

Language Planning and Policy in Pacific, Vol. 1

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LANGUAGE PLANNING AND POLICY

# Language Planning and Policy in the Pacific, Vol. 1 Fiji, The Philippines and Vanuatu

Edited by

Richard B. Baldauf Jr. and Robert B. Kaplan

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## The Contributors

**Terry Crowley**, who unexpectedly passed away on 16 January 2005 at the age of 51, was an important voice in Pacific studies, in pidginisation and creolisation, and in the recording of some languages that have disappeared, and of some that have survived despite the tender ministrations of western languages, western missionaries, and western scholars. He taught linguistics at the University of Waikato after having taught at the University of the South Pacific. He has published extensively on Bislama – the English-lexifier pidgin national language of Vanuatu – and Oceanic languages since 1976, and has also published on the sociolinguistic situation. His major books on Vanuatu languages included *Ura: A disappearing Language of Southern Vanuatu* (1999), *An Erromangan (Sye) Grammar* (1998), *A New Bislama Dictionary* (1995), *A Dictionary of Paamese* (1992), *Beach-la-Mer to Bislama: The Emergence of a National Language in Vanuatu* (1990) and *The Paamese Language of Vanuatu* (1982).

**Andrew Gonzalez, FSC**, who passed away on 29 January 2006, was a former Secretary of the Department of Education, Culture and Sports in the Philippines, and was at the time President Emeritus of De La Salle University-Manila and President of the Manila Bulletin Publishing Corporation. He was President of De La Salle University from 1978 to 1991 and again from 1994 to 1998. Brother Andrew was a member of the National Academy of Science and Technology, Republic of the Philippines and an Academician. He earned his doctorate degree in Linguistics from the University of California, Berkeley. He received honorary degrees from Waseda University, Tokyo Japan; Soka University, Hachioji, Japan; St. Paul University, Ottawa, Canada; and St. Mary's College of California, Moraga, USA. He was bestowed prestigious awards such as *Officer de 'Ordre des Palmes Académiques* by the Government of France, St. Vincent de Paul Medal of Academic Excellence by Adamson University, the Fourth Degree of the Order by the Knight Grand Officer of Rizal, St. Bede Medal by San Beda College, and Ex Corde Ecclesiae by the International Federation of Catholic Universities, Paris, France. His activities include membership on Boards of Trustees of various educational institutions and professional organizations, local and international. At one time, he was President of the International Federation of Catholic Universities, and Chairman of the International Association of University Presidents for the Southeast Asian Region. He was Chair of the recently concluded Task Force to Evaluate Graduate Education in the Philippines. He was also a member of editorial advisory boards of various educational journals. He has written and published extensively in the field of language planning, language teaching, higher education, and sociolinguistics.

**Francis Mangubhai** worked in the South Pacific for many years in the area of language education. He worked with Professor Elley on the well-known Book Flood Project in Fiji, has written on literacy in the South Pacific and in 2002 published in the *Journal for Multilingual and Multicultural Development* various frameworks for language-in-education policies for South Pacific countries. He is currently A/Professor and the Director of the newly established Learning and Teaching Support Unit at the University of Southern Queensland, Australia.

**France Mugler** is Assistant Professor at the University of the South Pacific where she has taught linguistics for nearly 20 years. Her main research interests have been in the area of sociolinguistics, in particular the minority Indian languages of Fiji, especially the Dravidian languages, and Fiji English. With John Lynch, she edited the 1996 *Pacific Languages in Education*, and with Jan Tent, she has written several articles on Fiji English and conducted two surveys of language use and attitudes in Fiji, the most recent one in November 2005. She is currently also working on a dictionary of English for Fiji with Jan Tent and Paul Geraghty.



## Series Overview

Since 1998 and 1999 when the first six polity studies on Language Policy and Planning – addressing the language situation in a particular polity – were published in the *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 20 studies (from 2000 through the end of 2005) have been published in *Current Issues in Language Planning*. These studies have all addressed, to a greater or lesser extent, 22 common questions or issues (Appendix A), thus giving them some degree of consistency. However, we are keenly aware that these studies have been published in the order in which they were completed. While such an arrangement is reasonable for journal publication, the result does not serve the needs of area specialists nor are the various monographs easily accessible to the wider public. As the number of available polity studies has grown, we have planned to update (where necessary) and republish these studies in coherent areal volumes.

