Afin de laisser sur place des traces durables et des éléments concrets de référence se rapportant aux thématiques abordées (*verba volant...*), Linguapax avait engagé d'emblée un vaste programme d'élaboration de fichiers pédagogiques destinés aux éducateurs, aux enseignants de langues, ainsi qu'à leurs cadres d'animation et de contrôle. Il avait entrepris également, dans le même esprit, la conception et la réalisation de guides techniques pour la mise au point de schémas directeurs nationaux, relatifs à la promotion du bilinguisme, voire du plurilinguisme, dans les établissements de formation des maîtres et aux différents niveaux d'enseignement.

C'est ainsi que de nombreux séminaires et missions d'expertise liés à ces problématiques ont été assumés par Linguapax dans des pays qui n'étaient pas tous demandeurs pour eux-mêmes, mais qui souhaitaient participer, avec l'UNESCO, à la recherche de solutions adaptées aux contextes de besoin identifiés par l'Organisation. La liste suivante indique le nom de ces pays qui, à un titre ou à un autre, ont abrité des activités marquantes de Linguapax, mais elle est loin d'être exhaustive:

Europe : *Allemagne, Autriche, Belgique, Croatie, Fédération de Russie, France, Espagne, République tchèque, Suisse, Luxembourg.*

Asie et Pacifique : *Cambodge, Australie, Japon.*

Afrique : *Angola, Burkina Faso, Cameroun, Côte d'Ivoire, Mali, Niger, Nigéria, République centrafricaine, Kenya, Sénégal, Seychelles, Tchad, Togo, Zimbabwe.*

Amérique latine et Caraïbes : *Haïti, Colombie.*

Certaines de ces missions ont bénéficié d'un soutien financier de l'UNESCO ou du PNUD; d'autres ont été financées par des organismes internationaux comme la Banque mondiale, l'Union européenne, le Conseil de l'Europe ou l'Agence intergouvernementale de la francophonie, d'autres encore ont été soutenues matériellement par le Budget du Centre UNESCO de Catalogne et par celui de la Division des Langues.

Dans le domaine des supports techniques et des documents d'accompagnement, Linguapax a fourni un effort tout particulier. Outre une trentaine d'articles d'information sur le projet, publiés dans des revues de renom patronnées par l'Union européenne ou diffusées au niveau universitaire, en France, en Belgique, au Japon, en Afrique, le projet a conçu, élaboré et diffusé, avec le soutien de partenaires institutionnels, des guides et des

manuels à l'usage des groupes interdisciplinaires œuvrant dans les instituts pédagogiques et à l'intention des équipes d'enseignants.

S'il n'est pas possible, dans ce cadre introductif restreint, de détailler plus avant les objectifs spécifiques et les contenus substantiels de chacun de ces supports, il est nécessaire d'accorder une mention spéciale à deux d'entre eux. En effet, ils ont été diffusés à grande échelle et ils ont largement contribué à véhiculer une image positive de Linguapax auprès de nombreux utilisateurs en Afrique et en Asie.

Le premier de ces supports concerne l'Afrique. La décision de le produire partait notamment du fait que l'échec scolaire dans ce continent plurilingue est dû, pour une bonne part, à une conception perfectible de l'aménagement linguistique dans les systèmes éducatifs. En mettant à la disposition des États membres un guide de l'aménagement linguistique recouvrant toutes les composantes d'une telle opération et élaboré en coopération étroite avec leurs praticiens, Linguapax pouvait contribuer à réduire les effets nocifs de l'échec scolaire sur le développement socio-économique du pays. Le guide de référence comprenait neuf dossiers complémentaires les uns des autres. Rédigé en français, puis traduit en anglais, en portugais et en espagnol, il est totalement épuisé aujourd'hui.

La deuxième réalisation concerne le Cambodge et son programme éducatif d'urgence financé et co-piloté par le Gouvernement de ce pays et l'Union européenne. Cette Organisation avait demandé à l'UNESCO l'aide technique de Linguapax pour pouvoir doter l'ensemble des écoles du pays de 300 000 manuels scolaires en langue khmère et de 45 000 guides du maître également rédigés en langue nationale. Linguapax anima successivement sur place six séminaires de formation consacrés notamment à la conception, à la réalisation et à l'édition de manuels et de guides (séminaire d'initiation aux techniques d'auteurs, séminaire de perfectionnement, séminaire de spécialisation.) L'Union européenne put ainsi respecter la totalité des engagements pris, dans ce domaine, envers le pays hôte. En contrepartie de l'aide technique fournie par Linguapax, le Gouvernement cambodgien fit apposer le sigle du projet sur l'ensemble des ouvrages finalisés et L'Union européenne apporta un soutien financier très conséquent à l'UNESCO qui recherchait des fonds pour ses propres actions au Cambodge.

## **Les principaux partenariats de Linguapax et de la Division des langues.**

Comme tous les projets de l'UNESCO, Linguapax s'était très vite efforcé de rassembler autour de ses objectifs et de ses activités, des partenariats valorisants au niveau intellectuel, technique, moral et, si possible, financier. C'est ainsi que l'Université de Mons/Hainaut et sa toute nouvelle chaire UNESCO ont longtemps accompagné Linguapax dans sa collaboration avec le Réseau

universitaire Linguapax piloté depuis Moscou. De même, la coopération avec Mons a été particulièrement féconde lorsqu'il s'est agi pour Linguapax de jeter les bases d'un projet d'enseignement à distance pour le compte du «Programme UNESCO-Tchernobyl» et d'établir des partenariats avec les universités des langues de Moscou, de Kiev et de Minsk. Enfin, le soutien wallon a été déterminant pour éditer et diffuser les guides sur l'aménagement linguistique dans le contexte éducatif africain qui ont été mentionnés plus haut.

La tenue d'un «Séminaire international sur les politiques linguistiques et Linguapax» (Bilbao 1996) fut l'occasion d'entretenir un partenariat durable avec le Centre UNESCO du Pays basque. Ce séminaire, auquel le Directeur général de l'UNESCO assistait en personne, donna naissance à un grand projet d'atlas linguistique mondial dans la conception duquel Linguapax eut toute sa place et pour lequel la Division des langues proposa un exemple d'approche systémique. Par ailleurs, l'antenne du Pen Club international de Barcelone associa Linguapax à son projet sur les droits linguistiques dans le monde et se montra un partenaire fiable et compétent. Il serait injuste de ne pas mentionner dans ce même cadre géographique la coopération fertile entre Linguapax et le CIEMEN de Barcelone. Ce Centre, défenseur vigilant des minorités linguistiques et culturelles, fit d'ailleurs à la Division des langues l'honneur apprécié d'accorder à son directeur le «guardó internacional 2001 » (Prix international 2001).

Le projet PERICLES (Programme Expérimental pour Relancer l'Intérêt de la jeunesse en faveur des Cultures et des Langues limitrophes à partir de l'Environnement naturel et des Sites patrimoniaux) fut lancé en 1999 par la Division des langues pour soutenir quelques composantes particulières de Linguapax dans des contextes sensibles, frontaliers et transfrontaliers, marqués par les guerres et leurs séquelles. Ce projet fut l'occasion de nouveaux partenariats avec les ministères de l'Éducation en France, en Allemagne, en Belgique et au Luxembourg ainsi qu'avec l'université de Sarrebruck et la fondation Daimler/Benz. Ce fut cette fondation et surtout l'Union européenne qui financèrent la quasi-totalité des échanges transfrontaliers et les opérations menées avec les enseignants et les élèves dans les établissements scolaires des quatre pays concernés.

Enfin, il n'est pas sans intérêt de signaler que l'Union européenne avait invité Linguapax à participer régulièrement, par le biais de la Division des langues, aux groupes de travail qui préparaient l'année européenne des langues en l'an 2000. À cette occasion, un partenariat de qualité, malheureusement trop bref, fut établi entre la Division des langues du Conseil de l'Europe qui venait d'être créée et la Division des Langues de l'UNESCO dont la disparition prochaine était déjà programmée à la faveur d'un changement d'administration au Siège de l'UNESCO.

## Le transfert des activités de Linguapax du Siège de l'UNESCO vers Unescocat

A la fin du deuxième mandat de Monsieur Federico Mayor, et à l'occasion du départ à la retraite de son directeur, la Division des Langues de l'UNESCO fut rayée du tableau des effectifs et de l'organigramme de l'Organisation. Les projets en cours menés par la division, ont été soit repris par d'autres unités, soit abandonnés comme le suivi de PERICLES ou comme le suivi des guides pour le plurilinguisme scolaire dans les États membres, ou encore, comme celui des manuels scolaires en langue khmère et des guides du maître au Cambodge. Aujourd'hui, les questions d'ordre linguistique au Siège de l'UNESCO sont traitées principalement au sein de la Section des industries créatives pour le développement (Division des expressions culturelles et des industries créatives) ainsi que dans le cadre de la Section pour la promotion de l'intégration et de l'apprentissage de qualité (Division pour la promotion de l'éducation de base).

Quand à Linguapax, il a retrouvé un second souffle. Il était juste et logique que le Centre UNESCO de Catalogne qui a tant fait pour ce projet, le recueille, le prenne sous son aile et lui offre les chances de se développer dans de nouveaux contextes. Les Catalans savent par expérience qu'il faut constamment défendre les droits linguistiques, qui font partie intégrante des droits de l'homme. Ils savent que la souffrance des minorités opprimées mérite mieux que de l'indifférence : « ...com és llarg d'esperar un alçament de llum en la tenebra ! » dit un de leurs poètes ... Qu'il est long d'attendre un peu de lumière dans la nuit ! On peut donc faire confiance à une communauté qui a produit tant de partisans zélés de la diversité linguistique, tant de défenseurs des langues minorisées. Certes, une première page semble avoir été définitivement tournée à Paris, mais tout indique que le livre de Linguapax restera ouvert sur le monde, à Barcelone, et qu'il est à peine entamé.

## 1.4 FIPLV and Linguapax: A quasi-autobiographical account

Denis Cunningham  
FIPLV Secretary General

### Introduction



Unescocat (2006)

Constitution of the Linguapax International Network  
(Barcelona, 2006)



Unescocat (2006)

Linguapax international delegates (Barcelona, 2006)

The notion of teaching languages for peace is not new, but it took shape prominently in 1987 under the banner of Linguapax, clearly derived from the Latin 'lingua' and 'pax'. György Szépe, then FIPLV Secretary General, was present at the organisation's creation. One of its aims was to harmonise peace education and language education. Within the precinct of peace education, one could also include other developing fields, such as international understanding, international communication, global education and linguistic human rights.

There was a political backdrop, as the international peace movement after World War II emerged as a coalition of leftist groups within the Western powers, mainly the USA and the USSR. One could

see it as the continuation of the anti-Fascist solidarity movement on the one hand and, on the other, a Soviet effort to legalise former international ties. In 1987, although most of us did not know it at the time, the political stage was delicately poised. Those closer to the action witnessed the budding decomposition of the Soviet empire, as President Gorbachev introduced change in response to growing unrest. The year 1987 was one of the last years of the bi-polar world, split by the Iron Curtain. Glasnost and perestroika were just around the corner.



## Linguapax: The Kiev Declaration

The origin of the notion of Linguapax is attributed to the Catalan, Miquel Siguan. An émigré under the Franco regime in Spain, he returned to Spain after Franco's death in 1975 to become the leading psychologist of Spain, the leading scholarly specialist supporting the Catalan renaissance, the only professor of psycholinguistics in Spain, the director of teacher training and retraining at the University of Barcelona and an internationally revered expert in his many fields.

The first Linguapax workshop was held in Kiev, the choice of Viktor Koptilov, a Ukrainian national who had responsibility for language education within UNESCO. As such, he was also the contact person for FIPLV at UNESCO, a partnership that had begun some years before. It was logical, then, that Linguapax would be born in his home city, the third largest city in the USSR, and, incidentally, close to the city of Chernobyl, which became known worldwide in 1987 because of the nuclear disaster. It is also important to stress – as does Joseph Poth – that Linguapax was adopted as a project under the banner of UNESCO and, as such, remains within the official domain of UNESCO.

The direct result of the UNESCO-FIPLV connection and the involvement of György Szépe, Linguapax immediately emerged onto the FIPLV agenda in the May 1987 issue of *FIPLV World News*. The introduction to Linguapax appeared as follows:

### Foreign Languages and Literatures for Peace and International Understanding

A UNESCO Consultative Meeting on the content and methods of teaching of foreign languages and literatures for peace and understanding was organised in January 1987 at Kiev University (USSR). Specialists from 14 countries (Belgium, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, France, the German Democratic Republic, the Federal Republic of Germany, Greece, Hungary, Ireland, Italy, the Netherlands, Romania, Spain, and the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) participated in this activity. At the end of the meeting, a 'Kiev Declaration' – entitled Linguapax – was unanimously accepted. In this document, teachers of foreign languages and literatures were invited to support the following recommendations:

1. To teachers of foreign languages and literatures:
  - a) To be aware of their responsibility in furthering international understanding through their teaching.
  - b) To make strenuous efforts to increase the effectiveness of teaching foreign languages with a view to enhancing mutual understanding,

respect, peaceful co-existence and co-operation among nations in accordance with UNESCO's principles.

- c) To exploit the possibilities of extra-curricular activities for the development of international contacts and co-operation, such as correspondence, exchange of books as well as relevant print and audio-visual material, visits, tours, excursions, etc.
  - d) As education for international co-operation must start with co-operation between students and teachers in the language learning task, classroom co-operation should be stimulated by language teaching approaches responsive to students' initiatives, interests and needs.
2. To relevant international non-governmental organisations:
    - a) To regularly organise, in co-operation with UNESCO, meetings of experts to prepare training seminars and workshops for teachers of foreign languages and literatures in the spirit of peace and understanding among nations.
    - b) To ensure adequate follow-up and the broadest possible dissemination of information about the results achieved.
  3. To specialised institutions of UNESCO Member-States:
    - a) To encourage the further exchange of teachers and teaching materials, syllabi, audio-visual materials, films, TV programmes, etc., with a view to sharing experiences in the field. Preference ought to be given to authentic concrete linguistic and cultural material, originating from countries whose language is taught. Use should be made of existing UNESCO agreements and facilities to promote this exchange in order to form a positive image of the nation under study.
    - b) To encourage the increase in the number of foreign languages regularly included in the school curricula and the provision of study of additional foreign languages on an extra-curricular basis; to give more emphasis to the study of foreign languages in educating young people; to support translations as well as the teaching of translating and interpreting as factors in the process of mutual understanding; to take appropriate steps to inform students and their families of the potential of foreign languages for acquiring better knowledge of world issues and concerns, other nations and their cultures; and to multiply bilateral and multilateral agreements to enhance contacts internationally to this effect. In the same spirit, to facilitate and develop the teaching of foreign literature at all levels and to promote cultural encounters and exchange linked to this teaching.
    - c) To further international education through the teaching of languages for special purposes (LSP) with a view to facilitating the exchange of information on science and technology as an important means of mutual understanding.

4. To the Director-General of UNESCO:

- a) To initiate in the next biennium (1988-1989) a project to be launched initially in Europe on the development of teaching foreign languages for peace and mutual understanding and to take the necessary steps towards the preparation of a standard core of educational material and the elaboration of alternative sets of locally applicable methods of teaching, for example, developing and expanding those used in UNESCO Associated Schools. This Project will be extended in the future to other regions of the world (Africa, Asia, etc.).
- b) To intensify foreign language teaching, it is proposed that the above-mentioned Project include the following initiatives to be undertaken in 1988-1989:
  - 1) elaboration of a handbook for foreign language teachers containing guidelines, teaching units and suggested methods along the lines expressed in the working document for this meeting;
  - 2) organisation of international competitions, e.g., for the best teaching materials reflecting UNESCO principles, for the best collection of literary texts, and for the best material produced by pupils or students;
- c) Contrary to the common practice of linking the teaching of a foreign language with a leading country and its capital, it is recommended to consider also the many different countries and regions within the countries where this language is spoken. Reference should be made to the countries where the language is used as a second language.
- d) To organise in the next few years regional and international meetings of experts on the content of academic programmes for the training and re-training of teachers of foreign languages with special attention to peace education and education for international understanding, including comparative education, international communication and other disciplines, as well as an interdisciplinary and multidisciplinary approach, on the improvement of content of school curricula dealing with foreign languages.
- e) To continue to organise workshops for foreign language teachers and students, including those taking part in associated schools, on contemporary world issues of direct relevance and interest to young people: environmental protection, struggle against poverty and hunger, etc.
- f) To contribute in every possible manner to a more extensive study of less widely taught languages and their respective cultures with special attention to the languages of neighbouring countries.
- g) To take the necessary steps to ensure the proclamation within the framework of the forthcoming Decade of Cultural Development (1988-

1997) of an International Year of Languages. In this context, to make available for the purpose of foreign language teaching the wealth of material gathered within the framework of UNESCO's programme concerning the Cultural Heritage of Mankind and to support a series of bilateral and multilateral teaching projects to enhance a better understanding and appreciation of each other's cultures.

At the end of the Consultative Meeting, an International Linguapax Committee was elected in order to prepare a detailed activity plan for future projects on the development of teaching foreign languages for peace and mutual understanding. In the 'Kiev Declaration' the Consultative Meeting expressed its gratitude to several international non-governmental organisations for their help and assistance in UNESCO language programs, among them the FIPLV.

(*FIPLV World News*, 10, May 1987, 1-3)

## Linguapax International Workshops

Further workshops followed in Sitges (Spain) in 1989 and in Saarbrücken (Germany) in 1990, the latter convened by Albert Raasch with support from FIPLV. Having published the Linguapax III proceedings, *Peace through Language Teaching/La paix par l'enseignement des langues/Frieden durch Fremdsprachenunterricht*, Albert Raasch was invited to participate in the 17<sup>th</sup> FIPLV World Congress in Pécs (Hungary), where he presented a session on the topic. After a period of relative inactivity on the project, an International Linguapax Committee was formed in 1993, with FIPLV represented by György Szépe and Michel Candelier. Denis Cunningham assumed this mantle upon becoming President in 1998. During this period, FIPLV was actively involved in supporting this priority of UNESCO. Linguapax IV took place in Barcelona (Spain) in 1994 and was quickly followed by a joint FIPLV/AFMLTA (Australia) submission to host the next International Linguapax workshop.

## Evolving Philosophy

As activities continued in the early 1990s in the European region, the philosophy and objectives of Linguapax evolved. In 1995, Joseph Poth identified the further priority of the Linguapax project as the provision of:

- a specific contribution of a linguistic nature to conflict areas and to identify ways and means by which foreign language teaching and teaching of mother tongues might promote peace, democracy and human rights.

(Poth, 1995:12)

Meanwhile, Félix Martí expanded upon this priority in positing a tripartite proposal for the Linguapax programme:

- it is a network of experts, of professionals in the teaching of languages and other subjects, who believe that an education favouring cultural and linguistic diversity is opportune and viable. They suggest that the educational systems of all countries provide information on linguistic, religious, ideological, social and cultural diversity, that they help to place a positive value on the diversity of each country and of the world
- it forms part of the sum of innovatory initiatives in the field of education for peace. The Linguapax proposals are directed at creating the conviction that peace is desirable and is possible in all conflict situations. It tries to replace the culture of war with the culture of peace
- it is a specific educational method which can be used by teachers of foreign languages as well as by teachers of other subjects

(Martí, 1995:167)

In a later communication with Félix Martí, he succinctly described the three objectives of Linguapax to be:

- to advise governments of member states of UNESCO, who so desire, on the planning of linguistic policies
- to protect linguistic diversity
- to help educators, especially those working in the field of languages, with methodologies for the education of peace, tolerance and international understanding, by creating adequate pedagogical materials

(Martí, 1996b:2)

## Linguapax on the FIPLV Agenda

In 1991, Linguapax entered the agenda of the 17<sup>th</sup> FIPLV World Congress in Pécs (Hungary), where a roundtable session was organised by the President of the International Linguapax Committee, Miquel Siguan, and Albert Raasch also presented a session, in which Denis Cunningham participated. These sessions, and the roundtable on language rights that followed the Congress, identified themes that reflected those of FIPLV, so the partnership continued.

Alerted to the desirability of conducting a Linguapax workshop in Australia, the President of the Australian Federation of Modern Language Teachers Associations, David Ingram, and Denis Cunningham collaborated with a view to preparing a submission to UNESCO. Their intention to conduct the

fourth workshop in Australia was superseded by a seminar for teachers in Dubrovnik in 1994, and Linguapax IV, the proceedings of which were published as *Linguapax IV*, was ultimately held in Barcelona (Catalonia).

## Linguapax V

Critical to Linguapax finally taking place in Australia was a meeting between Colin Power (Assistant Director General for Education, UNESCO), Denis Cunningham (as Secretary of AFMLTA) and Joseph Poth (Spécialiste du Programme Linguistique, UNESCO) conducted at UNESCO Headquarters in April 1994. At this meeting the money was guaranteed (through the Bangkok office), and it was left to Denis Cunningham to develop proposals on behalf of AFMLTA. The contract between UNESCO and AFMLTA underwent revision in 1994-1995 before being signed in February 1995.

While the International Linguapax Committee (ILC) had approved the proposal and extended support, this materialised personally at the meeting at UNESCO Headquarters (March 1995). It was here that Denis Cunningham – under the guidance of Félix Martí and Joseph Poth - provided details of the contract, specific budgetary and organisational proposals and a suggested participation list. The ILC made modifications before endorsing the planning of the project and determining the participation list for invitees to be funded by the Linguapax budget. They continued to provide ongoing support.

Funded by UNESCO, Linguapax V took place in Melbourne (Australia) in mid-1995, organised by Denis Cunningham on behalf of the AFMLTA and FIPLV. The prime objective was to bring to Australia and the Asia-Pacific region the tenets and influence of Linguapax and to reach policy-makers, administrators and educators. This was achieved. The opening ceremony took place in the Melbourne Town Hall, thanks to the generosity of Kevan Gosper, well-known Vice President of the International Olympic Committee and Commissioner for Melbourne at the time.

Drawing upon the expertise developed in Europe, invited participants came from Catalonia, Croatia, Finland, France, Germany, Hungary and Poland, while the region had noteworthy representation from Japan, New Zealand and Sri Lanka. There was also a significant presence from Australia. The proceedings were edited by Michel Candelier and Denis Cunningham and appeared as *Linguapax V*. The recommendations, featured as an appendix, endorsed future activities in Africa and Latin America, while emphasising the need for further action in Australia and the Pacific.

## Linguapax in Australia

Specific outcomes, in addition to the publishing of *Linguapax V*, included presentations by several Linguapax V delegates (i.e., Félix Martí, Michel Candelier and Reinhold Freudenstein) at the Annual Congress of the Modern Language Teachers Association of Victoria (MLTAV) in Clayton (Australia), the formation of an AFMLTA Inc. Special Interest Group (SIG) for Linguapax (Cf. Recommendation #14) and practical workshops for teachers. These continued at the local, regional and national levels as components of conference programmes or standalone activities, all integral to the Linguapax programme in Australia. Further, some local participants of Linguapax V revised their language courses to reflect Linguapax themes (Cf. Recommendation #12). Articles also appeared later (Cunningham, 1997) in such publications as *The Primary Educator*, a journal that reached in excess of 1,000 primary schools Australia-wide.

## Linguapax in the Pacific

While Linguapax V participants from New Zealand and Sri Lanka returned home after Linguapax V to generate Linguapax activities, the impact was far more considerable in Japan and Korea. The intent of (Linguapax V) Recommendation #13 was realised in increased collaboration of FIPLV member associations in South East Asia and the South West Pacific region, with Linguapax being the catalyst.

## Linguapax and FIPLV in Japan

The earlier interest, combined with the impact of Linguapax V in Australia in 1995 (Cunningham & Cates, 1997), led to the participation in 1996 of an official UNESCO Linguapax Delegation at JALT's International Conference. This event, the largest language teaching conference in Asia, took place in November 1996 in the international city of peace, Hiroshima, and was attended by over 2,300 participants from Asia, Europe, North America and Australia. The conference theme, 'Crossing Borders', and the conference location, a modern convention centre in Peace Memorial Park, ensured that 'peace and international understanding' were a key aspect of the four-day event. To further highlight the Linguapax conference presence and the theme of peace, a special 'peace strand' of conference events was organised, which included guided tours of the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum, talks with survivors of the 1945 atomic bombing of the city and the presentation of peace-related videos.

The JALT '96 Linguapax team comprised Félix Martí, President of the International Linguapax Committee, Denis Cunningham, organiser of Linguapax V in Australia, Albert Raasch, organiser of Linguapax III in Germany, Madeleine du Vivier, President of the International Association of Teachers of English as a Foreign Language (IATEFL), FIPLV Honorary Counsellor Reinhold Freudenstein, Andrea Truckenbrodt, newly appointed Convener of the AFMLTA SIG for Linguapax, and, of course, Kip Cates, who had done much to facilitate this presence. Linguapax's participation in the conference took a number of forms:

- articles on UNESCO, Linguapax and language teaching in JALT's magazine, *The Language Teacher*;
- a public forum in Hiroshima City on the theme of 'Peace through Education', conducted with Japanese peace educators;
- a keynote address by Félix Martí on the theme of 'Language Education for World Peace';
- daily Linguapax workshops, which introduced conference participants to Linguapax principles and practice in promoting education for international understanding;
- a Linguapax colloquium on the theme of 'Language Teaching and Peace Education';
- a Linguapax display table featuring Linguapax publications; and
- a final conference panel on the role of language teachers in 'crossing borders'.

These sessions not only informed teachers about Linguapax and its activities, but also engaged participants in re-thinking the aims of their teaching, challenged them to consider the recommendations made in Linguapax documents – one of which, the 1987 Kiev Linguapax Declaration, was translated into Japanese – and stimulated interest in Linguapax teaching methods and materials. As a result, an informal Linguapax Asia Network was formed to work through JALT's Global Issues in Language Education SIG to publicise and promote Linguapax ideas for furthering peace and international understanding through language teaching.

### Further Linguapax Activities in the Pacific

While much interest was generated among language teachers in Japan by Linguapax's presence at JALT '96, a further impact of the conference was the creation of an awareness of Linguapax among the leaders of other Asian and international language teaching organisations who



attended. One aspect of regional cooperation among language teachers in Asia, for example, was the linking as 'sister associations' of three organisations: JALT in Japan, Korea TESOL in Korea, and Thai TESOL in Thailand. Representatives of language teaching organisations in countries such as Taiwan, Hong Kong, Singapore and China also attend JALT conferences, as do 'Asian scholars' from countries such as Laos, Cambodia and Vietnam. In addition, JALT has strived to create strong links with such international organisations as the UK-based IATEFL and the US-based TESOL. The JALT '96 conference's focus on Linguapax allowed these people, who represent major language teaching organisations in Asia and around the world, to hear, most for the first time, about UNESCO's Linguapax project. All the above led to the formation of a Linguapax Asia branch ([www.linguapax-asia.org](http://www.linguapax-asia.org)), in which FIPLV was involved.

## FIPLV Furthering Linguapax

FIPLV made Linguapax a priority from the outset, at the same time as it pursued the objectives of tolerance and language rights. As a result, there was the intention of featuring Linguapax on the programme of all FIPLV World Congresses, as well as those of constituent associations, and to encourage others to do likewise. A noteworthy record has already been achieved.

In 1997, Linguapax (and language rights) were prominent on the program of the FIPLV World Congress in Recife (Brazil), with Denis Cunningham delivering a paper – also on behalf of Kip Cates – leading into a workshop with Michel Candelier. FIPLV executive members could not join the Linguapax team to conduct a session at the IATEFL International Conference in Brighton (UK), which was undertaken by Kip Cates, Albert Raasch and Reinhold Freudenstein. In mid-1997, Denis Cunningham presented papers on Linguapax at the Ethnic Schools Association of Victoria Annual Conference (Melbourne, Australia) and the 82<sup>nd</sup> World Congress of the Universal Esperanto Association (Adelaide, Australia). At the same time, Albert Raasch and Andrea Truckenbrodt conducted a Linguapax workshop at the Annual Congress of the Modern Language Teachers Association of Victoria (Bundoora, Australia), while Andrea Truckenbrodt hosted another Linguapax workshop at the 1997 Biennial AFMLTA Inc. National Languages Conference in Hobart (Australia).

While FIPLV collaboration with UNESCO on Linguapax had begun some years before, 1995 witnessed a significant increase in this front in the organisation of Linguapax V. Over the following six years, FIPLV officers presented sessions on Linguapax-related topics in eleven countries (i.e., Australia, Austria, Brazil, France, Israel, Japan, New Zealand, Russia, Slovenia, South Africa and Tunisia), and many publications, mainly articles, in eight

countries (i.e., Australia, Austria, Belgium, Brazil, Greece, Japan, New Zealand and South Africa). Highlights of this activity included:

- A multilingual colloquium in Tunis (Tunisia) in 1996, organised jointly by Michel Candelier on behalf of FIPLV and the Association Tunisienne pour la Pédagogie du Français. The FIPLV executive officers provided the programme at this first gathering of teachers from a range of language teacher associations, and Linguapax was the focus, reflecting the theme of 'Enseignement des Langues et Culture de la Tolérance'.
- An international workshop at the European Centre for Modern Languages in 1998 in Graz (Austria) organised by Michel Candelier on behalf of FIPLV, Felicity MacDonald-Smith of IATEFL and Dolors Reig of the Linguapax Institute in Barcelona (Spain), bringing together 35 participants from 26 countries. Michel Candelier and FIPLV Président d'Honneur Gérard Hardin published the workshop papers, *Language Teaching and Tolerance. Collection of Materials for Teachers/Enseignement des Langues et Tolérance. Sélection de Documents Pédagogiques*, which appeared in 2000.

## Further Linguapax Workshops

In 2000, the International Linguapax Committee was dissolved, but not before other International Linguapax workshops were conducted in Bilbao (Spain) in 1996 and Ouagadougou (Burkina Faso) in 1998. Linguapax VIII, organised in 2000 on the initiative of the Ukrainian Government, was the last to take place under the auspices of UNESCO and was marked by a return to Kiev (Ukraine). Thereafter, responsibility was assumed by the Linguapax Institute in Barcelona (Spain), under the leadership of Félix Martí, for the organisation of not only Linguapax-related curricula but also a series of Linguapax World Congresses. These followed the previous tradition of Linguapax workshops, with the Linguapax Institute organising its first huge event, the World Congress on Language Policies, considered by the organisers as Linguapax IX, in Barcelona in May 2002. Invited to be a member of the Scientific Council, the FIPLV President also participated in this event. Linguapax X, a further World Congress on Dialogue on Language Diversity, Sustainability and Peace, took place in May 2004 in Barcelona. FIPLV was again involved, in much the same way as for Linguapax IX. The first Linguapax Afrika conference took place in 2006 in Cameroon to coincide with the African Year of Languages.

## Epilogue

Linguapax was an excellent initiative of UNESCO, with UNESCO and many educators ensuring that its message reached all continents. The movement had a refreshing impact on not only educators, but also politicians, bureaucrats, community members and students.

At this stage in global history, such a cause is even more relevant than at any time in the past, so it is heartening to learn that the Linguapax Institute in Barcelona has created an International Linguapax Network and is revitalising the priority, philosophy and project of Linguapax.

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## 1.5 Defending linguistic and cultural diversity

### 1.5 *La defensa de la diversitat lingüística i cultural*

Fèlix Martí  
Honorary President of Linguapax

Unescocat (2006)



Fèlix Martí at the First Linguapax Afrika Conference (Yaoundé, 2006)

Since its foundation, UNESCO has not expressed any particular interest in humankind's linguistic heritage. This could be a consequence of its inter-state character or the fact that its headquarters is in Paris, capital of one of the most repressive states in linguistic matters. It was not until 1987, at a meeting of experts in Kiev, that a project named Linguapax came about with the aim of encouraging language teaching from a peace-building perspective. One of the founding fathers was the Catalan Miquel Siguan, from the University of Barcelona. Doctor Siguan could not have imagined that Linguapax would have to be created twice more. The retirement of Victor Koptilov, the person from the UNESCO Secretariat in charge of Linguapax, meant the end of the programme, even though it has received an official blessing at the UNESCO General Conference in 1987. A

*Des de la seva fundació, la UNESCO no ha manifestat un interès especial pel patrimoni lingüístic de la humanitat. Podria ser conseqüència del seu caràcter interestatal o del fet que la seva seu està a París, capital d'un dels estats més repressius en matèria lingüística. No va ser fins l'any 1987, en una reunió d'experts a Kiev, quan va néixer un projecte batejat amb el nom de Linguapax que tenia com a objectiu encoratjar l'ensenyament de les llengües en una perspectiva de pau. Un dels pares fundadors ve ser el català Miquel Siguan, de la Universitat de Barcelona. El doctor Siguan no s'imaginava que Linguapax havia de néixer altres dues vegades. La jubilació de Victor Koptilov, la persona del secretariat de la UNESCO encarregada de Linguapax, va suposar la fi del programa tot i que la Conferència General de la UNESCO de 1987 l'havia beneït oficialment. Linguapax va ressuscitar a Barcelona pocs anys després gràcies a una*

few years later, Linguapax was revived in Barcelona thanks to two circumstances. Firstly, there was a group of Catalan schools that had experimented with a socio-affective methodology to combine language learning processes and peace education. Secondly, the UNESCO Centre of Catalonia had agreed with Joseph Poth, the new UNESCO official in charge of linguistic matters, that we would hold the fourth international Linguapax meeting in Barcelona to discuss the success of the Catalan school experiment. The technical coordination of the educational units created in Catalonia, with the support of the Jaume Bofill Foundation and the Catalan Ministry of Education, was entrusted to Rafael Grasa; Dolors Reig was responsible for educational aspects and Miquel Martí served as secretary general. The opening session, chaired by the Catalan Minister Joan M. Pujals, produced some amusing confusion. Joseph Poth greeted me as if I were the Catalan Minister of Education: «*Monsieur le ministre...*» He has always liked to remember that.

At the Barcelona meeting in 1994, the hard core of a Linguapax International Committee was formed that would have to last for many years. It included Joseph Poth from UNESCO; Dino Milinovic from the National Commission for UNESCO, Croatia; Irmela Neu from the National Commission for UNESCO, Germany; Albert Raasch from Saarland University; György Szépe from the Hungarian Academy of Sciences; Miquel Siguan and myself. One of our most courageous experiences was organising a Linguapax seminar for Croat educators in Dubrovnik in June 1994. The war unleashed by the Serbs was ending, but the city remembered the savagery of the wanton attacks that it had just been sub-

*doble circumstància. Per una part hi havia un grup d'escoles catalanes que havien experimentat una metodologia socioafectiva per unir els processos d'aprenentatge de llengües i l'educació per la pau. Per altra part, el Centre UNESCO de Catalunya havia convingut amb Joseph Poth, el nou funcionari de la UNESCO encarregat dels afers lingüístics, que celebraríem la quarta reunió internacional Linguapax a Barcelona per presentar l'èxit de l'experiència escolar catalana. La coordinació tècnica de les unitats pedagògiques creades a Catalunya, amb el suport de la Fundació Jaume Bofill i del Departament d'Ensenyament, s'havia confiat a Rafael Grasa, els aspectes pedagògics a Dolors Reig i la secretaria general a Miquel Martí. A la sessió inaugural, presidida pel conseller Joan M. Pujals, es va produir una confusió divertida. Joseph Poth em va saludar com si jo fos el conseller d'ensenyament: Monsieur le ministre... Sempre li ha agradat recordar-ho.*

*A la reunió de Barcelona de l'any 1994, es va formar el nucli dur d'un comitè internacional Linguapax que havia de durar molts anys: Joseph Poth de la UNESCO; Dino Milinovic, de la comissió nacional croata de la UNESCO; Irmela Neu, de la comissió alemanya de la UNESCO; Albert Raasch, de la Universitat Saarbrücken; György Szépe, de l'Acadèmia de Ciències d'Hongria; Miquel Siguan i jo mateix. Una de les nostres experiències més valentes va ser l'organització d'un seminari Linguapax per a educadors croates a Dubrovnik el mes de juny de 1994. La guerra provocada pels serbis s'estava acabant, però la ciutat recordava la barbàrie dels atacs injustificables que acabava de sofrir. Els ciutadans de Dubrovnik tenien la impressió que els països europeus els havien abandonat i, malgrat tot, ens acolliren per parlar de pau. El nostre avió va aterrar en un aeroport mig enrunat i desert, que encara no s'havia obert al trà-*

ject to. The residents of Dubrovnik felt that the European countries had abandoned them, and yet they welcomed us to talk about peace. Our plane landed at a deserted airport half in ruins, which had still not reopened for regular traffic and we were the only visitors to a city that wanted to erase the physical and psychological traces of the bombs. It was a seminar of the highest quality, with three teachers from Catalonia playing a stellar role: Dolors Reig, Gisa Mohr and Natalie Bitoun. As practicing teachers, they could speak with authority on the socio-affective method of peace education in language classes. Linguapax arrived in Australia in 1995. We reached an agreement with the Australian Federation of Modern Language Teachers Associations (AFMLTA) to organise the Linguapax V conference in Melbourne. At the meeting I met Denis Cunningham, an extroverted and jocular teacher who became a fan of Linguapax. He was President of the International Federation of Language Teacher Associations (FIPLV) and we were able to rely on him and on the FIPLV for many future activities.

