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IXU 16DS 20DE - AARI 6DN 36D40'E - ABAU 4DS 14D15'E - ABIPON 29DS 61DW - ABKHAZ 43DN 41DE - ABUN 0D30'S 132DE - ABZAKH 45DN 40DE - ACEHNESE 5D20'N 96DE - ACHANG 25DN 98D30'E - ACHUAR 3DS 76DW - ACHUMAWI 41D30'N 120D30'W - ACOMA 35DN 107D30'W - ACOOLI 3DN 33DE - ADIOUKROU 7DN 5DW - AFAR 12DN 42DE - AGARABI 6D10'S 146DE - AGHEM 6D22'N 10D8'E - AIKI 10DN 20D30'E - AINU 43DN 143DE - AJA 7D30'N 25DE - AKHA 21D50'N 99D50'E - AKKANDIA 32D30'N 44DE - ALAMBLAK 4D40'S 143DE - ALAWA 15S 134DE - ALBANIAN 41DN 20DE - ALSEA 44D40'N 123D40'W - ALUNE 3DS 128D20'E - ALYAWARRA 22DS 136DE - AMAHUACA 10D30'S 72D30'W - AMBULAS 3D50'S 143DE - AMELE 5D10'S 145D40'E - AMHARIC 8DN 39DE - AMO 10D30'N 9DE - ANDAMANESE 12DN 92D40'E - ANDOKE 0D40'S 72DW - ANGAMI 25D40'N 95DE - ANGAS 9D30'N 9D30'E - ANGUTHIMRI 12D20'S 142DE - ANYWA 8DN 33D30'E - AO 26D30'N 94D20'E - APALAI 8DS 54DW - APATANI 27D40'N 93D45'E - APINAYE 6DS 48DW - APURINA 9DS 67D30'W - ARABANA 28D30'S 136DE - ARABIC (COLLOQUIAL EGYPTIAN) 30DN 31DE - ARANDA 24DS 133DE - ARAONA 12D20'S 68DW - ARAPESH 3D30'S 143DE - ARAWAK 5D30'S 55DW - ARBORE 5DN 36D30'E - ARCHI 42D10'N 46D50'E - ARMENIAN (MODERN) 40DN 45DE - AROSI 10D40'S 161D50'E - ASMAT 5D30'S 138D30'E - ATAKAPA 30DN 94DW - ATAYAL 24D30'N 121D20'E - ATESO 2DN 34DE - ATHPARE 26D50'N 87D20'E - ATSUGEWI 40D45'N 120D30'W - AUJU 6DS 140DE - AVAR 42D30'N 46D30'E - AVOKAYA 4D40'N 31DE - AWA 6D35'S 145D45'E - AWA PIT 1DN 78D30'W - AUWTUW 3D35'S 142DE - AXININCA CAMPA 11DS 74DW - AYMAR 17DS 69DW - AZERBAJANI 41DN 48DE - BAAGANDJI 33DS 143DE - BABUNGO 6D10'N 10D25'E - BACHAMAL 13D20'S 130D20'E - BADIMAYA 28D30'S 117DE - BADIYARA 12D30'N 13D30'W - BAGIRMI 11D30'N 16D20'E - BAI 26DN 100DE - BALANGAO 17D10'N 121D10'E - BALAWA 9D55'S 148DE - BALTI 35DN 76DE - BAMBARA 13DN 8DW - BANDJALANG 28DS 152DE - BANZ 5D50'S 144D40'E - BARAI 9D20'S 148DE - BARAMBU 3D30'N 27DE - BARASANO 0DN 70D20'W - BARBARE-O CHUMASH 34D30'N 120DW - BARI 5DN 31D40'E - BARUYA 7DS 145D55'E - BASQUE 43DN 3DW - BATAD IFUGAO 16D40'N 121DE - BAURE 13DS 63DW - BAWM 22DN 93D40'E - BEJA 18DN 35DE - BELLA COOLA 52D30'N 127DW - BERTA 10DN 35DE - BHOJPURI 55D30'N 84DE - BIBLICAL ARAMAIC 32DN 35D30'E - BIBLICAL