The first such volume published concerned Africa (i.e. Botswana, Malawi, Mozambique and South Africa) (Baldauf & Kaplan, 2004), both because a significant number of studies had become available and because Africa constituted an area that is significantly under-represented in the language planning literature and yet is marked by extremely interesting language policy and planning issues. The second and third volumes dealt with Europe (i.e. Hungary, Finland and Sweden, Kaplan & Baldauf (2005); and the Czech Republic, the European Union and Northern Ireland, Baldauf & Kaplan (2006)). This forth volume focuses on the Pacific, and includes, Fiji, The Philippines and Vanuatu, again examining two polities that have not been the subject of a lot of published language planning and policy activity, while drawing together the work on the Philippines, which is perhaps better known. These will shortly be followed by other areal volumes, focusing perhaps on Africa, Europe, Latin America, or Asia.

We hope that these areal volumes will better serve the needs of specialists. It is our intent to continue to publish other areal volumes subsequently as sufficient studies are completed. We will do so in the hope that such volumes will be of interest to areal scholars and others interested in language policies and language planning in geographically coherent regions. The areas in which we are planning to produce future volumes, and some of the polities that may be included are:

- Africa** (2), including Algeria, Côte d'Ivoire, Nigeria, Tunisia;
- Europe** (3 and 4), including the Baltic States, Cyprus, Luxembourg, Ireland, Italy and Malta;
- Latin America** (1), including Ecuador, Mexico and Paraguay; and
- Asia** (1 and 2), including Bangladesh, Chinese Characters, Japan, Malaysia, Nepal, Singapore, Sri Lanka, and Taiwan.

In the mean time, we will continue to bring out *Current Issues in Language Planning*, adding to the list of polities available for inclusion in areal volumes. At this point, we cannot predict the intervals over which such volumes will appear, since those intervals will be defined by the ability of contributors to complete work on already contracted polity studies.

## **Assumptions Relating to Polity Studies**

There are a number of assumptions that we have made about the nature of language policy and planning that have influenced the nature of the studies presented. First, we do not believe that a broader and more coherent paradigm addressing the complex questions of language policy/planning development is yet available. On the other hand, we do believe that the collection of a large body of more or less comparable data and the careful analysis of that data will give rise to a better paradigm. Therefore, in soliciting the polity studies, we have asked each of the contributors to address some two-dozen questions (to the extent that such questions were pertinent to each particular polity); the questions were offered as suggestions of topics that might be covered. (See Appendix A.) Some contributors have followed the questions rather closely; others have been more independent in approaching the task. It should be obvious that, in framing those questions, we were moving from a perhaps inchoate notion of an underlying theory. The reality that our notion was inchoate becomes clear in each of the polity studies.

Second, we have sought to find authors who had an intimate involvement with the language planning and policy decisions made in the polity about which they were writing; i.e. we were looking for insider knowledge and perspectives about the polities. However, as insiders are part of the process, when developing their studies they may find it difficult to take the part of the 'other' – to be critical of that process. But it is not necessary, or even appropriate, that they should be – this can be left to others. As Pennycook (1998: 126) has argued:

One of the lessons we need to draw from this account of colonial language policy [i.e. Hong Kong] is that, in order to make sense of language policies we need to understand both their location historically and their location contextually. What I mean by this is that we can not assume that the promotion of local languages instead of a dominant language, or the promotion of a dominant language at the expense of a local language, are in themselves good or bad. Too often we view these things through the lenses of liberalism, pluralism or anti-imperialism, without understanding the actual location of such policies.