Linguapax's international activity continued, mainly due to the many personal efforts made by Joseph Poth and the team at the UNESCO Centre of Catalonia. Its activity was made easier with an agreement signed between Paris and the UNESCO Centre of Catalonia in January 1996, which would make me the external co-director of UNESCO's activities in the field of languages. That same year, I gave a talk in Hiroshima in an auditorium full of more than 2,000 people on the invitation of the Japanese Association for Language Teaching (JALT), I participated in the LinguaUni council in Moscow, a network of 80 language universities

*fic regular i érem els únics visitants d'una ciutat que volia esborrar les empremtes físiques i psíquiques de les bombes. Va ser un seminari d'una altíssima qualitat. Hi van tenir un rol estel·lar tres professores de Catalunya: Dolors Reig, Gisa Mohr i Natalie Bitoun. Com a professores en exercici podien parlar amb autoritat sobre el mètode socioafectiu d'educació per la pau a les classes de llengua. Linguapax arribava a Austràlia el 1995. Acordàrem amb la Federació Australiana d'Associacions de Professors de Llengües modernes (AFMLTA) que organitzaríem a Melbourne el congrés Linguapax V. A la reunió vaig conèixer Denis Cunningham, un professor australià extrovertit i amic de la broma que va convertir-se en un entusiasta de Linguapax. Va ser president de la Federació Mundial de Professors de Llengües Vives (FIPLV) i vàrem poder comptar amb ell i amb la federació mundial per a moltes activitats futures.*

*L'activitat internacional de Linguapax va continuar, sobretot, gràcies a les moltes gestions personals de Joseph Poth i de l'equip del Centre UNESCO de Catalunya. Ens ho facilitava un conveni signat entre París i el Centre el mes de gener de l'any 1996, que em convertia en codirector extern de les activitats de la UNESCO en l'àrea de les llengües. Aquell mateix any vaig fer una conferència a Hiroshima a un auditori de més de 2.000 persones convocades per l'Associació Japonesa d'Ensenyament de Llengües (JALT), vaig participar a Moscou al consell de Linguauni, xarxa de vuitanta universitats lingüístiques i escoles superiors de llengües dels països de l'Europa central i de l'est, de la qual vaig esdevenir vicepresident, vaig visitar les autoritats educatives de Cambòdia per avaluar la participació de Linguapax en la creació de llibres escolars en llengua khmer, dels quals se n'havien editat vuit-cents mil exemplars amb finançament de la Unió Europea i vaig*

and higher language schools from central and eastern European countries, of which I became vice president, I visited the educational authorities of Cambodia to evaluate Linguapax's participation in creating school books in the Khmer language, of which 800,000 copies were published with funding from the European Union, and I gave a talk in the seminar jointly organised by Linguapax and European Bureau for Lesser-Used Languages (EBLUL) in Luxembourg.

Linguapax has gained visibility in Latin America with two seminars that we organised in Cochabamba (Bolivia) in 1996 and 1997. Cochabamba is where the headquarters of Proeib Andes is located, an initiative funded by German governmental cooperation. With an orientation identical to that of Linguapax, Proeib Andes was led by Luis Enrique López, an intellectual authority and a pioneer in protecting indigenous languages in Latin America. The first seminar served to take stock of «intercultural bilingual education» in Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, Ecuador, Guatemala, Mexico, Nicaragua, Peru and Chile with the teachers dedicated to it. The second year, we reflected on foreign language learning and teaching in multiethnic, multicultural and multilingual contexts. We realised we had moral authority as representatives of UNESCO and the UNESCO Centre of Catalonia. Our ideas came just when many Latin American countries wanted to reform their educational systems to integrate indigenous languages into them for reasons of justice and to promote academic success.

Federico Mayor welcomed my ideas on the importance that UNESCO needed to give to languages with great conviction, and he made some very positive decisions. First of all, as director general he

*presentar una ponència al seminari conjunt de Linguapax i de l' Oficina Europea per a les Llengües menys Estesdes, (EBLUL) celebrat a Luxemburg.*

*Linguapax va fer-se present a Amèrica Llatina amb dos seminaris que organitzàrem a la ciutat de Cochabamba (Bolívia) els anys 1996 i 1997. Cochabamba era la seu de Proeib Andes, una iniciativa finançada per la cooperació governamental alemanya amb una orientació idèntica a la de Linguapax i dirigida per Luis Enrique López, autoritat intel·lectual i, a la vegada, capdavanter en la defensa de les llengües indígenes de l'Amèrica Llatina. El primer seminari va servir per fer un balanç de les experiències de «l'educació intercultural bilingüe» a Bolívia, Brasil, Colòmbia, Ecuador, Guatemala, Mèxic, Nicaragua, Perú i Xile amb els mestres que s'hi dedicaven. El segon any reflexionàrem sobre l'aprenentatge i l'ensenyament d'idiomes estrangers en contextos multiètnics, pluriculturals i multilingües. Ens vam adonar de l'autoritat moral que teníem com a representants de la UNESCO i del Centre UNESCO de Catalunya. Les nostres idees arribaven en el moment just quan molts països llatinoamericans volien reformar els seus sistemes educatius per integrar-hi les llengües indígenes per raons de justícia i per afavorir l'èxit escolar.*

*Federico Mayor va acollir amb molt convenciment les meves idees sobre la importància que la UNESCO havia de donar a les llengües i va prendre algunes decisions molt positives. En primer lloc, com a director general, va crear la Divisió de les Llengües en el marc del Sector de l'Educació, el mes de febrer de 1998, i Joseph Poth en va ser nomenat director. En segon lloc el Comitè Internacional Linguapax era reconegut oficialment per la UNESCO i jo era confirmat formalment com a president del comitè. Alguns estats no de-*



created the Language Division as part of the Education Sector in February 1998, and Joseph Poth was appointed its director. Secondly, the Linguapax International Committee was officially recognised by UNESCO and I was formally confirmed as chair of the committee. Some states should not have been happy with the director general's decisions and the UNESCO executive committee meeting in October approved new standards for the constitution of the Linguapax International Committee. Its members would be appointed by the director general from a list of candidates presented by the member states. My chances of continuing with the international committee depended, in principle, on the Spanish government's desire to present my candidature. I spoke about my situation with Vigdis Finnbogadóttir, the former President of Iceland, with whom I had very good relations since she was appointed UNESCO Goodwill Ambassador for languages. We agreed to ask the government of Iceland to propose my candidature for the Linguapax International Committee in the event that the government of Spain did not. The letter from the Icelandic Minister of Education, Science and Culture, Björn Bjarnason, arrived at UNESCO punctually with my name. The letter from the Spanish government arrived without my name and a few hours after the legal deadline had expired. It was clear that they wanted to remove me from the Linguapax International Committee, which from then on would be called the Advisory Committee for Linguistic Pluralism and Multilingual Education.

I ended up being selected as the representative of Iceland together with Odette F. Ba of Mali, Livingstone Walusimbi of Uganda, Maria Albergaria of Brazil,

*vien estar contents amb les decisions del director general i a la reunió del comitè executiu de la UNESCO del mes d'octubre van aprovar noves normes per a la constitució del Comitè Internacional Linguapax. Els seus membres serien designats pel director general a partir d'una llista de candidats presentada pels estats membres. Les meves possibilitats per a continuar al comitè internacional depenien, en principi, de la voluntat del govern espanyol de presentar la meva candidatura. Vaig parlar de la meva situació amb Vigdis Finnbogadóttir, expresidenta d'Islàndia, amb qui tenia molt bones relacions després del seu nomenament com a ambaixadora de bona voluntat de la UNESCO per a les llengües. Acordàrem demanar al govern d'Islàndia que em proposessin per al Comitè Internacional Linguapax per si no ho feia el govern espanyol. La carta del ministre islandès d'educació, ciència i cultura, Björn Bjarnason, va arribar puntualment a la UNESCO amb el meu nom. La carta del govern espanyol va arribar sense el meu nom i unes hores després del termini legal. Quedava clar que havien volgut eliminar-me del comitè Linguapax, que a partir d'aquell moment es diria Comitè Assessor per al Pluralisme Lingüístic i l'Educació Multilingüe.*

*Vaig resultar seleccionat com a representant d'Islàndia juntament amb Odette F. Ba de Mali, Livingstone Walusimbi d'Uganda, Maria Albergaria de Brasil, Madeleine Zúñiga del Perú, Timoti Karetu de Nova Zelanda, Khamliène Nhouyvanisvong de Laos, Ahmed Etman d'Egipte, György Szépe d'Hongria, Loreta Zadeikaite de Lituània, Tapani Salminen de Finlàndia i Jean P. Kraemer de Luxemburg. A la primera sessió del comitè, celebrada a París el mes de setembre de 1999, em van elegir president. Entre les felicitacions que vaig rebre per part dels observadors presents*

Madeleine Zúñiga of Peru, Timoti Karetu of New Zealand, Khamliène Nhouyvanisvong of Laos, Ahmed Etman of Egypt, György Szépe of Hungary, Loreta Zadeikaite of Lithuania, Tapani Salminen of Finland and Jean P. Kraemer of Luxembourg. During the committee's first session, held in Paris in September 1999, I was elected chair. Among the observers present who congratulated me was the person who had sent the permanent delegation from Spain: Clara Barreiro, Minister of Education at the embassy. She promised me an official letter of congratulations from the Spanish authorities, but it never came. At the new committee's first working session, held in Barcelona and funded by the UNESCO Centre of Catalonia, a set of recommendations addressed to UNESCO itself was approved, which confirmed the international Linguapax team's options. Linguapax was defined as a language-related philosophy and ethics and, therefore, as a general framework that gave meaning to all UNESCO's language-related activities. Five areas of work were established: linguistic heritage protection; language policy reform; expansion and improvements to multilingual education; the development of sociolinguistic information and communication; and the use of new technologies in the service of linguistic diversity and multilingual education.

Federico Mayor shared my concerns about UNESCO's responsibility to promote humankind's linguistic heritage. We agreed that UNESCO would propose to create a white paper on languages that could be used as a reference document for all stakeholders that work to preserve linguistic diversity. It did so solemnly at the international seminar on language policies that Linguapax or-

hi va haver la de la persona que havia enviat la delegació permanent d'Espanya: Clara Barreiro, consellera d'Educació de l'ambaixada. Em va prometre una carta oficial de felicitació de les autoritats espanyoles que mai no va arribar. A la primera sessió de treball del nou comitè assessor, celebrada a Barcelona i finançada pel Centre UNESCO de Catalunya, es van aprovar una sèrie de recomanacions dirigides a la mateixa UNESCO, que confirmaven les opcions de l'equip internacional Linguapax. Es definia Linguapax com una filosofia i una ètica amb relació a les llengües i, per tant, com un marc general que donava sentit a totes les activitats de la UNESCO en matèria de llengües. S'establien cinc àrees de treball: la protecció del patrimoni lingüístic, és a dir, de la diversitat lingüística; la reforma de les polítiques lingüístiques; l'extensió i millora de l'educació multilingüe; el desenvolupament de la informació i comunicació sociolingüística; i la utilització de les noves tecnologies al servei de la diversitat lingüística i de l'educació multilingüe.

Federico Mayor compartia les meves preocupacions sobre la responsabilitat de la UNESCO en la defensa del patrimoni lingüístic de la humanitat. Acordàrem que ell mateix proposaria l'elaboració d'un llibre blanc sobre les llengües, que servís de referència per a tots els agents que treballaven per la preservació de la diversitat lingüística. Ho va fer solemnement en el seminari internacional sobre polítiques lingüístiques que Linguapax va organitzar al País Basc la primavera de l'any 1996. La idea va complaure al govern basc. El projecte podia comptar amb un equip tècnic coordinat per UNESCO Etxea (Centre UNESCO del País Basc) i finançat pel govern. Com a president de Linguapax, em corresponia dirigir el projecte, amb un equip format per José Antonio Ardanza, Vigdis Finnboga-

ganised in the Basque Country in spring of 1996. The idea pleased the Basque government. The project could have a technical team coordinated by UNESCO Etxea (UNESCO Centre of the Basque Country) and receive funding from the Basque government. As the chair of Linguapax, it fell on me to lead the project with a team formed by José Antonio Ardanza, Vigdis Finnbogadottir, Enric Masllorens and Joseph Poth<sup>1</sup>. A survey addressed to language community informants was prepared and received more than a thousand responses. Seminars were organised on different continents: in 1999 in Cochabamba (Bolivia), Elista (Republic of Kalmykia, Russian Federation) and Ouagadougou (Burkina Faso), and in 2000 in Mysore (India) and Melbourne (Australia).

The draft of the paper was presented to UNESCO at the end of 2002. It was a three-dimensional text, according to initial forecasts. It described the international linguistic scene, studied the situation of risk affecting most of the six thousand languages that are currently spoken and presented a series of recommendations to protect humankind's most valuable heritage. To the English-language reference version, we gave the title «Words and worlds» and the subtitle «World languages report». Unexpectedly, when we had already begun the publication process thanks to the pleas-

*dottir, Enric Masllorens i Joseph Poth<sup>1</sup>. Es va preparar una enquesta dirigida a informants de les comunitats lingüístiques i es van rebre més de mil respostes. Es van organitzar seminaris als diversos continents: l'any 1999 a Cochabamba (Bolívia), Elista (República dels Calmuqs, Federació Russa), i Ouagadougou (Burkina Faso) i l'any 2000 a Mysore (Índia) i Melbourne (Austràlia).*

*La redacció del llibre es va presentar a la UNESCO a finals de l'any 2002. Era un text que tenia tres dimensions, d'acord amb les previsions inicials. Es descrivia el panorama lingüístic internacional, s'analitzava la situació de risc que afecta a la majoria de les sis mil llengües parlades actualment i es presentaven una sèrie de recomanacions per protegir el patrimoni més valuós de la humanitat. A la versió anglesa de referència li havíem posat com a títol «Words and worlds» (Paraules i móns) i com a subtítol «World languages report» (Informe sobre les llengües del món). Inesperadament, quan ja s'havia iniciat el procés d'edició gràcies a l'amable col·laboració de Milagros del Corral, sotsdirectora del Sector de la Cultura, vàrem ser convocats a París per Françoise Rivière, cap de gabinet del director general, a principis del 2004, per a comunicar-nos que la UNESCO no publicaria l'informe. Deia que el seu contingut era massa crític amb les polítiques lingüístiques d'alguns estats membres. Em va prometre una carta que mai no he rebut. L'edició de l'informe es va resoldre gràcies a l'interès de la prestigiosa edito-*

<sup>1</sup> The scientific committee was chaired by Miquel Siguan and formed by E. Annamalai (India), Denis Cunningham (Australia), E. N. Emenanjo (Nigeria), Irina Khaleeva (Russia), Luis Enrique López (Bolivia), Mohamed Miled (Tunisia), Juan Carlos Moreno (Spain), Philippe N'Tahombaye (Burundi), Irmela Neu (Germany), Raymond Renard (Belgium), Ignace Sanwidi (Burkina Faso) and Jean-Jacques Van Vlasselaer (Canada). The technical team, coordinated by Paul Ortega, included Andoni Barreña, Itziar Idiazabal, Patxi Juaristi, Carme Junyent and Belen Uranga.

<sup>1</sup> El comitè científic estava presidit per Miquel Siguan i en formarien part E. Annamalai (Índia), Denis Cunningham (Austràlia), E. N. Emenanjo (Nigèria), Irina Khaleeva (Rússia), Luis Enrique López (Bolivia), Mohamed Miled (Tunísia), Juan Carlos Moreno (Espanya), Philippe N'Tahombaye (Burundi), Irmela Neu (Alemanya), Raymond Renard (Bèlgica), Ignace Sanwidi (Burkina Faso) i Jean-Jacques Van Vlasselaer (Canadà). L'equip tècnic, coordinat per Paul Ortega, comptava amb Andoni Barreña, Itziar Idiazabal, Patxi Juaristi, Carme Junyent i Belen Uranga.

ant collaboration of Milagros del Corral, deputy director of the Culture Sector, at the beginning of 2004 we were called to Paris by Françoise Rivière, the direct general's chief of staff, so she could inform us that UNESCO would not publish the report. She said that its contents were too critical of the language policies of some member states. She promised me a letter that I never received. Publication of the report was resolved thanks to the interest shown by the prestigious English publishing company Multilingual Matters, which published the full original text in 2005 when the UNESCO secretariat had already caused us to waste three years and had ignored the resolutions of the UNESCO General Conference, as well as the contracts with the political and scientific institutions involved. We cannot stop thinking about some states' opposition to any defence of linguistic diversity.

Two events at UNESCO caused Linguapax to die again. Firstly, Federico Mayor was replaced by the Japanese Koichiro Matsuura as director general. Linguapax's enemies moved their pawns, taking advantage of the desire to rectify the guidance of the Mayor period. Secondly, Joseph Poth retired. The Language Division was eliminated and there was no announcement that they were looking to hire another official to occupy Poth's position. Linguapax disappeared from UNESCO's programme approved by the General Conference in 2003. In anticipation of Linguapax's announced liquidation, the UNESCO Centre of Catalonia created an international nongovernmental organisation called Institut Linguapax («Linguapax Institute») in 2001 with headquarters in Barcelona, aimed at giving continuity to the Linguapax programme. Linguapax entered a kind

*rial anglesa Multilingual Matters, que va publicar el text complet original l'any 2005 quan la secretaria de la UNESCO ja ens havia fet perdre tres anys i havia ignorat les resolucions de la Conferència General de la UNESCO, així com els contractes amb les institucions polítiques i científiques implicades. No es pot deixar de pensar en l'oposició d'alguns estats a qualsevol defensa de la diversitat lingüística.*

*Dos esdeveniments van determinar la segona mort de Linguapax a la UNESCO. En primer lloc el relleu de Federico Mayor pel japonès Koitxiro Matsuura com a director general. Els enemics de Linguapax van moure els seus peons aprofitant el desig de rectificar les orientacions de l'etapa Mayor. En segon lloc la jubilació de Joseph Poth. Es va suprimir la Divisió de Llengües i no es va convocar el concurs perquè un altre funcionari ocupés el lloc de Poth. Linguapax va desaparèixer del programa de la UNESCO aprovat per la Conferència General de l'any 2003. En previsió de l'anunciada liquidació de Linguapax, el Centre UNESCO de Catalunya havia creat l'any 2001 una organització no governamental internacional amb seu a Barcelona amb el nom d'Institut Linguapax que tindria com a missió donar continuïtat al programa Linguapax. Una mena de Linguapax a l'exili, en espera de temps més favorables al secretariat de la UNESCO. L'Institut Linguapax representa, per tant, el tercer naixement de Linguapax i potser no serà el darrer.<sup>2</sup>*

<sup>2</sup> L'any 2005 Miquel Siguan era president d'honor de l'Institut, Agustí Colomines president, Isidor Marí i Dolores Reig vicepresident i vicepresidenta, Marie-Amélie Ponce directora, Josep Cru secretari general, Vigdis Finnbogadóttir presidenta honorària del Comitè Assessor i jo president del mateix Comitè Assessor format també per Anvita Avi (Índia), Sergei A. Arutiunov (Rússia), Conrad M. B. Brann (Nigèria), Charles Castonguay (Canadà), Bernard Comrie (Alemanya), Jean-Claude Corbeil (Quebec), Susana Cuevas (Mèxic), Denis Cunningham (Australia), Abdou Elimam (Algèria), José A. Flores

of exile while waiting for more favourable times at the UNESCO secretariat. Therefore, the Linguapax Institute represents the third incarnation of Linguapax, and perhaps it will not be the last <sup>2</sup>. The Linguapax Institute focused on preparing for the next international congresses. Linguapax IX was held with great success in the spring of 2002 in Barcelona with excellent presentations by Albert Bastardas, E. Annamalai, Tove Skutnabb-Kangas, Lachman Khubchandani, E. N. Emenanjo and Peter Mühlhäusler, considered the most prominent sociolinguist at the time. I remembered Linguapax VIII, held in Kiev in 2000, the last congress that fell within the UNESCO framework, but without Joseph Poth because the UNESCO secretariat, by an unfair manoeuvre, sent another, totally incompetent person to represent it. Linguapax X formed part of the series of lectures at the Universal Forum of Cultures Barcelona 2004. This was a very special event for two reasons: we had never been able to bring such famous figures together in the plenary

*L'Institut va concentrar-se en la preparació dels successius congressos internacionals. Linguapax IX es va celebrar amb gran èxit la primavera del 2002 a Barcelona amb excel·lents ponències d'Albert Bastardas, E. Annamalai, Tove Skutnabb-Kangas, Lachman Khubchandani, E. N. Emenanjo i Peter Mühlhäusler, considerat el sociolinguista més destacat del moment. Jo recordava Linguapax VIII, celebrat a Kiev l'any 2000, el darrer congrés inscrit en el marc de la UNESCO, però sense Joseph Poth perquè el secretariat de la UNESCO, amb una maniobra injusta, va fer-se representar per una altra persona totalment incompetent. Linguapax X va formar part de la sèrie de congressos del Fòrum Universal de les Cultures Barcelona 2004. Va ser un esdeveniment molt especial per dos motius: mai no havíem aconseguit reunir per a les sessions plenàries personalitats tan famoses i mai no havíem sofert intervencions organitzades dels enemics de les llengües minoritàries. Linguapax X va comptar, entre els conferenciants estrangers, amb David Crystal (Gal·les), Bernard Comrie (Alemanya), Suzanne Romaine (Regne Unit), Ferdinand de Varennes (Austràlia) i Lachman M. Khubchandani (Índia). La presència impertinent de tretze membres d'una entitat espanyola contrària a la normalització de la llengua catalana va ser conseqüència d'una gestió dels representants de l'estat espanyol al Fòrum. Afortunadament el seu estil agressiu va alertar els congressistes sobre l'orientació ideològica que hi havia darrera de les seves acusacions d'una su-*

2 In 2005, Miquel Siguan was honorary president of the Linguapax Institute, Agustí Colomines was president, Isidor Marí and Dolors Reig were vice presidents, Marie-Amélie Ponce was director, Josep Cru was secretary general, Vigdis Finnbogadóttir was honorary chair of the Advisory Committee and I was chair of the same Advisory Committee, which was also formed by Anvita Avi (India), Sergei A. Arutiunov (Russia), Conrad M. B. Brann (Nigeria), Charles Castonguay (Canada), Bernard Comrie (Germany), Jean-Claude Corbeil (Quebec), Susana Cuevas (Mexico), Denis Cunningham (Australia), Abdou Elimam (Algeria), José A. Flores (Mexico), François Grin (Switzerland), Björn H. Jernudd (Hong Kong), Lachman M. Khubchandani (India), Bossia Kornussova (Republic of Kalmykia, Russia), Luis E. López (Bolivia), Vida O. Mikhalchenko (Russia), Irmela Neu (Germany), Dónall Ó Riagáin (Ireland), Joseph Poth (France), Ignace Sanwidi (Burkina Faso), Joseph Sheils (Council of Europe), Jerzy Smolicz (Australia), Asher Stern (Israel), Miquel Strubell (Catalonia), Carles Torner (Catalonia), Tasaku Tsunoda (Japan) and Jean J. Van Vlasselaer (Canada).

(Mèxic), François Grin (Suïssa), Björn H. Jernudd (Hong Kong), Lachman M. Khubchandani (Índia), Bossia Kornussova (Kalmúkia, Rússia), Luis E. López (Bolívia), Vida O. Mikhalchenko (Rússia), Irmela Neu (Alemanya), Dónall Ó Riagáin (Irlanda), Joseph Poth (França), Ignace Sanwidi (Burkina), Joseph Sheils (Consell d'Europa), Jerzy Smolicz (Australia), Asher Stern (Israel), Miquel Strubell (Catalunya), Carles Torner (Catalunya), Tasaku Tsunoda (Japó) i Jean J. Van Vlasselaer (Canadà).

sessions and we had never had to deal with presentations organised by the enemies of minority languages. The foreign speakers at Linguapax X included David Crystal (Wales), Bernard Comrie (Germany), Suzanne Romaine (United Kingdom), Fernand de Varennes (Australia) and Lachman M. Khubchandani (India). The impertinent presence of thirteen members from a Spanish organisation opposed to standardisation of the Catalan language was the result of management by representatives of the Spanish government at the Forum. Fortunately, their aggressive style alerted the congress attendees to the ideological orientation that was behind their accusations of the alleged repression of the Spanish language in Catalonia. They failed to spoil the congress, but they did directly upset speakers such as Elda Moreno, who represented the Council of Europe, Irmela Neu and Miquel Siguan. The councillor delegate to the Forum later sent us a letter apologising for the presence of the group that had incomprehensibly been invited by the Forum and had caused such unpleasant incidents.

The Linguapax Institute created the international Linguapax Awards to honour figures who not only conduct research in the academic world on minority languages but also foster processes to protect language communities. Until 2005, awards had been given to Bartomeu Melià (Paraguay), Jerzy Smolicz (Australia), Aina Moll (Catalonia), Tove Skutnabb-Kangas (Denmark), Joshua Fishman (United States), Fernand de Varennes (Australia) and Maurice Tadadjeu (Cameroon). The good prospects for collaboration with Professor Tadadjeu led me to Cameroon twice in 2005 with Marie-Amélie Ponce and Josep Cru. A similar aim took me to Tokyo a year before: we wanted to create

*posada repressió de la llengua castellana a Catalunya. No van aconseguir fer malbé el congrés, però van molestar directament ponents com Elda Moreno, que representava el Consell d'Europa, Irmela Neu i Miquel Siguan. El conseller delegat del Fòrum ens va enviar posteriorment una carta demanant disculpes per la presència d'aquest grup incomprendiblement convidat pel Fòrum i provocador dels desagraables incidents.*

*L'Institut va crear els premis internacionals Linguapax per guardonar personalitats que no solament investiguessin en el món acadèmic sobre les llengües minoritàries sinó que animessin processos de defensa de les comunitats lingüístiques. Fins l'any 2005 havien obtingut el premi Bartomeu Melià (Paraguai), Jerzy Smolicz (Austràlia), Aina Moll (Catalunya), Tove Skutnabb-Kangas (Dinamarca), Joshua Fishman (Estats Units), Fernand de Varennes (Austràlia) i Maurice Tadadjeu (Camerun). Les bones perspectives de col·laboració amb el professor Tadadjeu em van portar dues vegades al Camerun l'any 2005 amb Marie-Amélie Ponce i Josep Cru. Una missió semblant m'havia portat a Tokio un any abans: volíem crear la branca asiàtica de Linguapax i organitzàrem un seminari conjuntament amb la Universitat de Tokio i la Universitat de les Nacions Unides a la seva seu a la mateixa ciutat.*

*Una de les activitats més significatives de l'Institut és l'assessorament als governs que volen millorar la seva política lingüística. L'any 2005 vam tenir oportunitat d'ajudar la Comisión Nacional de Bilingüismo del Paraguai a preparar un Projecte de Llei de Llengües de la República de Paraguai. Vaig fer dos viatges a Asunción amb Josep Cru i Antoni Milian i crec que, si aproven la llei haurem fet un gran servei a les comunitats lingüístiques gua-*

the Asian branch of Linguapax and organised a seminar jointly with the University of Tokyo and the University of the United Nations in its headquarters in the same city.

One of the Linguapax Institute's most significant activities is advising governments that want to improve their linguistic policies. In 2005 we had the opportunity to help the National Commission on Bilingualism in Paraguay to prepare a draft law on languages for the Republic of Paraguay. I made two trips to Asunción with Josep Cru and Antoni Milian and I think that if the law is approved, we will have done a great service to the Guaraní and other indigenous language communities. One of the members of the commission treated us to some unusual experiences. Ramon Silva is the journalist in charge of the only Guaraní programme on television; despite the fact that it is broadcast between 4.30 and 5.30 am, most of the Guaraní speakers tune in, meaning 90 percent of the population. Thanks in part to his authentic and fascinating simple nature, Silva has become a popular hero. One day we visited a popular market with him, and both merchants and shoppers stopped their activities to speak with him and share some moments of linguistic and cultural camaraderie. The whole market seemed to turn into a party. Another day, we were driving down a road and the police stopped us at a checkpoint; when they realised that Ramon Silva was with us, they were filled with joy and forgot to inspect our papers. Secularly marginalised communities recognise their real leaders.

In 2005 I also participated in an advisory mission to the Chinese government promoted by the State Ethnic Affairs Commission with the collaboration of the Norwegian Centre for Human Rights. It

*raní i d'altres llengües indígenes. Un dels membres de la Comissió ens va fer viure experiències insòlites. Ramon Silva és el periodista encarregat de l'únic programa en guaraní de la televisió; malgrat que el seu horari és de 4.30 a 5.30 de la matinal, s'hi connecta la majoria dels parlants de guaraní, és a dir, del 90 per cent de la població; el caracteritza una senzillesa autèntica i fascinant. S'ha convertit en un heroi popular. Un dia visitarem un mercat popular amb ell i tant els venedors com els compradors aturaven les seves activitats per parlar-hi i compartir uns instants de complicitat lingüística i cultural. Tot el mercat semblava una festa. Un altre dia circulàvem en cotxe per una carretera i la policia ens va aturar en un control; quan van adonar-se que Ramon Silva venia amb nosaltres es van omplir de joia i van oblidar la inspecció dels nostres papers. Les comunitats secularment marginades reconeixen els seus autèntics líders.*

*El mateix any 2005 vaig participar en una missió d'assessorament al govern de la Xina promoguda per la Comissió Estatal per als Afers Ètnics amb la col·laboració del Centre Noruec pels Drets Humans. Em va semblar que les nostres opinions sobre la necessitat de reconeixement de la diversitat lingüística de la Xina feien efecte. Hauran de trobar les polítiques i les lleis adequades per a un mosaic lingüístic que ha d'harmonitzar la llengua de la majoria que és el han (800 milions) amb altres parlades també per milions de persones com el mongol, el tibetà, el zhuang, el uighur, el dong, el min nan i fins a dues-centes llengües de comunitats més petites. Va ser interessant observar les novetats que es viuen a la Xina: un desenvolupament econòmic vertiginós simbolitzat a Beijing per la febre constructora, les botigues de luxe i un tràfic més dens que a New York; el culte intacte a Mao amb cues*

seemed to me that our opinions on the need to recognise linguistic diversity in China was having an effect. They will have to find the appropriate policies and laws for a linguistic mosaic that must be in harmony with the language of the majority, the Han Chinese (800 million) with others also spoken by millions of people such as Mongol, Tibetan, Zhuang, Uighur, Dong, Min Nan and up to two hundred languages in smaller communities. It was interesting to observe what was new to China: dizzying economic development, symbolised in Beijing by building fever, luxury shops and traffic denser than in New York; a cult of Mao still fully intact, with queues lasting two hours to venerate the late dictator's embalmed body; and a modernised, cultured and technologically advanced leader class. I think the best thing about Beijing is the Forbidden City, the former residence of the emperor and his court, a group of palaces with glazed yellowish ceramic tile roofs and bright, green-tiled decorative supplementary elements organised in a generous urban plan with squares and streets that provide intelligent perspectives for admiring the buildings' grandeur. I used to spend many hours there walking around. The main routes are marked by the presence of the many thousands of visitors, but there are gorgeous patios where you can be alone with the imagined shadows of those who once lived there. The residences of the emperor's officials radiated the same beauty as that of the buildings occupied by the empire's senior leadership. The Forbidden City is a successful combination of the heart of a great power, of cultural refinement and of a desire for harmony that could inspire a political regime that is not too excessive.

I believe that protecting cultural and linguistic diversity is one of our ethical prior-

*que duren hores per a venerar el cos embalsamat del dictador; una classe dirigent modernitzada, culta i tecnològicament avançada. Penso que el millor de Beijing és la Ciutat Prohibida, l'antiga residència de l'emperador i la seva cort, un conjunt de palaus amb teulades de ceràmica esmaltada groguenca i complements ornamentals de rajola verda lluminosa, ordenats de manera que dissenyen un urbanisme generós amb places i carrers que ofereixen perspectives intel·ligents per a admirar la grandesa dels edificis. M'hi vaig passar moltes hores sempre caminant. Als itineraris principals es nota la presència dels molts milers de visitants però hi ha patis deliciosos on es pot estar sol amb les ombres imaginades dels antics estadans. Les residències dels funcionaris de l'emperador irradien la mateixa bellesa que la dels edificis ocupats pels més alts dirigents de l'imperi. La Ciutat Prohibida és una síntesi reeixida de centre d'un gran poder, de refinament cultural, i d'un desig d'harmonia que podia inspirar un ordre polític no gaire desmesurat.*

*Penso que la defensa de la diversitat cultural i lingüística és una de les prioritats ètiques contemporànies. Sovint es parla de les fractures que caracteritzen les nostres societats. Constatem diferències escandaloses en els nivells de desenvolupament econòmic i tecnològic. Hi ha minories massa riques en relació amb majories massa pobres. Però hi ha una altra fractura menys visible que potser encara és més important: la que separa les cultures dominants de les cultures subordinades. A tots els continents es poden observar fenòmens de neocolonialisme cultural. Algunes cultures afavorides per la seva força demogràfica, política, econòmica o tecnològica tendeixen a marginalitzar les cultures més febles. Les tendències cap a la globalització accentuen uns processos*



ities today. We often speak of the fractures that characterise our societies. We notice scandalous discrepancies in the levels of economic and technological development. There are minorities that are too rich in relation with minorities that are too poor. But there is another fracture that is less visible but perhaps even more significant: the one that separates dominant cultures from subordinate cultures. Manifestations of cultural neo-colonialism can be seen on every inhabited continent. Some cultures advantaged by their demographic, political, economic and/or technological power tend to marginalise weaker cultures. The trends toward globalisation accentuate processes of cultural colonisation that can only be slowed down with clear and decisive options in favour of cultural and linguistic diversity. We need a new ethics for diversity that promotes self-esteem among all cultural communities and recognises their specific values. We should accept that there is no sole way to live in human dignity and to achieve cultural development. Each human community creates a mythological, religious, faithful or agnostic universe, a system of values, a model of relations with nature and a way of living. Each community has the right to preserve its memory, to recall it, to build its future stages and to enjoy a system of self-government that corresponds to their aspirations. On the other hand, each community should be able to help to solve the problems that affect the entire human race based on its epistemological wisdom and ethical sensitivity. Thus, we must struggle against attempts to standardise cultures, against fashions that impose myths and behaviour that are incompatible with one's own culture and against attempts to uproot people and human communities. Promoting a new ethics of diversity means aspiring to world that does

*de colonització cultural que només es poden frenar amb opcions clares i decidides a favor de la diversitat cultural i lingüística. Ens cal una nova ètica de la diversitat que faciliti l'autoestima de totes les comunitats culturals i el reconeixement dels seus valors específics. S'hauria d'acceptar que no hi ha una sola manera de viure la dignitat humana i d'aconseguir el desenvolupament cultural. Cada comunitat humana genera un univers mitològic i religiós, creient o agnòstic, un sistema de valors, un model de relacions amb la naturalesa i un estil de vida. Cada comunitat té dret a guardar la seva memòria, a recordar-la, a construir els seus escenaris de futur i a gaudir d'un sistema d'autogovern que correspongui a les seves aspiracions. Per altra part, cada comunitat ha de poder contribuir a la solució dels problemes que afecten el conjunt de l'espècie humana a partir de la seva saviesa epistemològica i de la seva sensibilitat ètica. S'ha de lluitar, per tant, contra els intents d'uniformar les cultures, contra les modes que imposen mites i comportaments incompatibles amb la cultura pròpia i contra els intents de desarrelar les persones i les comunitats humanes. Promoure una nova ètica de la diversitat vol dir aspirar a una globalitat que no anul·li les diferències sinó que les harmonitzi. Caldria, en conseqüència, construir una nova arquitectura política universal aconseguida amb el consens de totes les cultures i rebutjant la imposició d'algunes cultures que s'autoproclamen superiors.*

*Iniciem el segle XXI amb renovació profunda de les idees sobre la diversitat lingüística. Si en el passat es considerava una maledicció que en un país es parlessin llengües diverses i s'intentava imposar la uniformitat lingüística, actualment s'han consensuat les idees contràries: es reconeix el valor positiu de la diversitat, i les*

not cancel out differences but harmonises them. As a consequence, we would need to build a new universal political architecture achieved with the consensus of all cultures and reject the imposition of some cultures that claim themselves superior.

We started the 21<sup>st</sup> century with a profound renewal of ideas about linguistic diversity. If in the past it was considered a curse for different languages to be spoken in a single country and attempts were made to impose linguistic uniformity, contrary ideas have now been accepted: the positive value of diversity is being recognised, and new language policies propose to protect all languages in the same way that the diversity of living species is protected in environmental management. It replaces the myth of Babel, which considered linguistic diversity to be a divine curse, with the myth of Pentecost, which explains diversity as the fruit of divine generosity. There is great agreement to recognise the multiplicity of languages as the most significant manifestation of the evolution of the human race. Each language is a repertoire of epistemological instruments and ethical configurations that allow human communities to successfully adapt to their environments and bring original solutions to their problems. Linguistic diversity allows for the necessary specialisations. We cannot reduce some languages to others because each one expresses the non-conveyable experience of its language community. Languages express cultures. They are simultaneously instruments for communication and expressions of the diverse ways of experiencing the human condition.

In a context of increasing economic and technological globalisation, the strategy to avoid linguistic and cultural uniformity is the decisive orientation of educa-

*noves polítiques lingüístiques es proposen protegir totes les llengües, de la mateixa manera que, en la gestió mediambiental, es fa tot el possible per protegir la diversitat de les espècies vivents. Es substitueix el mite de Babel, que considerava la diversitat lingüística com una maledicció divina, pel mite de Pentecosta, que explica la diversitat com a fruit de la generositat divina. Hi ha un gran acord per reconèixer la multiplicitat de llengües com la manifestació més significativa de l'evolució de l'espècie humana. Cada llengua és un repertori d'instruments epistemològics i de configuracions ètiques que permeten a les comunitats humanes adaptar-se amb èxit al seu medi i resoldre amb solucions originals els seus problemes. La diversitat de llengües permet les necessàries especialitzacions. No es poden reduir les unes a les altres perquè cada una d'elles expressa l'experiència intransferible de la seva comunitat lingüística. Les llengües expressen cultures. Són, a la vegada, instruments de comunicació i expressions de la diversitat de maneres de viure la condició humana.*

*En un context de mundialització progressiva en els àmbits econòmic i tecnològic l'estratègia per evitar la uniformitat lingüística i cultural és la decidida orientació dels sistemes educatius cap al multilingüisme. Tots els ciutadans haurien d'acabar l'etapa d'ensenyament obligatori amb un coneixement avançat de tres o més llengües: la llengua familiar, la llengua preferent de comunicació entre comunitats veïnes, i una llengua de difusió internacional. Àfrica és un continent amb una bona tradició de coneixement de diverses llengües per part de la majoria de ciutadans. A tot el món els parlants de les llengües més prestigioses en l'àmbit de l'economia, de la tecnologia o de la política són els que tenen més dificultats per evolu-*

tional systems toward multilingualism. All citizens should end the compulsory education phase with advanced knowledge of three languages or more: the native tongue, the language preferred for communicating among neighbouring communities and a language of international dissemination. Africa is a continent with a strong tradition of knowledge of various languages by most people. All over the world, the speakers of the most prestigious languages in economic, technological and political terms are those that have the greatest trouble evolving toward multilingualism. They think that they can remain monolingual because they believe that their language is superior to others. They are wrong, because all languages have the same dignity and a person who speaks only English, French, Arabic or Chinese is culturally as poor as someone who speaks only an indigenous language of the Amazon or Papua New Guinea. Everyone should be able to speak several languages. In this way we would promote our intellectual development and especially our abilities to understand the world, as well as —in part— our ability to engage in dialogue with people from other cultures.