HEBREW 32DN 35DE - BIDIYA 12DN 18DE - BIKOL 13D40'N 123DE - BILIN 15D30'N 38DE - BILOXI 30D30'N 88DW - BIMOBA 10D40'N 0D30'E - BINI 6DN 6DE - BIROM 9D45'N 9DE - BLACKFOOT 49DN 112D30'W - BOAZI 7DS 141D20'E - BOBANG 1D20'S 17D20'E - BODO 26D30'N 91D35'E - BOKAR 28D50'N 94D20'E - BONGO 7DN 29DE - BORI 28D45'N 94D30'E - BORORO 16DS 57DW - BRAHUI 29DN 66DE - BRAO 14D30'N 106D30'E - BRETON 48DN 3DW - BRIBRI 10DN 83DW - BROKSKAT 36DN 74DE - BUDUMA 14DN 14DE - BUGINESE 4DS 120DE - BUGUN 27D30'N 92D40'E - BUKIYIP 3D30'S 143D10'E - BULGARIAN - 43DN 25DE - BURARRA 12D30'S 134D30'E - BURIAT 52DN 108DE - BURMESE 21DN 96DE -

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BURU 3D30'S 126D30'E - BURUSHASKI 36ND 74ED - BWE KAREN 19D30'N 97DE - BYANSI 30DN 80D20'E - CAHUILLA 34D30'N 118DW - CAMBODIAN 12DN 105DE - CAMLING 27D5'N 87DE - CANDOSHI 4DN 77DW - CANELA - KRAHO 7DS 48DW - CANTONESE 23DN 114DE - CARAPANA 0DN 70D15'W - CARIB 4DN 53DW - CARIRI 7DS 36DW - CASHIBO 9DS 75D30'W - CATALAN 42DN 1DE - CAYAPA 0D40'N 79DW - CAYAPO 9DS 52DW - CAYUVAYA 13D30'S 65D30'W - CENTRAL AGTA 18DN 122DE - CENTRAL MONPA 27D45'N 92DE - CENTRAL WAICA 3DN 64DW - CHACOCO 12D30'S 66DW - CHAHA 8DN 37D30'E - CHALADSCH 35DN 50DE - CHALDEAN (MODERN) 36DN 43DE - CHAM 11D30'N 108D30'E - CHAMORRO 13DN 145DE - CHANG 26DN 95DE - CHATINO 16DN 97DW - CHAUDANGSI 29D30'N 80DE - CHECHEN 43DN 46DE - CHEMEHEVUI 34DN 114D30'W - CHEPANG 27D40'N 84D45'E - CHEROKEE 36DN 80DW - CHIMARIKO 41DN 123DW - CHINANTEC (LEALAO) 17D20'N 96DW - CHINESE (MANDARIN) 34DN 110DE - CHIPEWYAN 99DN 106DW - CHIOQUITO 16DS 63DW - CHITIMACHA 30DN 91DW - CHOCTAW 33D30'N 89DW - CHOKWE 7DS 19DE - CHRAU 11DN 107D30'E - CHUJ 16DN 91D30'W - CHUKCHI 67DN 180DE - CHUVASH 55DN 47D30'E - CLASSICAL ARMENIAN 40DN 45DE - CLASSICAL GREEK 38DN 24DE - COAHUILTECO 27DN 101DW - COAST TSMISHIAN 54DN 129D50'W - COCAMA 5DS 75DW - COMALTEPEC CHINANTEC 17D50'N 95D55'W - COMANCHE 38DN 105DW - COMMON SLAVIC 50DN 25DE - CORA 22D30'N 105DW - CORNISH 50D30'N 5DW - COSTANOAN 37DN 122DW - CREE 53DN 86DW - CUA 15D15'N 108D30'E - CUJVA 6D30'N 70DW - CZECH 50DN 15DE - DAGA 10DS 149D20'E - DAGUR 48DN 123DE - DALABON 13D30'S 134DE - DAN 7D30'N 8DW - DANI (LOWER GRAND VALLEY) 4DS 138DE - DANISH 57DN 9DE - DARGWA 