While some authors do take a critical stance, or one based on a theoretical approach to the data, many of the studies presented in these volumes are primarily descriptive, bringing together and revealing, we hope, the nature of the language development experience in the particular polity. We believe this is a valuable contribution to the theory/paradigm development of the field. As interesting and challenging as it may be to provide theoretical *a priori* descriptions of the nature of the field [e.g. language management (Neustupný & Nekvapil, 2003), language rights (May, 2003), continua of biliteracy (Hornberger, 2003)] based on partial data – nor have we been completely immune from this ourselves (e.g. Kaplan & Baldauf, 2003, Chapter 12) – we believe the development of a sufficient data base is an important prerequisite for paradigm development.

Of course, the author(s) of each volume also brings somewhat different methods (e.g. historical, ethnographic, sociolinguistic, linguistic) and issues (e.g. minority rights, education of linguistic minorities, national identity) to their studies and this adds to the richness of our understanding of language

planning as we are shown that there are different ways of approaching this field of study and that particular issues are important to specific contexts. An edited volume by Ricento (2006) also provides a brief introduction to some of these relevant theories, methods and issues in language policy (and planning).

In 1945, Vannevar Bush (Director of the Office of Scientific Research and Development in the administration of President Franklin Roosevelt) published a report in which he established a clear distinction between pure research (basic science) and applied research (applied science). He did so in the belief that pure research had little chance of attracting government funding even though basic science constituted a public good that demanded government support. The dichotomy articulated by Bush has served as the guideline for federal funding in the United States, in Australia and elsewhere over the past 60 years.

More recently, Donald Stokes (1997) has argued that scientific research should be conceived as falling into quadrants. In this configuration, one quadrant contains scientists who conduct pure research but have no concern in the potential uses in the real world of the findings. Niels Bohr might be an example of a scholar-scientist who fits this category, as might Noam Chomsky in his theoretical linguistics research. A second quadrant contains scientists who have a primary concern for applied research and little interest in the scientific aspects of such work; Thomas Edison might serve as an example in this quadrant. A third quadrant would contain scholars whose work is neither overly theoretical nor overly applied. Work in this quadrant might contain taxonomic or classificatory studies – i.e. work which is worthwhile but is not driven by the desire either to advance knowledge or to develop practical solutions. A fourth quadrant contains work that might be described as ‘use-inspired basic science’, research that has potential for real-world utility without losing sight of the desire to advance scientific understanding. Stokes believed that the bulk of governmental funding should be addressed to this quadrant. Louis Pasteur might be the prototypical figure in this quadrant, and thus this quadrant Stokes labeled ‘Pasteur’s Quadrant.’

We insert this brief aside at this point in the explanation of our assumptions guiding the polity studies upon which we have chosen to focus because we are convinced that language policy studies fall squarely in Pasteur’s Quadrant – studies marked by taxonomic description married to a desire to advance knowledge and to lead to a theory for language policy research. Regrettably, Stokes’ suggestion that the bulk of government funding should be directed at this quadrant has not been taken seriously by governments around the world.

### **An Invitation to Contribute**

We welcome additional polity contributions. Our views on a number of the issues can be found in Kaplan and Baldauf (1997); sample polity monographs have appeared in the extant issues of *Current Issues in Language Planning*. Interested authors are invited to contact the editors, present a proposal for a monograph, and provide a sample list of references. It is also useful to provide a brief biographical note, indicating any personal involvement in language planning activities in the polity proposed for study as well as any relevant research/publication in LPP. All contributions should, of course, be original,

unpublished works. We expect to work with contributors during the preparation of monographs. All monographs will, of course, be reviewed for quality, completeness, accuracy and style. Experience suggests that co-authored contributions may be very successful, but we want to stress that we are seeking a unified monograph on the polity, not an edited compilation of various authors' efforts. Questions may be addressed to either of us.

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## Appendix A

### Part I: The Language Profile of . . .

1. Name and briefly describe the national/official language(s) (*de jure* or *de facto*).
2. Name and describe the major minority language(s).
3. Name and describe the lesser minority language(s) (include 'dialects', pidgins, creoles and other important aspects of language variation); the definition of minority language/dialect/pidgin will need to be discussed in terms of the sociolinguistic context.
4. Name and describe the major religious language(s); in some polities religious languages and/or missionary policies have had a major impact on the language situation and provide *de facto* language planning. In some

contexts religion has been a vehicle for introducing exogenous languages while in other cases it has served to promote indigenous languages.