We want to build societies that intelligently manage their own linguistic diversity. We must create conditions that do not require any language community to abandon their language and replace it with supposedly prestigious linguistic practices. Each language can have its place and its specific uses. The traditional languages in each territory are valuable as cultural and identity-based expressions and should be harmonised with other linguistic practices that enable communication with wider circles and the development of economic relations. States and other language policy stakeholders

*cionar cap al multilingüisme. Creuen que poden ser monolingües perquè pensen que la seva llengua és superior a les altres. S'equivoquen, perquè totes les llengües tenen la mateixa dignitat i tan pobre culturalment és la persona que només parla anglès, francès, àrab o xinès, com la persona que només parla una llengua indígena de l'Amazònia o de Papua Nova Guinea. Tots hauríem de ser capaços de parlar diverses llengües. D'aquesta manera afavorim el nostre desenvolupament intel·lectual i, sobretot, les nostres possibilitats d'entendre la complexitat del món i, en part, la capacitat de dialogar amb persones d'altres cultures.*

*Volem construir societats que gestionin intel·ligentment la seva pròpia diversitat lingüística. S'han de crear condicions que no obliquin cap comunitat lingüística a abandonar la seva llengua i substituir-la per pràctiques lingüístiques pretesament prestigioses. Cada llengua pot tenir el seu lloc i les seves utilitats específiques. Les llengües tradicionals de cada territori són valuoses com a expressió cultural i identitària i s'han d'harmonitzar amb altres pràctiques lingüístiques que permeten la comunicació amb cercles més amplis i el desenvolupament de les relacions econòmiques. Els estats i els altres agents de política lingüística han de protegir especialment les llengües que són exclusives dels seus territoris i han de fomentar una actitud de simpatia dels parlants de les llengües majoritàries a favor dels parlants de les llengües minoritàries. Les antigues rivalitats o agressivitats entre les comunitats lingüístiques han de ser substituïdes per una nova «simpatia interlingüística», que és un component essencial de la desitjada ètica sociolingüística. Aspirem a un planeta de l'harmonia lingüística.*

*Una de les novetats més importants en relació amb les polítiques lingüístiques*

should give special protection to languages that are unique to their territories and should foster sympathetic attitudes among speakers of majority languages for speakers of minority languages. Old rivalries and aggression among language communities should be replaced by a new «linguistic sympathy» that is an essential component of the sociolinguistic ethics that we desire. We aspire to a world of linguistic harmony.

One of the most significant new developments with regard to language policies is affirmation of its universal character. It is recognised that all languages as a whole are the heritage of humankind, meaning that the life and health of each language is not solely the responsibility of the language community that speaks it and of the state to which that community belongs, but of the entire human race. This is why we ask international governmental and nongovernmental organisations to set up programmes to protect linguistic diversity from a cross-border perspective. This new awareness could change the current trend toward the extinction of many of the 6,500 languages that make up our most valuable intangible cultural heritage. To reverse this trend toward a loss of linguistic diversity, we must establish new self-esteem in language communities, make changes to state language policies and strengthen international cooperation.

*és la de l'afirmació del seu caràcter universal. Es reconeix que el conjunt de totes les llengües és patrimoni de la humanitat, és a dir, que la vida i la salut de cada una de les llengües és una responsabilitat no només de la comunitat lingüística que parla la llengua i de l'estat al qual pertany aquesta comunitat, sinó també de tota l'espècie humana. Per aquesta raó es demana a les organitzacions internacionals governamentals i no governamentals que estableixin programes per a la protecció de la diversitat lingüística en una perspectiva transfronterera. Aquesta nova consciència podria canviar la tendència actual cap a la mort de moltes de les 6.500 llengües que són el nostre patrimoni cultural immaterial més valuós. Per invertir la tendència a la pèrdua de la diversitat lingüística s'ha de fer possible una nova autoestima de les comunitats lingüístiques, fer canvis en les polítiques lingüístiques estatals i reforçar la cooperació internacional.*

## **2. GLIMPSES INTO THE WORLD'S LANGUAGES TODAY**

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## 2.1 Living together in a multilingual world: A holistic approach to promoting lesser-used languages

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Every language, irrespective of being 'big' or 'small' in demographic and/or economic terms, serves as a *bridge* to others. The experience of living together in a multilingual world or, to borrow a popular term from botany, *symbiosis* gives rise to a distinct scenario, knitting together plural heritages. New communication technologies have

ushered in a new phenomenon of 'haves' and 'have nots' in a digital divide. With the rapid penetration of mass media and information and communication technology (ICT) in all walks of life, a new *communication order* is emerging on the global scene that drastically affects the functions of all languages alike, whether perceived as 'big' or 'small', 'strong' or 'weak', 'developed' or 'developing'. It is therefore necessary to give clear expression not only to the *rights* of individuals and speech communities, but also to the *duties* of all agencies concerned (including the domineering 'haves') and the obligations of individual states and international forums so as to enable a holistic understanding of the information society as such.

From this perspective, human communication is seen as resting on two pillars: *power* and *trust*. Communication, being *dyadic* in nature, shapes social behaviour from individual behaviour; it essentially serves to transmit. Humans have a basic desire to connect, to interrelate through a value system, a sense of a collective stake and shared adversity. This desire creates a sense of *togetherness*, a community. The binds and bounds of a community may differ depending on the particular space and time: namely, in *physical* space, as monitored through language accreditation and state privileges; in *communitarian* space, through the density and intensity of interactions in a region; and in *cyber* space, where they are networked through dispersed diasporas

carrying trans-local identities (cf. 'Cultural diasporas: Trans-local identities', forthcoming). In a way, living in more than one space has become a *virtual* reality.

No doubt, economic and commercial factors related to globalisation tilt the balance in favour of languages that dominate the *physical* space, such as English, which is perceived as the *killer* language in the sphere of e-communication (Fishman 1998; Khubchandani 1998). At the same time, interactions in predominantly oral milieu, conducted in demographically or economically 'weaker' languages, assert their utility in a less glamorous but nevertheless vital domain known as the *communitarian* space. Finally, interactive technologies in *cyber* space are now ushering in a new era of *living together* in diversity reminiscent of McLuhan's notion of 'global village'.

Contemporary focus on 'language empowerment' seems to miss the 'trust dimension' of negotiating activity in human communication (Khubchandani 2003). In this respect, we must be more open to non-European experiences, especially to the ways in which people manage culture and language diversity in non-Western societies, instead of viewing them as 'exotic specimens' to be groomed to join the contemporary (i.e. Western) mainstream. Post-colonial experiences in the developing world show that a genuine understanding of plural societies through oral repertoires is largely guided by viewing language as a *synergic* network that inspires trust among participants in cross-cultural settings, while at the same time empowering the 'particular'. A breakthrough in this endeavour can be achieved by stretching the notion of *autonomy* in the time-and-space-bound reality to accommodate co-existence, thereby preventing non-Western societies from being reduced to mere *objects* to be studied in terms of Western concepts and categories (often erroneously treated as universals!). In this context, note should be taken of the penetrating observations made by noted philosopher Daya Krishna (1988):

... To adopt a well-known expression from Sartre, all non-Western cultures have been reduced to the status of 'objects' by being observed and studied by Western concepts and categories, which are treated not as culture-bound but as universal in character. In a deep and radical sense, therefore, it is only the West that has arrogated to itself the status of subjecthood in the cognitive enterprise, reducing all others to the status of objects.

Transcendent interests of humankind require the development of the necessary infrastructure and frameworks for dialogue among cross-sections of society to ensure the appropriate and desirable expansion of new communication technologies. This is an *ethical* issue, a question of values that the planners committed to designs for the new millennium must resolve.

## Contours of plurality

Against this backdrop, let us now take a quick look at the contours of plurality as they prevail in Eastern societies. Many regions of South Asia are marked by a plurality of cultures and languages in a single space (i.e. village, town, district, state or nation). India, for instance, has long been cited as a laboratory of living with a plurilingual ethos. The over-arching reality of the subcontinent is denoted by a wide spectrum of linguistic and cultural diversity in everyday life. Despite significant superficial divergences, the people as a whole share a deep sense of collective reality in their verbal repertoires across languages. Under the concept of *kshetra* ('field', 'region') the issues of the heritage and rights of different speech communities are viewed in a *pluralistic* framework. The edifice of linguistic plurality helps to foster a feeling of *oneness* among people from different cultures within a region, similar to the aesthetic pleasure we derive from living in the garden of bio-diversity.<sup>1</sup>

An amalgamative approach to diversity in the Indian subcontinent is marked by a sense of *harmony* based on respect for liaison languages among the different speech communities. (Here a note of caution must be added: this aspiration does not rule out occasional discord among those with common stakes.) This characteristic differs remarkably from the 'conflict-resolution' processes being projected as *ideal* in modern societies. At the recent LINGUAPAX Conference on the Management of Linguistic Diversity and Peace Processes (2010), Flores Farfán referred to this dynamic as 'peace linguistics', and it was endorsed by Josep Cru as 'a holistic vision of linguistic diversity'.

The noted linguist Emeneau (1956), attracted by the intensity of the fusion among Indo-European, Dravidian and Austro-Asiatic language families sustained over the ages in India, identified the country as a 'unique linguistic area'. Pandit (1972) and Khubchandani (1983) describe the entire Indian subcontinent as a 'sociolinguistic area', focusing on the symbiotic networks that have evolved among language groups belonging to more than one family, a typical feature of the Indian *communication ethos*.

Features of language convergence in a multilingual milieu contribute to the *quality* of communication in a changing society. An *organic complementation* of different languages has thrived through various processes of *synergy*, i.e. making an effort to explicate one's message, and *serendipity*, to be turned to as an unexpected bonus in interpretation, in addition to other strategies of fusion in language use. Communication patterns in public domains reveal that recent trends of globalisation through mass media and information technology have intensified this diversity. Television and radio broadcasting networks are classic examples of being multilin-

1 The *kshetra* in the Indian subcontinent is markedly different from the Western concept of *region*, defined as 'a cohesive and homogenous area' created by the arbitrary selection of features such as language, tradition, religion, etc. (cf. Gordon 1978 on issues of structural pluralism). The various notions of plurality in the different parts of the world are compared in a paradigm named the 'plurality square' by the present author (cf. Khubchandani 1983, 1997).



gual to the core (Khubchandani 2001). It is to the credit of All India Radio, with a network of over 300 transmission stations spread throughout the country, that it has adopted a liberal policy in giving representation to local languages. It offers regular news broadcasts and development-education programmes in over 70 languages, and many more 'vernaculars' are represented in folklore events, particularly when targeting development-oriented programmes at rural audiences.

The national network Doordarshan caters for the needs of multilingual viewers, primarily targeting an all-India viewership, with an adequate/inadequate grasp of the pan-Indian languages, Hindi and English. In addition, the National Channel offers daily bulletins in Sanskrit and Urdu. Over twenty-five regional networks (and the number is on the rise) cover the different languages of their respective regions, mostly in the form of entertainment (with or without subtitles in other languages).

The varied plurilingual repertoires found among the tribal peoples of India, who comprise over eight percent of the country's population and speak two hundred odd languages, bear witness to the foregoing. Over three hundred tribal communities are listed in the Ninth Schedule of the Indian Constitution, with varying populations found in Central India and the North East (such as the Bhils, comprising nearly ten million people, and the Himalayan language groups, whose speakers hardly number a few thousand). Many areas of convergence have been found among these groups, which have co-existed over the centuries, tracing the histories of the Indo-Aryan, Dravidian and Austric languages. (For a detailed account of this process, cf. Khubchandani 1992, 2009, Tables 4 & 5; and Reddy 2005.)

The members of many speech communities in South Asia grow up with multiple identities. Individuals in such societies belong to several identity groups at once, clustered around cultural, linguistic and social traits (such as nationality, religion, caste or language or dialect) and sharing only the *core* experience. Though these identities crisscross in more than one way, they rarely end within the same boundaries. Language boundaries in such milieu remain fuzzy and fluid, and an individual's verbal repertoire is blended across well-knit systems (for details, see Khubchandani 1983, 1991). The noted linguist and activist Ram Dayal Munda (1989) has highlighted the Jharkhand identity, which transcends language families (Indo-Aryan, Dravidian and Austric). Such cultural synthesis is described as 'grassroots Aryanisation', as distinct from elitist Sanskritisation, characteristic of the upper classes and standard literary languages (Khubchandani 1992). It is explained by the assertion of a *particularist* identity through ancestral languages (Santali, Kurukh, Munda, etc.), a *regional* identity through the consensus over creolised Sadani/Nagpuria, and a *national* identity through the super-consensus over Hindi. All three identities are in harmony, organising their verbal repertoire through fluid complementation from the surrounding vernaculars/languages.

Tribals immersed in oral traditions seem to carry language heterogeneity in everyday-life communications very lightly on their shoulders. This stands in contrast to the squabbles in contemporary India over the *hierarchisation* of the different languages in use among literate cultures. As a result, India is

fast turning from an organically ‘accommodating’ *plurilingual* nation into an institutionally ‘assertive’ *multilingual* one (Khubchandani 1997):

The implicit consensus over *stratificational* hierarchy of language use is giving way to the explicit provisions of *legislative* hierarchy. *Grass-roots* plurilingualism is being replaced by *mandatory* bilingualism (or trilingualism, as envisaged in the Three-Language Formula), through education and other systems of acculturation.

The sanctity of language enclosures and language purity conceived around normative entities as per the dictates of language custodians (such as the obsession with concrete ‘standardised’ languages in many technologised societies) must be examined. It would be useful for language planners to compile speech profiles of different language groups and probe into the patterns of language use in intimate and formal domains (namely, the home, the neighbourhood, school, the market, administration and entertainment) by eliciting attitudes towards the surrounding language variations. Hitherto, responses to the issue of lingua francas in formal domains (particularly in education and administration) have been contradictory. They have included:

- rejecting the Gandhian solution of projecting Hindustani in both Devanagari and Perso-Arabic scripts used during the struggle for independence; and
- negating the reality of Nagamese as a ‘north-eastern contact language’ (in Nagaland, Arunachal and neighbouring regions) of Sadani in Jharkhand and neighbouring tribal areas and Halabi in Chhattisgarh and Madhya Pradesh.

A powerful alliance between Indian lingua francas and post-colonial Angrezi (Indian English) is likely to obliterate the ‘lower ratings’ of lingua francas as a vehicle of thought. “These paradoxes should prompt us to reflect over the issues of the ‘real’ versus the ‘apparent’ in coping with the plural reality of the subcontinent’ (Khubchandani 1992).

In addressing development issues, linguists and language-planning professionals in India and other countries have hitherto sided with *elitist* orientations when profiling ‘standard’ languages as ripened products or *beings* (a notion inherited from the disciplines of philology and pedagogy). This can be seen as an endeavour closer to ‘sophistic’ *fine arts*. In contrast, language visionaries like Tagore, Gandhiji, Nehru, Rajaji, Zakir Hissain and Ambedkar in plural India, taking the pulse of the masses, have acknowledged language in diversified speech events as an *interactional process*, that is, a *becoming* (i.e. a working out of the *being*), a skill closer to ‘grassroots’ *folk crafts* (Khubchandani 2006).

The characteristic maintenance of two mother tongues is a notable feature of plurilingual India. Developing equal competence in more than one language and fluidly mixing between them in everyday usage (which this author calls

‘code-floating’, to distinguish it from code-mixing or code-switching) is a routine feature of the Indian people’s repertoire. Many such bilinguals find it difficult to identify themselves as native speakers of a single language. People from the Kangra district of Himachal Pradesh, though equally comfortable with Kangri, Hindi and Panjabi, variedly claim one or the other as their mother tongue. Likewise, the 1961 census treated Kangri as a variety of Panjabi, but in 1971 it was re-classified as a variety of Hindi. Such fuzziness in the boundaries between languages in plural milieus calls into question our ability to sharply distinguish one language from another.<sup>2</sup>

## Universal linguistic rights

The universal human rights movement in the contemporary world order is gathering momentum with an agenda to assure the dignity of every human being irrespective of her/his caste, creed, culture, nationality or language. The movement articulates various issues relating to identity, freedom of speech, linguistic rights (particularly of minorities), privacy in communication, copyright protection, protecting the heritage of individual groups and nations, and so on.

Many state agencies, socio-political pressure groups, voluntary organisations and international forums (such as the United Nations and UNESCO) have been actively engaged in ideological and legal debates concerning the issues as ‘perceived’ in the context of the individual *per se*, as well as of the community in general. The phenomenon of language rights needs to be explored with a view to striving to achieve a *just* order of communication in a strife-torn world. In this context, promoting the *communitarian* interests of linguistic diasporas spread out over physical spaces (such as speakers of urban Urdu or transplanted Sindhi, who are scattered all over India) can fulfil the goals of *fair* communication in a plurilingual milieu.

Certain human communication issues were first expounded within the framework of a *social dyad* (moving away from concerns over *individual* rights) by the UNESCO work group on the ‘Right to Communicate’ at the University of Hawaii, Honolulu during the 1970s (this author was part of that group). The group contributed to the UNESCO Commission’s report on the New World Information Order, prepared under the stewardship of the Noble Laureate Seán MacBride, entitled *Many Voices, One World* (1980), which discusses the challenges and opportunities of new modes of communication and eloquently summed up:

Communication can be an instrument of power, a revolutionary weapon, a commercial product or a means of education; it can serve the

<sup>2</sup> Hutton (1933) reports the case of tribal communities in the Ganjam district of Orissa speaking both Oriya (Indo-Aryan) and Telugu (Dravidian) without distinguishing which to return as their mother tongue.

ends of either liberation or of oppression, of either the growth of individual personality or of drilling human beings into uniformity.

Since then, there has been notable progress in the recognition of the linguistic rights of minorities under the umbrella of the Council of Europe. In 1996, over sixty NGOs reached a consensus at the international level and signed the momentous document the Universal Declaration of Linguistics Rights in Barcelona, which has yet to be endorsed by UNESCO and other forums for the non-violent resolution of language conflicts. Since then, the UNESCO Centre for Catalonia, through its Linguapax Division, has continued these efforts, through sustained reflection on the implementation of the right of self-determination as a means of preventing language conflicts. In 2003, the United Nation's Summit on Information Communication Technology in Geneva laid emphasis on 'creating digital solidarity', instead of the corrective thrust towards 'bridging the digital divide'. In light of this chain of events, the adoption of the UN Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples in 2007 is a positive step, which needs to be followed up in earnest.

All these initiatives to build a consensus on a New World Communication Order should be welcome. However, it is important to be aware of the infrastructural limitations posed by the 'top-down' approaches built into global agencies. In this context, the challenge for Linguapax is to work from the 'bottom up' and to emphasise the urgency for 'agencies like UNESCO to listen' when preparing a holistic vision for a new Communication Order, acknowledging the functions of national and local (regional and ethnic) languages and dialects (endangered and not-so-endangered) alike and treating them equally and with dignity. The difficulty, in a sense, is to create awareness in those nations hitherto committed to an 'assertive' monolingual ethos and encourage them to evolve plurilingual infrastructures that guarantee respect for diversity.

There is a strong belief percolating among the societies immersed in technologised milieu that languages are well-formulated 'closed' entities. But living languages in everyday use are relatively 'open' systems. A language product, as an entity, can be characterised as *being*; at the same time, a living language is also an activity, a *becoming*. Language in an interactive setting is relatively open-ended. In a 'flexible framing', speech communities do not regard their speech as a fixed 'minority' or a fixed 'majority'. Speakers of a language may be in the relative majority in one setting (territory/domain) but in the relative minority in another.

The *local* and the *global*, the *particular* and the *universal*, should be viewed as two sides of the same coin rather than as competing with each other. An apt analogy would be the complementary functions of bi-focal glasses focusing on near and far objects (Khubchandani, 2009). In the words of Felix Martí (Linguapax 2010), 'The progress of humanity, however, is linked to initiatives rooted in specific identity that become universal heritage.' In the context of the revitalisation of lesser-used languages, it becomes imperative to identify the domineering forces in contemporary societies that lead to the

endangerment of languages, i.e the *endangering processes* that discriminate against and marginalise the languages spoken by minority groups.

Over the years, Linguapax has accumulated considerable data on the issue of revitalising endangered languages. Linguapax's approach must be different from academia's and not try to duplicate or supplement the pursuits that engage the minds of academics. Linguapax's interactions must emanate from the actions and articulation of language, culture and global diversity at the mass level.

Many NGOs work as per set agendas. In the area of dissemination, it should be recognised that the media have a much greater impact than academia. Instead of creating a separate Linguapax TV channel from scratch, which would probably have a limited reach, efforts should be made to take advantage of existing channels focusing on biodiversity, such as the Discovery Channel, among others. To begin with, Linguapax should join the platform of the channels engaged in biodiversity issues; subsequently, it can add the linguistic dimension of diversity to disseminate its message.

The Linguapax Report, as a media tool, implies *topicality*; no news is complete without views. It focuses on planning for this topicality and takes a universal approach in order to reach a big audience. Its agenda should include both *endangered* and *endangering* languages in the context of exploring a New Communication Order. The endangering languages (*haves*) are expected to help the endangered languages (*have nots*) to revitalizing their use. To catalyse this revitalisation activity, Linguapax must focus on creating harmony and balance between dominant and dominated languages in a holistic order. Its agenda should be different from the 'exclusive' lobbies that aggressively advocate the promotion of endangered languages in *isolation*. What do the processes of empowering the unempowered entail?

Economic development actions in developing countries are most often read as part of a neo-colonial agenda. There is a lurking fear that globalisation itself will become a new form of hegemony, in which certain local experiences (i.e Western ones) are taken to be universal, thereby leading to the generation of a new kind of imperialism.

How should we tackle the issues of linguistic diversity? In plurilingual societies different communities manage their surroundings in a space-and-time-bound manner in keeping with their different needs. Different social sectors interact according to functional fragmentation. Nation-state-based policies notwithstanding, most of the time linguistic diversity is managed by individuals. We must thus take into account evolving interaction patterns in families, schools, neighbourhoods, work places, etc. In such self-managed environments, languages are not 'learnt', a conventional approach stemming from societies focused on written traditions; 'people do not *learn* their mother tongue (consciously), they live and interact in their mother tongue (acquired unconsciously)'. In most oral cultures, multilingualism emerges by living together, and not by the conscious learning of languages in isolation. We must thus make a distinction between plurilingual and multilingual situations.

## Concluding remarks

International forums can act as catalysts, encouraging the intellectual environment needed to initiate a dialogue among cross-sections of society with a view to establishing a *code of conduct* to protect individuals, societies and nations from the aggressive market forces in the domains of ‘man-machine’ communication (such as stereotyping, brainwashing, video-piracy, software leakage, cross-border broadcasts or satellite espionage). It is crucial to ensure that the technological benefits of communication networking are made available in keeping with similar *ethics* to those governing efforts to ensure fresh air and pure water as basic life necessities (Khubchandani, 2003);

In a paradigm of fair communication, rising above petty interests and narrow loyalties in a transcendental sense, the prestige and dignity (and not powerlessness) should go with language networks encouraging complementation (such as ‘regional’ lingua francas), and not with those aspiring to promote exploitative and hegemonistic networks of communication (through majority pressures and market forces) on the local, national, regional and global scenes.

It is necessary to bring a pluralist vigour to policy-making to ensure fair play in communication by nurturing cultural diversity (just as environmentalists show respect by nurturing bio-diversity). A new Communication Order must successfully formulate a coherent policy regarding the rights of lesser-used languages that knits together complex pluralities and can contribute to the *quality* of communication in a changing society to ensure integral cultural development for all humankind.

## Appendix: Tackling the problem of endangered languages

The relationship between language and culture is interwoven in unique manners in different traditions. One of the major consequences of technology-driven globalisation has been the increasing *marginalisation* of less-populated language communities and the intimidating hegemony of larger socio-economic networks. This phenomenon is particularly visible in the excessive control exerted by widely-used languages, notoriously identified as ‘killer’ languages, in everyday communications.

By way of example, one might notice that ancestral vernaculars remain intact in intimate (in-group) domains (of kinship, rituals, festivals and folklore) in the communication landscape of the Bhili language group in Gujarat and Maharashtra. At the same time, a dominant language (such as Gujarati,

Marathi, or Hindi) complements this use in intergroup public domains. Depending on the language attitudes of the interacting groups, a gradual shift in favour of the dominant language cannot be ruled out.

The 'objective' approach of the fieldworker or researcher studying endangered languages usually focuses on documenting their linguistic structures, phonology, grammar, lexicons, etc. for posterity, an approach inherited from 'colonial' anthropology. However, such work does not directly address the concerns of the members of endangered communities, who *continue adjusting* their communication needs through various strategies of language contact, such as in response to the eco-pressures of language diversity. A fieldworker must therefore be sensitive to the unique, often innovative, communication processes being adopted by an endangered community to cope with the demands of the times (cf. Chapter 1).

Individuals in an endangered language community cope with changing communication needs due to contact between two or more languages. Their mindset responds constructively to such culture transfer by blending the ancestral language with the prevailing dominant language to meet their day-to-day needs (giving rise to what are pejoratively known as 'pidgins') or, if required, by acquiring the necessary skills in the dominant language. They are not so much concerned about *language purity* as such.

Many technological devices designed to facilitate the mode and range of communication, thereby transcending historical traditions, do not always lead to better understanding among humans. Several processes of manipulation and acculturation through mass media have been labelled 'indoctrination' and 'cultural invasion' by many agencies and are effectively a kind of *communication imperialism* (Khubchandani 1986). To reverse this trend, one needs to determine which strategies to adopt to tackle the problem of endangered languages. To this end, the following questions might serve as a guide:

1. How is the 'Tower of Babel' syndrome applicable to 'threatened' language varieties? Is diversity of speech in a community or space (i.e. societal multilingualism) an asset or a hindrance to the growth of a language?
2. Should revitalisation strategies for 'vanishing' voices be guided by language autonomy or language purity along the lines of well-knit systems or by language complementation or language blending, a characteristic of lesser-used languages?
3. Who bears the socio-economic burden of revitalising such endangered languages or vernaculars? Does it fall to 'the poor to be perpetuated in poverty' and 'the privileged to define and dictate the course of development'?
4. Can one promote a *universal* model of language plurality or should we recognise the 'flexible' plural ways of understanding plurality? How crucial are the issues concerning the *unique* space-and-time-bound realities of speech

communication in the context of globalisation pressures (i.e. market forces, pervasive technologies and ‘past the pole’ mechanisms of counting majorities and minorities)?

5. How real are language boundaries in plural societies? Is language a benchmark, an abstract social construct on a heterogeneous speech spectrum at a particular stage in history vis-à-vis the ‘live’ robust ground reality of vernaculars (including threatened species)?
6. Can one transcend the bounds of language tradition when striving for quality in communication, in consonance with the uniqueness and dignity of the individual in a communication dyad? Are thought processes in individual speakers in a plural society *insulated* within the bounds of a particular language?
7. What do we mean by integral human communication and the issues of language *empowerment* and language competition (in favour of the dominant language) or a language fostering *trust* in a communication event (i.e. the Japanese term *amae*, elucidated in Chapter 1) along with language cooperation between the so-called ‘majority’ and ‘minority’?
8. Do we need to separate *short-term* strategies intended to allow us to adjust to the immediate imbalances created or instigated by globalisation from *long-term* reflections on the phenomenon of living together, as vividly portrayed in the Eastern doctrine *vasudhaiva kutumbakam* (‘all the universe is family’)? In what manner does the quality of communication in plural societies transcend *physical* language boundaries in education and other public domains?

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## [AFRICA]

### 2.2 Cameroun: Progrès et défis en promotion de la diversité linguistique

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#### Introduction générale



Unesco (2006)

Le Cameroun, pays d'Afrique centrale d'une superficie de 475.645 km<sup>2</sup> et d'une population avoisinant les 20 millions d'habitants, est un pays de grande fragmentation linguistique, à la limite de la saturation. De par son histoire coloniale, il a hérité de deux langues européennes, le français et l'anglais, érigées comme officielles et, de par sa configuration géolinguistique

propre, de plus de deux cents langues locales (239 selon les dernières appréciations). Il est au sud du Sahara l'unique pays bilingue (anglais-français). Ce bilinguisme officiel est confirmé par la loi fondamentale et encouragé par les textes subséquents dans les domaines multiples et variés que sont l'éducation, l'administration publique, la communication officielle, etc. Les besoins grandissants de communication et les problèmes de mobilité géographique, académique et commerciale laissent s'établir fortement ces temps derniers un nombre considérable de langues étrangères parmi lesquelles l'allemand, l'espagnol, le chinois, l'arabe et l'italien. Si l'allemand et l'espagnol ont écrit de belles pages dans le cursus éducatif des élèves du secondaire et de l'enseignement supérieur, l'italien, l'arabe et le chinois viennent à peine de s'installer.

Les deux cent trente-neuf langues actuellement utilisées par les populations camerounaises relèvent de trois des quatre grandes familles linguistiques dont regorge le continent africain. Il s'agit des phylums nilo-saharien, afro-asiatique et niger-kordofanien. Le seul phylum absent est le khoïsan, beaucoup plus représenté en Afrique australe. Il est par ailleurs important de signaler que confrontées au processus d'extinction pour des raisons diverses (bilinguisme transitoire, migration des populations avec impossibilité de garder la langue maternelle, vieillissement de la population avec transmission intergénérationnelle de la langue non assurée, présence des langues véhiculaires ou majoritaires dominantes), une vingtaine de langues camerounaises ont disparu de la sphère communicationnelle. Celles-ci ont été re-

pérées dans plusieurs régions du pays : trois dans l'extrême-nord (baldamu, mbedam, zumaya), dix dans le Nord (dama, pam, ndai, gewe, duli, nimbari, oblo, mome, ngon, nagumi), cinq dans l'Adamaoua (bun, njanga, njerep, kasabe, luo), quatre dans le Nord-ouest (busu, bishuo, bikya, batomo), et une dans le Sud-ouest (ugare).

Le concept d'unité-langue qui se trouve à la base de ce dénombrement des langues se définit comme un ensemble de variantes linguistiques, de formes de parlers, géographiquement localisables, mutuellement intelligibles à l'immédiat, c'est-à-dire, comme un ensemble de dialectes entre lesquels l'intercompréhension est satisfaisante. Une unité-langue peut donc avoir plus d'une forme de parlers (dialectes) utilisés par les différents locuteurs, mais qui se comprennent mutuellement, c'est-à-dire, sans qu'un locuteur soit obligé de se saisir de la forme de parler de son interlocuteur ou de lui demander des informations de clarifications majeures supplémentaires. Le poids démographique des langues camerounaises est variable tout comme leur extension géographique. Les langues sont invariablement parlées par des populations allant de 2000 à 500.000 locuteurs environ et les zones de ces parlers sont plus ou moins restreintes. L'extrême diversité linguistique du Cameroun va de pair avec l'extrême diversité ethnique et culturelle. Certains auteurs (Fogui, 1990) n'hésitent pas à comparer la diversité ethnique du Cameroun à celle de la Yougoslavie.

Sur le plan des statuts, les langues officielles (français et anglais) sont reconnues comme telles par la loi fondamentale, tandis que les langues endogènes sont pour le moment dépourvues de statut propre. Ces dernières sont reconnues dans la constitution comme faisant partie du patrimoine linguistique et culturel à sauvegarder et à promouvoir. Elles sont sur le plan légal toutes égales même si certaines ont des fonctions véhiculaires, véhiculaires et transfrontalières, pendant que d'autres sont tout simplement endémiques, c'est-à-dire, strictement utilisées dans leur aire d'origine naturelle. Cette macrophotographie de la situation linguistique camerounaise augure d'une complexité certaine qui fait du Cameroun un pôle de méga-diversité linguistique et culturelle en Afrique et dans le monde. D'aucuns parleront eu égard à sa forte richesse linguistique et culturelle, à la diversité de sa population et autres facteurs sociodémographiques, d'une « exception plurielle en Afrique » (Kengne Foduop, 2010).

Sur le plan des usages, les langues locales camerounaises sont inégalement utilisées par les locuteurs natifs selon qu'ils se trouvent en contexte urbain ou rural, en situation formelle ou non formelle. Les langues officielles (français et anglais) sont largement utilisées au détriment des langues endogènes dans les familles et la transmission intergénérationnelle de ces dernières en prend un sérieux coup. Des plaintes diverses, des constats chaque jour renouvelés font état d'un délaissement progressif des langues locales mais aussi d'une prise de conscience sur l'importance et la nécessité de changer d'attitude et de revaloriser la pratique quotidienne des langues maternelles.

Sur le plan de la standardisation, des efforts considérables sont fournis soit par les individus, soit par les associations spécialisées de développement et de promotion (ANACLAC, SIL), soit par des projets conjoints exécutés par les chercheurs des institutions, soit encore par des étudiants et des chercheurs isolés.

Mais quel bilan peut-on tirer de ces efforts qui permettent d'évaluer non avec toute la précision, mais du moins globalement la situation actuelle de la promotion des langues camerounaises ? Telle est la substance de cette communication.

## Recherche linguistique et évaluation globale des niveaux de développement des langues camerounaises

### a) La recherche linguistique

L'histoire de la recherche linguistique au Cameroun se construit autour des programmes majeurs suivants : l'inventaire des langues, la description systématique, la recherche opérationnelle pour l'enseignement, l'alphabétisation, la standardisation et la modernisation des langues. Les activités les plus en vue dans ce déploiement des ressources humaines au profit de la découverte, du traitement descriptif et de l'instrumentalisation des langues locales se sont orientées vers la description linguistique (études des sons et système des sons des langues, formation des mots dans les langues, leur organisation pour faire des phrases et des textes, leur interprétation sémantique), la dialectologie (étude des parlers quant à leur distance relative), la lexicographie/lexicologie (étude de constitution de lexique, dictionnaire, etc.), la sociolinguistique (étude des phénomènes d'intercompréhension et de perception, attitudes et représentations des langues en société, contacts de langues), la psycholinguistique (acquisition des langues et déficits de langage, etc.), la standardisation (mise par écrit des langues, production du matériel et supports didactiques, production littéraire diversifiée, littérature orale traditionnelle légendaire ou créative).

### b) Évaluation des niveaux de développement écrit

Le bilan général établi à la date de mars 2008 par l'équipe de révision des données de l'inventaire préliminaire des langues camerounaises, publié en 1983, fait état de 253 langues dont une dizaine est éteinte ou en voie de l'être. Il en ressort aussi que 80 des langues répertoriées n'ont encore aucune étude descriptive disponible, que 160 sur les 235 langues standardisables, c'est-à-dire qui ont un po-

tentiel humain capable de soutenir une action de mise à l'écrit, n'ont même pas un début de standardisation. Sur le plan de l'enseignement formel, 40 langues ont connu jusqu'alors un début d'introduction à l'école primaire et une dizaine seulement au niveau du secondaire. Les langues en cours de standardisation connaissent des fortunes diverses quant aux différents paramètres en usage, à savoir la recherche scientifique, le personnel, les ouvrages de popularisation, la capacité locale à soutenir la standardisation par une organisation propre et des ressources financières conséquentes. Si quelques-unes peuvent se targuer d'être au niveau fonctionnel, la plupart reste encore au niveau minimal comme le témoignent des études entreprises par Sadembouo et Waters (1987) pour proposer les domaines et les niveaux d'évaluation écrite des langues d'une part et par Mba (2001) pour déterminer le niveau de développement écrit de certaines langues camerounaises d'autre part, facteurs et préalables majeurs pour une planification de la généralisation des actions d'enseignement et d'alphabétisation. Mais qu'en est-il en réalité des projets et des programmes déterminants exécutés pour la revitalisation des langues camerounaises ?

## Projets réalisés en standardisation/révitilisation entre 2000 et 2010

L'ANACLAC est l'Association nationale des comités des langues camerounaises. Comme association faitière des agences de standardisation des langues camerounaises, elle a initié ou développé deux programmes phares jusqu'à présent dans son Centre de linguistique appliquée (CLA) pour répondre à l'épineuse question de l'éducation dans un contexte multilingue et de communication sociale plurilingue et pluriculturelle. Il s'agit du Programme opérationnel pour l'enseignement des langues au Cameroun (PROPELCA) et du Basic Standardisation for all unwritten African Languages (BASAL). Découvrons ensemble les buts poursuivis par les programmes.

### a) PROPELCA

Ce premier programme a démarré depuis 1978 et se poursuit jusqu'à l'heure actuelle (2010) avec la collaboration des structures éducatives publiques et surtout privées, avec le soutien de la Société internationale de linguistique (SIL) et le dévouement et la détermination des communautés linguistiques à la base. Il s'est voulu pacificateur dès sa constitution. Le titre du programme en est une preuve patente. Il ne s'agit pas de l'enseignement des langues du Cameroun mais de l'enseignement des langues au Cameroun, c'est-à-dire, de l'enseignement aussi bien dans et des langues locales que des et dans les langues étrangères et officielles reçues. La vision fondamentale est et demeure celle d'une perception holistique du développement et de l'utilisation des langues avec en prime le respect

des statuts des unes et des autres, leur contribution à l'œuvre d'éducation d'une société camerounaise enracinée dans sa culture mais ouverte aux autres. Il y a ici un souci de conquérir le monde en s'appuyant sur son identité propre, identité que véhiculent les cultures et les langues locales. L'affirmation de soi sans être un élément transitionnel doit être permanent, totalement assumé et permettre l'ouverture à d'autres éléments linguistiques et culturels qui fabriqueront tout le moi et le rendront plus équilibré parce qu'interculturellement préparé. C'est pourquoi l'inculturation d'une part et l'ouverture culturelle d'autre part sont les objectifs combinés du programme PROPELCA.

Les années de mise en route, c'est-à-dire d'expérimentation de l'enseignement bilingue identitaire (langues locales-langues officielles), d'extension et de pré-généralisation du programme ont permis de bâtir une approche pacifique, une approche écologique permettant de prévenir les conflits. Aucune langue n'est exclue du circuit éducatif contrairement aux approches qui au départ sélectionnent des langues et ne s'en tiennent qu'à elles. Dans ces approches-là, la sélection ne repose souvent pas sur des obstacles réels et, aucune mesure n'est prise pour que plus tard les autres langues soient également retenues. Un nombre de langues est arrêté et le programme fonctionne uniquement avec elles. Tel n'a pas été et n'est pas le cas de PROPELCA. Dans la philosophie du programme, toute langue est et peut être co-vecteur d'instruction et d'éducation, qu'elle soit écrite ou orale. Une langue locale non encore écrite est utilisée à l'école à côté de la langue officielle (anglais ou français) comme stratégie didactique, medium d'instruction dans les matières qui la requièrent. Une fois écrite, son champ d'utilisation est élargi et sa contribution à la construction des connaissances de l'apprenant est plus visible et plus porteuse. Toutes les 'fleurs linguistiques' dont dispose le Cameroun ont ainsi reçu l'onction pour être intégrées dans le système éducatif formel et non formel. N'est-ce pas là une mesure de prévention des conflits et d'évitement de la glottophagie rampante des langues de grande diffusion ?