42D20'N 47D30'E - DARIYA 30D20'N 80D20'E - DAY 9DN 18DE - DEMOTIC EGYPTIAN 29DN 31DE - DEURI 27D30'N 94D30'E - DHARAWAL 34DS 150DE - DHEGHA 38DN 94DW - DHOLUO 0D30'S 34D30'E - DIDINGA 4D30'N 33D30'E - DIEGUE-O 32D30'N 117DW - DIGARO MISHMI 28DN 96DE - DIMASA 25DN 93DE - DIME 6DN 36DE - DINKA 6D30'N 1D30'E - DIOLA-FOGNY 13DN 16DW - DIYARI 28DS 139DE - DJABUGAY 17DS 145DE - DJAMBARRPUNGU 12DS 135D30'E - DJAPU 12D40'S 136DE - DJARU 19D30'S 128D30'E - DJINAING 12D30'S 135DE - DJINGILI 18DS 134DE - DOGON 14D20'N 4DW - DONGO 3DN 30DE - DONGOLESE - NUBIAN 19DN 30D30'E - DOYAYO 8D30'N 13DE - DREHU 21D15'S 16D32'E - DUKA 11DN 5DE - DUMI 27D20'N 86D50'E - DUTCH 52DN 5DE - DYIRBAL 17D30'S 146DE - EASTERN CHEREMIS 57DN 48DE - EASTERN POMO 39D30'N 123DW - EFIK 5DN 8DE - EKARI 4DS 136DE - ELAMITE 32DN 48DE - EMMI 13D30'S 130DE - EMPERA 7DN 77DW - ENGENNI 5DN 6D30'E - ENGGANO 5D30'S 102D30'E - ENGLISH 52DN 1DW - EPENA PEDEE 3DN 77D40'W - ESEEJA 11DS 66DW - ESKIMO (WEST GREENLANDIC) 64DN 51DW - ESSELEN 36D15'N 121D45'W - ESTONIAN 59DN 25DE - ETRUSCAN 45DN 11DE - EVENKI 56DN 125DE - EWE 7DN 1DE - EWONDO 4DN 12DE - FANG 1DN 11DE - FANTI 5D30'N 130DN - FARO 11D30'N 34DE - GADSPUD 6D15'S 146DE - GAHRI 32D30'N 77DE - GAHUKU 6DS 145D25'E - GALLONG 28D10'N 94D40'E - GAMBIAN MANDINKA 13D30'N 16DW - GARADJARI 19DS 122DE - GARAWA 17DS 137DE - GARO 25D30'N 89D40'E - GAVIAO 10DS 62DW - GBAYA KAKA 6DN 15DE - GBEYA BOSSANGOA 6D30'N 17D30'E - GEEZ 14DN 39DE - GELEBA 4D40'N 36D20'E - GEORGIAN 42DN 44DE - GERMAN 52DN 10DE - GIDABAL 28D30'S 152D30'E - GIMIRA 7DN 36DE - GISIGA 10D15'N 14D15'E - GITSKAN 54D30'N 127DW - GOAJIRO 12DN 72DW - GOLIN 6D15'S 144D45'E - GONDI 19DN 81DE - GOONIYANDI 18DS 126DE - GOURAGUE 8DN 38D30'E - GREBO 5DN 8DW - GREEK (MODERN) 39DN 22DE - GUAJAJARA 5DS 46DW - GUARANI 27DS 58DW - GUAYMI 8DN 81DW - GUDE 10DN 13DE - GUGADA 30DS 134DE - GUHU-SAMANE 8DS 147D20'E - GUJARATI 23DN 72DE - GUMBAYNGGIR 29D30'S 153D30'E - GUMUZ 12DN 36DE - GUNBALANG 12DS 134DE - GUNIN 14D30'S 127D30'E - GUNUNA KUNE 41DS 67DW - GUNWINGGU 12D30'S 134DE - GURUNG 28D30'N 84DE - GUUGU YIMDHIRR 15DS 145DE - GYARUNG 31DN 102DE - HAIDA 54DN 133D20'W - HAKKA 25DN 116DE - HALIA 5D15'S 154D35'E - HANI 23DN 103DE - HANIS COOS 43D30'N 124D20'W - HAUSA 12DN 6DE - HAWAIIAN 20DN 155DW - HAYU 27D10'N 86DE - HEBREW (MODERN) 31DN 35DE - HIDATSA 47DN 102DW - HILIGAYON 10DN 123DE - HINDI 25DN 77DE - HITTITE 40DN 34D30'E - HIXKARYANA 1DS 59DW - HMONG NJUA 26DN 106DE - HO 22DN 86DE - HOPI 36DN 110DW - HUA 6D20'S 145D20'E - HUALAPAI 36DN 113DW - HUAMELLUTEC OAXACA - CHONTAL 16DN 95D40'W - HUAO 0D40'S 77DW - HUASTECC 21D30'N 98D30'W - HUASTECA NAHUATL 21DN 99DW - HUAVE 16D20'N 94D30'W - HUICHOL 25DN 104DW - HUNGARIAN 47DN 20DE - HUPA 41DN 123D30'W - HUPDA 1DS 67DW - HURRIAN 35D20'N 44DE 20'E - IAI 20D25'S 166D40'E - IATE 9DS 38DW - IATMUL 4D15'S 143D15'E - IBAN 2D40'N 112DE - ICELANDIC 65DN 18DW - IDU 28D25'N 95D45'E - IDUNA 9D20'S 150D10'E - IGOBO 6D40'N 7DE - IGACIANO 14DS 65DW - IGOROT BONTOK 17DN 121DE - IK 4DN 34DE - IKA 10D40'N 73D45'W - IKPOSSO 8DN 0D45'E - ILA 15DS 26DE - ILOCANO 18D30'N 121DE - IMONDA 3D20'S 141D10'E - INDONESIAN ODS 106DE - INGUISH 43DN 45DE - IQUITO 4DS 75DW - IRRANXE 13DS 58DW - IRAQW 4DS 35D30'E - IRARUTU 3DS 133D30'E - IRISH 53DN 8DW - ISLAND CARIB 16DN 88DW - ITALIAN 43DN 12DE - ITELMEN 57DN 157D30'E - ITONAMA 13DS 64DW - IXL 15D30'N 91DW - IZI 6DN 8DE - JAD 30D55'N 79DE - JAKALTEK 15D45'N 91D50'W - JAPANESE 37DN 140DE - JAAQAI 6D30'S 139D30'E - JAAQUA 13DS 76DW - JEBERO 5DS 77DW - JEI 8DS 141DE - JELMEK 7D40'S 139D10'E - JIBARO 2D30'S 78DW - JICALTEPEC MIXTEC 18DN 98DW - JINGHPAW 26DN 97DE - JINO 22D10'N 101DE - JIWADJA 11D30'S 132D40'E - JOHARI 30D40'N 80DE - JUGLI 27D25'N 96D20'E - JUKUN 8DN 9DE - JUR LUWO 7DN 28DE - JUR M. D. - 8DN 30DE - KABARDIAN 43D30'N 43D30'E - KACHARI 26D25'N 90D55'E - KACHCHA NAGA 24D10'N 117DE - KADUJLI 11DN 29D40'E - KAIKI-KANEMBU 14DN 15DE - KAINGANG 26DS 52DW - KALIAH-KOVE 5D35'S 149D40'E - KALISPEL 47DN 115DW - KALKATUNGU 21DS 140DE - KALMYK 44DN 83DE - KAMBERA 10DS 120D30'E - KAMORO 4D20'S 136DE - KANAKURU 10DN

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KOASATI 33DN 86DW - KOBON 5D10S 144D20E - KOINE - GREEK 38DN 24DE - KOITA 9D10S 147D20E - KOKBOROK 24DN 92DE - KOLAMI 20DN 78D30E - KOLOKUMA IJO 5DN 6DE - KOMA 9DN 34DE - KOMBAL 4DS 135DE - KOMI-PERMYAK 66DN 65DE - KONGO 5DS 15DE - KONKOW 39D30N 121D30W - KORANA 29DS 25DE - KOREAN 37DN 128DE - KOROMFE 14DN 1DW - KOROWAI 