5. Name and describe the major language(s) of literacy, assuming that it is/ they are not one of those described above.
6. Provide a table indicating the number of speakers of each of the above languages, what percentage of the population they constitute and whether those speakers are largely urban or rural.
7. Where appropriate, provide a map(s) showing the distribution of speakers, key cities and other features referenced in the text.

### **Part II: Language Spread**

8. Specify which languages are taught through the educational system, to whom they are taught, when they are taught and for how long they are taught.
9. Discuss the objectives of language education and the methods of assessment to determine that the objectives are met.
10. To the extent possible, trace the historical development of the policies/practices identified in items 8 and 9 (may be integrated with 8/9).
11. Name and discuss the major media language(s) and the distribution of media by socio-economic class, ethnic group, urban/rural distinction (including the historical context where possible). For minority language, note the extent that any literature is (has been) available in the language.
12. How has immigration effected language distribution and what measures are in place to cater for learning the national language(s) and/or to support the use of immigrant languages.

### **Part III: Language Policy and Planning**

13. Describe any language planning legislation, policy or implementation that is currently in place.
14. Describe any literacy planning legislation, policy or implementation that is currently in place.
15. To the extent possible, trace the historical development of the policies/practices identified in items 13 and 14 (may be integrated with these items).
16. Describe and discuss any language planning agencies/organisations operating in the polity (both formal and informal).
17. Describe and discuss any regional/international influences affecting language planning and policy in the polity (include any external language promotion efforts).
18. To the extent possible, trace the historical development of the policies/practices identified in items 16 and 17 (may be integrated with these items).

### **Part IV: Language Maintenance and Prospects**

19. Describe and discuss intergenerational transmission of the major language(s); (is this changing over time?).
20. Describe and discuss the probabilities of language death among any of the

languages/language varieties in the polity, any language revival efforts as well as any emerging pidgins or creoles.

21. Add anything you wish to clarify about the language situation and its probable direction of change over the next generation or two.
22. Add pertinent references/bibliography and any necessary appendices (e.g. a general plan of the educational system to clarify the answers to questions 8, 9 and 14).

# Language Policy and Planning in Fiji, The Philippines and Vanuatu

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## Introduction

This volume brings together three language policy and planning studies related to the Pacific.<sup>1</sup> (See the 'Series Overview' in this volume for a more general discussion of the nature of the series, Appendix A for the 22 questions each study set out to address, and Kaplan *et al.* (2000) for a discussion of our underlying concepts for the studies themselves.) In this introductory paper, rather than trying to provide a summary of the material covered in these studies, we draw out and discuss some of the more general issues raised by them.

The *Pacific* has long held a fascination for linguists because of its linguistic and cultural diversity. Laycock (1969, cited in Mühlhäusler, 1996: 10) estimates 'that up to 4,000 languages are spoken in the region, most of them in Melanesia where 2 million people speak one-quarter of the world's languages.' This diversity is perhaps best illustrated by Vanuatu, where Crowley (this volume) estimates that the 80 actively spoken languages are spoken by about 195,000 people – a population about the size of a provincial city in many countries. Although the Philippines has a much larger population (more than 81 million), it also has a large number of languages (about 120). Fiji on the other hand, which lies on the border between Melanesia and Polynesia, with a population of about 800,000, has only three predominant languages (i.e. Fijian, Hindustani and English), although Fijian is dialectalised. Many linguists have argued that this diversity is threatened in the globalising world in which we live (Crocombe, 1989; Dixon, 1991; Mühlhäusler, 1996; cf. Crowley, this volume). Given the linguistic heterogeneity in the region, this diversity also raises the emergent questions about which research model(s) would be most likely to produce reliable, valid, and objective information about the role of language in society.

The social science research community has been engaged, for nearly three decades, in discussions about the 'correct' role of academic research. In Europe and North America this has led to the emergence of major theoretical shifts, which, when taken together with the growing number of indigenous voices out of post-colonial societies, has generated new models to reconsider the primacy of positivist and post-positivist research. These discussions, at least to some extent, have sought ways in which positivist and post-positivist method-