De plus, dans le cadre de son application, aucune langue locale ou maternelle camerounaise n'est imposée aux non natifs. La langue est enseignée dans son aire naturelle d'extension et surtout en zone rurale quasi-monolingue. Les zones urbaines qui regroupent plusieurs langues nécessitent un autre modèle comme celui de l'éveil aux langues que propose Candelier (2003) qui est encore en train d'être construit ou celui déjà élaboré pour l'enseignement secondaire et appliqué depuis plus de deux décennies par le PROPELCA. N'est-ce pas encore une fois de plus un ingrédient de prévention de conflit linguistique et de respect des droits linguistiques si chers à Linguapax ?

## **b) BASAL**

Le deuxième programme, appelé BASAL (Basic Standardisation for all unwritten African Languages), se donne comme objectif principal de doter chaque langue africaine d'une standardisation de base minimale. Il fait figure de projet

authentiquement africain de standardisation des langues, conçu et expérimenté par les Africains eux-mêmes, à la différence des autres projets qui sont parfois le produit de l'imagination occidentale et que les chercheurs africains doivent essayer d'appliquer. Il répond aussi à des invites, des textes et des déclarations des droits humains et linguistiques, à savoir : la Déclaration universelle des droits de l'homme (1948), la Déclaration des droits des personnes appartenant à des minorités nationales ou ethniques, religieuses et linguistiques (1972), la Déclaration universelle sur la diversité culturelle (2001). La Déclaration universelle des droits linguistiques (1996) et la Convention de l'UNESCO pour la sauvegarde du patrimoine culturel immatériel (2003) favorisent la protection et la sauvegarde des langues en danger. La standardisation bien organisée et la revitalisation des langues au sein des communautés garantissent leur survie, au moins à court et à moyen terme. La situation de l'Afrique est d'autant plus préoccupante à cet égard que le continent est victime de la domination écrasante des langues étrangères européennes adoptées ou imposées comme langues officielles exclusives à quelques exceptions près. Les langues africaines sont souvent pour la plupart d'étendue géographique limitée et avec un nombre assez faible de locuteurs natifs. Pour que ces langues minoritaires encore vivantes ne suivent pas dans la tombe les autres déjà éteintes, il est urgent de les revitaliser.

Le projet BASAL, basé sur les acquis de l'expérience camerounaise en matière de standardisation des langues, est mené à bien depuis les années 2000 dans différentes localités. Quatre vagues de volontaires ont été successivement engagés, pour la standardisation et la revitalisation de 13 langues minoritaires africaines en danger : 2 langues en 2000-2002, 5 langues en 2005, 2 langues en 2006-2007 et 4 en 2008-2010. Onze(11) langues minoritaires camerounaises, à savoir le mada (région de l'extrême-nord), le bangolan (région du nord-ouest) en 2000, le tuki (région du centre), le kwasio (région du sud), le mfumte (région du nord-ouest), le bikele (région de l'est) et le bamali (région du nord-ouest) en 2005, le gbete et le bembéle en 2007, le lakka (région du nord) et le yasa (région du sud) en 2008 et deux (2) langues éthiopiennes (l'ongoto et l'argobba) en 2008, ont déjà bénéficié de ce programme, ont été revitalisées et sont aujourd'hui hors de danger de disparition (du moins à moyen terme, et pourquoi pas à long terme si une politique favorable vient soutenir les efforts des chercheurs).

Les objectifs spécifiques et les résultats attendus du BASAL, quelque soit la communauté où il s'implante, sont les suivants :

- établir le système d'écriture préliminaire de chaque langue considérée,
- produire un manuel de transition, manuel d'écriture et de lecture pour les locuteurs natifs lettrés en langues secondes,
- rendre les gens capables de lire/écrire leur langue à travers des formations organisées,
- établir une structure pérenne de promotion de chaque langue (académie de langue).



Comme le soutient Tadadjeu (2006 :8):

Globalement le BASAL vise à déployer environ 3000 linguistes volontaires sur tout le continent africain, sur une période de 10 à 15 ans. Le résultat principal attendu est de sortir toutes les langues non écrites de leur forme exclusivement orale pour en faire des médiums écrits viables et permanents. La plupart de ces linguistes volontaires feront partie du Corps des volontaires de l'Union Africaine.

Les bénéficiaires d'une telle action sont avant tout les populations locutrices des langues concernées. Il s'agit de plusieurs milliers de personnes, des jeunes volontaires pour le savoir-faire à acquérir, suite à l'encadrement des linguistes et des sociolinguistes professionnels et des consultants. C'est grâce à leur expertise que la revitalisation des langues concernées sera réalisée. Ils y consolideront leur expérience et feront du militantisme linguistique si cher à la philosophie de Linguapax.

La viabilité et la continuité du projet BASAL est fondée sur le contexte international favorable à la nécessité de sauvegarder les langues en danger et de promouvoir la diversité linguistique et culturelle qui favorise la paix. L'éveil aux langues, par ailleurs, est déjà une réalité dans les communautés linguistiques qui ont bénéficié de l'implémentation du projet. Mais il faut comprendre, pour mieux le soutenir et le développer, que la standardisation et la revitalisation des langues constituent un processus qui, pour être efficace, doit se poursuivre dans le temps et s'inscrire dans la durée. La standardisation implique la mise à jour de la langue et son adaptation permanente à l'environnement et à l'évolution du monde. La pratique orale et la formation de base à la pratique écrite des langues ne sauraient être par conséquent, une activité ponctuelle ; elles sont transgénérationnelles. Ce qui veut dire que ce genre de projet s'inscrit dans le long terme pour chaque langue impliquée, pour que les objectifs soient atteints et se raffermissent.

La mise sur pied d'une Académie, organisation chargée du développement et de la promotion de la langue sur le plan oral et écrit, constitue une garantie solide de la continuité du travail amorcé au cours du projet. C'est la structure chargée de la relève des chercheurs volontaires de départ. Le seul handicap envisageable ici pourra être la pauvreté des intervenants locaux dont l'expertise dans le domaine ne souffre d'aucun doute, eu égard au cadre universitaire dans lequel les volontaires et les encadreurs sont formés. Cette pauvreté s'exprimera en leur capacité réelle à mobiliser les ressources financières nécessaires pour l'entreprise de développement de la ou des langues.

Linguapax International, bien que d'implantation récente en Afrique et au Cameroun (qui abrite le siège de l'antenne africaine), promet de cultiver la tolérance linguistique et promouvoir la paix. Cet idéal se matérialise déjà à travers l'aide à la standardisation initiale et à la revitalisation de quatre (4)

langues africaines dont deux (2) au Cameroun et deux (2) en Éthiopie. Le projet de revitalisation des langues africaines en danger (RELAD) auquel Linguapax Afrika souscrit est le prolongement du programme BASAL. Il permettra la sauvegarde de langues africaines minoritaires actuellement sous le coût d'une extinction presque programmée. Dans une période de plus de douze mois, les 4 langues africaines retenues au Cameroun (Yasa, Lakka) et en Éthiopie (argobba, ongota) ont goûté aux délices de l'élaboration de plusieurs documents de standardisation initiale. Il s'agit notamment d'un manuel de lecture et d'écriture pour les locuteurs natifs non lettrés, d'un manuel de transition pour les locuteurs natifs lettrés en français, en anglais ou dans d'autres langues africaines officielles, d'un petit dictionnaire d'environ deux mille mots et d'une agence locale initiale de coordination devant servir de cadre de référence pour la pérennisation de l'usage écrit de la langue et au développement d'un environnement lettré sur la base des capacités humaines locales propres développées à partir de diverses formations.

Si les programmes phares exécutés au Cameroun avec une incidence dans d'autres pays africains se présentent tels que décrits en du point de vue de la philosophie et des objectifs, que dire de la décentralisation, outil actuel de déploiement des politiques sectorielles de la gestion sociale ?

### **Perspectives dans le contexte actuel de la décentralisation: quelle planification pour la sauvegarde des langues non écrites et non développées des régions du Cameroun?**

Les lois numéro 18 et 19 du 22 juillet 2004, relatives à la décentralisation au Cameroun, donnent aux régions et aux communes le rôle premier dans la gestion des langues locales à la fois dans le système éducatif formel et non formel. Cet exercice de la subsidiarité dans la gestion présuppose que les rôles de tous les acteurs et autres intervenants soient clairement définis, les statuts des langues du moins à l'échelle régionale pensés et arrêtés même à titre prévisionnel. Il présuppose aussi que l'enseignement et l'alphabétisation dans et des langues locales soient dotés de mécanismes de financement à l'échelle communale et régionale avec évidemment des apports de l'administration centrale. Cette orientation de la gestion des langues à l'ère de la décentralisation dessine les contours d'une nouvelle planification ou mieux d'un nouvel aménagement des langues à trois niveaux (niveau communal, régional et national) qui doivent nécessairement s'articuler de manière harmonieuse.

Au niveau communal et régional, les locuteurs de chaque langue devront être plus que jamais impliqués dans le développement de leur langue. Une mise en valeur des différentes langues fera nécessairement éclore des langues à statut régional, étape première vers un statut national. Cette mise en

valeur ajoutée créera les meilleures conditions de standardisation et drainera vers les régions les ressources techniques et humaines qui, jusqu'alors, ont été l'apanage des villes et des locuteurs de la diaspora des langues locales, que la prise de conscience du risque de disparition ou de dévitalisation de leur langue a poussé à organiser des séances d'alphabétisation urbaine jugées salvatrices. Le développement et la promotion des langues au niveau régional permettront à l'État de mieux affiner sa politique linguistique, de mieux maîtriser ses options, de mieux stratifier les statuts et régler les usages des langues.

Au niveau national, les langues de grande envergure régionale pourront avoir un statut plus élevé étant donné que certaines langues seront transrégionales. Les institutions scolaires des grandes métropoles pourront se voir investies du devoir de s'occuper de l'enseignement des langues transrégionales en raison du nouveau statut qui leur seront octroyées. Dans le domaine et le réseau de communication des mass media à caractère national, les langues transrégionales recevront certainement plus de soutien de diffusion et de promotion alors que les structures régionales prendront mieux en charge les langues à caractère strictement régional. Il est permis de penser qu'une stratification des identités se poserait avec pour chacun une conscience claire d'appartenance à une société culturelle de base mais aussi à une société culturelle élargie de par les interactions linguistiques et culturelles. Il est permis également de supposer que la décentralisation pourrait diminuer l'acuité négative des attitudes et des représentations que les uns et les autres ont encore envers les langues qu'ils ne parlent et ne comprennent pas et favoriser une formulation plus rationnelle d'une politique des langues. Telles sont à notre humble avis les voies à suivre pour l'intégration linguistique camerounaise et africaine. C'est encore les chemins de construction de la paix par les langues.

## Conclusion

La communication ici présentée est un bref aperçu du dynamisme des langues et de la gestion pratique du multilinguisme au Cameroun. Cette macro-présentation évidemment ne rentre ni dans les méandres des recherches linguistiques ni dans les pratiques multiformes des locuteurs des langues particulières ou des plurilingues en situation formelle ou non formelle de communication. Elle informe néanmoins toute personne étrangère sur le cas camerounais et lui permet de glaner des informations essentielles qu'elle pourrait à souhait approfondir. Si au bout de cette lecture, une connaissance même générale de la situation camerounaise était acquise, notre objectif serait largement atteint.

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## [LATIN AMERICA]

### 2.3 En torno a la política y planeación lingüísticas en el contexto latinoamericano

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Unescocat (2008)

Muchos acontecimientos se han suscitado en el panorama de las lenguas y culturas indoamericanas en América Latina en las últimas décadas. Las movilizaciones indígenas han dado sus frutos logrando, por lo menos, como resultado el reconocimiento de los derechos indígenas por parte de los estados, consagrados en sendas legislaciones nacionales e internacionales,

como las que son de conocimiento público como instrumentos internacionales. Con todo, como han sugerido distintos autores para la escena internacional y reiteramos aquí para el caso latinoamericano, es un lugar común que en no pocos casos, si no es que en la mayoría, éstas no pasan todavía de una declaratoria de buenas intenciones. Las leyes en muchos países no se aplican y remiten a un ejercicio abiertamente retórico de legitimación de los estados nacionales. Un buen ejemplo es el caso mexicano. Como en prácticamente todos los estados latinoamericanos, se puede decir que los programas de atención siempre han estado en función y constituyen respuestas en ocasiones concebidas abiertamente como contrainsurgentes; o por lo menos como paliativos en respuesta a las demandas indígenas sobre todo en temas como el de la autonomía. Movilizaciones como el surgimiento del Ejército Zapatista de Liberación Nacional (EZLN) en 1994 en Chiapas, México, por un lado, como los acuerdos que el país ha suscrito ante instancias internacionales como el Convenio 169 de la OIT, etc. por el otro, han reconfigurado el panorama del tratamiento de los derechos lingüísticos, no sólo en México sino en países latinoamericanos como Chile, donde es sólo hasta ahora que el Convenio 169 ha sido ratificado (véase infra).

En México se promulgó la Ley General de Derechos Lingüísticos vinculada al surgimiento del Instituto Nacional de Lenguas Indígenas (INALI) en 2003. Su desiderata dista mucho de haberse consolidado, mucho menos comenzado a dar pasos firmes en su consecución. Por ejemplo, la ley contempla la

prestación de servicios en los distintos ámbitos del quehacer público en las lenguas originarias de México; sin embargo, el INALI apenas ha comenzado a preparar personal para acometer semejante derrotero, en ámbitos restringidos como el área de la defensoría jurídica de los derechos de los hablantes de lenguas indígenas, no hay nada todavía en la prestación de asesoría jurídica ni mucho menos en servicios de salud. Con ello la gestión efectiva de los derechos de plurilingüismo mexicano dista mucho de ser una realidad no sólo porque se carece del personal y las condiciones negativas prevalecen para el uso de las lenguas mexicanas en la vida pública. Con todas las buenas intenciones y las expectativas que la instauración del INALI suscitó, a la fecha los resultados son, por decir lo menos, magros. En el mejor de los casos, quizá podría aducirse que son muy pocos años para modificar inercias muy arraigadas en cuanto al uso y valoración de las lenguas indígenas en la sociedad mexicana, resumida como un *ethos* monolingüe y discriminatorio hacia la diversidad lingüística y cultural, producto de la historia de la nación mexicana. Con todo, el INALI es el único instituto en su tipo, por lo menos en el ámbito latinoamericano.

En tiempos de celebración ostentosa de los bicentenarios, baste aludir al efecto glotofágico de la independencia y la revolución mexicana en el que la población indígena y sus lenguas disminuyeron dramáticamente y se instituyó un ideología monolingüe y monocultural criolla que desprecia la diversidad lingüística y cultural, considerándola un obstáculo para el desarrollo de la nación, concibiéndola de maneras maniqueas; es decir, como parte del patrimonio nacional que genera divisas, vinculado a los sitios arqueológicos y los museos, concepción que en el mejor de los casos folkloriza e instituye una visión recibida de los indígenas, del «indio bueno», «el buen salvaje», como «sujetos» de interés y sobre todo usufructo públicos. Esta concepción prevalece hasta hoy día y cobra relevancia en la plena ausencia de los indígenas en las celebraciones bicentenarias de la actual coyuntura conmemorativa tanto en México como en los países latinoamericanos, por más que existan instituciones de atención a los pueblos indígenas, como la Comisión para el Desarrollo de los Pueblos Indígenas en México (antes Instituto Nacional Indigenista, INI).

Desde un punto de vista menos benévolo, o abiertamente crítico, se puede decir que el INALI ha rápidamente ingresado en las inercias burocráticas que paralizan el trabajo de las instituciones y que desde el poder conforman mecanismos de control de las mismas, la serpiente que se muerde la cola, en un rápido proceso de descomposición y descrédito. En los países latinoamericanos, existen claros indicios del manejo político de este tipo de instituciones y su subordinación a los intereses del estado, no necesariamente de las comunidades indígenas. La introducción de semejantes inercias y prácticas de subordinación de los pueblos indígenas al *mainstream* es el modelo que prevalece en la escuela por ejemplo. Las manifestaciones y resonancias de semejantes actitudes de subordinación incluyen el ejercicio de la traducción de contenidos impuestos a los pueblos, como el bando solemne (las palabras que se profieren

en la asunción del presidente de la República en la toma de poder cada sexenio) o el himno nacional, lo cual desde luego corresponde y reproduce ideologías nacionalistas (chauvinistas), con todo su halo paternal-corporativista e incluso racista, que apuesta por la cooptación de los indígenas a los intereses del estado. Como han puntualizado estudiosos del tema (Pellicer et al. 2006), la traducción misma de la Ley General de Derechos Lingüísticos también produce y reproduce semejantes esquemas, tan arraigados en la política nacional mexicana, que no es privativa de México sino extensiva a muchas situaciones en Latinoamérica, como la del Perú, en el que por ejemplo en los materiales en lenguas amazónicas como el shipibo, auspiciados por el Comité de Damas del Congreso de la República, el castellano aparece desde luego en primer término, por no hablar del valor imputado a la escritura como baluarte último de la salvaguarda las lenguas originarias.

Existen tendencias de precariedad de una cultura del derecho muy arraigadas, no sólo en la situación mexicana sino en Latinoamérica en general, que imponen condiciones complejas si no es que abiertamente desastrosas para el desarrollo de programas educativos bien formados e informados en las comunidades indígenas. Semejantes dificultades incluyen la falta de planeación y capacitación de los docentes encargados de desarrollar la educación indígena entre muchas otras carencias, vicios, dificultades e inercias. Frecuentemente los cursos de los promotores llamados bilingües que llegan a trabajar en comunidades rurales sin escuela se limitan a cuando muchos unos meses (o son de un mes), además de tratarse de gente noble con poca o nula preparación y mucho menos experiencia. Existen desde luego otras limitaciones de todo tipo y nivel. Algunas de los más importantes incluyen la carencia de metodologías de aprendizaje y materiales didácticos de calidad y de lectura acompañados del fomento de ámbitos de uso para las lenguas indígenas como pleno derecho al ejercicio de los derechos lingüísticos. Algunas condiciones aberrantes incluyen el destinar un maestro de lengua totalmente distinta a una región en la que ésta no se habla, el uso de variantes que son rechazadas por la comunidad al representar comunidades distintas a las propias, el producir materiales de ínfima calidad para la población infantil indígena, junto con el purismo que se evidencia en estos materiales, lo cual los convierte en completamente ajenos e incluso ininteligibles a la realidad lingüística y cultural propia de cada localidad específica de referencia.

Casi no existen programas de formación en lenguas indígenas ni siquiera a favor de ellas o éstas son de corte abiertamente academicista (es significativo que existan más cátedras de lenguas indígenas como el maya yucateco o el quechua a nivel superior en el extranjero que en México o el Perú, por ejemplo), por no hablar de las ideologías que siguen prevaleciendo con respecto al valor de las lenguas y culturas amenazadas. En particular si acaso se favorece poco y mucho menos se lleva a cabo el derecho a la educación en lengua indígena en el aula. Ésta sigue siendo básicamente un medio para la castellanización a pesar de toda la retórica oficial. Incluso los esfuerzos reales son incipientes, precarios y enfrentan múltiples dificultades. El tema

de desarrollar e instituir distintos tipos de educación con currícula pertinentes es un campo muy poco desarrollado donde está prácticamente todo por hacerse, desde el estado solamente existen algunos esfuerzos aislados, parciales y precarios en este sentido.

En resumen, todo esto indica que de facto no se respetan, ni mucho menos se desarrollan, estrategias concretas de implementación de los derechos lingüísticos como consagra entre otras la ley mexicana en ámbitos como su uso en la escuela, el juzgado o los servicios de salud. Superar estas lagunas requeriría de una política de concertación mucho más participativa y democrática, cuyo surgimiento de nuevo remite a la negociación de los estados en su relación conflictiva no sólo con los pueblos indígenas y sus luchas, sino con los movimientos sociales en general. Como queda dicho, semejantes negociaciones constituyen el contexto dentro del cual los estados han promovido distintos tipos de leyes o suscriben (¡o no!) los tratados internacionales en la materia. En este sentido, reiteremos que las leyes se promulgan como parte de estrategias de legitimación de los estados e incluso como respuestas contrainsurgentes, como es el caso del estado mexicano de cara a un movimiento social como el de los indígenas zapatistas u otras movilizaciones indígenas menos conocidas, como la de los nahuas del Balsas, que constituyen el primer pueblo indígena en la historia latinoamericana en haber logrado detener un proyecto «modernizador», la construcción de la presa San Juan Tetelcingo, en la región de Alto Balsas, Guerrero.

Entre otros, las universidades interculturales conforman uno de los proyectos más importantes del estado mexicano actualmente, que responde a la necesidad de neutralizar y de ser posible cooptar los movimientos independientes que pugnan por una educación autónoma, con proyectos políticos propios, incluyendo universidades. No deja de ser revelador que mucha de la política actual del estado mexicano hacia las lenguas indígenas responda a semejantes coyunturas, lo cual nos coloca de lleno en el terreno de la historia de la política social corporativista y paternalista que en mayor o menor medida sigue prevaleciendo en las políticas públicas en México.

Considerando el vasto panorama latinoamericano, un ejemplo muy importante para México y Latinoamérica en general es el de la Universidad comunitaria URACCAN en Nicaragua en la que, en el marco de consolidación de una región autónoma, se desarrolla un proyecto de educación que se despliega en lenguas como la miskito, una lengua muy importante en la región de las costa Atlántica que ha recibido apoyo desde las instituciones del estado y la cooperación internacional. Ahí, como una de las primeras experiencias en su tipo, el miskito incluso se ha convertido en una lengua del aula, una lengua de instrucción, no sólo una lengua que se imparte como una materia aislada, lo más común en el mejor y mayor de los casos en los contextos latinoamericanos. La explicación de esa posibilidad del miskito se remonta a que en Nicaragua el reino miskito siempre fue importante, lo que históricamente conforma un contexto propicio para su mantenimiento, junto con



el contexto favorable de hoy en día de reconocimiento de las autonomías regionales por parte del estado. A diferencia de otras lenguas como el sumu mayanga, la cual es una lengua muy amenazada, junto con el resto de las lenguas de Nicaragua, como el rama---en la que sin embargo se han iniciado procesos de revitalización--- la vitalidad y lealtad hacia el miskito es en realidad una excepción más que la norma en términos generales en los países latinoamericanos.

Uno de los problemas más obvios de los países latinoamericanos es la falta no sólo de buenas leyes en materia de derechos lingüísticos---algunos tienen unas bastante buenas; e.g. Brasil, Bolivia--, sino sobre todo su implementación, junto con el entorno de las prácticas glotofágicas imperantes históricamente, prácticas muy arraigadas de discriminación no solo lingüísticas, por más anacrónicas que nos puedan parecer. Por ejemplo el derecho a la libre determinación y al desarrollo de educación en la propia lengua consagrado en el artículo II de la Constitución mexicana resulta letra muerta a la luz del incumplimiento de los acuerdos de San Andrés con el EZLN. Como queda dicho, es de cara a este contexto que surge el Instituto Nacional de Lenguas Indígenas al promulgarse la Ley General de los Derechos Lingüísticos de los Pueblos Indígenas. Si bien constituye un avance en el papel, enfrenta serias condiciones de viabilidad a la luz del avance de fenómenos como el desplazamiento lingüístico y la sustitución de lenguas no sólo en México, sino en los países latinoamericanos, como parte de los procesos de homogeneización de la diversidad lingüística y cultural, efecto de la creciente globalización hegemónica de los mercados. Más aún, congruente con el espíritu corporativista y paternalista que ha prevalecido en el desarrollo de los programas educativos de instituciones como la Dirección General de Educación Indígenas (DGEI), éstos están diseñados exclusivamente para indígenas, lo cual reproduce una guetoización que a su vez remite al enfoque monocultural aludido de la sociedad mexicana, prevaleciente en no pocas sociedades mestizas de habla hispana u otra herencia colonial como las nuestras.

Las ideologías monolingües más potentes del hemisferio seguramente se encuentran en Norteamérica, consecuente con la política de exterminio de las lenguas y culturas indígenas de la colonización inglesa que fueron tan eficaces y que casi exterminó a los pueblos originarios, sobre todo en los Estados Unidos, donde la herencia colonial más sublime es el monolingüismo inglés que todavía impera en la mayoría de la población. El *mainstream* impone una perspectiva etnocéntrica en la que NO hablar inglés se compara con la condición de ser animal, reminiscente de ideologías del siglo XVI que han prevalecido y florecido en épocas decimonónicas y aún persisten en el siglo XXI, no sólo en los Estados Unidos sino desde luego también en mayor o menor medida en Latinoamérica. El cambio hacia un camino más abierto, democrático, multicultural y multilingüe, sólo se ha empezado a perfilar en la última década con la aparición de instituciones como el INALI en México que, como queda dicho, resultan todavía iniciativas muy incipientes para la reivindicación de los derechos lingüísticos de los pueblos indígenas; desde

luego no exenta de grandes contradicciones, limitaciones e incluso vicios de origen. Por tanto, resonante con lo señalado por distintos autores en México (e.g. Pellicer et al 2006) el carácter débil de las leyes y sus limitaciones, recientemente en especial de la Ley de Derechos Lingüísticos, incluyen importantes vacíos jurídicos como el no reconocimiento de la autodeterminación y autonomía de los pueblos y mucho menos la oficialidad de sus lenguas y culturas. Para el estado en México los indígenas se consideran prácticamente sujetos de interés público, es en este sentido en que en la ley se habla de «lenguas nacionales», como parte de un patrimonio nacional del que se puede hacer un usufructo público.

La aparición de leyes como la Ley de Lenguas en Colombia es otra de las pocas iniciativas en defensa de la diversidad lingüística en Latinoamérica. Se trata de un paso importante que a la larga, cumulativamente, puede tener un efecto positivo. Al menos tienen ya un efecto en el ámbito simbólico, por más reciente que la ley sea (2010). Si bien decretar leyes debería ir acompañado de una correspondencia en términos de apoyos y proyectos concretos por parte del estado, sin embargo como es consabido se ven seriamente obstaculizados por múltiples factores. Con todo, el verdadero avance se presenta en las experiencias piloto que ha desarrollado las propias organizaciones indígenas como el Consejo Regional Indígena del Cauca (CRIC). El caso de Colombia también presenta una situación interesante de exigencia y defensa de los derechos de los pueblos ante los que responde el estado, los cuales en la última década sobre todo han sido acompañadas de acciones contrainsurgentes como se ha sugerido para otros países como México, en un escenario muy complicado de guerrilla y narcotráfico. Lo que es admirable es la capacidad organizativa de las comunidades para defender sus derechos territoriales y culturales, agrupadas en instancias como el CRIC, en términos de, entre otras iniciativas, autodiagnósticos sociolingüísticos y desarrollos de materiales y procesos culturales a favor de la diversidad lingüística como parte del fortalecimiento de su organización. Semejantes iniciativas han incluso contado con la concurrencia y cooperación del estado colombiano como parte de su política de concertación hasta por lo menos antes de las recientes elecciones del 2010. El CRIC cuenta con alrededor de 30 años de trayectoria de lucha en pro de los derechos indígenas, desarrollando una capacidad de negociación notable con el estado, un proceso de concertación desde y con la sociedad civil, entendido como formas de resistencia y supervivencia cultural, con lo que se perfila también y desde luego la continuidad del legado lingüístico, aunque frecuentemente éste es la parte menos desarrollada y amenazada (como también ilustra el caso de los zapatistas en México).

El auto-diagnóstico colaborativo desarrollado con el apoyo del Ministerio de Educación en concertación con las propias comunidades (e.g. nasa yuwe, narmrik y otras lenguas de Colombia) constituye un avance inédito en el desarrollo de políticas lingüísticas en Colombia y Latinoamérica que se desarrolla con base en un modelo etno-educativo. Pugnando por recuperar las voces indígenas como formas de conocimiento en sus propias lenguas se trata de poder ir enfrentando sistemáticamente los dilemas del desplazamiento y la

sustitución lingüística y cultural. La continuidad de estos esfuerzos implica que el CRIC se esté constituyendo como un referente obligado de experiencias en defensa del legado cultural y lingüístico en Latinoamérica. Si bien todo ello está en proceso de consolidarse en la forma de, entre otras iniciativas, universidades interculturales propias y centros de investigación indígenas, afortunadamente estas iniciativas existen ya para el caso del Cauca, vinculado desde luego al CRIC, en la forma del Centro de Investigaciones del CRIC, el cual desarrolla una serie de trabajos relacionados con, por ejemplo, las etno-matemáticas y el manejo sustentable del territorio y la reducción del riesgo ante las amenazas de desastres naturales que se ciernen sobre las comunidades de los resguardos de tierra adentro por la presencia del volcán nevado del Huila en la región del Cauca.

Otros casos paradigmáticos que a su vez presentan paralelismos con otros países latinoamericanos son el caso guatemalteco. Con un alto porcentaje de población indígena, la mayoría de la población guatemalteca es de raigambre maya, representando un poco más del 50% del total. En este país centroamericano se ha vivido una cruenta guerra de exterminio de la población indígena, que ha dejado una huella muy profunda que pasa por la experiencia del refugio en México, que puede resumirse en una compleja tensión entre el reconocimiento de los derechos de la población indígena y su negación histórica, incluidos los derechos lingüísticos, en contraposición a la perpetuación de una élite en el poder. La diferenciación social en Guatemala todavía pasa en gran medida por el diferencial étnico: en Guatemala las clases sociales coinciden o se ordenan en función de las diferencias raciales; es decir, son los criollos o los mestizos los que ocupan las posiciones altas de poder, lo cual alude al profundo racismo que caracteriza a la sociedad guatemalteca. Consecuente con semejante ideología que se corresponde con el paternalismo y asistencialismo del estado, en Guatemala existen ventanillas para la atención de los pueblos indígenas que manejan recursos limitados que se utilizan como formas de cooptar y dividir a las comunidades mayas, ventanillas cuya atención se desarrolla desde luego en castellano; es decir, se carece de una política de gestión del multilingüismo, y al igual que en la mayoría si no es que en todos los países latinoamericanos prevalece una ideología monolingüe. En Guatemala, como en otros países como por ejemplo el Ecuador, se supone que existe una política intercultural o multicultural implementada desde el estado; sin embargo, es sobre todo desde las organizaciones indígenas en mayor o menor medida desde donde emanan instancias de defensa de la diversidad lingüística, como la Academia de Lenguas Mayas.

En materia de limitación de los derechos lingüísticos están muchos otros casos como el de Panamá. De acuerdo con la líder kuna Kikadir Orán prácticamente no hay legislación lingüística más allá de los convenios internacionales signados, que como sabemos son letra muerta en muchos de nuestros países. Según Orán en general la autonomía no es siempre reconocida, lo cual recuerda otros casos como el de los zapatistas en México. El ejercicio de la autodeterminación en un marco de lucha por el poder se expresa en las recientes movilizaciones y resistencias indígenas, las cuales constituyen un

escenario potencial para la retención de la lengua y la cultura, que tiene su inspiración en experiencias bastante exitosas como la catalana o la euskera, al punto de que el estado ha llegado a consagrar en la ley el reconocimiento de la autoridad kuna a la que tiene que consultar, por lo menos declarativamente, para el usufructo de los recursos naturales del territorio kuna. Orán nos recuerda que existe mucha presión sobre el territorio kuna, en términos de la potencial explotación del territorio desde el punto de vista del desarrollo turístico y la explotación de los grandes recursos naturales. En este sentido, las leyes generales sobredeterminan en muchos casos la posibilidad del ejercicio de la autonomía y el reconocimiento de las leyes consagradas para los pueblos indígenas.

En suma, el debate a nivel internacional remite al concepto de libre determinación y se cifra en términos de ejercicios de autonomías. El reclamo zapatista y el de los kunas que han logrado reivindicar su territorio y arrancado el reconocimiento de la autonomía kuna por parte del estado panameño y en la práctica en el caso de los indígenas zapatistas.

Las políticas de estado, como la política indigenista, en realidad es una herencia colonial, con todas sus secuelas asistencialistas corporativistas y asimilacionistas. Como ejemplos asimilacionistas extremos piénsese en países como Uruguay o Argentina, en que constitucionalmente para el estado por lo menos, si no es que para la sociedad en su conjunto, prácticamente sólo existe el castellano. Sin embargo, de nuevo debido a las luchas indígenas en Sudamérica en tiempos recientes han surgido iniciativas como la ley de lenguas del Perú, denominada «Dictamen de la Ley de reconocimiento, preservación, fomento y difusión de las lenguas aborígenes», o el censo de lenguas indígenas del Brasil o el reciente reconocimiento de sus lenguas como parte del patrimonio nacional.

Otro estado es el estado pretendidamente multicultural como México que, aunque sigue siendo indigenista y tiene programas asistencialistas, es hasta cierto punto más democrático o por lo menos más desarrollado en política lingüística y educativa, sin dejar necesariamente el indigenismo. En contraposición existen los estados que implican la posibilidad de su refundación en función de los derechos indígenas, como Bolivia, donde la burguesía criolla se opone a la posibilidad de transformar las estructuras políticas y sobre todo económicas. El proceso boliviano no deja de estar exento de contradicciones aunque se promulgue Bolivia como estado plurinacional. El reto de la refundación del estado no está libre de contradicciones y nuevos escenarios para las lenguas. Por ejemplo en Bolivia la posibilidad del resurgimiento lingüístico es una realidad que forma parte de semejante nueva estructura estatal.

Con todo, en países como Argentina y Uruguay, y en menor medida Chile, los indígenas están bastante invisibilizados y prevalecen muchos prejuicios contra ellos. Como nos recuerda el maestro mapuche Héctor Mariano, el único idioma nacional es el castellano y el mayor reconocimiento de los pueblos indígenas vino con la ratificación en Septiembre de 2009 del Convenio 169 de la OIT, lo que hace que su implementación esté todavía por verse.

Parecería que hay estados que en Latinoamérica despuntan por sus apoyos a las lenguas y culturas originarias, como el caso de Bolivia, Ecuador o Venezuela. En Bolivia el poder del estado se encuentra en manos de un presidente aimara y existen sendas organizaciones y entidades públicas a favor de la diversidad lingüística y cultural boliviana, instituidas en políticas públicas en materia de educación. Por ejemplo, una que ha tenido y sigue teniendo un impacto señero en la configuración de las posibilidades de supervivencia e incluso resurgimiento de las lenguas originarias es el hecho de que para la ley boliviana la definición de un grupo indígena pasa por procesos de autoadscripción étnicos de cara al estado que se «mide» conforme al manejo de la lengua indígena, lo cual habilita a las poblaciones al reclamo de derechos tan importantes como los territoriales. En ese marco es donde lenguas incluso consideradas extintas como el uru, otrora hablada en los márgenes del Titicaca, comienzan por lo menos emblemáticamente a reavivarse. Guardando las debidas proporciones, algo semejante ha ocurrido en el caso de Chile con los mapuches, los cuales a través del programa Orígenes, han ingresado en una dinámica semejante de reivindicación e incluso reinención de su identidad lingüística a la luz de los programas del estado chileno que también miden la pertenencia étnica en función del manejo de las lenguas amenazadas.

Con todo y lo que en términos de avances representa el legislar a favor de los pueblos indígenas, sabemos que los esfuerzos no pueden venir sólo de una lógica descendente, sino que deben acompañarse de iniciativas emanadas desde las propias comunidades, en una lógica ascendente que incluso debería llegar a confrontarse positivamente con las políticas de los estados; favoreciendo un diálogo constructivo y procesos de concertación entre los diversos sectores de la sociedad, la sociedad civil en su conjunto, el estado, y desde luego las propias comunidades indígenas, la cuales han sido puntales en el desarrollo de semejantes posibilidades.

En conclusión, desde una perspectiva de derechos existen distintos instrumentos que consagran los derechos de los pueblos indígenas, sin embargo su implementación dista mucho de haberse iniciado ni mucho menos desarrollado. Todavía prevalece una perspectiva en la que existen diagnósticos, recomendaciones, e incluso monitoreos, que en la mayoría de los casos no llegan a trascender o trascienden muy poco en términos de ejercicios prácticos de implementación de los derechos indígenas, no digamos lingüísticos. Hay que llevar a cabo más y mejores acciones, más contundentes, como por ejemplo la instauración de un observatorio a favor de la diversidad lingüística y cultural latinoamericana con la participación directa de las comunidades. Es en este sentido que iniciativas recientes como la fundación de universidades indígenas como la Universidad Indígena Intercultural (UII), en el marco de la cual se desarrolla el primer Diplomado en Revitalización Lingüística en el orbe, resulta una propuesta que pugna por desarrollar un modelo pensado desde una lógica ascendente, entablando un nuevo tipo de relación entre la academia y los pueblos indígenas que apuesta por desarrollar procesos de recuperación y desarrollo de las lenguas y culturas amenazadas desde procesos

de formación y acompañamiento que favorecen el empoderamiento de los pueblos indígenas y sus lenguas. Para ello afortunadamente se ha contado y se espera seguir contando con la concurrencia de Linguapax. Como lo ha demostrado el PROEIB Andes, una iniciativa de formación de estudiantes indígenas en educación intercultural bien establecida que cuenta ya con una larga trayectoria, este tipo de iniciativas permite ir más allá de las retóricas declarativas de los estados e implementar acciones concretas a favor de la diversidad lingüística y cultural.

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## [ASIA]

### 2.4 Threatened languages in Southeast Asia: Focus on Malaysia, Singapore, Brunei and the Philippines

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#### Malaysia



Joan Felip (2009)

Malaysia is made up of Peninsular (or West) Malaysia and East Malaysia, which consists of Sabah and Sarawak. Archaeological records provide evidence of the existence of humans in Peninsular Malaysia as far back as 3000 and 2000 BC, whilst Sabah in East Malaysia was peopled at least 30,000 years ago. Malaysia's diverse ethnic composition is

a reflection of its rich and eventful history. Because Malaysia witnessed waves of early immigration during the pre-colonial period, a number of groups have a legitimate claim to indigenous status. On that count, the Orang Asli (indigenous people) on the Malay Peninsula, the Dayaks in Sarawak, the various ethnic groups in Sabah, including the Dusun (or Kadazan), Bajau, Murut and other groups, and the Malays both in Sabah and Sarawak and on the Peninsula are the indigenous peoples of Malaysia. Special rights in the way of quotas for schooling and university are given to the Malays and indigenous peoples of Malaysia.