4D50S 139DE - KORYAK 61DN 167DE - KOYA 17DN 81DE - KOYRA - CHINI 17DN 30W - KPELLE 7DN 10DE - KRAHO 7DS 48DW - KRUSH 8D30N 25DE - KRUGO 10D30N 30DE - KUKU-YALANJU 15DS 145DE - KUMAUNI 30DN 80DE - KUNAMA 14D30N 37DE - KUNIMAIPA 8DS 146D50E - KUNUZ NUBIAN 23DN 33DN - KUOT 2D05S 152DE - KURDIH 36DN 44DE - KURKU 22DN 77DE - KUSAIEAN 5D15N 145DE - KUTENAI 49D30N 116DW - KUKUY YAU 13DS 143DE - KUVI 18DN 83DE - KWAKIUTL 61DN 127DW - KYUQUOT 60DN 127DW - LACANDON 17DN 91D30W - LADAKHI 34DN 78DE - LAFOFA 10D30N 31DE - LAHU 20D10N 98D10E - LAI CHIN 22D30N 94DE - LAK 42DN 47DE - LAKHER 22D30N 93DE - LAKOTA 45DN 98DW - LALA 8D50S 166D50E - LAMANG 11DN 13D30E - LAMANI 17DN 77DE - LAMBA 13DN 28DE - LAMPUNG 4D30S 105DE - LAMUT 68DN 166DE - LANGE 20D30N 37DE - LAO 18DN 103DE - LAOSIAN 12D30S 131DE - LATE EGYPTIAN 26DN 32DE - LATIN 42DN 13DE - LATVIAN 67DN 24DE - LAUVAKALEVE 9DS 159DE - LELEMI 7D20N 0D30E - LENAKEI 10D30S 169D20E - LENGUA 23DS 58DW - LEPCHA 27D50N 88D30E - LEWO 16D45S 168D15E - LEZGIAN 42DN 47D30E - LHOMI 27D38N 87DE - LIMBU 27D30N 87D35E - LINDA 6D30N 21DE - LINGALA 2DN 20DE - LISU 26DN 98DE - LITHUANIAN 55DN 24DE - LOGSBARA 1DN 31DE - LOGONE 11D30N 15DE - LOMONGO 0DN 21DE - LONIU 2DS 147DE - LONTOMBA 2DS 18DE - LOTH 26DN 94D15E - LOWER CHINOOK 46D30N 123D30W - LUGANDA 1DN 32DE - LUISE-O 33DN 117D30W - LUNGCHANG 27D40N 96D20E - LUVALE 12DS 22DE - MA 3D30N 28DE - MA'ANYAN 2DS 115DE - MAASAI 3D 36DE - MABA 13D30N 20D30E - MACHIGUENGA 12DS 73DW - MAJ 40D30N 32DE - MADIMADI 34D30S 143D30E - MAE 15DS 168D20E - MAGARI 27D45N 83D30E - MAGI 10D10S 149DE - MAITHILI 26DN 86DE - MAJANG 64D5N 35DE - MAKAH 48D30N 125DW - MAKLEU 20D30S 139D30E - MAKUCHI 2DN 60DW - MALAGASY 18DS 48DE - MALAKMALAK 13D20S 117DE - MALAYALAM 11DN 76DE - MAM 15DN 92DW - MAMANWA 9D25N 125D40E - MAMVU 3DN 29DE - MANADONESE 1D30N 125DE - MANAM 4DS 145DE - MANCHU 42DN 127DE - MANDAN 47DN 102DW - MANDINKA 10DN 9DN - MANGARAYI 14D30S 130DE - MANGBETO 2D30N 26D30E - MANGGARAI 8D30S 120DE - MENO 7D20N 8D40W - MIAO 25D50N 104D20E - MAORI 40DS 176DE - MAPUCHE 38DS 72DW - MARA 15DS 135DE - MARAMUNGU 13D40S 130DE - MARATHI 19DN 76DE - MARCHA 30D55N 79D30E - MARENGAR 14D30S 130DE - MARGARY 27DS 145DE - MARGI 11DN 13DE - MARICOPA 34DN 114DW - MARIND 