Whilst in Peninsular Malaysia, the Malays, Chinese and Indians make up the largest ethnic groups, the ethnic distribution in Sarawak and Sabah is different. Much research has been conducted on ethnic minorities on the Peninsula. Among the earliest studies on minority groups in Peninsular Malaysia are those by David (1996) on the Malaysian Sindhi community, Mohamad Subakir Mohd Yasin (1998) on the minority Javanese community in the semi-urban village of Sungai Lang, David and Noor (1999) on the Portuguese community in Malacca, David and Naji (2003) on the Malaysian Tamils, David and Nambiar (2002) on exogamous marriages and out migration as factors causing language shift among the Catholic Malayalees of Kuala Lumpur, David, Naji and Kaur (2003) on the Punjabi Sikh community

in Selangor, and David (2003) on the Pakistani community in Machang, Kelantan. In their in-depth studies of the Malaysian Iyer and Malayalee communities respectively, Sankar (2004) and Nambiar (2007) have shown that the younger generation of Iyers and Malayalees have also shifted to English. Many of the studies on Malaysian Indians reveal that the heterogeneous Indian speech communities have likewise shifted not to the national language but to English, the second most important language in the country (Mukerjee & David, 2010).

Sarawak, the largest state in Malaysia, is located on the island of Borneo and has 26 languages. The sociocultural environment in the state and the surrounding languages, influenced, to some extent, by the national language policy, play a significant part in the development or extinction of its minority languages over time. Among the most frequently cited sociocultural factors affecting the long-term fortunes of minority languages in Sarawak are exogamous marriages, which remain a common phenomenon among the 26 ethnic groups (Dealwis and David, 2010).

There are 33 ethnic groups in Sarawak and Sabah. The Iban form the largest group, followed by the Chinese, Malay and Bidayuh. There are also smaller groups, such as the Kayan, Kenyah, Lun Bawang, Kelabit, Penan and Punan (collectively known as the Orang Ulu) and the Melanau, and still smaller groups, such as the Berawan, Bisayah, Kedayan, Kajang Baketan, Sian, Ukit and Penan. According to the 2006 census in Sarawak, the populations of the various ethnic groups were as follows: Iban, 682,400 (28.9%); Chinese, 601,200 (25.5%); Malay, 524,500 (22.2%); Bidayuh, 189,200 (8%); other indigenous peoples, including Kelabit, 133,500 (5.7%); Melanau, 130,800 (5.5%); non-Malaysian, 86,700 (3.7%); and non-Sarawakian Malaysian, 9,300 (0.4%). Today, the Dayak make up about 50% of the population, with the Iban, at 29.8%, constituting the largest ethnic group in the state. As in West Malaysia, the official language in East Malaysia is Bahasa Malaysia, with English serving as a strong second language, especially in urban areas (Gill, 2002). Whilst in Sarawak, Bahasa Sarawak is widely spoken in non-official situations, in Sabah, Bahasa Sabah is more frequently used for interethnic communication than other dialects and languages.

Given the complexity and fragility of the linguistic ecology (cf. Mühlhäusler, 1996) of East Malaysia, which comprises Sabah and Sarawak, it is, as Martin (1992) has noted specifically in relation to Borneo, generally surprising that so few in-depth studies have been carried out to investigate the language usage patterns of its multilingual people.

Many urban Iban professionals who speak fluent Iban do not see a future in the Iban language, even though it is taught as a school subject in many Iban-populated schools. For these professionals, English and Malay are much preferred as school languages, and English, rather than Iban, is preferred as the language first learnt at home (Metom, 2010). Thus, the onslaught of the English language has affected the mindset of the educated and professional

Iban, Bidayuh and Orang Ulu, and this to some extent signals a danger to the heritage languages. It is hard to envisage a future for the other isolects or dialects spoken by smaller tribes in Sarawak.

Dealwis (2008), discussing the Bidayuh of Sarawak, the fourth largest group in Sarawak, with a population of 197,768 people, notes that migration, urbanisation, school language, lack of a common language, and mobility have all been cited as causes of language shift among the four main Bidayuh dialect groups. He explains that migration involves speakers moving from their ancestral homes in the rural Bidayuh Belt to cities. When communicating with fellow Bidayuh, educated Bidayuh in the towns quite often tend to use English and the less educated Sarawak Malay or Bahasa Malaysia (Dealwis and David, 2007). Notwithstanding the fact that Malay is the official and national language, this is not surprising, given that English is seen as a language of prestige. Although UNESCO has funded six Bidayuh playschools, the response from the Bidayuh themselves was not very encouraging. Many of the parents interviewed were keen to send their children to government-run preschools, where Malay, the national language, is used as the medium of instruction, as this is also the medium of instruction in the national school system. Although the Bidayuh Language Development Project still strives to develop a single Bidayuh language, interviews with leaders of the community indicated that the Bidayuh from each of the four dialect groups were quite ego-centric and refused to use any Bidayuh dialect other than their own (Dealwis, 2010, in discussion).

When a minority group in an urban area is surrounded by a more powerful group, pressures from the dominant group may restrict the use of the minority group's language to the home domain only. Generally speaking, ethnic minorities are not economically well off. By coming to the urban areas and getting better jobs than their forefathers, who worked as farmers and fishermen, they are slowly breaking the cycle of poverty. Many have become petty traders, selling vegetables, fruits and other consumer goods in the markets. Today, with the pro-Bumiputera government, which grants special rights to Malays and indigenous peoples, many members of the younger generation are educated and have become professionals. With better socio-economic status and urbanisation comes pressure to use prestige languages, which enhance status and aid mobility. Tengku Zainah (1978) reported that the younger generation of Orang Miriek (Jati Miriek) chose to speak the Sarawak Malay dialect and be identified as Sarawak Malay because they wanted to gain acceptance by other urban Sarawak Malays whom they considered superior. In another study of the same community, Bibi Aminah and Abang Ahmad Ridzuan (1992) found that the younger generation of Orang Miriek had a negative attitude to their heritage language because Bahasa Miriek was associated with being rural. In short, contact with the more affluent Brunei and Sarawak Malay has led to the adoption of new linguistic influences. Over time, the languages of the more affluent have become more acceptable to the younger generation, as they have a higher status than their own heritage languages.

There are 54 indigenous languages in Sabah. Most belong to four major language families: Dusunic, Murutic, Paitanic and Sama Bajau. Thirteen languages are classified as Dusunic. According to the 2000 Sabah census projection, speakers of Kadazan or Dusun ethnicity should have numbered 479,944, or about 18.4% of the total state population, making Kadazan and Dusun the largest single language community in Sabah. In the 1980 census, those who were not Chinese or Indian were simply listed as 'pribumi'. The labelling and re-labelling of ethnic communities has caused some problems in determining the official number of people belonging to a specific community or speaking a specific language. The arrival of the Brunei sultanate, which dominated North Borneo, gave rise to labels such as 'Bajau' (who are Muslim) and 'Dusun' (who are mostly non-Muslim). Lasi-mbang and Miller (1992) used the term 'Kadazan/Dusun', and Reid (1997, cited in Jeannet, 2000) used 'Kadazandusun' (p. 1250). On 24 January 1995, the Kadazan and Dusun communities reached an historical agreement, whereby the ethnic names or labels of 'Kadazan' and 'Dusun' were officially combined to form 'Kadazandusun', when referring to the community, and 'Kadazandusun', when referring to the language. Since 1999, the acronym KDM has repeatedly been used to signify the grouping of three communities, namely, the Kadazan, Dusun and Murut, as a single group (Tan, 1997).

Consequently, there is no single recent figure to show how many dialects spoken by the ethnic minorities in Sabah and Sarawak have actually become extinct. Burkhardt's (2006) seminar paper on the Berawan Lower Baram languages showed that languages belonging to the Berawan subgroup are spoken in four communities: Long Terawan, Batu Belah, Long Teru and Long Jegan. They are generally spoken by the elders in the community. The younger generation do not use the Berawan languages, as many of them have married exogamously or prefer speaking Bahasa Malaysia, Bahasa Sarawak or English.

Rural-urban migration is a common phenomenon among the younger generation of ethnic communities in East Malaysia. They do so in search of jobs, income and a better life due to the absence of such things in the village (Minos, 2000: 154). They go to bigger towns, such as Kuching, Sibul and Miri in Sarawak or Kota Kinabalu, Sandakan and Tawau in Sabah, in addition to Singapore and West Malaysia. When this happens, they very often adopt the language of the majority in their daily lives, and their children, who are born in these places, are often more comfortable with the dominant languages, such as Malay or English, than their mother tongues. Use of the hereditary language is thus often left to the older generations, who remain in the villages (Minos, 2000). In short, the impetus for language shift among ethnic minorities in East Malaysia is related to rural-urban migration, which encourages the use of the language of the new environment and the consequent loss in proficiency in the original mother tongue.

## Singapore

In neighbouring Singapore, more than 20 languages are spoken. Some 75% of the population is ethnic Chinese, but English is the sole medium of instruction at all levels of education, and three other official languages, i.e. Malay, Mandarin and Tamil, are taught as second languages (Pakir, 2004). Speakers of other languages can freely choose to study a language from those offered in the school curriculum. Gopinathan (1980: 178) states that Singapore has practiced bilingualism (English and a mother tongue) since independence, because it is considered important for Singaporeans to present Singapore's ethnically and linguistically diverse identity to the world. This is clearly stated in Singapore's bilingual policy, whereby English is learnt as a first language. Singaporeans also need to learn their mother tongue in schools according to their ethnic background (Mandarin for Chinese, Bahasa Melayu for Malays and Tamil for Indians). The objective of the bilingual policy is to promote the use of mother tongues so as to ensure identification with and maintenance of traditional cultures and their values.

Gopinathan (1988) explains that the need for social and political stability in a diverse multi-racial society that also facilitates rapid economic growth is the main factor influencing the Singaporean government's thinking and language policies. English is today a de facto national language in Singapore, and it is seen as a major source of economically valuable knowledge and technology, as it gives the nation access to world markets. Rapid economic growth since the 1980s seems to have helped convince the majority that knowledge of English provides better opportunities for them as individuals, as well as for the country as a whole. Therefore, despite the bilingual policy, many Singaporeans are moving towards English as a home language. The 2000 census showed Mandarin is spoken as the home language of only 45% of the country's Chinese. In fact, according to statistics from the Singapore Ministry of Education, 9.3% of first-year primary-school pupils of Chinese origin used English at home in 1980. This figure had increased to 45% by 2003. Since 1984, the Chinese language has been reduced to an isolated subject in primary and secondary schools, and all other subjects have been taught in English, which now dominates the country's education system. There is thus some concern regarding the lack of Chinese language usage, especially of dialects among Singapore's Chinese families (*People Daily Online*, 22 February 2004). The Chinese dialects include Hokkien (43.1%), Teochew (22.1%), Cantonese (16.4%), Hakka (7.4%), Hainanese (7.1%) and smaller communities of Foochow, Henghua, Shanghainese and Hokchia. Each of these sub-communities has its own 'dialect' (Wei, Saravanan and Hoon, 1997). Wei et al. (1997) conducted a study on language shift of the Singaporean Teochew community and found that the Teochew had moved away from the dialect to the use of Mandarin and English in the family domain.

At present, as a result of the bilingual educational policy and the influence of the 'Speak Mandarin' campaign, young Chinese know and use Mandarin Chinese.

The use of Mandarin has also replaced the use of other Chinese dialects, Hokkien in particular, for intra-ethnic communication in some domains. Hokkien is still known and used, but mostly by older and less educated Chinese. Mandarin is still by and large a 'high' (H) language, whilst Hokkien remains dominant in hawker centres, on buses, etc. (Kuo & Jernudd, 2003). In summary, even though Mandarin Chinese is currently included under Singapore's education policy and is also actively promoted by the Singaporean government, there is still concern as to whether Mandarin and other Chinese dialects are being effectively maintained.

I shall now move on to another ethnic group in Singapore, the Indians. Singapore's Indian population comprises 6.4% of the total population. Of that number, Tamils comprise 63.9%, Malayalees 8.6% and Punjabis 6.7%. There are also other smaller Indian speech communities, such as the Bengali, Urdu, Gujarati and Sindh (David, 2000). However, in 2000, only 3% of Singaporean Tamils used Tamil (Singapore Department of Statistics, 2000) as compared to 1985, when 54% of Tamils reported using Tamil as the principal family language (Kuo, 1985: 28). As for the other Indian speech communities, only 15% use Hindi, Gujarati, Malayalam or Punjabi (Saravanan, 1995). In reporting trends in the shift towards English, Saravanan (1999) noted that Tamil parents and their children tend to use English during family activities, although they use Tamil in prayers and to communicate with relatives. In 1991, Ramiah reported that the use of Tamil by primary school students in the domains of friends, siblings, school and reading was low. The 2000 census confirmed that of all the main ethnic groups in Singapore, the Tamils were the ones showing the largest shift from Tamil to English, which is most prominent among young Indians (in the age range of 5-14 years), those of high socioeconomic status and those with high educational attainment. Singaporean Indians are clearly experiencing language shift.

## Brunei

Brunei is a small independent Malay Islamic monarchy on the northern coast of Borneo Island. It is a multiethnic country with a population of 406,200, consisting of Malays, Chinese and other indigenous peoples (US Department of State, <http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/2700.htm>) who share similar roots with the ethnic minorities of Sabah and Sarawak. There are three major ethnic groups: the Dusun, the Penan and the Iban.

Bahasa Malaysia and English are widely spoken in Brunei, but other indigenous languages are also spoken. Bahasa Malaysia is the official language, but English, along with another eleven languages, including Brunei Malay (the language of everyday communication), Kedayan, Tutong, Belait, Dusun, Bisaya, Murut (Lun Bawang), Iban, Penan, Mukah, Mandarin, Hakka, Hokkien, Cantonese, Hainanese, Teochew and Foochow, is also used (David, Cavallaro, Coluzzi, 2009). All these languages currently occupy the lower position in a diglossic relationship

to Standard Malay and English, with the exception, perhaps, of Mandarin Chinese and Brunei Malay, and they are becoming endangered. Indeed, some languages, such as Belait, Tutong, Dusun or Penan, are on the verge of extinction. Of these ethnic languages, perhaps only three appear to be in healthy shape: Iban, Murut and Chinese (Martin, 1995: 49). According to estimates by Martin (1995), in 1995, as many as 137,000 people may have spoken at least one of these languages (excluding Brunei Malay) out of a population of 292,266 inhabitants ([http://www.theodora.com/wbf/Brunei\\_people.html](http://www.theodora.com/wbf/Brunei_people.html)), i.e. about 46.9% of the population.

In 2006, the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL) identified the number of speakers of minority languages in Brunei. The table below shows its findings:

#### Ethnic languages in Brunei

Ethnic language	Number of speakers (2006)
Belait	1,000
Bisaya Brunei	37,600
Chinese, Hakka	5,650
Chinese, Mandarin	10,600
Chinese, Min Dong	7,060
Chinese, Min Nan	13,120
Chinese, Yue	6,350
Iban	21,400
Lun Bawang	500
Melanau, Central	280
Penan, Eastern	55
Tutong	16,600

Source: Ethnologue

A number of ethnic languages in Brunei seem to be endangered due to the small number of people who speak them, including Penan, Lun Bawang, Belait, Melanau and others. The number of speakers of these languages will most likely continue to dwindle if they are not protected due to the constant rise in the number of speakers of Malay and English. Minority groups in Brunei may continue to learn these two majority languages because of their higher status. The Philippines

The Philippines is a multicultural and multilingual country, and some 100 to 150 languages are spoken throughout the Philippine archipelago (Headland, 2003). According to Gonzalez (1998), 10 major languages are spoken in the Philippines, including Tagalog, Cebuano Bisayan, Hiligaynon Bisayan, Waray (Eastern Bisayan), Ilokano, Kapampangan, Bicol, Pangasinan, Maranao and Maguindanao. Filipino, the national language, is widely used and spoken in various parts of the country, and both English and Filipino serve as official languages and are

used as media of instruction in schools, colleges and universities. English and Filipino exert a constant influence on a huge number of Filipinos, particularly those who plan to work overseas. Due to economic, social and political factors, the minority languages are no longer learnt by most people in the younger generations. As a result, some local languages are becoming extinct or can even, to some extent, be considered dying languages.

The most commonly threatened languages are those spoken by minority groups, particularly the Negrito languages. Headland (2003: 9) identified the Negrito languages in the Philippines, which can be found in various parts of the country from Luzon to Mindanao.

### Negrito languages spoken in the Philippines

LANGUAGE NAME	POPULATION SIZE IN THE 1990s	BIBLIOGRAPHIC SOURCE
Batak, Palawan Island	386	Eder 1987
Mamanwa, Mindanao Island	1,000	Grimes 2000
Ati, northern Panay Island	30	Pennoyer 1987:4
Ati, southern Panay Island	900	Pennoyer 1987:4
Ata, Negros Island	450	Cadelina 1980:96
Ata, Mabinay, Negros Oriental	25	Grimes 2000
Atta, Pamplona, western Cagayan	1,000	Grimes 2000
Atta, Faire-Rizal, western Cagayan	400	Grimes 2000
Atta, Pudtol, Kalinga-Apayao	100	Grimes 2000
Ayta, Sorsogon	40	Grimes 2000
Agta, Villa Viciosa, Abra, NW Luzon (extinct?)	0	Grimes 2000; Reid, per. comm. 2001
<b>Ayta groups of western Luzon:</b>		
Abenlen, Tarlac	6,000	K. Storck SIL files
Mag-anchi, Zambales, Tarlac, Pampanga	4,166	K. Storck SIL files
Mag-indi, Zambales, Pampanga	3,450	K. Storck SIL files
Ambala, Zambales, Pampanga, Bataan	1,654	K. Storck SIL files
Mag-beken, Bataan	381	K. Storck SIL files
<b>Agta groups of Sierra Madre, eastern Luzon:</b>		
Agta, Isarog, Camarines Sur (language nearly extinct)	1,000	Grimes 2000
Agta, Mt. Iraya & Lake Buhi east, Camarines Sur (4 close dialects)	200	Grimes 2000
Agta, Mt. Iriga & Lake Buhi west, Camarines Sur	1,500	Grimes 2000
Agta, Camarines Norte	200	Grimes 2000
Agta, Alabat Island, southern Quezon	50	Grimes 2000



Agta, Umirey, Quezon (3 close dialects)	3,000	T. MacLeod SIL files
Agta, Casiguran, northern Aurora	609	Headland 1989
Agta, Maddela, Quirino	300	Headland field notes
Agta, Palanan & Divilacan, Isabela	856	Rai 1990:176
Agta, San Mariano-Disabungan, Isabela	377	Rai 1990:176
Agta, Dicamay, Jones, Isabela (recently extinct)	0	Headland field notes; Grimes 2000
Arta, Aglipay, Quirino (pop. was 30 in 1977)	11	Headland field notes; Reid 1994:40.
Alta, Northern, Aurora	250	Reid, per. comm.
Alta, Southern, Quezon	400	Reid, per. comm.
Agta, eastern Cagayan, Dupaninan (several close dialects)	1,200	T. Nickell 1985:119
Agta, central Cagayan	800	Mayfield 1987:vii-viii; Grimes 2000
<b>32 known Negrito languages in Philippines</b>	<b>32,725</b>	<b>= Total estimated number of Negritos</b>

Source: Headland (2003)

These 32 Negrito languages in the Philippines are considered to be endangered and are now spoken by an even smaller number of people. The decrease in the number of speakers is perhaps due to education, as the younger generation learns Filipino, English and other dominant languages in school. Because of this, minority groups try to learn the majority languages, which they believe will give them a better future. Consequently, these Negrito languages face imminent demise if they are not helped. This can be prevented if language revitalisation projects are carried out, such as creating a dictionary of the Negrito languages to allow speakers to retain them. If the government were to integrate the use of ethnic languages into education, the threat of these heritage languages dying out would also be reduced.

## Conclusion

The ethnic languages of Southeast Asia, particularly in Malaysia, Singapore, Brunei and the Philippines, are slowly becoming endangered due to the constant decrease in the number of heritage-language speakers. This is due to the increasing importance of English and the national languages in these countries. Speakers are perhaps aware of the importance of English in today's globalised world. However, the chances of languages dying could be reduced if the necessary actions were taken to revitalise them. Cooperation among the government, non-governmental organisations and linguists may help to keep this fearsome possibility at bay.

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## [EURASIA]

### 2.5 The Languages in the Russian Federation



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#### Introduction

According to the latest population census, conducted in 2002, as many as 160 ethnic groups can be found in the Russian Federation. Moreover, the 145.6 million people living in Russia reported speaking a total of more than 150 languages. Russian, which is the official language throughout the country, is spoken by 98.2% of the population, another 38 languages are spoken by 23% of the population, and 114 languages are spoken by less than 1% of the population.

For the purposes of this report, we will divide all the languages spoken in Russia into five groups, as shown in Table 1. Given the context of the report, and the impossibility of covering all the languages of the Russian Federation in a single paper, our aim is for the 2010 Linguapax-Eurasia Report to provide a short overview of the country's linguistic context, consider current issues in the preservation, teaching and research of the languages of the indigenous small-numbered peoples of Northern Russia (certain languages from Group 5), and discuss the issues at stake in maintaining linguistic diversity in the Republic of Tatarstan (Group 1). Next year, we hope to report on certain languages from Groups 2, 3 and 4, as well as additional languages from Group 5.

Table 1.

Classification of the languages of the Russian Federation by number of speakers, 2002<sup>1</sup>

	Number of speakers	Number of languages falling into the category	Share of the population that reported knowing the languages (%)
	142.6 million	1 (Russian)	98.21
I	1 million or more	7	14.50
II	500,000 – 1 million	8	3.67
III	100,000 – 500,000	23	4.40
IV	50,000 – 100,000	12	0.54
V	10,000 – 50,000	21	0.42
	1,000 – 10,000	40	0.14
	Under 1,000	41	0.01

## Overview of the linguistic context of the Russian Federation

The ethnopolitical and sociolinguistic situation in Russia is characterised by an historically developed combination of the national-territorial and administrative-territorial principles of state organisation.<sup>2</sup> The Russian Federation is composed of 83 federal subjects, including 21 republics (Adygea, Altai, Bashkortostan, Buryatia, Chechnya, Chuvashia, Dagestan, Ingushetia, Kabardino-Balkaria, Kalmykia, Karachay-Cherkessia, Karelia, Khakassia, Komi, Mari El, Mordovia, North Ossetia, Tatarstan, Tuva, Udmurtia and Sakha (Yakutia)), one autonomous region, four autonomous districts (which are in fact national-administrative formations), nine territories, 46 provinces, and two cities with federal status (Moscow and St. Petersburg).

The democratic process began with perestroika in the former Soviet Union in the 1980s, which highlighted shortcomings of the country's national policy that had previously been neglected. Among them were the issues of ethnic identity development and minority language maintenance. Most of the minority languages were on the verge of extinction or severely endangered. The need to revive both a sense of ethnic self-identity and the endangered languages themselves gave rise to a sense of urgency, leading some of the titular ethnic groups

1 Tishkov, V.A., Stepanov, V.V., Funk, D.A. and Artemenko O.I. *Status of and support for linguistic diversity in the Russian Federation. Expert report*. Retrieved 18 February 2010, from <http://www.coe.ru/doc/men/info/>.

2 The same was true of the former Soviet Union.

to take radical steps in order to protect their language and identity. One by one, the republics of the former Soviet Union began to pass language laws proclaiming the languages of the titular nations to be state languages. Indeed, many politicians and sociolinguists believe that nationalist and linguistic issues, together with certain other factors, became the keystones of the break-up of the USSR, and in some cases, such as in Moldavia, language decrees and laws were the direct cause of armed conflicts. The language reforms first effected in the republics of the former Soviet Union in 1989 likewise led the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic (RSFSR) to review the linguistic situation and adopt the relevant decrees. Russia was the last to pass a law on languages, after all the other republics of the former Soviet Union.

Under the Law on the Languages of the Peoples of the Russian Federation, adopted on 25 October 1991 and the first of its kind in the history of Russia, the languages of all the peoples inhabiting the country are declared to be national assets, part of the historical and cultural heritage protected by the state. According to the Law on Languages, 'In the territory of the RSFSR, the State shall guarantee the language sovereignty of all peoples, irrespective of their number and legal status, and the language sovereignty of all persons, irrespective of origin, social or material position, race, nationality, sex, education, religion or and place of domicile' (Art. 2.2). The Russian state 'shall recognise the equal rights of all the languages of the peoples of the RSFSR to be maintained and developed. All languages of the peoples of the RSFSR shall receive state support' (Art. 3.1). In a number of the Law's articles, the languages of minority ethnic groups are guaranteed state support and the provision of the necessary conditions for their preservation and further development (Art. 6), as well as assistance in the provision of different forms of education and teaching in native languages, irrespective of the number of speakers and in accordance with their needs' (Art. 9. 5). Moreover 'any nation ... lacking a writing system of its own has the right to introduce and adopt writing in its native tongue. The state shall ensure the necessary conditions' (Art. 10. 4). Finally, '[t]he Russian language, being the main means of cross-national communication between the peoples of the RSFSR according to the established historical and cultural traditions, has the status of the state language throughout the territory of the RSFSR' (Art. 3.2).

The Law on Education of 10 July 1992 (revised and supplemented on 13 January 1996) makes reference to the Law on Languages where language policy in the field of education is concerned (Art. 6.1) and gives citizens the right to receive basic education in their mother tongue and to choose the language of instruction within the scope of possibilities provided by the educational system (Art. 6.2).

The legal regulations governing the use of the languages of the peoples of Russia and the guarantees provided for their proper development are likewise confirmed at the constitutional level. The Constitution of the Russian Federation, adopted on 12 December 1993, prohibits the propagation of language superiority (Art. 29.2), recognises Russian as the official state language, provides for the right of republics within the Federation to introduce their own

official state languages, and guarantees all the peoples of the Russian Federation the right to maintain their mother tongue and appropriate conditions to study and cultivate it (Art. 68).

The two other important documents are the Federal Law on General Principles for the Organisation of Local Self-Government, of 28 August 1995 (revised on 22 April 1996), which links municipal schooling to local self-government (Art. 6.2.6), and the Federal Law on National and Cultural Autonomy, of 17 June 1996, which proclaims state protection of mother tongues (Art. 8), provides for the right to maintain and cultivate mother tongues (Art. 9) and recognises the right to receive basic education in a native tongue, as well as to choose the language of education and instruction (Arts. 10, 11, 12).

Thus, the legislation of the Russian Federation and the principle of state organisation became important factors in declaring the languages of the titular nations of most of the ethnic republics to be official languages of those republics together with the state language, Russian. In some republics, several languages were declared official.

**Table 2.**

**Official languages of the republics of the Russian Federation in addition to Russian<sup>3</sup>**

Republic of the Russian Federation	Official language(s)
Adygea	Adyghe
Altai	Altaic
Bashkortostan	Bashkir
Buryatia	Buryat
Ingushetia	Ingush
Kabardino-Balkaria	Kabardian, Balkar
Kalmykia	Kalmyk
Karachay-Cherkessia	Karachay, Cherkess, Abaza, Nogai
Komi	Komi (Komi-Zyrian)
Mari El	Mari (Hill Mari and Meadow Mari)
Mordovia	Mordvin (Moksha Mordvin, Erzya Mordvin)
North Ossetia-Alania	Ossetian
Tatarstan	Tatar
Tuva	Tuvan
Udmurtia	Udmurt
Khakassia	Khakas
Chuvashia	Chuvash
Chechnya	Chechen
Sakha (Yakutia)	Yakut

<sup>3</sup> Tishkov, V.A., Stepanov, V.V., Funk, D.A. and Artemenko O.I. *Status of and support for linguistic diversity in the Russian Federation. Expert report*. Retrieved 18 February 2010, from <http://www.coe.ru/doc/men/info/>.



The 2002 All-Russia Population Census<sup>4</sup> once again confirmed that the Russian Federation can be considered one of the most multi-ethnic states in the world. In keeping with their constitutional right, respondents self-identified their ethnicity. As a result, more than 800 distinct answers were received, which were then classified according to experts' suggestions into 140 ethnic and 40 sub-ethnic groups.<sup>5</sup>

Russians are the largest ethnic group (about 116 million people) and comprise about 83% of the country's population. For the first time, the 2002 Population Census collected information on knowledge of the state language: 98% of the population claimed to know the Russian language. Other widely spoken languages included English (6.95 million), Tatar (5.34 million), German (2.89 million) and Ukrainian (1.81 million), among others (see Appendix 1).

One might be surprised to see English listed as one of the most widely spoken languages in Russia. To understand this situation, it is useful to see how the relevant questions of the 2002 census questionnaire were framed:

*Question No. 9.1. Do you know Russian? Yes                      No*

*Question No. 9.2. What other languages do you know? \_\_\_\_\_*

[A number of answers are possible. The instructions issued to the census-taker state that the native language should be entered first.]

As can be seen, respondents could report knowing both several languages and any language, whereas in the previous census (1989), conducted during Soviet times, the languages to choose from were restricted to those of the country's people. Compare:

*Question No. 9. Native language \_\_\_\_\_*

*Please specify which other language of the peoples of the USSR you are fluent in \_\_\_\_\_*

For the 2002 census, 35.9 million people reported knowing languages other than Russian, as compared to 21 million in the Soviet census. As some experts see it, the reason for this huge disparity is not an increase in actual knowledge, but rather that the 2002 census questionnaire contained two more lines than the 1989 version.<sup>6</sup>

As in 1989, the 2002 All-Russian Census registered seven ethnic groups with a population over one million, although some changes had taken place

<sup>4</sup> The 2002 All-Russian Population Census. Retrieved 15 February 2010, from <http://www.perepis2002.ru/index.html?id=17>.

<sup>5</sup> Zbarskaya, I.A. On the Results of the All-Russia Population Census of 2002 (Збарская И.А. Об итогах всероссийской переписи населения 2002 года). Retrieved 15 February 2010. V. U. Zorin, leader of the working group that prepared the results of the 2002 All-Russia Population Census for publication, explains the large variety of answers to the question on ethnic identity by noting that there are dialectal differences in naming the same ethnic groups, and many times multiple ethnonyms are used, even within a single ethnic group.

<sup>6</sup> Tishkov, V.A., Stepanov, V.V., Funk, D.A. and Artemenko, O.I. *Status of and support for linguistic diversity in the Russian Federation. Expert report*. Retrieved 18 February 2010, from <http://www.coe.ru/doc/men/info/>.

in the make-up of this group: Chechens and Armenians had joined the list, while Belorussians and Mordvins had fallen off. Table 3 shows the changes in the populations of the largest ethnic groups and the knowledge of native languages reported by respondents:

**Table 3.**

**Population of the largest ethnic groups and knowledge of the native language**

	1989 (mil. people)	2002 (mil. people)	Reported knowing the language (mil. people)
Tatars	5.52	5.56	5.34
Ukrainians	4.36	2.94	1.81
Bashkirs	1.35	1.67	1.37
Chuvash	1.77	1.64	1.32
Chechens	0.90	1.36	1.33
Armenians	0.53	1.13	0.9
Mordvins	1.07	0.84	0.61
Belorussians	1.21	0.81	0.31

Not counting the two foreign languages most widely taught at Russian educational institutions (English and German), the most widely spoken languages appear to be those of the largest ethnic groups. Specifically, they are Tatar (5.34 million people), Ukrainian (1.81 million) and Bashkir (1.37 million). As can be seen, the population of Tatars and Bashkirs is slightly higher than the number of people who reported knowing the Tatar and Bashkir languages, and there are three times as many Ukrainians as Ukrainian-speakers. Four of the languages in this group (Tatar, Bashkir, Chuvash and Chechen) are official languages of republics within Russia, while Ukrainian and Armenian do not have official status.

As mentioned in the introduction, there are significant differences in population size among the country's ethnic groups. The Russian Federation inherited the Soviet classification, according to which there are 'large' peoples or ethnic groups<sup>7</sup> (i.e. with a population of more than 50,000) and 'small' ones<sup>8</sup> (fewer than 50,000). The languages of the 'large' peoples have always been more 'developed' than those of the 'small' ones, enjoying such distinguishing features as prestige and power, as well as standardised written forms and the availability of formal education in the native language. To better protect the rights of 'small' peoples, the government expanded the list of 'small' indigenous peoples of the North compiled in Soviet times from 27 entries to 40. Importantly, this expansion included some ethnic groups

7 The term 'peoples' is more widely used in Russia than the terms 'ethnic groups' or 'nations'.

8 For a list of Russia's small indigenous populations, as defined by Russian law, broken down by region, see [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List\\_of\\_small-numbered\\_indigenous\\_peoples\\_of\\_Russia](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_small-numbered_indigenous_peoples_of_Russia); for a list of Russia's larger indigenous populations, see [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List\\_of\\_larger\\_indigenous\\_peoples\\_of\\_Russia](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_larger_indigenous_peoples_of_Russia); and for a list of extinct indigenous populations in Russia, see [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List\\_of\\_extinct\\_indigenous\\_peoples\\_of\\_Russia](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_extinct_indigenous_peoples_of_Russia). Retrieved 18 March 2010.

whose existence had not previously been officially recognised. These groups and their languages now enjoy the protection of the law; nevertheless, most of these languages remain endangered to varying degrees.

The next chapter will discuss certain current issues surrounding the languages of the 'small' peoples of the North, Siberia and the Far East,<sup>9</sup> which we shall call, in keeping with Russian tradition and for the sake of convenience, 'the indigenous small-numbered peoples of the North of the Russian Federation' or, simply, 'the indigenous small-numbered peoples of the North'.

## The languages of the indigenous small-numbered peoples of the North of the Russian Federation: Current issues in preservation, teaching and research

The languages known in Russia as the languages of the indigenous small-numbered peoples of the North of the Russian Federation include the following, belonging to different language families and groups:<sup>10</sup>

### The Uralic languages:

The Finno-Ugric languages: Saami (Lappish) (spoken by 787 people) and the Ob-Ugrian languages – Khanty (13,568) and Mansi (2,746);

The Samoyedic languages: Nenets (31,311), Enets (119), Nganasan (505) and Selkup (1,641);

### The Altaic languages:

The Turkic languages: Dolgan (4,865) and Tofalar (378);

The Manchu-Tungus languages: Evenki (7,584), Even (7,168), Negidal (147), Oroch (257), Udeghe (227), Nanai (3,886), Ulchi (732) and Orok (346);

### The Paleo-Siberian languages:

The Chukchi-Kamchadal languages: Chukchi (7,742), Koryak (3,019), Aliutor (40) and Kerek (15);

The Eskimo-Aleutian languages: Eskimo and its dialects (1,750) and Aleutian (540)

The Nivkh language (688)

The Yukaghir language (604)

The Ket language (485)

<sup>9</sup> For a detailed account of the languages of the indigenous small-numbered peoples of the North, see Tishkov, V.A., Stepanov, V.V., Funk, D.A. and Artemenko, O.I. *Status of and support for linguistic diversity in the Russian Federation. Expert report*, pp. 14-16, 28-35, retrieved from <http://www.coe.ru/doc/men/info/>, and Grenoble, L.A. and Whaley, L.J. *Saving languages: an introduction to language revitalization*, pp. 70-78. Retrieved on 18 July 2010, from [http://books.google.ru/books?id=z0pczyth-XgC&printsec=frontcover&dq=Lenor+Grenoble&source=bl&ots=aw3-iuJvL6&sig=CpgKxBln9N6Zwi7H-vXZb4UedE8&hl=ru&ei=5TNDTOzclY\\_\\_OeOCxZIN&sa=X&oi=book\\_result&ct=result&resnum=9&ved=0CEUQ6AEwCA#v=onepage&q&f=false](http://books.google.ru/books?id=z0pczyth-XgC&printsec=frontcover&dq=Lenor+Grenoble&source=bl&ots=aw3-iuJvL6&sig=CpgKxBln9N6Zwi7H-vXZb4UedE8&hl=ru&ei=5TNDTOzclY__OeOCxZIN&sa=X&oi=book_result&ct=result&resnum=9&ved=0CEUQ6AEwCA#v=onepage&q&f=false).

<sup>10</sup> *Krasnaya kniga yazykov narodov Rossii* [The Red Book of the Languages of the Peoples of Russia]. Moscow, 2002.

One could argue that, since the second half of the 1980s, with the start of perestroika in the former Soviet Union, the languages of the indigenous small-numbered peoples of the North of the Russian Federation have received more attention under the country's domestic policy.

Several academic institutions are conducting linguistic, sociolinguistic and ethno-linguistic research on these languages. They include several research institutes within the Russian Academy of Sciences system: the N.N. Miklukho-Maklai Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology, the Institute of Linguistics (Moscow), the Institute of Linguistic Research, the Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography - Kunstkamera (St. Petersburg), the Institute of Philology, the Institute of Archaeology and Ethnography of the Siberian Branch of the Russian Academy of Science, Novosibirsk State University (Novosibirsk), the Institute of Research in Humanities and the Small-numbered Peoples of the North (Siberian Branch of the Russian Academy of Sciences, Yakutsk) and the Institute of History, Archaeology and Ethnography of the Far East (Far East Branch of the Russian Academy of Science, Vladivostok).

In addition to studying the sociolinguistic and ethnolinguistic status of these languages and ethnic groups, the experts from the regional, as well as the Moscow and St. Petersburg, academic institutions do a lot of work documenting the languages, gathering language materials for grammatical descriptions and typological studies and recording samples of traditional folklore.

Experts in these languages and the traditional culture of the indigenous peoples of the North of the Russian Federation, as well as would-be teachers of these languages at secondary schools, universities and vocational schools, are trained at a number of educational institutions: the Herzen State Pedagogical University of Russia (Institute of Peoples of the North) in St. Petersburg, Yugorian State University in Khanty-Mansiysk (since the early 1990s), M.K. Ammosov Yakutsk State University in Yakutsk, the Northern International University in Magadan, and the Khabarovsk State Pedagogical Institute in Khabarovsk. Future teachers of native languages for primary and secondary schools, as well as educators for preschool day care centres (kindergartens), are also trained at the pedagogical colleges in the regional capitals of the autonomous territories: Salekhard, Khanty-Mansiysk, Yakutsk, Anadyr and Palana (Kamchatka).

Nowadays practically all the languages of the indigenous small-numbered peoples of the North have writing systems based on the Cyrillic alphabet and primary-school teaching manuals. School manuals have even been created for the study of Orok (190 native speakers) as a native language with the assistance of scholars from Japan.

The cultural heritage and languages of the indigenous small-numbered peoples of the North enjoy legislative protection in some regions. For instance, in the Khanty-Mansiysk and Yamal-Nenets autonomous regions, special laws on the traditional folklore of indigenous peoples have been adopted.

Educational policy, curricula, syllabi and teaching material, including instructors' manuals for teaching the indigenous languages of the North, are elaborated by the Federal Institute for the Development of Education of the Russian Academy of Pedagogical Sciences (formerly, the Institute for Ethnic Issues related to Education), which likewise provides training for high-level experts representing the peoples of the North and other regions of Russia on general and ethnic pedagogy and on methods for teaching the native languages and traditional cultures of indigenous peoples. The International Polar Academy – the new educational institution established in St. Petersburg with the participation of France in 1990 – offers training for the representatives of indigenous peoples to become specialists in management.

Noted below are some of the outcomes of the extensive work conducted in Russia over the last 20 years:

- The reduction in the number of native speakers of the indigenous languages of the North of the Russian Federation has been slightly slowed;
- Some indigenous languages of the North of Russia are taught today in the first and second or all primary school grades; most languages are taught in the first to ninth or first to eleventh grades.
- For the first time, textbooks for teaching the indigenous languages and native literature of many indigenous peoples of the North with populations of between 10,000 and 30,000 people (Nenets, Khanty, Evenki, Even and Chukchi) have been published.
- The publication of books in the indigenous languages of the peoples of the North of the Russian Federation has received the support of Federal programmes and regional governments: each region has its own policy for publishing books.
- Despite difficulties finding qualified specialists, print and electronic media have been put out in the indigenous languages of the North of the Russian Federation, including newspapers with limited circulations and TV and radio broadcasts of up to several hours a week.
- Training has been offered to native language teachers in order to ensure the continued existence of teaching staff.
- To ensure the continued existence of scholars who research the indigenous languages and cultures of the peoples of the North, the corresponding specialists have also been successfully trained.
- Papers have been published on the languages and cultures of the indigenous peoples of the North, including some by outstanding Russian scholars from the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

One of the most remarkable events in the research of traditional folklore and the publication of scientific literature on the folklore of the peoples of the

North of the Russian Federation was the publication of the book series *The Heritage of the Folklore of the Indigenous Peoples of Siberia and the Far East* in the languages of these peoples and in Russian translation. These books have been published in Novosibirsk since 1990. Books on the folklore of the Evenkis, Dolgans, Nenets, Mansis, Nanais, Udeghes and Yukagirs have been published so far. Another series of books, *The Heritage of the Ethnic Cultures of the Indigenous Peoples of the North, Siberia and the Far East*, has been published by a group of organisations in Novosibirsk since 2004 and includes dictionaries of the languages of the peoples of the North and Siberia, as well as monographic articles on the languages, folklore and traditional culture of these peoples. A total of more than 20 books have been issued in this series.

All the abovementioned factors offer a certain guarantee for preserving the languages of the indigenous peoples of the North of the Russian Federation for the next 20-25 years and for maintaining a comfortable environment for them to function as a means of intra-ethnic family communication, to transmit the basics of traditional tangible and intangible heritage, and to serve as the ethnic markers of the indigenous peoples and the brands of the territories of the Russian North, where the aboriginal peoples live.

However, despite the significant achievements and extensive work done to preserve and develop the languages of the indigenous small-numbered peoples of the North, there are a number of challenges and serious problems for which an adequate solution has yet to be found.

### **Issues concerning the functioning of the languages of the indigenous small-numbered peoples of the North of the Russian Federation**

The functioning of indigenous languages has been substantially limited by the spread of the Russian language among the peoples of the North, not least because Russian is the language of education and culture. Additionally, the educational level of the local population has, since Soviet times, traditionally been overestimated. The professional and educational structure of the native communities has thus been deformed to a certain extent. (Among the local population with higher education, there are more teachers and workers in charge of cultural and educational activities than medical staff. Similarly training for administrative workers was recently launched, and it does not entail learning the native languages.) Some of the difficulties in preserving indigenous languages are due to the fact that the educational level of the different generations of local peoples changed dramatically between the 1950s and the 1990s, when compulsory secondary education was introduced; education in one's native language and teaching of the mother tongue throughout secondary school were not previously provided.

Knowledge of traditional folklore in the languages of the indigenous small-numbered peoples of the North is widespread among representatives of the

older generations. Differences in education and lifestyle between the different generations hamper the maintenance of local languages, creating obstacles to using the languages as means of communication between people of various ages and preventing their intergenerational transmission.

There are certain objective complexities involved in functioning in those languages of the peoples of the North of the Russian Federation whose speakers live in different administrative regions (Khanty, Nenets, Evenki, Even, Dolgan, Udeghe, Nivkh and Chukchi) and in languages with significant dialectal variability (Khanty, Evenki, Even, Nivkh, Koryak and Eskimo). Experts finally realised that, in situations of dialectal variability, any support provided can be provided to all dialects irrespective of the number of people who speak them or the availability of a unified written literary language; however, the peculiarities of each dialect are not properly considered in the teaching of indigenous languages or when developing teaching materials.

### **Issues in developing literature in the languages of the indigenous small-numbered peoples of the North of the Russian Federation**

Literature in the languages of the indigenous small-numbered peoples of the North of the Russian Federation has traditionally been intended for school children and is of little interest to the adult users of the languages and the bearers of traditional cultures. It must be recognised that this restriction and approach was an artificial one that interfered with the preservation of spiritual culture and native languages among the representatives of the older generations. The literary works created between the 1930s and 1970s are rather difficult for contemporary readers due to the language in which they are written and plots excessively influenced by Soviet ideology. The new generation of local writers mostly writes in Russian, as the number of people able to read in their native language is decreasing.

The translation of Russian literature and the literature of other peoples of Russia into the languages of the indigenous small-numbered peoples of the North has practically ceased in recent years. It is worth noting that between the 1930s and 1960s the goal of translating Russian-language literature into the languages of the indigenous small-numbered peoples of the North was to familiarise them with Russian and European literature, even though then, and especially now, translation could be an extremely useful tool to develop the written literary languages of the native peoples of the North and hone the literary skills of individuals who are professionally engaged in literary writing, journalism and teaching the native languages of the indigenous peoples of the North at schools and other educational institutions.

## Issues in documenting, researching and popularising traditional folklore in the languages of the indigenous small-numbered peoples of the North of the Russian Federation

Different approaches are taken to appreciating the value of the traditional folklore of the peoples of the North in different regions. In the autonomous regions of Western Siberia (Khanty, Mansi and Nenets), traditional folklore is protected by law, creating favourable conditions for increasing the creativity of the experts in the field of folklore study and of folklore performers. For example, in Yakutia this is true of the performers of the Yakut epic 'Olonkho'. In these regions, measures are taken to accumulate recordings of samples of the traditional folklore of the native peoples in specialised archives. However, these measures make it hard for scholars who do not belong to the native communities or who live in other regions of Russia to research the folklore of these peoples.

In other regions, the attitude towards the traditional folklore of the aboriginal peoples can be characterised as indifferent. In the Magadan region and Khabarovsk territory, Russian-language imitations of the traditional folklore of native peoples are becoming popular (Samsonenko, Z. and Trofimov, E.). Such works represent the authors' interpretations of the motifs of traditional folklore. Such a state of affairs can probably be explained by the wane of national literature, which did not break its genetic connection to folklore in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. In educational institutions, in-service teacher retraining institutes and regional professional development centres, folklore is used as a means of bringing up children in a traditional way; however, there are serious obstacles to this approach, including a scarcity of authentic folklore materials and, crucially, the lack of new textbooks compiled for this specific purpose, as well as of anthologies of the different folklore genres representing the full spectrum of genres and offering a sufficient number of samples of each one. Unfortunately, even *The Heritage of the Folklore of the Peoples of Siberia and the Far East* series, which is undoubtedly the best edition of samples of the folklore of the native peoples of the North, does not offer teachers and experts in methods of teaching native languages enough texts to help their students acquire the native languages and learn about traditional cultures.

Recent research has made it possible to introduce new, hitherto unknown archival materials on the folklore of the indigenous small-numbered peoples of the North of the Russian Federation, as well as some particularly valuable audio recordings.<sup>11</sup> However, most of these materials have not been translated into Russian, which would be of great value for scientific research and studying the history of the research on the languages and cultures of these

11 Burykin, A.A., Girfanova, A.H, Kastrov, A.J., Marchenko J.I., Svetozarova, N.D. and Shiff, V.P. *The Collections of the Peoples of the North in the Phonogram Archive of Pushkin House*. St. Petersburg, Department of Philology of St. Petersburg State University, 2005, p. 131.)



peoples. Even the recordings of the voices of the first writers and poets representing the indigenous small-numbered peoples of the North discovered in large quantities in the Phonogram Archive of the Institute of Russian Literature (Pushkin House) of the Russian Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg remain unclaimed, despite their great value for studying the history of the culture of these peoples in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, as well as the sociolinguistic situation in aboriginal communities between the 1930s and 1950s.

For more than 10 years, there has been a certain negative tendency in the preservation and diffusion of the traditional folklore of the indigenous small-numbered peoples of the North to popularise those forms of folklore and culture that do not require knowledge of the native languages – music, dance, singing, art and crafts. The practice of these fields of traditional culture that are not supported by language, the neglect of verbal folklore and written literature, with traditions dating back almost one hundred years for most of these peoples, leaves all the aforementioned forms of culture sorely underrepresented and makes the traditional culture of the people of the North seem much poorer than it really is.

### **Issues in teaching and the development of teaching materials in the languages of the indigenous small-numbered peoples of the North of the Russian Federation**

Over the last 10 years, the publishing of textbooks and manuals in the languages of the indigenous small-numbered peoples of the North of the Russian Federation has been marked by certain negative trends that were not characteristic of earlier times. Until the late 1990s, textbooks in the languages of the indigenous peoples of the North developed in 1970s and 1980s were still being reprinted in large quantities or reissued as revised editions. Those manuals were written in the languages that teachers used in the 1950s and 1960s and were intended for use with a different language-teaching method to increase the literacy and develop the reading and writing skills of native speakers in their mother tongue. Reprinting or revising such textbooks does not allow for crucial changes in methods for teaching native languages or in the language material itself, which should obviously be different if school children have not spoken the target language since childhood. The textbooks and manuals for the schools of the North are often compiled from the texts of old textbooks and literary editions. In our view, new textbooks should be designed to teach languages from the beginner level, which is why the very latest approaches should be used. To this end, the first order of business must be to select language material, vocabulary, grammar and basic communication skills, for different levels of language learning. The publication of picture dictionaries for some of the indigenous languages of the North is not conducive to learning in practice, as not enough

attention is given to teaching the spoken forms of native languages in the educational process.

The two publishing houses with most experience in developing teaching materials for the schools of the indigenous small-numbered peoples of the North of the Russian Federation, the St. Petersburg branch of the Prosveshchenie publishing house and the Drofa-Saint-Petersburg publishing house, have scaled back their publication of textbooks in indigenous languages to a minimum and today only publish such textbooks by request of individual regions. Meanwhile, local communities do not publish textbooks at all. Instead, they mainly publish teachers' manuals, the quality of which is far from perfect.

Since the 1980s, the Prosveshchenie publishing house has published a series of educational dictionaries (single-volume ethnic language-Russian and Russian-ethnic language dictionaries consisting of some 3,000 to 4,000 words) of the languages of the indigenous small-numbered people of the North for use in primary schools. So far, the company has published these dictionaries in more than 20 languages. They are used to teach these languages in secondary schools and even universities due to the lack of other dictionaries. However, many of these dictionaries have already become hard to find and are inaccessible in the regions where the indigenous peoples live. A second edition of these dictionaries would thus seem to be the barest necessity, and no revision is required to reprint them. However, local communities seem to show little interest in such publications, which could also serve as valuable teaching materials and the most accessible manuals for interested researchers to study the indigenous languages, irrespective of their scientific specialisation or nationality. The reprinting of larger versions of the dictionaries (volumes of between 8,000 and 20,000 words) is much more slow-going. New, more extensive volumes have been published for only two languages: Evenki<sup>12</sup> and Khanty.<sup>13</sup>

One serious problem in teaching the languages of the indigenous small-numbered peoples of the North is determining who should learn them. Traditionally, it has been compulsory in the Russian Federation for school children from local communities to learn their native languages; however, the student populations at schools and other educational institutions today come from both the local community and newcomer Russian-speaking communities. Although, beginning in the 1990s, positive experiences have been gained in teaching local languages to students from newcomer populations; the growing pupil contingent and the increase in the number of pupils who have not studied the language in question calls for a new technique for teaching the indigenous languages of the North, sufficient numbers of new textbooks, and the availability of both complete sets of these textbooks and

12 Boldyrev, B.V. *The Russian Evenki Dictionary*. Novosibirsk, 1994. Boldyrev, B.V. *The Evenki-Russian Dictionary. Parts 1-2*. Novosibirsk, 2000.

13 Solovar, V.N. *The Khanty-Russian Dictionary*. St. Petersburg, 2006.

the necessary extra copies to accommodate possible growth in the number of students wishing to learn the language. At present, these problems cannot be solved for the following reasons:

- The lack of unified objectives for the teaching of local languages in the regions and of the corresponding curricula;
- The general instability of secondary school curricula with regard to providing teaching hours for language courses, including Russian, the native language and a foreign language;
- Misinterpretation of the optimum parity between the native and Russian languages in the educational process for each year of study (grades 1-11) in terms of the ratio of hours for each language per week;
- Insufficient consideration of native-language teaching strategies for middle school (grades 5-9) and high school (grades 9-11) students, compounded by a lack of the necessary teaching materials for communicative language teaching suited to pupils' general level of knowledge;
- The limited conditions for teaching the languages of the indigenous small-numbered peoples of the North of the Russian Federation in pre-school day-care centres (kindergartens), which is related to the lack of a teacher-training system for the teaching of native languages to very young learners and the lack of the necessary teaching materials;
- The impossibility of implementing a systemic approach to developing new methodologies for teaching the indigenous languages of the North, given the use of multiple syllabi and textbooks depending on the pupil contingent, the language situation and the teacher's objectives;
- Inadequate conditions for all interested individuals, irrespective of age or membership in the local community, to learn the languages of the indigenous small-numbered peoples of the North;
- The limited scientific staff specialised in researching the languages of the indigenous small-numbered peoples of the North, as well as in teaching them (and teaching about them) at educational institutions, including universities;
- The urgent need to develop online resources offering electronic versions of grammars, textbooks and dictionaries of the languages of the indigenous small-numbered peoples of the North, as well as publications about these peoples and their languages that make the materials more easily accessible.

In sum, a lot has been done to preserve, research and teach the languages of the indigenous small-numbered peoples of the North of the Russian Federation, but much more is still required to safeguard their continued existence.

## Maintaining linguistic diversity: A case study of the Republic of Tatarstan

The Republic of Tatarstan is one of the Volga Federal Districts of the Russian Federation and has a population of 5.56 million people, 5.34 million of whom claim to know the Tatar language, the official language of Tatarstan along with the state language, Russian.

The Volga Federal District includes six of the Russian Federation's 21 republics: Tatarstan, Bashkortostan, Mari El, Mordovia, Udmurtia and Chuvashia. The indigenous populations in these republics make up between 29.3% (the Udmurt Republic) and 67.8% (the Chuvash Republic) of their overall populations. The Russian language, as the language of the power structures, education, media, and means of interethnic communication, holds the dominant position in these republics. According to the 2002 census, 93% of Bashkirs, 97% of Maris, 98.7% of Mordvins, 92.9% of Tatars, 98.4% of Udmurts and 95.6% of Chuvashes reported knowing Russian. In contrast, 74.7% of Bashkirs, 78.5% of Maris, 84.6% of Mordvins, 94.2% of Tatars, 71.8% of Udmurts and 85.8% of Chuvashes reported knowing the native ethnic languages of the republics of the Volga region. All the region's republics are ethnically diverse. For example, members of more than 140 ethnic groups live in the Republic of Tatarstan, although the two groups making up the majority of the population are the Tatars (52.9%) and the Russians (39.5%).

The Republic of Tatarstan can be considered one of the most advanced in transforming its statehood and reforming the functional status of the languages of its population. In compliance with the Law on the Languages of the Peoples of the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic (1991) and the Law on the Languages of the Peoples of the Republic of Tatarstan (1992), the State Programmes on Preserving, Researching and Developing the Languages of the Peoples of the Republic of Tatarstan were developed and adopted first for the period of 1994-2003, then for the period of 2004-2013. Much has been done to implement these programmes: for example, today there is a real possibility to choose the language of a child's upbringing and education and to develop the republic's multicultural and multi-confessional community.

The legislation in both Tatarstan and the other titular republics gives considerable attention to the 'titular' population and its language and culture, as well as to other indigenous ethnic communities that have been living in the republic for a long time. In the republics of Tatarstan, Udmurtia, Mordovia and Bashkortostan, there are legal instruments and inter-republican agreements designed to support the cultural and linguistic development of the titular groups living outside the relevant autonomous entities. For example, the Republic of Tatarstan has pledged to support within its borders the culture and language of the Mordovian minority (0.6% of the population), while the Republic of Mordovia, in turn, supports the culture and language of its Tatar community (5% of the population).

According to data from the Tartar Ministry of Education and Science, in 2009, 1,061 schools used the Tatar language as their medium of instruction and 888 used Russian; 100% of children of Russian ethnicity and 48.4 % of Tatar children are taught in their native languages; and some 32 schools use the specialised Russian ethno-cultural curriculum, the ‘The Russian language in Tatarstan’ programme. To ensure the necessary conditions for the harmonious linguistic development of the republic’s multiethnic population, 120 schools were opened to teach in Chuvash (7392 pupils), 21 in Mari (850), 5 in Mordovian (103), 41 in Udmurt (1086), 1 in Bashkir (12), and 1 in Hebrew (221). Moreover, 44 Sunday schools were set up within the national-cultural autonomies for the other 28 languages.

Coordination of language policy between the Federal centre and the republics is the key factor in language development in Russia. In particular, it affects titular ethnic groups settled in other ethnic communities outside the relevant republics. For example, only 36% of all Tatars living in Russia reside in the Republic of Tatarstan, and only 5-6% of all Russian Tatars have the possibility of receiving a school education in their native ethnic language. According to the 2002 census, only 73% of Tatars living in Russia reported knowing their native language.

One can hope that in the democratic federation the conditions needed to preserve and develop the native languages of all regions will eventually be provided. Indeed, the Republic of Tatarstan has taken just such an approach to solving the language problem. According to the 2002 census, 86.5% of Chuvashes living in the Republic of Tatarstan speak their native language, whereas in the Republic of Chuvashia only 85.8% do. Likewise, 87.4% of Udmurts residing in Tatarstan know their native language, while only 71.8% of those residing in the Republic of Udmurtia do. The figures for Maris are 74.5% and 78.5%, respectively; for Mordovians, they are 79% and 84.6%. It is worth noting that the first secondary school to use the Udmurt language as a medium of instruction was opened not in the Republic of Udmurtia but in Tatarstan.

To implement the provisions of the language laws of both the republics and the federal centre, federal programmes should be set up to preserve and maintain the country’s linguistic diversity. While a state programme does exist to support the development of the Russian language, there is no intelligible federal policy on preserving and developing the languages of the other peoples of Russia despite the fact that the UNESCO Atlas of Endangered Languages has warned that 136 languages in the Russian Federation are on the verge of extinction.<sup>14</sup>

One of the main factors in developing the native languages of the titular population of the republics of Russia along with the other ethnic minority languages must be to raise language awareness among the peoples and increase the prestige of the ethnic languages. Sociological surveys have verified

<sup>14</sup> *Arguments of the Week* (newspaper), No. 18 (2008), issue of 13 May 2010.

the paramount role of language among other factors influencing an individual's ethnic identity. People rarely realise, when identifying themselves with a certain culture, that the most decisive values are being formed through direct inclusion in a living language environment. Survey results certify that there are problems with the development of language self-identification. According to our own data, most Tatars (68%) living in the Republic of Tatarstan are willing to raise their children and grandchildren in the traditions of their ethnic culture; however, more than the half (53%) prefer to educate their children in Russian-language schools, with the Tatar language being taught as a subject. Though Tatars make up a slightly larger share of the republic's population and 93% of them reported knowing the native language, actual language behaviour in the republic can be counted as 1 to 2 in favour of Russian. One can expect these figures to be even more dramatic with regard to Tatars living in Russia at large.

Thus, possessing the country's second most widely spoken language, the Tatars and the Government of the Republic of Tatarstan are trying to create conditions that are conducive to preserving the republic's linguistic diversity. At the same time, there is concern regarding the increasing number of Tatars who do not know their native language: according to the 2002 census, of some 5.56 million Tatars, 1.6 million claimed not to know their mother tongue.

## Conclusion

The 2010 Linguapax-Eurasia Report provided information on two cases within the linguistic context of the Russian Federation: first, the languages of the indigenous small-numbered peoples of the North, Siberia and the Far East of the Russian Federation; second, the maintenance of linguistic diversity within the country's second-largest ethnic community, the Tatars of the Republic of Tatarstan. We chose these two dramatically different cases for this report in order to highlight the sheer variety of language situations found in a single country. The choice moreover allowed us to talk about as many languages as possible rather than to concentrate on just one or two.

Though in both cases several languages with different numbers of native speakers are considered, the sociolinguistic situation of all ethnic languages is characterised by attrition, and in both cases there is concern regarding the preservation of the local languages and the need to create better conditions for their development. With regard to the indigenous languages of the North, a number of the issues discussed in relation to these languages should serve as a warning sign for those engaged in saving the country's language heritage, whereas the case of the Republic of Tatarstan can be viewed as a good example of maintaining linguistic diversity and considering contact languages under regional legislation.

## Appendix

Population of the Russian Federation by knowledge of languages, based on 2002 data<sup>15</sup>

	Languages that respondents reported knowing:	Number of people	Share of the population, %
1	Russian	142,573,285	98.2
2	English	6,955,315	4.8
3	Tatar	5,347,706	3.7
4	German	2,895,147	2.0
5	Ukrainian	1,815,210	1.3
6	Bashkir	1,379,727	1.0
7	Chechen	1,331,844	0.9
8	Chuvash	1,325,382	0.9
9	Armenian	904,892	0.6
10	Avar	784,84	0.5
11	French	705,217	0.5
12	Azerbaijani	669,757	0.5
13	Mordvin. Moksha Mordvin. Erzya Mordvin	614,26	0.4
14	Kabardino-Cherkess	587,547	0.4
15	Kazakh	563,749	0.4
16	Dargin	503,523	0.3
17	Ossetian	493,61	0.3
18	Udmurt	463,837	0.3
19	Kumyk	458,121	0.3
20	Yakut	456,288	0.3
21	Meadow-Eastern Mari (Mari)	451,033	0.3
22	Ingush	405,343	0.3
23	Lezgin	397,31	0.3
24	Buryat	368,807	0.3
25	Belarusian	316,89	0.2
26	Karachay-Balkar	302,748	0.2
27	Georgian	286,285	0.2
28	Tuvan	242,754	0.2

<sup>15</sup> Tishkov, V.A., Stepanov, V.V., Funk, D.A. and Artemenko, O.I. *Status of and support for linguistic diversity in the Russian Federation. Expert report*. Retrieved 18 July 2010, from <http://www.coe.ru/doc/men/info/>.

29	Uzbek	238,831	0.2
30	Komi	217,316	0.1
31	Romani	166,514	0.1
32	Turkish	161,319	0.1
33	Kalmyk	153,602	0.1
34	Lak	153,373	0.1
35	Moldovan	147,035	0.1
36	Tadzhik	131,53	0.1
37	Adyghe	129,419	0.1
38	Tabasaran	128,391	0.1
39	Spanish	111,9	0.1
40	Komi-Permyak	94,328	0.1
41	Polish	94,038	0.1
42	Nogai	90,02	0.1
43	Altaic	65,534	0.05
44	Korean	60,088	0.04
45	Chinese	59,235	0.04
46	Greek	56,473	0.04
47	Italian	54,172	0.04
48	Karelian	52,88	0.04
49	Khakas	52,217	0.04
50	Finnish	51,891	0.04
51	Arabic	50,14	0.03
52	Lithuanian	49,02	0.03
53	Kyrgyz	46,319	0.03
54	Turkmen	38,533	0.03
55	Abaza	38,247	0.03
56	Hill Mari	36,822	0.03
57	Kurdish	36,609	0.03
58	Lettish	34,759	0.02
59	Nenets	31,311	0.02
60	Bulgarian	30,894	0.02
61	Ivrit, Yiddish	30,019	0.02
62	Agul	29,399	0.02
63	Rutul	29,383	0.02
64	Estonian	26,645	0.02



65	Vietnamese	26,197	0.02
66	Japanese	24,787	0.02
67	Andi	23,729	0.02
68	Romanian	22,663	0.02
69	Tsez	15,356	0.01
70	Khanty	13,568	0.01
71	Czech	13,242	0.01
72	Mongolian	11,498	0.01
73	Tsakhur	9,771	0.01
74	Hungarian	9,712	0.01
75	Serbo-Croat	9,674	0.01
76	Persian	9,568	0.01
77	Portuguese	9,531	0.01
78	Abkhaz	9,447	0.01
79	Afghan	8,58	0.01
80	Assyrian	7,762	0.01
81	Chukchi	7,742	0.01
82	Gagauz	7,597	0.01
83	Evenk	7,584	0.01
84	Even	7,168	0.005
85	Swedish	7,113	0.005
86	Karata	6,574	0.005
87	Bezhta	6,461	0.004
88	Shor	6,21	0.004
89	Hindi	5,853	0.004
90	Akhvakh	5,793	0.004
91	Veps	5,753	0.004
92	Talysh	5,31	0.004
93	Dolgan	4,865	0.003
94	Nanai	3,886	0.003
95	Albanian	3,22	0.002
96	Koryak	3,019	0.002
97	Tat	3,016	0.002
98	Udi	2,96	0.002
99	Mansi	2,746	0.002
100	Dutch	2,599	0.002

101	Mingrelian	2,59	0.002
102	Chamalal	2,355	0.002
103	Slovak	2,169	0.001
104	Uyghur	1,932	0.001
105	Teleut	1,892	0.001
106	Khvarshi	1,872	0.001
107	Hunzib	1,839	0.001
108	Selkup	1,641	0.001
109	Karakalpak	1,561	0.001
110	Dungan	1,088	0.001
111	Crimean Tatar	1,069	0.001
112	Kumandin	1,044	0.001
113	Saami	787	0.001
114	Votic	774	0.001
115	Ulchi	732	0.001
116	Bengali	696	
117	Nivkh	688	
118	Tindi	616	
119	Yukaghir	604	
120	Hinukh	548	
121	Chelkan	539	
122	Archi	524	
123	Nganasan	505	
124	Ket	485	
125	Rushani	441	
126	Tubalar	436	
127	Inuit. Sireniki. Yuit	410	
128	Itelmen	385	
129	Tofalar	378	
130	Izhor	362	
131	Baluchi	345	
132	Chulym-Turkic	270	
133	Oroch	257	
134	Udeghe	227	
135	Aleut	175	
136	Svan	153	

137	Negidal	147	
138	Yugh	131	
139	Enets	119	
140	Godoberi	103	
141	Botlikh	90	
142	Karaim	88	
143	Ulta	64	
144	Laz	62	
145	Bagulal	57	
146	Astrakhan Nogai Karagash	55	
147	Shughni	52	
148	Aliutor	40	
149	Krymchak	29	
150	Yurt Tatar	22	
151	Kerek	15	
152	Alabugat Tatar	10	
153	Baraba	8	
154	Other languages	107,715	0.07

## [EUROPE]

## 2.6 Voices in harmony. The Evolution of the European Union's Language Policy

Dónall Ó Riagáin  
Founder of EBLUL



Bernd Hanesch (2009)

The European Union of today has its origins in the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC), established in 1951. Visionaries like Robert Schumann and Jean Monet believed that, by lowering their barriers and combining their efforts, countries like France and Germany could avoid another terrible conflict costing millions of lives. The original

Community had six Member States: France, Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, Belgium and Luxembourg. It was originally intended for the Community to have only one working language, French. But this ran into stiff opposition from the Flemings, who were opposed to a French-only policy in a Community that was to have its headquarters in bilingual Belgium. Thus, the Community started with four official and working languages, French, German, Dutch and Italian.

The European Economic Community and Euratom were established in 1957 but, together with the ECSC, were merged into a single European Community in 1993 with the coming into force of the Maastricht Treaty. A process of enlargement took place over the years with the accession of the United Kingdom, Ireland and Denmark in 1973, Greece in 1981, Spain and Portugal in 1986, etc.

Interestingly, there was (and still is) nothing in the Treaties about working languages. There was, however, an article in each Treaty that stated in which languages there were official and authentic versions of the Treaty. The issue of official and working languages was dealt with in Council Regulation No. 1/1958, amended on various occasions over the years to include the official languages of new Member States. These corresponded to the 'Treaty languages' with one exception. Irish became a 'Treaty language' with Ireland's accession in 1973 but did not become an official and working language until 2007. There are now 27 Member States in the European Union with 23 official and working languages – French, German, Dutch, Italian, English,

Danish, Swedish, Finnish, Irish, Greek, Maltese, Latvian, Lithuanian, Estonian, Polish, Czech, Hungarian, Romanian, Bulgarian, Portuguese, Spanish, Slovene and Slovak. This contrasts sharply with the UN, which has six working languages, English, French, Spanish, Russian, Chinese and Arabic, and the Council of Europe and NATO, which have only two each, English and French.

The official spheres of operation of the Communities were limited by the terms of the Treaties, and the European Communities had no official role in domains like education or culture. Initiatives such as Eurydice, the network that provides information on and analyses of European education systems and policies, were regarded as being intergovernmental rather than Community-based. This remained the case until the coming into force in 1993 of the Maastricht Treaty, which included articles on education and culture and opened up new horizons for those concerned with languages and cultures.

## Arfé Resolution

However, an important development happened in 1981 with the adoption by the European Parliament of a 'Resolution on a Community charter of regional languages and cultures and on a charter of rights for ethnic minorities' on 16 October 1981.<sup>1</sup> The Rapporteur was Gaetano Arfé MEP, a former history professor in the University of Firenze. The resolution and accompanying report were prepared on the basis of a motion for resolution tabled by John Hume MEP, the main architect of the Northern Ireland peace process. The Arfé Resolution called for support from national and regional governments for regional and minority languages, especially in the key domains of education and mass communication, as well as public life and social affairs. It furthermore called on the European Commission to set up pilot projects in the field of multilingual education. The Commission responded positively, and the following year a tiny exploratory budget line for regional languages and cultures was opened, line B3-1006. Only €100, 000 (or ECU as the euro was then called) were allocated in the first year, but before the line was suppressed in 1998 it had grown to €4m.

## Intergroup

Another significant development was the establishment in the European Parliament of the Intergroup for Minority Languages. An *intergroup* is an informal committee of parliamentarians from different political groups who

1 OJ of the EC No. C287 of 09.11.1981 Ref: 1-0965/80

come together on a regular basis to discuss a particular topic in which they have a common interest – Europe’s lesser used languages in this instance. It is gratifying to note that, unlike most other intergroups, this one is still functioning and meeting regularly. It is now known as the Intergroup for Traditional Minorities, National Communities and Languages and normally meets every month in Strasbourg during the plenary session of the European Parliament.

### European Bureau for Lesser Used Languages (EBLUL)

These developments had an electrifying effect on the peoples throughout Europe who spoke these minority and regional (or lesser used) languages, and the following year, 1982, the European Bureau for Lesser Used Languages was established at a colloquy in Brussels under the aegis of the Socialist Group in the European Parliament of which Arfé and Hume were members. [The author became its first President and later its Secretary-General.] The Bureau established broadly representative committees in the EC Member States, with representatives of these Member-State Committees forming the organisation’s Council. The Bureau focused on four main areas of action – lobbying for legal and political support for lesser used languages (LULs) in European institutions, facilitating the exchange of information and expertise among small linguistic communities, organising joint projects involving two or more LUL communities and seeking funding for language-based projects. At its height it had a head office in Dublin, an information centre in Brussels and an education secretariat in Luxembourg. In matters of party politics and religious or philosophical ideologies, the Bureau remained scrupulously independent. It received up to 90% of its funding from the European Community, with additional funding coming from the governments of Ireland, Fryslân, Luxembourg and the Deutschsprachige Gemeinschaft Belgiens, the authority of the German-speaking minority in Belgium.<sup>2</sup>

### European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages

Parallel to developments in the institutions of the European Community, exciting things were also happening in the Council of Europe. At a public hearing in its Strasbourg hemicycle in 1984, a Council of Europe institution, the Standing Conference of Local and Regional Authorities of Europe,

<sup>2</sup> For an overview of the European Bureau for Lesser Used Languages see ‘Many Tongues but One Voice: a Personal Overview of the Role of the European Bureau for Lesser Used Languages in Promoting Europe’s Regional and Minority Languages’ (Dónall Ó Riagáin) in *Language, Ethnicity and the State Vol. 1* (Edited by Camille C. O’Reilly) – Palgrave, Basingstoke & New York, 2001.

now known as the Congress of Local and Regional Authorities of Europe, called for the drafting of an international legal instrument to protect Europe's regional and minority languages. After a long gestation period, the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages was adopted in 1992. This unique convention has now been signed by 33 European democracies and has already been ratified by 24 of them. Three years later, in 1995, the Council of Europe adopted another relevant convention – the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities, which contains strong provisions relating to the languages of national minorities.

## European Parliament

Further resolutions on the issue of LULs were adopted by the European Parliament over the years, including a second resolution from Arfé in 1983,<sup>3</sup> one from the Flemish deputy Willy Kuijpers in 1987,<sup>4</sup> one from Mark Kililea, an Irish deputy, in 1994,<sup>5</sup> and additional ones from Eluned Morgan, a Welsh parliamentarian, in 2001,<sup>6</sup> Michl Ebner, from the Südtirol, in 2003,<sup>7</sup> and Bernat Joan i Mari, a Catalan, in 2006.<sup>8</sup>

Other resolutions, on topics as varied as television broadcasting, regional development or the promotion of books, contained positive references to regional and minority languages. Indeed, one might say that the ideological battle for linguistic diversity was being slowly but steadily won.

## Maastricht Treaty

As already mentioned, the Maastricht Treaty came into effect in 1993. Unlike its predecessors, this Treaty contained articles on education and culture. The article on education spoke of 'cultural and linguistic diversity', whereas the article on culture referred to the 'national and regional diversity' of the Member States. This opened up the way for the introduction of a number of educational programmes, including Lingua, which focused on the teaching of languages. Cultural programmes included one for the translation of contemporary literary works. These programmes were, how-

3 OJ of the EC No. C68 of 14.03.1983 Ref: A1-1254/82

4 OJ of the EC No. C318 of 30.11.1987 Ref: A2-0150/87

5 OJ of the EC No. C61 of 28.02.1994 Ref: A3-0042/94

6 Ref: B5-0770, 0811, 0812 and 0815/2001

7 Ref.: FINAL A5-0271/2003

8 COM(2005) 596 final

ever, open only to the official and working languages of the Community, plus Irish and Luxembourgish, the national languages of two Member States that were not official EU languages. Norwegian and Icelandic were added when the European Economic Area (EEA) was established in 1994, thus accommodating the old EFTA states that did not join the EC – Norway, Iceland and Liechtenstein.

## A legal problem arises

An unforeseen and problematic turn of events came with the European Court of Justice ruling in Case C-106/96 *United Kingdom and others v. Commission*.<sup>9</sup> The case did not relate to language issues per se but concerned the right of the Commission to spend money on a certain programme relating to combating social exclusion. The Court of Justice held that every ‘«significant» EC expenditure must be grounded in the prior adoption of a legislative act’, i.e. a programme approved by the Commission, the Parliament and the Council of Ministers. This judgement had a knock-on effect in that a number of budget lines that did not have a proper legal basis were frozen, including Budget Line B3-1006.<sup>10</sup> Commission officials, supported by EBLUL personnel, set about drafting a programme that would provide a proper legal basis for support for regional and minority languages. (The embryonic programme was even given the provisional name of Archipel.) However, the Commission’s legal services indicated that it would need the Treaty article on culture as part of its legal basis, as well as the one on education. This article requires unanimity in any decision-making, and as some Member States, notably Greece, were implacably opposed to any support for minority languages, the programme was stillborn.

Budget Line B3-1006 was used each year to fund the Bureau and hundreds of projects throughout Europe relating to lesser used languages and their related cultures. The Commission succeeded in continuing its support for the Bureau by funding it from Chapter A of the budget. However, the many minority-language-related projects were now without EC funding. The response of Commissioner Vivienne Reading was to ‘mainline’ lesser used languages, i.e. open up official language programmes to them. Although a progressive and well-intentioned step, it provided only a partial solution as many of the programmes were unsuited to the needs of small language communities.

<sup>9</sup> ECR I-2729 at 2755

<sup>10</sup> For a description of this case and its implications, see *EC Law and Minority Language Policy* by Niamh Ni Shuibhne – Kluwer Law International, The Hague, 2002, p. 269.



## Lisbon Treaty

The present shape and orientation of the European Union is set out in the Lisbon Treaty, which came into force in December 2009. It goes a lot further than any previous Treaty to expressly support linguistic and cultural diversity.

Article 2.3 of the Lisbon Treaty states of the Union:

It shall respect its rich cultural and linguistic diversity, and shall ensure that Europe's cultural heritage is safeguarded and enhanced.

In Article II – 82 of the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the Union, which accompanies the Treaty, we find a similar reference:

The Union shall respect cultural, religious and linguistic diversity.

Each year, on 26 September, Europe celebrates the European Day of Languages. Although officially a Council of Europe project, it is supported by the EU. The general objectives of the European Day of Languages are to:

- alert the public to the importance of language learning and diversify the range of languages learnt in order to increase plurilingualism and intercultural understanding;
- promote the rich linguistic and cultural diversity of Europe;
- encourage lifelong language learning in and out of school.