7D30S 140DE - MARITHEI 14DS 130DE - MARTUHTUWA 21DS 116D30E - MARU 23D30N 98D30E - MASAKIN 10D40N 30DE - MASALIT 13DN 22DE - MATACO 23DS 63DW - MATNGALA 14DS 130D30E - MAUNG 11D50S 133D30E - MAYBRAT 10S 133DE - MAZATEC 18D30N 96D30E - MBA 1DN 25DE - MBALANHU 17D30S 15DE - MBARA 11DN 15D30E - MBAYE 8D20N 17D40E - MBILI 6D10N 10D10E - MBUM 7D30N 15DE - ME'EN 5DN 37DE - MEHRH 18DN 130W - MEITHEI 24D40N 94D40E - MENDE 8DN 12DW - MENOINI 44DN 88D20W - MENTAWAI 2DS 99DE - MEROITIC 21DN 31DE - MERYAM MIR 10DS 144DE - MICOHAOSAN NAHUATL 18D30N 103DW - MIDDLE EGYPTIAN 29DN 31DE - MISIRI 13D30N 22DE - MIKASUKI 33DN 84DW - MIKIR 26D30N 93D30E - MILANG 28D45N 95D15E - MISING 28D30N 94D50E - MISKITO 14DN 84DW - MIXE 17DN 95D30W - MIXTEC (ATLALHUACA) 19DN 100DW - MIXTEC (CHALCATLCOQUIL) 17DN 97D30W - MIZO 22D50N 93DE - MIJEN 24DN 111DE - MODERN LITERARY ARABIC 22DN 42DE - MOFU-GUDUR 10D30N 12DN 42DE - MOHAWK 45DN 74DW - MOKILESE 7DN 160DE - MOMBUM 8D15S 138D45E - MON 14DN 100DE - MONDUNGA 2DN 21D30E - MONI 3D40S 137DE - MONO 38DN 119DW - MONO-ALU 7DS 156DE - MOR 3DS 135D30E - MORAORI 8D30S 140D30E - MORZ 13DN 1D-W - MURNO 11DN 30DE - MURU 5D30N 31DE - MUSETENO 15DS 67DW - MOTU 9D20S 147D10E - MOUNTAIN KOIALI 9DS 147D30E - MUJ INYPATA 14D30S 129D30E - MUINEAN 1DS 71D30W - MULLAO 28DN 108DE - MUMUYE 9DN 11D30E - MUNA 5DS 122D25E - MUNDARI 23DN 85DE - MUNDURUKU 7DS 58DW - MURLE 6D30N 33D30E - MURSI 6D30N 34D30E - MURU 2D30S 71DW - MURUJARI 29DS 146DE - MUSUG 11DN 15DE - MUTSUN 36D50N 121D30W - MWERA 9DS 39DE - NAMA (KHOEKHOE) 24DS 17DE - NAMBIKWARA 13DS 59DW - NANCOWRY 8DN 93D30E - NANDI 0D15N 35DE - NASOI 6D20S 155D30E - NAWAJO 38DN 109DW - NAXI 27D30N 100DE - NDONGA 18DS 19DE - NYDUKA 3DN 51DW - NENETS 7DN 70DE - NEPALI 28DN 85DE - NERA 15DN 37D30E - NEVOME 28DN 108DW - NEWARI 27D40N 85D30E - NEZ PERCE 45DN 115D30W - NGADA 8D40S 120D30E - NGALAKAN 14D15S 134DE - NGAMBAY 8DN 17DE - NGANDI 13D50S 25D20E - NGANKIKURUNGKURR 14DS 130D30E - NGAWUN 19DS 141DE - NGITI 2DN 30DE - NGIYAMBA 31DS 145DE - NGIZIM 11D30N 11DE - NGUMBA 3DN 10D10E - NGUNA 16D55S 168D30E - NICOBARESE (CAR) 9DN 93DE - NISGHA 55DN 129DW - NISHI 27D15N 93D45E - NISSAN 4D30S 154D15E - NIEUEAN 19DS 170DW - NIKVH 53DN 157D30E - NKONYA 9DN 2DW - NKORE-KIGA 