Article 21 of the Treaty establishing the European Community states that, '...Every citizen of the Union may write to any of the institutions or bodies referred to in this Article or in Article 7 in one of the languages mentioned in Article 314<sup>11</sup> and have an answer in the same language.'

Another important and interesting development was a Council Conclusion, adopted on 13 June 2005, on the official use of additional languages within the Council and possibly other institutions and bodies of the European Union.<sup>12</sup> This refers to 'languages whose status is recognised by the Constitution of a Member State on all or part of its territory or the use of which as a national language is recognised by law'. Under this provision, a government of a Member State may send a certified translation of acts adopted in co-decision into one of these languages, and, while it will not have the force of law, the Council will add it to its archives. Furthermore, the government of a Member State may request permission for the use of one of these languages at meetings of an EU institution. A Member-State government can also request that communications in one of these languages be accepted by an EU institution. This kind of recognition has already been extended to Catalan, Galician, Basque, Welsh and Scottish Gaelic.

Multilingualism is one of the fields of responsibility of the EU's Commissioner for Education, Culture, Multilingualism and Youth. The present in-

11 These are the so-called 'Treaty languages', which now correspond fully to the 23 official and working languages of the Union.

12 Council Conclusion 2005/C 148/01 (13 June 2005)

cumbent is a Greek woman, Commissioner Androulla Vassiliou. On her website Commissioner Vassiliou says:

Language learning and use help us both professionally and socially, opening people's minds to the cultural diversity which is an integral part of the EU's wealth. We must support not just the EU's 23 official languages but Europe's 60 regional and minority languages.

One of my key tasks will be to promote language learning from a young age. Our goal is for every EU citizen to speak at least 2 foreign languages as well as their own. Knowledge of languages improves job prospects, communication and understanding, both inside Europe and beyond.

Few people would quarrel with that!

## Policy orientation

The EU's ideological position on linguistic diversity can be found in a Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament, the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions entitled 'Multilingualism: an asset for Europe and a shared commitment'.<sup>13</sup>

It states that: *The main objective is therefore to raise awareness of the value and opportunities of the EU's linguistic diversity and encourage the removal of barriers to intercultural dialogue.*

*A key instrument in this respect is the Barcelona objective – communication in mother tongue plus two languages. More effort is needed towards achieving this objective for all citizens.*

This key objective of every EU citizen being able to speak two languages in addition to his/her mother tongue is a recurring theme.

## Europeans and their Languages - Eurobarometer Report

The EU regularly carries out surveys on certain aspects of European life so that the institutions of the European Union can respond in an effective manner to the needs and aspirations of its citizens. These surveys are carried out by a body called Eurobarometer. In February 2006 Eurobarometer published a special report on 'Europeans and their Languages'.<sup>14</sup> The report contained much interesting and useful information, not least the fact that over half of EU citizens can now speak a language other than their mother tongue. In response to the question, 'Which languages do you speak well enough in order to be able to have

<sup>13</sup> Brussels 18.09.2008 COM (2008) 566 final

<sup>14</sup> [http://ec.europa.eu/education/languages/pdf/doc631\\_en.pdf](http://ec.europa.eu/education/languages/pdf/doc631_en.pdf)

a conversation excluding your mother tongue?' 56% mentioned one language, 28% two and 11% three or more, with 44% admitting they were monoglots.

English was the most widely spoken foreign language throughout Europe. Some 38% of EU citizens state that they have sufficient skills in English to have a conversation. In 19 out of 29 countries polled, English is the most widely known language apart from the mother tongue, this being particularly the case in Sweden (89%), Malta (88%) and the Netherlands (87%).

## Lifelong Learning Programme (LLP)

The EU pulled its activities in the field of education together with one umbrella-like overarching programme – the Lifelong Learning Programme.<sup>15</sup> The programme is not specifically aimed at language learning although language learning is covered by it. Likewise, any project funded from the LLP can concern or be delivered in any language – official, regional or minority, or even immigrant.

With a budget of nearly €7 billion for the period 2007 to 2013, the programme funds a range of actions including exchanges, study visits and networking activities. Projects are intended not only for individual students and learners, but also for teachers, trainers and all others involved in education and training. There are four sub-programmes, which fund projects at different levels of education and training:

- *Comenius* for schools
- *Erasmus* for higher education
- *Leonardo da Vinci* for vocational education and training
- *Grundtvig* for adult education

Other projects in areas that are relevant to all levels of education, such as language learning, information and communication technologies, policy co-operation and dissemination and exploitation of project results, are funded through the 'transversal' part of the programme.

## Network to Promote Linguistic Diversity (NPLD)

The Network to Promote Linguistic Diversity (NPLD) was established at the end 2007 with the aim of facilitating the sharing of existing best practice and the development of new and innovative ideas in the field of language planning in all linguistic domains amongst Europe's constitutional, regional and smaller-state languages.

<sup>15</sup> [http://ec.europa.eu/education/lifelong-learning-programme/doc78\\_en.htm](http://ec.europa.eu/education/lifelong-learning-programme/doc78_en.htm)

Co-funded by the European Commission's Lifelong Learning Programme over the course of three years, the Network encompasses autochthonous European constitutional, regional and smaller-state languages to promote meaningful linguistic diversity in the context of a multilingual Europe.

The NPLD comprises two levels of membership – full and associate members. Full members include Estonia (Department of Language Policy, Ministry of Education), the Welsh Language Board and Ireland (Department of Community, Rural and Gaeltacht Affairs).

The Network presents a new and exciting opportunity to be proactive at all political levels and to develop a new inclusive organisation which will provide a dynamic and independent voice for the less widely used languages of Europe.

Sadly, the European Bureau for Lesser Used Languages, which had done so much to advance the case for Europe's smaller languages, officially went out of existence in early 2010. (It had been in a largely moribund state for a number of years prior to that.) The demise of the Bureau started with the decision to close its Dublin office in 2001 and centre all its activities in Brussels. This entailed the loss through compulsory redundancy of its longest-serving and most experienced staff. The shortcomings of the new leadership team quickly manifested themselves. The Commission stopped its annual subvention in 2003, and the Bureau's Belgian-based company went bankrupt within months.

While the establishment of the NPLD is undoubtedly a very welcome development, it must be recognised that the Network is based primarily on official language boards with all the constraints that this implies. Many believe that a strong NGO-based network organisation, on the general lines of EBLUL, is still needed.

## Conclusion

While no one would dare pretend that all is well linguistically in the European Union, it would be petty-minded to deny that the EU's approach to linguistic diversity is generally favourable. Indeed, one might argue that it is one of the most progressive to be found anywhere in the world. Respect for linguistic diversity is an integral part of EU thinking, and *Unity in Diversity* has been adopted as its motto.

Much progress has been made over the past 20-30 years, and there is no reason why further progress cannot be made in the years and decades ahead.

## [NORTH AMERICA]

### 2.7 Hope: aboriginal language use in Canada

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Joten46 (2010)

Canada has been blessed. Her association with the English-speaking world has linked her with the most powerful economies in the world when they were at the peak of their economic might. Expansive in territory, rich in natural resources, benefitting from direct personal links to sources of capital and preferred commercial arrangements: all these things have

contributed to a strong economy. A pluralist history, inclusive social policy, and a dependence on immigration have bred tolerance for other languages and cultures. Forward-looking policies and activist affirmative action programmes address discrimination and produced bilingualism and multiculturalism.

The 2010 Olympic Games in Vancouver gave Canada an opportunity to show off its best side. The Aboriginal peoples were front and centre, multiculturalism was on display – it was the 1960s again: peace, love and harmony. But, why then are the Aboriginal languages vanishing? Why then have the francophones been wanting to separate? Why then is it an exception when we hear a cacophony of languages on the streets and in public places? Why then is it that Canada is officially bilingual, but only a minority speaks two (or more) languages, and only a small minority can speak both of Canada's official languages?<sup>1</sup>

Our focus is on the status of Aboriginal culture and languages in Canada. Aboriginal languages are disappearing, but to grasp the problem and search

1 The Official Languages Act forms the cornerstone of a Canadian 'hierarchy of languages', analogous to social hierarchies based on race, gender or immigration. Consequently, the Act is not simply a legal document; it is an intensely political document that projects a linguistic value system into Canadian society. This value system is exposed in that uniquely Canadian notion of 'official bilingualism': in Canada to be bilingual means to be able to communicate in English and French; no other combination is recognised. Consequently, only 17.4% of Canadians are considered bilingual, since they can speak both official languages, while 82.6% are considered 'unilingual', even though at least 35% of Canadians speak more than one language. Furthermore, a francophone is much more likely to speak English than an anglophone to speak French, which reveals the relative standing of the two official languages in Canada. 40.6% of Quebecers can speak English, while in the rest of the country only 7.5% can speak French. In all, 55% of bilingual Canadians are Quebecers, and a high percentage of the bilingual population in the rest of Canada resides in the 'bilingual belt', which borders on Quebec.

for solutions to this dilemma, one needs to understand the historical roots of the issue and the context and trends of overall language use in Canada. After all, immigrant mother tongues typically vanish by the second Canadian-born generation (Kumar, Trofimovich, & Gatbonton, 2008); the use of French outside of Quebec is declining (Clément, Noels, Gauthier, 1993; Clément, 1984; Clément & Kruidenier, 1985); and pressures within Quebec continue to push francophones in the direction of using English (Gaudet & Clément, 2009).<sup>2</sup>

### Aboriginal languages before first contact

Although the Vikings visited the shores of Newfoundland around 1000 AD, the first extended contact between the Aboriginal people of Canada and Europeans was initiated by fishermen who frequented the Grand Banks of Newfoundland beginning in the 15<sup>th</sup> century. Europeans also came in search of a direct passage to India and gold. Between 1534 and 1542, Jacques Cartier made three voyages to the area around the Gulf of St. Lawrence and the St. Lawrence River, which he claimed for France, and was led by two Aboriginal guides to settlements at Stadacona (Québec City) and Hochelaga (Montréal). On his last voyage, his attempt to set up a colony was unsuccessful, largely because the Iroquois tribe laid siege to the French camp.<sup>3</sup> The Iroquois had good reason to disapprove of the colonists, since on a previous voyage Cartier planted the seeds of distrust by kidnapping several people, including the Iroquois chief, Donnacona. By the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, the fur trade began to attract the French. Samuel de Champlain established the first permanent European settlement in Canada at Stadacona in 1608. He formed alliances with several Aboriginal tribes, which captured, prepared and transported furs to the outpost; in return, he supported his trade partners in their wars against their traditional enemy, the Iroquois (Ryerson, 1972).

Written accounts of the period report that the Aboriginal people provided assistance to the Europeans, for example, by orientating them to the land, providing traditional medicinal cures and showing them how to construct and use canoes. The canoe was crucial to the development of a European economy in Canada; the wilderness was vast and dense, and transportation on water was the only means by which to penetrate inland.<sup>4</sup> In effect, the

2 In the workplace people may receive a bonus for their second language abilities, but this is usually defined as English-French bilingualism. People with competence in other combinations of languages are not paid the bonus, a simple reminder that their mother tongue is inferior.

3 Cartier, Jacques - The Canadian Encyclopedia. [n.d.]. *The Canadian Encyclopedia*. Retrieved 24 August 2010, from <http://thecanadianencyclopedia.com/index.cfm?PgNm=TCE&Params=A1ARTA0001439>.

4 Seven Wonders of Canada. [n.d.]. *CBC*. Retrieved 24 August 2010, from [www.cbc.ca/sevenwonders/wonder\\_cano.html](http://www.cbc.ca/sevenwonders/wonder_cano.html).

European 'discovery' of the interior of the continent was little more than a guided tour led by an Aboriginal escort (Ryerson, 1972).

Most tribes were at the Stone Age level of development, and their economic activity consisted mainly of subsistence hunting and gathering (Ryerson, 1972). There was no one 'Aboriginal way of life' (Ryerson, 1972). Local environments provided widely differing resources resulting in distinct lifestyles; for example, contrast the Inuit in the Arctic with the buffalo hunters of the Great Plains, the fishermen of the coastal areas or the trappers in the woods. The culture of the tribes varied just as widely, and many different languages and dialects were spoken. What these various lifestyles had in common was that they depended on the natural environment to provide the necessities for a self-sufficient way of life. The deep bond between the land, nature and the people is expressed in Aboriginal oral culture, in which man and nature are presented as part of a whole. It is also reflected in some aspects of Aboriginal ethics. 'The elders have taught us about the Cree ethic of reciprocity: *What you take you must share and give back.*' (Michell, 2005: 37) The Aboriginal concept of 'sharing' is inclusive of the land and nature, which sustain life; sharing under Christianity, the dominant religion in Canada, differs, since people are expected to share only between themselves. Aboriginal religion includes animals carrying the spirits of one's ancestors and the ritual of thanking an animal for giving up its life so that one can maintain one's own. The mystical and spiritual respect for nature reveals man's intrinsic unity with the natural world. Aboriginal language and culture evolved in order to express life in a natural environment; to disconnect them from nature and the land is to remove the context that makes them relevant.

## Aboriginal languages after first contact

During the French era of colonisation in Canada, France was a feudal society ruled by an absolute monarch. A modified feudal system was imposed on the colony, but the colonial aristocracy (the *seigneurs*) was unable to tie the *habitant* to the land as effectively as in France due to the proximity of the wilderness; many *habitants* fled, becoming '*coureurs de bois*' if the *seigneur's* demands became too onerous (Ryerson, 1972). The '*coureurs de bois*' were obliged to join Aboriginal groups in order to survive. These individuals integrated into the Aboriginal communities, working alongside them to provide the raw labour of the fur trade; many took Aboriginal women as wives, and their offspring became the 'Métis'.

In the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries, the British consolidated their position in North America. In 1670 they established a foothold in Canadian territory when they chartered the Hudson Bay Company, granting it exclusive trading rights to the Hudson Bay basin. By 1674 they had expelled their European

competitors (except the Spanish) from the region, which became the United States. The French and British colonies were drawn into the conflict between their imperial masters during the Seven Years War (1756-1763), and under the terms of the Treaty of Paris (1763) France conceded its North American colonies to Britain. Since there were no English settlers in Quebec, the new rulers were obliged to accommodate certain French customs, including feudal land tenure, and French civil law (although they imposed English common law, including criminal law), and they retained the French language and Roman Catholicism.<sup>5</sup> Such was the historical basis of pluralism in Canada.

A key event in the history of the Aboriginal peoples was the Royal Proclamation of 1763. It has been called the 'Indian Bill of Rights' since it acknowledged certain Aboriginal land and treaty rights and provided the basis for treaty negotiations. It remains a key document mediating Canadian-Aboriginal relations; the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms (1982) makes reference to it, stating that the rights inherent in the Proclamation are still in force.

In the century between the Proclamation of 1763 and Canadian Confederation in 1867, the British Parliament amended the colony's political structure several times, among other things, to divide the colony of Quebec into two parts: Lower and Upper Canada. These changes were intended 1) to limit the political power of the French, who were the majority, and 2) to respond to the demands of the English-speaking settlers for representational government (Ryerson, 1972). Meanwhile, the British programme to populate the new colony with English speakers reduced the French to a demographic minority across the colony and a political and economic minority in their own territory (Lower Canada). No consideration was given to the Aboriginal people. Numerous immigrants settled on Aboriginal lands, ignoring the terms of the Proclamation of 1763.

In 1763, Aboriginal allies of the French revolted against the British takeover and captured about 10 British forts in New France (Ryerson, 1972). Pontiac, the chief of the Ottawa tribe who led the uprising, advised his Aboriginal colleagues '... [to] exterminate from our lands this nation which seeks only to destroy us. You see as well as I that we can no longer supply our needs as we have done from our brothers, the French.'<sup>6</sup> Chief Pontiac's words reveal that even in this early period of colonisation the Aboriginal people had developed a dependency on Europeans for goods that they could not produce themselves, for example, metal goods, such as guns, knives, pots and axes, blankets and alcohol. In other words, Aboriginal self-sufficiency had begun to erode.

The health of the Aboriginal languages during the feudal-agrarian period

5 The Royal Proclamation of 1763 The Quebec Act of 1774. *Early Canada Historical Narratives -- Welcome*. Retrieved 25 August 2010, from <http://www.uppercanadahistory.ca/pp/ppa.html>.

6 Chief Pontiac's War - 1763: Native Americans Valued Liberty Long Before the American Revolution. [n.d.]. *Suite101.com: Online Magazine and Writers' Network*. Retrieved 24 August 2010, from <http://www.suite101.com/content/chief-pontiacs-war-1763-a34920>.



was still strong; the number of languages spoken at this time is unknown but from a variety of accounts can be estimated to be well over 100 (Norris, 1998). The reliance on the canoe for transportation restrained the rate at which the Aboriginal people were being displaced from their land, and although the integration of the Métis did introduce French into the linguistic mix, this was only taking place in a restricted area. The greatest impact on Aboriginal peoples came from the introduction of infectious diseases against which they had no immunity. This posed a longer-term threat to Aboriginal culture and language. Estimates of the population of Aboriginal people on Canadian territory at the time of initial contact with Europeans vary from about 200,000 to 2 million, but one half million was accepted as the most likely figure by the Canadian Royal Commission on Aboriginal People (1996).<sup>7</sup> The commission's report also revealed that, by the time of the 1871 census, the estimated Canadian Aboriginal population was 102,000, a decline of 80%.

### Aboriginal languages under mature colonialism

Three developments in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century prompted the creation of the Dominion of Canada: 1) Canada was entering the very early stages of the Industrial Revolution, which called for a political structure to support a capital-intensive economy (Ryerson, 1968); 2) the end of the American Civil War allowed the United States to renew its westward expansion, imperilling Canadian claims on the northern prairies; and 3) the British population now exceeded that of the French. According to the 1871 census, the original four provinces of Canada had a population of 3,485,761, including 2,110,502 (60.5%) British, 1,082,940 (31.1%) French, 23,037 (0.7%) Indian and Eskimo, and 268,891 (7.7%) other ethnic or racial groups (Ryerson, 1968: 445). At that time, all 'Indian and Eskimo' would have been fluent in their mother tongues.

The top priorities of the new nation were to build a transcontinental railroad to connect the British colonies on the two coasts and to populate the prairies with anglophone settlers. This course of action drew the Europeans west of the Great Lakes, where they encountered numerous Aboriginal tribes. The government plan was accomplished in the face of active resistance from the Aboriginal peoples. The Riel Rebellions (1870 and 1885) settled the status of the Aboriginal peoples on the prairies. The issues at stake were rights to the land and, to a lesser degree, language rights. The first rebellion involved mainly French-speaking Métis, while the second involved the Métis and several Aboriginal tribes, many of whom were starving due to the disappearance of the buffalo. Both rebellions were suppressed by military force.

<sup>7</sup> Report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples - Volume 1 (1996). (n.d.). *Christian Aboriginal Infrastructure Developments - Index*. Retrieved 24 August 2010, from <http://caid.ca/RepRoyCommAborigPple.html>.

As a result, the Aboriginal peoples were marginalised on their own land. Aboriginal land holdings were reduced from an entire continent to several hundred 'reserves', which were located mainly in the hinterland. This eventually led to myriad as-yet unresolved land claim cases. Aboriginal culture was severely restricted; many traditional dances, religious ceremonies and customs, such as natural medicine, were declared illegal; Aboriginal people were subject to religious proselytising intended to assimilate them into 'Canadian culture'. And the Aboriginal languages came under assault.

In 1879, the Canadian government, looking for a way to deal with the «Indian Problem», set up an education system whose main goal was to eradicate our languages, cultures and religions (Milloy, 1999). These were the residential schools, built on government funds and managed by Christian churches. These schools, infamous for the horrendous physical, mental and sexual abuse that children were subjected to within their walls (Grant, 1996), were built far enough from Indigenous communities to prevent children from communicating with their parents. Legislation was enacted to impose mandatory attendance for all Indigenous children aged 6 to 18, giving authorities the power to forcibly remove, even abduct, children from their homes. Speaking one's native tongue was forbidden in these schools and punished severely... The last of the residential schools was shut down in 1986. (Tremblay, 2005: 1)

The residential school system made integration into the dominant culture mandatory and laid the foundation for the linguistic genocide of Aboriginal languages. It broke the link between parent and child preventing the natural transmission of language and culture to the next generation. It has been estimated that in 1898 more than 100 Aboriginal languages were spoken in Canada (Norris, 1998). Currently, about 51 or 52 Aboriginal languages are spoken, but only three have a sufficient number of speakers to give them a good chance of long-term survival: Cree, Ojibwa and Inuit Inupiaq.<sup>8</sup>

In 2008, the Prime Minister of Canada, Stephen Harper, formally apologised on behalf of Canada and its citizens for the residential school system. However, some scholars believe that Canada might be in breach of the United Nations Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide (signed by Canada in 1949 and passed in the House of Commons in 1952) and that there are grounds to try Canada in an international court for genocide.<sup>9</sup>

In order to find settlers who were willing to accept the primitive frontier conditions, the Canadian Government had to look beyond its traditional source countries for immigrants. In 1895, the Canadian government initiated a massive immigration programme in which agricultural settlers from Central and Eastern Europe entered the country, leading to a massive influx of immigrants

8 Native People, Languages - The Canadian Encyclopedia. (n.d.). *The Canadian Encyclopedia*. Retrieved 25 August 2010, from <http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.com/index.cfm?PgNm=TCE&Params=A1ARTA0005650>.

9 Krebs, M. (n.d.). «Sorry» For Genocide? Residential school apology in context | The Dominion. *The Dominion / news from the grassroots*. Retrieved 25 August 2010, from <http://www.dominionpaper.ca/articles/1928>.

from these areas. However, Canadian immigration policy continued to be implemented within a British colonial framework. The model of nation-building employed in Canada was 'Anglo-conformity': the assimilation of immigrants into the Anglo-Celtic majority.<sup>10</sup> 'Britishness' was transmitted through culture, for example, in the supremacy of the English language or the parliamentary form of government, and through national symbols, such as the facts that: 1) until 1947, Canadians were British subjects and carried British passports; 2) until 1964, Canada's flag (the Red Ensign) contained a miniature Union Jack in one corner; and 3) until 1967, the national anthem was 'God Save the Queen' (Wayland, 1997: 34).

Anglo-conformity was aimed at all classes of non-anglophone citizens: 1) Aboriginal Canadians, through the residential school system; 2) francophones, who were forced to wait 200 years (until the 1960s and 1970s) before Canada fulfilled the promise of enlightened 18<sup>th</sup>-century British policies by introducing bilingualism and formally acknowledging the equality of the French language; and 3) immigrants, by discouraging the use and learning of unfamiliar languages, customs, traditions and religions.

Aboriginal languages in the late 20<sup>th</sup> and early 21<sup>st</sup> centuries

Beginning in the 1960s, Canada underwent a transformation whereby the country became a 'multicultural society within a bilingual framework',<sup>11</sup> in which minorities would no longer be 'assimilated' but 'integrated' into Canadian society. Canada was no longer a 'British-type society', and the government renounced the programme of Anglo-conformity. These changes were achieved mainly through two processes, first, the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism and, second, by amending the Constitution.

The Royal Commission was appointed in 1963 to recommend how to develop confederation '...on the basis of equal partnership between the two founding races [sic]... [and taking] into account the contribution made by other ethnic groups...' (Wayland, 1997: 46). Quebec's Quiet Revolution in the 1960s triggered Canada's language debate, and the Canadian federal government was obliged to address Quebec's concerns as efforts to separate from Canada became violent (Front de Liberation du Quebec terrorism) and credible (a separatist party in power in Quebec and three referenda on the question). In the context of this debate, Canada's ethnic groups protested defining Canada as bicultural, as it did not recognise their contribution to Canada's development. As a result, a policy of multiculturalism was announced in 1971, but only as a poor cousin of bilingualism, which was enshrined in the Official Languages Act (1969) before the final four volumes of the Commission's report were tabled in Parliament.<sup>12</sup>

10 Blom, I. & Maussart, L. (2006). 'Multiculturalism & Will Kymlicka'. Retrieved 25 August 2010, from <http://socio-geo.ruhosting.nl/html/files/geoapp/Werkstukken/Kymlicka.pdf>.

11 Trudeau Speech - Heritage Community Foundation. (n.d.). *AlbertaSource Websites*. Retrieved 24 August 2010, from <http://www.abheritage.ca/albertans/speeches/trudeau.html>.

12 40 Years of the Official Languages Act. (n.d.). *Welcome Page | Page d'accueil*. Retrieved 24 August 2010, from

The Canadian language debate bypassed the Aboriginal languages entirely. However, within months of passing the Official Languages Act, the federal government issued a 'White Paper [policy paper] on Indian Policy'. It was proposed that the Indian Act be repealed (this act was passed in 1876 and was frequently amended but left fundamentally unchanged until 1985), 'Indian treaties' be terminated and Aboriginal rights and titles not be recognised and that the federal government's responsibility for relations with the Aboriginal peoples, which dates back to the Proclamation of 1763, be terminated.<sup>13</sup> In other words, just as the federal government was establishing the 'special status' of the official languages, it was announcing its intention to remove the 'distinct status' of the Aboriginal peoples.<sup>14</sup>

It was also during the 1960s that the Aboriginal peoples began to 'win their spirit back'.<sup>15</sup> The National Indian Council was formed in 1961 to represent three of the four groups of Aboriginal people in Canada (treaty and status people, non-status people and the Métis; the Inuit were not involved). From this point on, the First Nations of Canada (treaty and status people) have always had a national lobby group to represent them in Ottawa. Due to conflicting agendas, the Council was disbanded in 1968, and the various sub-groups of Aboriginal peoples established independent organisations. The National Indian Brotherhood (NIB) was formed in 1968 as a national umbrella body for the First Nations' provincial and territorial organisations. It became the main vehicle through which the Aboriginal peoples expressed their opposition to the 1969 white paper, forcing its ultimate withdrawal in 1973. The NIB also became involved with issues such as the residential school system and Aboriginal self-government. The NIB as constituted represented a large number of organisations, but it did not represent all the Aboriginal bands in Canada. This became more problematic when the Aboriginal peoples opposed the patriation of Canada's constitution in the late 1970s and early 1980s. Consequently, the National Indian Brotherhood reorganised itself into the Assembly of First Nations (AFN), adopting its Charter in 1985. The AFN is accountable to all First Nations (except the Métis and Inuit, who have their own organisations).<sup>16</sup>

The Aboriginal community responded to the white paper with the 'Red Paper' of 1970, which was prepared by the Indian chiefs of Alberta. The proposal

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[http://www.justice.gc.ca/eng/news-nouv/autres-autres/2009/doc\\_32413.html](http://www.justice.gc.ca/eng/news-nouv/autres-autres/2009/doc_32413.html).

13 Tobias, J. L. [n.d.]. White Paper on Indian Policy - Aboriginal, Government, Rights, Claims, 'the, and Affairs. *Free Site Search Engine* - put a search engine on your web site or add search to your blog. Retrieved 24 August 2010, from <http://www.jrank.org/history/pages/8296/White-Paper-on-Indian-Policy.html>.

14 Statement of the Government of Canada on Indian Policy [The White Paper, 1969]. [n.d.]. *Affaires indiennes et du Nord Canada / Indian and Northern Affairs Canada*. Retrieved 25 August 2010, from <http://www.ainc-inac.gc.ca/ai/arp/ls/pubs/cp1969/cp1969-eng.asp>.

15 This term makes reference to Métis activist Louis Riel's comments of 4 July 1885: 'My people will sleep for one hundred years, but when they awake, it will be the artists who give them their spirit back.' ([http://www.mfm.mb.ca/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=91&Itemid=60](http://www.mfm.mb.ca/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=91&Itemid=60))

16 Assembly of First Nations - Assembly of First Nations - The Story. [n.d.]. *Assembly of First Nations - Assemblée des Premières Nations*. Retrieved 25 August 2010, from <http://www.afn.ca/article.asp?id=59>.

was viewed as a scheme to steal the remaining Aboriginal lands and condemn future generations to lives of despair in urban ghettos. It was recommended that existing treaties be entrenched in the Canadian Constitution.

The Red Paper asserted that ‘the only way to maintain our culture is for us to remain as Indians. To preserve our culture it is necessary to preserve our status, rights, lands and traditions. Our treaties are the bases of our rights’.<sup>17</sup> The indigenous peoples refer to the Royal Proclamation of 1763, which was ‘...the first time a government recognised that Indians had certain rights in the land because they were the first ones to live on it’.<sup>18</sup> Since ‘Aboriginal rights’ are ambiguous at best, they assert ‘treaty rights’ and insist on maintaining the special relationship with the Crown, a role inherited by the Government of Canada, to maintain their rights to their lands, status, culture, language and traditions. To relinquish these rights would reduce the rights and status of the Aboriginal peoples to that of other Canadians, which would accelerate their assimilation.

In addition to the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, the second key process to change the face of Canada was the patriation of Canada’s Constitution in 1982. Canada was originally created by legislation in British Parliament; by bringing the Constitution home to Canada, the last legislative ties to Great Britain were terminated. The Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms was incorporated into the Constitution Act, and it formalised many of the changes initiated by the Royal Commission. The Constitution Act also addressed the concerns of the Aboriginal peoples, and it incorporated some of the recommendations contained in the Red Paper.

The Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms forms Part I of the Constitution Act, 1982. It guarantees certain rights and provides recourse to the courts, which can apply a remedy in the event that one’s rights are breached. The Charter is made up of a total of 35 sections, many of which deal with language rights and some with cultural rights. On the whole, the content of the Charter is consistent with the outcomes of the Royal Commission and the legislation inspired by it. There is a qualitative difference in the way that the sections dealing with languages and Aboriginal rights are written. The sections addressing the official languages of Canada (Sections 16 through 21) are written in an active voice and assert particular rights that accrue to the official languages, while the sections that address the rights of other languages are written in a ‘passive’ manner.<sup>19</sup>

17 History of the Indian Act - Part One. (n.d.). *First Nations Language Keepers Conference*. Retrieved 25 August 2010, from <http://www.sicc.sk.ca/saskindian/a78mar04.htm>.

18 Ibid.

19 The only section that addresses the rights of the non-official languages (Section 22) is written in a ‘passive’ manner, stating merely that existing rights to use non-official languages are not affected by the language rights granted English and French, and no specific rights are conferred with respect to the use of any other language. Similarly, the sections dealing with Aboriginal rights and freedoms (Section 25) and Canada’s multicultural heritage (Section 27) do not confer or guarantee any specific language rights; these sections only provide guidelines on the interpretation and implementation of the Charter. The section on Aboriginal rights is

The section on 'Minority Language Educational Rights' (Section 23) addresses the question of language of instruction in the school system. This section contravenes the principle of equal opportunity. Only French- and English-speaking citizens are guaranteed the right to be educated in their mother tongue; no Aboriginal or other ethnic group is guaranteed the right to learn its native language in Canada. As a result, the Charter restricts group rights in the area of non-English and non-French linguistic and cultural retention. Despite the directive to interpret the Charter in a manner consistent with preserving and enhancing Canada's multicultural heritage, no mechanism was provided to do so. No specific rights are conferred on the Aboriginal peoples or on the various ethno-cultural groups to retain their cultures, and the section on minority education does not promote the retention of their ancestral languages. Furthermore, no connection was made to the need for language development so that a particular culture can sustain itself and develop.<sup>20</sup>

The adoption of the Constitution Act, 1982, required that the Indian Act be updated so as to be consistent with the equality provisions of the Charter. A new Indian Act was passed in 1985, guided by three principles: 1) removing discrimination; 2) restoring Indian status and membership rights to individuals; and 3) increasing the control of Indian bands over their own affairs, for example, by providing for expanded control over band membership and community life.<sup>21</sup> An important outcome of the new Act was that the population of status Indians increased significantly. In 1985, there were roughly 300,000 status Indians; by 1996, this number had swelled to about 600,000. The larger population of status Indians has increased the power base of the Aboriginal communities and has made greater resources available to them, which are positive factors in the maintenance of Aboriginal traditions and customs. It may yet play a role in the retention of Aboriginal languages.<sup>22</sup>

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'passive', stating that any existing rights, such as those conferred through the land claims process and granted in the Royal Proclamation of 1763, will not be eliminated due to the introduction of the Charter. Similarly, the section on multicultural heritage is also passively written and only provides the guideline that the Charter shall be interpreted so as to preserve and enhance Canada's multicultural heritage.

20 The rights of the Aboriginal peoples of Canada are addressed more fully in Part II of the Constitution Act, 1982 (Sections 35 and 35.1), which does not form a part of the Charter of Rights and Freedoms. Section 35 of the Constitution recognises existing Aboriginal and treaty rights, including rights gained by way of land claims, defines who makes up the 'Aboriginal peoples of Canada' (specifically, 'the Indian, Inuit and Métis peoples'), and specifies that these rights relate to both genders. Section 35.1 guarantees that a constitutional conference will be held and will include representatives of the Aboriginal peoples before the Constitution Act, 1982, or the Constitution Act, 1867, are amended in any way that might affect the rights of Aboriginal peoples. One negative consequence is that these sections are not subject to the guarantees within the Charter; that is, there is no recourse to the courts for remedy of a violation. However, a positive consequence is that Part II cannot be limited by other sections of the Charter, such as the 'notwithstanding clause' (Section 33) whereby a Canadian jurisdiction may 'opt out' of enforcing a particular right.

21 First Nations, Bill C-31, Indian Act. (n.d.). *JOHNCO Ottawa Business Promenade, Mall, Directory*. Retrieved 25 August 2010, from [http://www.johnco.com/native/bill\\_c31.html](http://www.johnco.com/native/bill_c31.html).

22 Henderson's Annotated Indian Act. (n.d.). *www.bloorstreet.com*. Retrieved 25 August 2010, from <http://www.bloorstreet.com/200block/sindact.htm>.

Another significant outcome of the adoption of a new constitution include the Canadian government's acknowledgement that it recognises the Aboriginal people's right to self-government.<sup>23</sup>

However, despite making progress on a number of issues, the federal government voted against adopting the United Nations Draft Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples at the inaugural session of the United Nations Human Rights Council in 2006. It was argued that many sections of the Declaration go beyond what is guaranteed in the Canadian Constitution and Charter of Rights and Freedoms, preventing the government from being able to support the resolution.<sup>24</sup>

Nevertheless, the Supreme Court of Canada, as the arbiter of constitutional law, has been basing its interpretations on Part II of the Constitution Act, 1982. For example, the Court ruled thusly on the definition of 'existing Aboriginal rights': '...to be considered an Aboriginal right, a practice must have been integral to the distinctive nature of the culture prior to contact by Europeans'. Clearly, such an interpretation opens up the possibility to protect Aboriginal languages, provide education in those languages and support Aboriginal culture.<sup>25</sup>

In another ruling on the nature of Aboriginal rights, the Supreme Court demonstrated that the Canadian Constitution strengthened the status of Aboriginal rights. Aboriginal rights had existed as an aspect of common law that could be changed by legislation, even if that legislation did not address Aboriginal rights directly; for example, an amendment to the Fisheries Act could affect Aboriginal fishing rights. However, since the adoption of the new Constitution in 1982, '...the Sovereign's intention must be clear and plain if it is to extinguish an Aboriginal right'.<sup>26</sup>

The potential for a legal and political remedy still requires the political will to apply those measures. It remains to be seen whether the Canadian body politic has the will to preserve Aboriginal languages and cultures or whether the Constitutions, Charters and Supreme Court rulings will amount to nothing more than further 'speaking with a forked tongue'.

23 The Government of Canada recognises the inherent right of self-government as an existing Aboriginal right under Section 35 of the *Constitution Act, 1982*.... Recognition of the inherent right is based on the view that the Aboriginal peoples of Canada have the right to govern themselves in relation to matters that are internal to their communities, integral to their unique cultures, identities, traditions, languages and institutions, and with respect to their special relationship to their land and their resources.' Canada's Position: United Nations Draft Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. [n.d.]. *Affaires indiennes et du Nord Canada / Indian and Northern Affairs Canada*. Retrieved 25 August 2010, from <http://www.ainc-inac.gc.ca/ap/ia/pubs/ddr/ddr-eng.asp>.

24 Ibid.

25 Supreme Court of Canada - Decisions - R. v. Van der Peet. [n.d.]. *Supreme Court of Canada - Decisions* - . Retrieved 25 August 2010, from <http://scc.lexum.umontreal.ca/en/1996/1996scr2-507/1996scr2-507.html>.

26 Supreme Court of Canada - Decisions - R. v. Sparrow. [n.d.]. *Supreme Court of Canada - Decisions*. Retrieved 25 August 2010, from <http://scc.lexum.umontreal.ca/en/1990/1990scr1-1075/1990scr1-1075.html>.

## Hopes, threats and dilemmas

The goal of any language revitalisation programme must be no less than to restore the prestige of the ancestral language to its rightful place in the community (Tremblay, 2005). The reversing language shift (RLS) process described by Fishman (1991, 2001) calls our attention to the role of families, communities, literacy, education (schools and universities), media and researchers, all influential agents of power. It requires a coordinated effort among many stakeholders to take incremental steps.

A variety of data demonstrates that the use of Aboriginal languages is declining. Over the five-year period between 1996 and 2001, the percentage of the Aboriginal population that reported that they were able to conduct a conversation in their language declined by 5%, from 29% to 24%, and those reporting an Aboriginal language as their mother tongue also fell by 5%, from 26% to 21% (Norris, 2007).

The clearest indicator of what language will become one's mother tongue and the best predictor of whether intergenerational language transmission is likely to be broken is the language used in the home. A decline in language continuity results in 1) smaller proportions of children gaining an Aboriginal mother tongue and 2) an accumulation of mother-tongue speakers in older age categories. Data collected between 1986 and 2001 confirm that home use of Aboriginal languages is declining: 1) the percentage of children (ages 0-19) for whom an Aboriginal language is the mother tongue declined by 9% (from 41% to 32%), and 2) the proportion of the total Aboriginal mother tongue population that was over 55 years of age increased from 12% to 17%. In 2001, only 13% of respondents indicated that they spoke an Aboriginal language at home 'most often', while an additional 5% reported speaking one regularly. The sum of 18% is lower than the number who can converse in an Aboriginal language (24%) or for whom it is a mother tongue (21%) (Norris, 2007).

The Index of Continuity is the percentage of people that use their mother tongue as their home language. Between 1981 and 2001, the Index of Continuity among Aboriginal mother-tongue speakers declined from 76% to 61%, that is, fifteen percent fewer of these speakers were using the language at home, indicating that the next generation will see a further decline in the number of Aboriginal language mother-tongue speakers (Norris, 2007).

Although the survival of Aboriginal languages is uncertain, and for most the prognosis is poor, instances of hope do illuminate the horizon. The balance of the paper presents worrisome threats, glimmers of hope and the dilemmas in between. Hope is infinite and may yield interest over time, but in the case of the Aboriginal languages time is finite. Unlike the other ethnocultural communities of Canada, there is no supply of immigrants to replenish Aboriginal villages with native speakers and nowhere to go to master Aboriginal language skills and cultural knowledge.



## Threats

- A. *The number of languages:* First Nations languages within what is now Canada are classified into twelve separate groups with a joint total of approximately fifty languages.<sup>27</sup> One of the difficulties of RLS among Canadian Aboriginal languages is the sheer number of languages that exist. Most have small numbers of speakers in confined geographic areas, and only three of the 50 or so languages have a good chance of survival.
- B. *Instability:* Behind every hope that follows lies an impending threat. The threats of globalisation, English as a worldwide *lingua franca* and Anglo hegemony may be forces beyond the control of any individual, community or nation. As such they are difficult to manage.
- C. *Individualisation:* The pace of digitisation has rendered privacy (often for security purposes) an individual social concept, while RLS requires a collective perspective and will, not only within a community but within the greater society as well.
- D. *Stress:* The demands of daily urban and industrial life leave less time and energy for family (e.g. resulting in increased divorce rates, homelessness and the rise of Aboriginal gangs), community and non-main-stream linguistic identity building. One cannot learn a language quickly, even in an immersion-type milieu, and such milieus are not available to many Aboriginal groups.
- E. *Absence of research:* Researchers work according to funding priorities, and government priorities always have greater access to funding. At the 2010 annual conference of the Canadian Society for the Study of Education/So-

<sup>27</sup> These include the following:

- Wakashan (Wet'suwet'en, Heiltsuk (Bella Bella), Nuxalk (Bella Coola), Nuuchah'nulth (Nootka), Kwakwaka'wakw (Kwakiutl), Comox, Cowichan, Nitinat, and Songish);
- Salishan (Squamish Salish, Lil'wat (Lillooet), Nl'akapamux or Ntlakypamuk (Thompson), Okanagan, Chilcotin, and Interior Salish (Haklomelem));
- Tsimshian (Gitksan and Nisga'a);
- Tlingit (dialects are Tagish, Teslin, Tahitan, and Tsetsaut);
- Haidian (two dialects are Haida and Haista);
- Athapaskan (Chipewyan, Beaver, Dene, Dene Dhaa, Tsuu T'ina (Sarcee), Sekani, Kaska, Tutchone, Han, and Gwich'n);
- Kootenaiian;
- Algonquian (Blackfoot, Assiniboine, Plains Cree, and Ojibwa are spoken in the Plains region; Swampy Cree, Wood Cree, Ojibwa, James Bay Cree, Odawa, Innu (Montagnais), Innu (Naskapi), Mi'kmaq (Micmac), and Wuastukwiuk (Maliseet) are spoken in the Canadian Shield and eastern Sub-Arctic regions);
- Siouian;
- Iroquoian (Mohawk, Oneida, Onondaga, Cayuga, Seneca, Erie, Neutral, Tobacco, and Huron);
- Eskaleut (Inuktitut, Inuvialui, Copper, Inuit, Netsilik Inuit, Caribou Inuit, Igloodik Inuit, Baffin Land Inuit, and Labrador Inuit); and
- Beothuk.

Canada's First Nations: Native Civilisations. [n.d.]. *Home | University of Calgary*. Retrieved 25 August 2010, from [http://www.ucalgary.ca/applied\\_history/tutor/firstnations/civilisations.html](http://www.ucalgary.ca/applied_history/tutor/firstnations/civilisations.html).

ciété canadienne pour l'étude de l'éducation,<sup>28</sup> out of the 1178 academic papers presented and roundtable topics discussed, only a scant few focussed on language:

- 13 (1.1%) were about topics related to the French language
- 22 (1.9%) were about English/ESL/ELL
- 12 (1.02%) were about heritage or international languages
- 4 (0.03%) were about Aboriginal languages

## Hopes

- A. *Hope in linking language use to land use:* The Red Paper of 1970 asserted that Aboriginal culture and language are based on treaty rights, which are rights to the land. Land is the foundation of Aboriginal culture and language; without it Aboriginal assimilation would be accelerated. In most cases, the land is 'crown land', and the profits from any resource-extraction industries, such as the Alberta oil and gas industry, go to the federal government. However, a select few groups, such as the Loon River Cree First Nations (LRCFN), have negotiated sub-surface rights to their land. Meetings with planners begin with an initial greeting in Cree and are then conducted entirely in English (Schreyer, 2008). Due to record levels of Aboriginal language loss, the federal government provided funds in 2002 for First Nations people to create a task force to preserve and promote Aboriginal languages in Canada.

Many of the task force's 25 recommendations emphasised the link between the land and language and the need to negotiate with the government for a share of the profits:

...the integral (holistic) nature of [indigenous] knowledge systems has been shown to be linked to land and territory. Thus, it is impossible to discuss conservation of cultural and linguistic diversity without discussing the basic rights of local peoples and their self-determination and control over their own lands and resources (Schreyer, 2008, p. 444).

Embedding language into the community's description of resources keeps language issues on the negotiating table and offers clear directions for what the private sector must provide in exchange for the profits from the resources it extracts. In addition to providing local employment and training, companies can be expected to share and manage land-use studies, make and archive recorded interviews with elders, and agree to develop educational resources of local relevance, including dictionaries. Although

<sup>28</sup> Furthermore, only 60 (5%) were offered in French (on any topic), despite the fact that the event took place in Montreal, the cosmopolitan centre of the French-speaking province of Quebec, suggesting additional signs of English hegemony.

this is appealing to indigenous communities, there is still no evidence that these measures are preventing language loss. While it is debatable whether the 'language as resource' model serves the interests of minority languages or majority groups, the LRCFN are clearly successfully empowering themselves in their 'desire to be the continued stewards over the resources that are a part of that land, including language' (Schreyer, 2008: 447).

- B. *Hope in elders and the creation of new resources:* Elders hold positions of tremendous influential and instrumental power. Some communities are taking advantage of their elders' wisdom to shape an inclusive curriculum and transform the culture of their schools. Elders' knowledge of their people's stories, legends, traditions and life on the land allows them to be 'tremendous human catalysts in the pursuit of culturally relevant and dynamic programmes which are created in concert with the communities they serve. They can provide a voice that will enable schools to become more aware and responsive' (Goulet, 2001). Many elders believe that children should learn their language in their home and that school lessons should highlight content that is relevant to children's local lives rather than focus on numbers and colours. Traditional land use and occupancy studies can generate programme content focused on learning about berry patches, medicine patches, burial grounds, hunting and trapping areas, and local trails (Schreyer, 2008; McKay-Carriere, 2009; McKay-Carriere and Bilash, 2010). Elders often embody such knowledge and offer inspiration and knowledge (Goulet, 2001; McKay-Carriere, 2009; Bilash, 2004; McKay-Carriere and Bilash, 2010 (a); McKay-Carriere and Bilash, 2010 (b)).
- C. *Hope in research:* Graduate programmes for people of Aboriginal background, especially in education, have multiplied over the past decade. They have been accompanied by an increase in research relating to many Aboriginal socio-political, economic, cultural and, to a certain extent, linguistic concerns. These 'insider' studies reflect an intellectual coming of age of the Aboriginal community, a trend preceded by francophone and heritage language groups in minority settings.
- D. *Hope in research by linguists:* Although linguists face many challenges in adapting methodologies from literacy situations to oracy ones (Rice, Libben and Derwing, 2002), their involvement with indigenous populations encourages self-empowerment, the preservation of indigenous languages, the promotion of literacy, the development of new speakers, the actual use of the indigenous language, and community control of the language (Hinton, 2001). Long-term research projects run by linguists such as Sally Rice (see: Canadian Indigenous Languages and Literacy Development Institute

(CILLDI)<sup>29</sup> show great promise in building local capacity and community-based language projects, producing dictionaries and grammars, developing new vocabulary items, overseeing place-naming projects, holding orthography and literacy workshops, transcribing and archiving personal stories and community histories, building language databases and websites and writing grant proposals for community-based language projects.

### Dilemmas

- A. *Hope in individual and community healing:* High levels of socio-psychological ills have resulted from the long history of colonialism and assimilation, especially the linguistic programmes in residential schools. The Canadian government is acknowledging its responsibility for the harm caused by residential schools and has set up a Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) to conduct hearings into the experience and impact of residential schools. Hearings began in June 2010 and for the next four years former students, staff, their families and others may make submissions to the Commission. However, no policy about reporting in one's mother tongue has been established. This may have the concrete effect of limiting the opportunity of many seniors, who were the most affected by residential schooling, to disclose their deepest pains. Furthermore, it also continues the process of colonisation since the healing is to take place in the colonisers' language. It may be that, although Anglo-conformity has been officially renounced, unofficially it has simply gone underground, where it is less visible but more insidious.
- B. *Hope in the model of the North:* Perhaps Canada's newest territory of Nunavut, with three official languages (used in schools, on public signage and in government debate and public discussions and websites), offers the most hope of all. Since over 90% of Inuit children use Inuktitut from birth, it is one of the three Canadian indigenous languages with a strong chance of long-term survival (Allen, 2007). However, while studies on code-mixing and subject realisation among bilingual children ages 2-4 years show a strong foundation in Inuktitut, regardless of extensive exposure to English in the home, studies of older Inuit children exposed to English through school reveal some stagnation in their mother tongue and increasing use of English with age, even in non-school contexts (Allen, 2007). Inuktitut's future lies in awareness and conscious choices about language use at the personal, family, school, and societal levels.

In another Northern study, Chiron (1998, in Daveluy & Ferguson, 2009) found that people used Inuktitut very little in public spaces; English was used 90% of the time in visual public spaces.

<sup>29</sup> <http://www.uofaweb.ualberta.ca/cilldi/>

(P)eople on the street had the tendency to speak their first language when in familiar groups ... At work, Inuit spoke Inuktitut among themselves, with some code-switching to English. Schools were the most multilingual places, with employees who were at least bilingual, and code-switching between Inuktitut, English, and French was common in the classroom (Daveluy & Ferguson, 2009: 84).

Will the Inuit be able to reach and maintain stable bilingualism, or will Inuktitut decline significantly in favour of majority languages? What choices will these communities make; will they opt for language as *obligatory* or *optional* in their identities (Crystal, 2000)?<sup>30</sup> An encroachment of English is apparent from the time that a child enters school, which has been found to be the most multilingual environment in many communities of the North.

- C. *Hope in the media:* In Fishman's eight stages of the Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (GIDS) of reversing language shift (RLS) (2001), he identifies the significance of public media as a tool for language revitalisation. Canada's well-known Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) and National Film Board (NFB) maintain and develop programming and services in both official languages. In 1985, the Canadian Radio and Television Commission (CRTC) established a Native Broadcasting Policy to address the specific cultural and linguistic needs of First Nations audiences and create an environment for Aboriginal artists, musicians, writers and producers to develop and flourish. With the steady erosion of ancestral languages since that time, the CRTC has debated programming for the preservation of ancestral languages. Such programmes would fill a need and could entice children to use and learn their language; however, there are so many languages and dialects that it would be impossible to have programme time for each one, and the production costs would be prohibitive. The Aboriginal People's Television Network (APTN) needed to turn to advertising revenue and increase its commercial orientation; this in turn influences the broadcast content, as advertisers choose when and on what programme they would like their ads to be played.<sup>31</sup> Thus, media as an agent of language promotion is not an available option in most parts of Canada.

With federal support in the form of workshops and co-funding, an Aboriginal film industry has grown considerably over the past decade and is becoming well organised. Film festivals are offered across the country to shine a

30 Community members who feel that they cannot *belong* to the community without speaking the language feel *obliged* to learn and use it. One who does not speak the language, then, does not feel the same sense of belonging. Moreover, to make language shift a priority, an entire community must commit to an obligation to use the language. When language is not required for community participation, it is seen as optional within identity formation.

31 Ethnic communities frequently rely on local cable television and radio stations to create or import programmes that are funded by advertisements of community-run businesses, i.e. privately organised and managed. Many, but not all, ethnic groups have daily or weekly radio programmes as well.

spotlight on many different indigenous cultures. Actors' guilds and compendia make it easy for the public to enjoy the perspectives of Aboriginal artists on many topics. October has been declared national Aboriginal history month.

- D. *Hope in literacy*: Language shift is a slow and steady process that is frequently noticed only after it has occurred. The grand challenge of RLS is that it is a time-consuming process that requires the collective commitment and consensus of many to develop and implement a plan of action; it is a process that requires the redirection of financial and human resources for success. Aboriginal self-government could be a mixed blessing for the language question. It would be beneficial if particular bands made RLS a priority; however, it could make creating a concerted and coordinated effort more challenging.

In order to revitalise an oral culture in the 21<sup>st</sup> century, one must assist that culture with making the transition to literacy.

The federal government offered a \$28 million dollar grant earlier this decade specifically to address Aboriginal languages. However, this blanket grant applied to over 50 languages (\$560,000 *per language*) in over 600 communities (\$46,667 *per community*) over a ten year period (\$56,000 and \$4,667 *per year respectively*). The government encouraged multiple-community collaboration through the project application process, but it also set strict parameters for approval. Digitisation was highly favoured; unfortunately, given the limited funds available, most of the sites created are holding places for word lists related to teaching languages in school and not contemporary multi-media sites that maximise the medium's potential to attract users and provide information targeted at various language-user levels. Technology needs to be better utilised in Aboriginal language education.

In addition to technological growth, the habit of literacy needs to be cultivated in the Aboriginal languages. To develop the habit of reading, children must be exposed to books from a very young age. This requires attractive published material aimed at children to be created and made available at a reasonable cost. And because the habit needs to be encouraged as the child matures, writers, illustrators, editors, printers, bookstores, libraries, book clubs, and discussion groups, which are not widely available in Aboriginal languages, are required. While some communities are in favour of developing these facilities, they are not affordable for small isolated communities without a long-term on-going programme of government grants (Bilash, 2006, p. 72).

- E. *Hope in a change in attitude of all Canadians*: Efforts to strengthen nascent language ability within Canada over the past four to six decades have met with unexpected pitfalls. Even with the first French immersion programme in Quebec (Lambert and Tucker, 1972), bilingual school-based heritage and Aboriginal language programmes on the prairies since the 1970s and

80s, and community language schools designed to preserve cultural values and identity ties, the use of languages other than English is on the decline (Schaarschmidt, 2008; Guardado, 2009; Konidaris, 2004; Bodnitski, 2008; Palladino, 2006; Chronopolous, 2008; Salegio, 1998). When might there be a tipping point (Gladwell, 2000), when a sufficient number of bi- or multi-lingual Canadians will exist to make speaking other languages in public comfortable? At what point will the anglophone majority (many of whom were assimilated themselves) recognise that another language is not threatening, but rather additive to the individual, family and community? These attitudes have prevented Canada from tapping the potential provided by the many languages spoken in the country.

While the highest priority in the protection of Canadian languages should be accorded the Aboriginal languages, the atmosphere around language use in Canada suggests that hope lies only in the combined effort of all language groups to address the policies<sup>32</sup> and practices of language use. Until any second language can be comfortably used in Canada, all second(-class) languages will be at risk and, along with them, the identities of their speakers. Canada's First Nations peoples do not have the same language rights as do the French and English, and while their culture is gaining attention, interest and acknowledgement in mainstream Canada, their languages are subject to the same attitudes towards the use of non-English languages. Alliances with groups that currently use two languages may be the best chance to build hope for their own survival. Put another way:

We can ... regret the loss of any language but it is not at all certain that we can do more, unless we (and, more importantly, those whose language is at stake) are willing to alter the entire social fabric which has evolved with and around language (Edwards, 1985: 98).

- F. *Hope in education:* In Canada, each province mandates and oversees its own programmes in every subject area, including Aboriginal languages. Thus, goals and objectives vary across the country alongside languages and dialects. Indigenous language policies are a loose combination taking the form of either responses to existing populations/language pockets (NWT and Nunavut in particular), faint but currently recurring echoes of restorative justice (the current Truth and Reconciliation Commission), or token political/educational endeavours (indigenous language frameworks established across the Western provinces along with minimal Aboriginal language course offerings and weak enrolment) countered by the reality of a steadily lingering assimilationist policy leading towards Canadian (save Quebec,

<sup>32</sup> Such a policy vision is not new to Canada; Dr Manoly Lupul put forward the idea that schooling must be bi- or tri-lingual 40 years ago (Lupul, 2005). If francophones in minority communities, Aboriginal people, and heritage language communities do not speak at the same table about the common key to culture – language – and do not collectively agree to combat the colonial language of power together, all groups will lose. Policies can enhance this process through the funded support that they can enable.

for now) monolingualism. Yet, in 2001, more people reported being able to speak an Aboriginal language (235,000) than reported having it as their mother tongue (203,300). This may be a hopeful sign of language education programmes, but it is far too early to make positive prognostications.

Where indigenous language programmes focussing on immersion for children are active and productive, as in Onion Lake, Cumberland House, James Bay and in northern territorial pockets, the language advocacy community, born of political necessity, is geographically entrenched as a grassroots gatekeeper with language maintenance as a core value of its framework. Such communities also recognise that real RLS efforts require language classes for all ages of a community at the same time.

With some provinces predicting that up to 50% of school-aged children will be of Aboriginal ancestry within the next one to three decades and the Aboriginal presence growing, deans of faculties of education across the country struck a Dean's Accord in June 2010 to provide better pre-service teacher training for future teachers. Special project funds have been allocated to establish and support programmes to increase awareness of Aboriginal issues, lifestyles and cultural practices. However, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, none of these programmes has as yet acknowledged or enacted the key place of Aboriginal languages, that is, as a language of instruction or as compulsory content.

The challenge with Aboriginal language revival is a deep, seeded one, potential instructors possess either low levels of language and literacy or minimal to no formal teacher education. The younger teachers with formal training are victims of residential schooling and have little to no language skills. The older more fluent instructors lack general training in planning, classroom management and assessment. Thus, many language courses have become cultural awareness programmes, the result being that each year another age group loses the opportunity for language exposure and education within a publicly funded institution. Furthermore, as Aboriginal youth have higher birth rates and often begin families in their teens, the odds against language revival increase.

### **A comment on sources**

The government of Canada has proposed changing the way it gathers data. Statistics Canada (StatCan) circulates a 'long-form' census every 10 years and a shorter census in the interim fifth year. It is compulsory for Canadians (and non-citizen residents) to complete the form. The proposal under debate is to make completing the census voluntary. This would introduce a self-selection bias into the results and would ruin any longitudinal comparability of the data. Accurate and consistent information is crucial for an understanding of a country's social, economic and political development.



The data relied on in this study were based in large part on information provided by StatCan. Data concerning the Aboriginal peoples are already inaccurate since some bands have decided not to participate in the census as they do not wish to share their information with the Canadian authorities. By implementing the government's proposal, these inaccuracies would be magnified, and the reliability of future studies on similar subject matter would be at risk.

### Closing

Supreme Court rulings and the stated policies of the Canadian government support empowering the Aboriginal communities to restore their languages and cultures; however, it remains to be seen whether this can be accomplished in isolation. An isolated approach to resolving the French language issue has not stopped the drift to the English language (Lafontant and Martin, 2000; Landry and Allard, 1988; Moulun-Pasek, 2000; Gaudet and Clément, 2009; Clément, Noels, Gauthier, 1993); there is no reason to believe that using the same approach with the Aboriginal languages will be any more successful. A narrow focus on Aboriginal languages to the exclusion of French and other languages in Canada is not likely to create a climate suitable for the language learning and retention needed to prevent their fading into English. And there is also the matter of time. The Aboriginal languages are dying; fewer and fewer speakers remain to transmit the languages to the next generation.

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## [PACIFIC]

## 2.8 Plaidoyer pour le plurilinguisme à l'école néo-calédonienne

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### Contexte historique et politique de l'École dans la République



L'École de la République s'est toujours engagée à être le lieu de reproduction d'une certaine culture, que l'on a dit bourgeoise et parisienne<sup>1</sup>. L'École, depuis la III<sup>ème</sup> République, s'est ainsi conçue comme institution relayant une seule identité culturelle normalisée. Elle était censée réduire les divers ensembles traditionnels que la France comptait, non sans coercition, dans une idéologie républicaine et laïque. En cela, elle était le prolongement de la politique linguistique de l'Ancien Régime.

Elle a joué longtemps ce rôle et a permis l'émergence d'un sentiment d'appartenance partagé forgé autour de certain-

nes valeurs (comme la laïcité, l'égalité, l'amour de la nation). L'École s'est aussi construite autour d'une langue, porteuse de représentations et d'une structure de pensée : le français. La politique linguistique de l'École de la Nation était fortement inspirée par l'idéologie de Condillac.

Néanmoins, ce centralisme de l'École, cette volonté de normaliser les façons de sentir, de penser et d'agir des différents peuples français (Basque, Breton, Corse, Occitan...) a été fondée sur l'idée d'éradication des richesses culturelles des uns et des autres. La crainte de la République, dont l'orgueil a toujours été de bâtir un peuple sur une idéologie plutôt que sur une race, a été celle de voir resurgir ces principes identitaires régionaux et de les voir mettre en difficulté la seule identité française républicaine et laïque.

L'École s'est ainsi longtemps opposée à l'inscription en son sein de tout particularisme et tout régionalisme culturel. Elle s'est donc également méfiée du plurilinguisme.

<sup>1</sup> Voir les travaux de l'historien Fernand Brunot, Histoire de la langue française des origines à nos jours, Paris, Armand Colin et du sociologue Pierre Bourdieu, Langage et pouvoir symbolique (recueils d'articles), Paris, Fayard, Points, Essais.

## La revendication du peuple kanak

L'École en milieu colonial n'a pas échappé à la logique républicaine et au centralisme de l'idéologie qu'elle portait. En Nouvelle-Calédonie, les langues autochtones furent refoulées, déniées, voire forcloses des enceintes scolaires.

Les enseignants eux-mêmes, les kanaks comme les autres, ont toujours été « normalisés » lors de leur formation afin de permettre l'émergence chez eux d'une identité professionnelle étant désarrimée de leur identité culturelle propre. Il s'agissait pour l'institution de formation, l'École Normale, de faire d'eux, en position d'instituteur, et encore aujourd'hui en tant que professeur des écoles, les gardiens du dogme. Il fallait les programmer afin qu'ils ne puissent pas réintroduire au sein de l'École républicaine des représentations culturelles impropres à l'instauration d'une identité, d'une idéologie, d'un système idiomatique français.

Avec le renouveau identitaire mélanésien, dans le contexte de décolonisation globale des années 1970 - 1980, le problème de l'École républicaine et de sa doctrine est posé. Les indépendantistes mettent en avant le fait que l'École constitue le moteur d'un large phénomène d'acculturation qui fait la promotion d'un système de valeurs qu'ils qualifient de colonial au détriment des richesses culturelles mélanésiennes. Certains indépendantistes radicaux vont se heurter violemment à ce système. Les Événements<sup>2</sup> s'ensuivent et en parallèle, les Écoles Populaires Kanakes (EPK) tentent de se substituer au système scolaire européen. Lorsque la paix revient, la France consent à reconnaître les identités et les cultures kanakes. Par ricochet, les représentants kanaks reconnaissent l'existence d'une identité culturelle caldoche avec laquelle il faudra composer pour co-construire le pays. Cet ensemble de gestes forts de reconnaissance mutuelle débouchera sur la notion symbolique de destin commun au sein d'un même pays.

C'est dans le cadre de ce destin commun, dont la première pierre reste seule à avoir été posée, que s'inscrit aujourd'hui la valorisation des patrimoines culturels et linguistiques locaux. Des institutions et des associations sont mises en place à cette fin ; le Centre Culturel Jean-Marie Tjibaou, l'Agence de Développement de la Culture Kanake, l'Académie des langues kanakes... sont des exemples de ces politiques institutionnelles de mise en avant des cultures du pays.

## L'école toujours réfractaire?

Depuis les Accords, la volonté politique et l'engouement populaire pour une réappropriation de sa culture d'origine (pour les peuples kanaks) et une

<sup>2</sup> Événements : En 1984/85 puis en 1988/89, des affrontements sanglants entre Kanaks indépendantistes et Caldoches loyalistes font plusieurs morts et marquent l'histoire de la Nouvelle-Calédonie, qui ne retrouve sa paix qu'avec les Accords de Matignon, qui engagent le pays dans un processus de décolonisation.

culture réinventée (pour les Caldoches) n'a pourtant pas ébranlé le conservatisme de l'École. Le transfert de compétence de l'enseignement primaire n'a pas fondamentalement changé les programmes scolaires, sauf en histoire où ils demanderaient à être encore une fois révisés, laissant trop de place au communautarisme et faisant ainsi effraction à l'histoire commune et au principe de citoyenneté.

Surtout la formation des maîtres n'a pas évolué. Si une formation plus universitaire et donc plus prompte à intégrer le débat et la discussion a vu le jour au sein de l'Institut universitaire de formation des maîtres en Nouvelle-Calédonie (IUFM), celle-ci est soumise au passage d'un concours. Or nous savons combien le concours, formellement, sélectionne sur des critères de normalisation du savoir, sur des processus rhétoriques, plus que sur les critères de savoir eux-mêmes en ce qu'ils peuvent avoir d'heuristique. Cela limite grandement l'accès à la profession de personnels pourvus de savoirs qui peuvent être originaux et qui permettent plus que d'autres la réflexion et l'esprit critique.

Pis encore, l'IUFM, en Nouvelle-Calédonie, est toujours concurrencé par un reliquat d'École Normale, un temps appelé ITFM (Institut territorial de formation des maîtres) puis IFM-NC (Institut de formation des maîtres de Nouvelle-Calédonie). Là encore, l'accent est mis sur la formalisation des comportements plutôt que sur l'esprit d'ouverture. Ce qui n'a pas empêché parfois certains personnels et certains élèves-maîtres de s'inscrire en faux au sein de l'institution. Les directions de ces instituts demanderaient à être réexaminées.

## Cinq heures de culture locale par semaine

La loi permet désormais que soit enseignée au primaire la culture locale à raison de cinq heures par semaine.

Au sein de cet enseignement, le registre des langues, notamment des langues kanakes, est privilégié. La disposition d'un personnel ad hoc, le désir des instituteurs et des directeurs d'école, le volontariat des parents d'élève... Le dispositif d'enseignement des langues n'est acté que si tout concourt à sa mise en place.

Non seulement les langues vernaculaires sont réintroduites au sein de l'enseignement primaire, mais elles peuvent être langue d'enseignement. Cela veut dire que l'enseignement de l'histoire ou des mathématiques, par exemple, pourrait se faire en langue kanake. Mais attention, ce dispositif s'inscrit comme un plus et les langues kanakes n'ont pas vocation à concurrencer le français. Le français demeure en Nouvelle-Calédonie la langue de référence non seulement parce qu'il est d'une richesse extraordinaire, mais aussi parce qu'il est à la fois le trait d'union entre les peuples kanaks eux-mêmes et en même temps le relais entre tous les groupes culturels qui interagissent dans le pays. Ainsi, le français demeure la langue de la citoyenneté et du destin commun.



## Un engagement, une ouverture vers l'autre et sa richesse culturelle

Même si l'on peut regretter que les Kanakes eux-mêmes ne s'engagent pas plus intellectuellement et spontanément pour défendre la richesse vernaculaire de leurs ancêtres, nous constatons ça et là quelques prises de conscience. Suffiront-elles à mettre en œuvre une réelle transmission culturelle ou devons-nous constater que les générations à venir, en plus d'une très mauvaise maîtrise du français, auront résolument perdu leurs racines linguistiques ?

Même si l'on peut regretter que les langues kanakes (et pourquoi pas les langues océaniques) n'aient pas une place plus grande dans l'enseignement primaire, on peut tout de même reconnaître ici ou là l'effort consenti afin que la Nouvelle-Calédonie se réapproprie la richesse de ses cultures et des ses patrimoines linguistiques. À travers ces propriétés linguistiques, notons que c'est toute une façon de se représenter le monde que le locuteur acquière. Aussi le plurilinguisme est-il fondamentalement un moyen d'ouverture d'esprit. Il est de plus, pour les locuteurs francophones, un moyen de marquer son attachement à l'autre, le Kanak de telle ou telle aire, le Wallisien, le Javanais, le Vietnamien... Dans les situations de la vie de tous les jours, le locuteur francophone qui fait l'effort de dire 'malo te maoli' en rencontrant un Wallisien, de dire 'oléti' pour remercier un Lifou, montre par là qu'il respecte l'autre et reconnaît son héritage culturel et langagier propre, même s'il n'en maîtrise pas toutes les subtilités.

Le plurilinguisme n'est donc pas destiné uniquement aux seuls Kanaks. Il est aussi une chance pour les locuteurs français de s'emparer des richesses culturelles locales autrement qu'en visitant un ou deux musées.

## Un danger pour le français et la culture française ?

L'introduction des langues locales dans l'enseignement primaire n'est pas un danger pour la langue française. Ceci à condition, comme nous l'avons souligné, que l'enseignement en langue vernaculaire ne soit ni en concurrence, ni en substitution à l'enseignement rigoureux du français. Et l'enseignement des langues kanakes n'est pas pensé comme tel. Un travail de recherche universitaire déjà commencé avance des résultats très encourageants. Ses trois objectifs sont : expérimenter un programme de formation des enseignants de langues kanakes ; introduire progressivement l'enseignement des langues kanakes à l'école primaire publique ; évaluer les effets de cet enseignement sur les élèves et la société environnante<sup>3</sup>.

Même si cette étude manque de solidité théorique, notamment en ayant une vision purement cognitiviste du rapport du sujet à la langue, même si elle n'a pas été épargnée par un certain nombre de biais opératoires, notamment

<sup>3</sup> Voir: Suivi longitudinal de l'évaluation de l'expérimentation «L'enseignement des langues et de la culture kanake à l'école primaire de la Nouvelle-Calédonie»; Isabelle NOCUS, Agnès FLORIN et Philippe GUIMARD.

dans la construction des ses groupes de contrôle, elle permet tout de même de balayer les craintes de certains.

En effet, l'apprentissage de plusieurs langues par des enfants ne pose pas de problème au niveau de l'apprentissage du français lui-même puisque des compétences de transversalité sont mises en place par l'enfant. L'étude montre aussi que la réussite de cet apprentissage vernaculaire dépend beaucoup de la formalité du cadre d'apprentissage et de la haute qualification vernaculaire des professeurs et des tenants lieux.

## La problématique de l'introduction de l'anglais à l'école primaire

Avec l'introduction de l'anglais dans l'enseignement primaire, nous ne sommes plus dans le contexte de la réappropriation culturelle et du renouveau linguistique local. Bien sûr, la Nouvelle-Calédonie appartient au Pacifique et ne peut nier l'usage répandu de l'anglais dans cette ancienne zone de colonisation britannique. L'Australie et la Nouvelle-Zélande sont deux de nos voisins puissants et avec lesquels beaucoup d'échanges sont faits. En plus de ces deux géants, il ne faut pas oublier toutes les îles, des Fidji aux Tonga, en passant par les Samoa ou l'anglais est très usité.

Pourtant la volonté politique d'introduire l'apprentissage de l'anglais au sein de l'école primaire répond plutôt à une exigence de la mondialisation, quand ce n'est pas, en Nouvelle-Calédonie, un moyen détourné pour faire barrage au développement des langues kanakes.

Plus encore, l'anglais dans sa forme simplifiée, celle qui se répand, est la langue utilitaire des échanges capitalistes globaux. L'anglais est ainsi porteur entre autre de l'impérialisme américain se revendiquant comme universel. C'est oublier un peu vite qu'une langue porte en elle un certain formalisme de la pensée non universelle.

Bien sûr, l'anglais de Shakespeare n'a plus grand chose à voir avec l'anglais mondialisé, qui est un anglais appauvri par la déculturation forcée par sa mondialisation. D'où la question de l'intérêt qu'il peut représenter d'un point de vue purement linguistique.

Soulignons aussi que si l'apprentissage de l'anglais en primaire est théoriquement souhaitable, comme l'apprentissage de toute langue, du fait que l'enfant dispose à cet âge de grandes facilités pour l'apprentissage des langues, cet apprentissage est tout de même coûteux en temps. Ainsi, l'apprentissage de l'anglais prend-il nécessairement la place d'apprentissages plus à même de contribuer à l'épanouissement de l'enfant dans son milieu socioculturel. Car si l'anglais, un jour ou l'autre, peut servir à 'communiquer' avec l'étranger, il ne nous est d'aucune utilité pour savoir, en Nouvelle-Calédonie, qui nous sommes, quelle est notre histoire et quelle est notre culture. Enfin, rappelons-nous la sagesse socratique qui nous conseille de nous connaître nous-mêmes. Or soulignons-le, si le fran-

çais et si les langues kanakes et océaniques appartiennent à notre patrimoine culturel en tant qu'habitants d'une terre kanake dont l'aventure historique a été mêlée à la France, l'anglais reste une langue étrangère.

## En conclusion

Malgré le fait qu'un certain nombre de citoyens néocalédoniens aient pris conscience de l'importance du plurilinguisme à l'école, et que de nombreux arguments plaident en faveur de son enseignement dans l'enseignement primaire, les réticences restent fortes.

Pourtant, plus que l'opposition formelle et argumentée au plurilinguisme à l'école, c'est le manque de volonté institutionnelle, les lourdeurs des politiciens et l'immobilisme des dirigeants, plus encore navrants quand ceux-ci sont eux-mêmes Kanaks, qui freine un processus qu'il devient urgent de mettre en place pour le bénéfice de tous.

L'inscription de l'enseignement des langues kanakes aux Accords devrait nous pousser aujourd'hui à ne plus tolérer que cet enseignement demeure encore une expérimentation.

## **CONCLUDING REMARKS**

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## CONCLUDING REMARKS

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When we first approached the idea of publishing a yearly Linguapax Review, we eventually came to the decision to produce a first edition that should be generic in scope, previous to any subsequent volumes that could be of a monographic nature.

This first edition of the Linguapax Review has given us then the chance to obtain an overview of some of the challenges faced by some of the Linguapax delegations, with no specific focus, theme or location in mind, just keeping in mind the common thread of belonging to the Linguapax movement. The case studies that have been presented cannot possibly be considered as representative of the entire regions of origin; nevertheless, they shed light on important issues that pinpoint a general view of how linguistic diversity is experienced, managed and so often mismanaged or openly neglected in so many locations all over our world.

Throughout the pages of this Review, we can identify different views to linguistic diversity, different ways to perceiving its threats and even different ways of imagining or dreaming of a world where languages are preserved, linguistic communities revitalized and multilingualism thrives. To this respect, we can think of those instances where preserving a language amounts to preserving what is perceived as a type of integrity, a well knitted system able to be encapsulated into grammar rules and dictionaries, and which is ultimately perceived to be the very blood of a national identity. This could be the extreme characterization of a typical European nation-state language. This characterization that has inspired some of the best-known language policy tools and constructs (*official language, standard language, even mother tongue*, to name the most representative ones), generated in the specific European sociolinguistic context. For many centuries, this context has been reinforcing the paradigm of monoculturalism and monolingualism and has been, more often than not, uncritically and avidly exported and imported by deeply distant linguistic ecologies. On other sectors of the continuum we might find those views on language grounded on a liquid approach to languages (i.e. languages perceived and experienced as open ended systems of fuzzy boundaries) emerging from indigenous multilingual settings. In such contexts, the functional distribution of (partial) languages having relative weight according to different areas of human life might account for adequate linguistic preservation or revitalization. Realities and projects of what amounts to preserving or revitalizing a language might vary in different degrees of attachment to a pure, ideal and self-contained linguistic utopia.

Linguapax is very aware of this fact and is especially sensitive to the deep commitment to genuine diversity. In the words of one of the authors of this Review, Lachman Khubchandani, «Can one promote a *universal* model of language plurality, or should we recognize the ‘flexible’ plural ways of understanding plurality?»

Diversity is experienced in many multilingual settings in the world as the permanent intertwining of different identity traits, of multiple identities (religious, national, linguistic). We cannot ignore, in this respect, what emerges as an increasingly prominent scenario in western societies; the emanation of processes and dynamics by which citizens identify themselves and that go beyond nation state lines, which are not reducible to traditional cultural, religious and linguistic identities (i.e. to traditional anthropological categories). Individuals and communities interact, therefore, according to newly emerging cultural frames where many of the conventional constructs, as well as the cultural and linguistic policies inspired by them, become obsolete.

It is by bearing these processes and plural *diversities* in mind that Linguapax originated as a UNESCO program, now operating as a core piece of the UNESCO Center of Catalonia, and engaged in the exploration of how to harness the potential of linguistic diversity and multilingualism as a key element for a necessary rethinking of humanism. UNESCO DG, Mrs. Irina Bukova, made a statement on the emergence of a new humanism during the eighteenth plenary meeting of the 35th session of the General Conference ( Friday 23 October 2009) along these lines:

*Notre rôle, désormais, est de traduire pragmatiquement les conventions et les déclarations en actions efficaces, et d’atteindre l’universalisme, qui est l’émanation même de «l’unité dans la diversité». La diversité culturelle et le dialogue entre les cultures participent à l’émergence d’un nouvel humanisme où le global et le local se réconcilient, et à travers lequel nous réapprenons à construire le monde.*

For the sake of a humanism grounded on linguistic diversity for peace, through the continued action of its network of delegations, Linguapax can contribute to progressively bridging the gap between two emanations of the hierarchization of languages: *cultures* (channeled by those many small, local or endangered languages; languages and cultures usually addressed by Anthropology), and *knowledge* (the one that normally feeds the Humanities, usually channeled by the small group of languages that produce and distribute knowledge), a double academic standard, eventually translating into a double standard of the very human being: *anthropos* vs. *humanitas*, as Japanese author Nishitani Osamu put it.<sup>1</sup>

Every language, every communication culture/ethos can (re)generate (the) Humanities. Really plural or pluri-versal Humanities should rethink their role in a globalizing world - and rethink how globalization (as a global discursive phenomenon in itself?) is constructed from the perspective of different linguistic ideologies to begin with.

<sup>1</sup> Osamu, N. (2006) «Anthropos and Humanitas: Two Western Concepts of “Human Being”». *Translation, biopolitics, colonial difference*, Ed. Naoki Sakai, Jon Solomon. Hong Kong University Press.