0D30S 31DE - NOCTE 27DN 95D30E - NOMI 6DN 10DE - NOOTKA 49DN 126DW - NORIN LENDU 2DN 30D30E - NORTH PUEBLO NAHUATL 20DN 98DW - NORTHEAST MAJDI 40DN 121DW - NORTHERN PATEIN 42DN 118DW - NORTHERN SAMANI 69DN 24DE - NORTHERN SAHAPTIM 46DN 119DW - NORTHERN TEPHEHUAN 26DN 107DW - NORWEGIAN 61DN 8DE - NUAAULU 3DS 129D10E - NUER 9DN 31DE - NUER 22DN 106D30E - NUNGGUBUJU 13D45S 135D40E - NUPE 9DN 6DE - NURI 32DN 35DE - NUSU 26D45N 99DE - NYAGUAMARDA 20DS 121DE - NYAMKAD 32D20N 78DE - NYANJA 13DS 34DE - NYAWAYIGI 18D20S 146DE - NYIHA 10DS 33DE - NYIMANG 12D10N 29D20E - NZAKARA 6DN 23DE - OBOLO 4D45N 7D30E - OCOOTEPEC MIXTEC 17D15N 97D45W - OJIBWA 47DN 83DW - OLD ENGLISH 52DN 2DW - OLO 3D25S 142DE - OMETO 6D40N 37DE - OMIÉ 8D50S 148DE - ONEIDA 43DN 77DW - ONCE 12DN 92D40E - ORKHON TURKIC 48DN 99DE - OROK 49DN 159D30E - OROMO (HARAR) 9D30N 41D30E - OSSETIC 43DN 44DE - OSTJACAN ZOOLE 17DN 93DW - OTOMI (MEZQUITAL) 20DN 99DW - PAANCI 10D45N 10DE - PAAMESE 16D25S 168D15E - PAEZ 2D40N 75D20W - PAIWAN 22D10N 12D050E - PALANTLA CHINANTEC 18DN 96D30W - PALAUAN 7D30N 134D30E - PALAUNG 23DN 96D40E - PALIKUR 3DN 11DW - PAME 22DN 100DW - PANGASINAN 15D50N 127D30E - PANJABI 31DN 74DE - PANYJIMA 22D30S 118DE - PAPAQO 32DN 112DW - PARI 5DN 32D30E - PASHTO 34DN 70DE - PASSAMAQUODDY 46DN 67DW - PATEP 7DS 146D50E - PATTANI 31D25S 78D35E - PATWIN 39DN 122DW - PAULHOI 3DS 128D30E - PAUMAR 7DS 65DW - PAWNEE 39DN 99DW - PE-OLES MIXTEC 17D30N 97DW - PERO 9D30N 11DE - PERSIAN 32DN 54DE - PHOENICIAN 33D20N 35D15E - PIRAOA 5DN 67DW - PIPIL 13D30N 89DW - PIRAHÁ 7DS 61D30W - PIRO 11DS 73DW - PITJANTJARA 26DS 132DE - PITTA-PITTA 23DS 140DE - POKOT 2DN 35D30E - POLISH 52DN 20DE - PONAPEAN 6D55N 158D15E - POLOLOCA DE MEZONTLA 18D30N 96D30W - PORTUGUESE 39DN 8DW - PU NU 24DN 108DE - PULUWAT 7D30N 149DE - PUMI 28DN 101DE - PUNGPUNGUO 13D30S 130D30E - PURKI 34D30N 76DE - QIANG 32D30N 103DE - QUECHUA (IMBABURA) 1030S 78D20W - QUILEUTE 48DN 124DW - QUOTEPEC CHINANTEC 17D55N 97DW - RAMA 12DN 84DW - RAU 4D45S 144D30E - RAPANUI 27DS 109DW - RASHAD 12DN 31DE - RAWANG 28DN 97D30E - REMBARANGA 12D30S 134D30E - REMO 18DN 82DE - RESIGARO 1DS 73DW - RETUARA 1DS 70DW - RHAETO-ROMANCE 46DN 13DE - RIKBAKTA 10DS 60DW - RITHARGHU 13DS 135D30E - RONGA 26DS 32D30E - ROTUMAN 12D30S 177DE - RUKAI 22D50N 120D50E - RUMANIAN 46DN 25DE - RUNYANKORE 0DN 31DE - RUSSIAN 56DN 38DE - S'A'A 9DS 161DE - SAHIDIC COPTIC 26DN 32DE - SAHU 1DN 127DE - SAKAO 15DN 167D5E - SALINAN 36DN 121DW - SALIVA 6DN 70DW - SALT-YUI 6D15S 144D40E - SAMA 9D25N 120DE - SAMOAN 14DS 171DW - SANDAWE 5DS 35DE - SANGO 4DN 18DE - SANTA ANA KERESAN 35DN 107DW - SANTALI 24D30N 87DE - SANUMA 3DN 65DW - SARCEE 56DN 118DW - SARDINIAN 40DN 9DE - SARE 4D30S 143D20E - SAU 35DN 71D30E - SCOTS GAELIC 57DN 4DW - SEBEI 16D30N 34DE - SEDANG 15DN 108DE - SEEDIO 24DN 121D30E - SELEPET 6DS 147D10E - SELKANM 53DS 67DW - SEMA 25D40N 94D15E - SEME 11DN 5DW - SEMELAI 3DN 103DE - SEMINOLE 33DN 84DW - SENTANI 2D40S 140D30E - SERBO-CROATIAN 44DN 19DE - SERI 29DN 112DW - SGAW KAREN 18DN 97DE - SHABO 7DN 35DE - SHARANAHUA 11DS 70DW - SHASTA 41DN 123DW - SHATT 10D20N 30DE - SHERDUPKEN 27DN 92D15E - SHERPA 28DN 86D30E - SHILHA 30DN 9DW - SHILLUK 10DN 32DE - SHINA 36DN 74DE - SHIPIBO-KONIBO 6D30S 75DW - SHIRIANA 3DN 64DW - SHONA 18DS 31DE - 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TAHITIAN 17D30S 149D30W - TAIRORA 6D30S 146DE - TAJIK 38DN 70DE - TAKELMA 42D30N 123DW - TAMA 13D30N 22DE - TAMANG 28DN 85D40E - TAMAZIGHT (AYT NDHIR) 30DN 5DW - TAMIL 11DN 78ED - TANGKHLU NAGA 25DN 94D30E - TAORS 38D30N 105D30W - TARASCAN 20DN 102DW - TAROKO 23D40N 121D20E - TATANA 5D50N 115DE - TAUYA 5D30S 145D10E - TAWALA 10D20S 150D40E - TBOLI 6D10N 124D30E - TEDA 20DN 15DE - TELEI 6D40S 156DE - TELUGU 16DN 79D30E - TEMEIN 11D55N 29D25E - TEMIAR 5DN 101D30E - TEMNE 9DN 12DW - TENYER 10D30N 4D30W - TEPHEHUA 20D50N 98D10W - TERA 10DN 11DE - TETELCINGO NAHUATL 19DN 99DW - TETUN 9DS 126DE - THADOU 24D25N 93D55E - THAI 16DN 101DE - THAKALI 29DN 84DE - THARGARI 24DS 115DN - THILING 27D25N 86D10E - TIBETAN (MODERN LITERARY) 29D50N 91D30E - TICUNA 3DS 70DW - TIDIM CHIN 23D20N 93D40E - TIGAK 2D30S 151DE - TIGRE 17DN 39DE - TIKAR 6DN 11D30E - TIMUCUA 27DN 81DW - TUNANG 11D40N 78D30E - TINRIN 21D40S 165D45E - TIWI 11D30S 131DE - TLANEPANCA 17D30N 100DW - TLINGIT 59DN 135DW - TOBA BATAK 23D0N 99DE - 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YAYGIR 30DS 153DE - YELETNYE 10D30S 154DE - YI 24DN 104DE - YIDINY 17DS 146DE - YIMAS 4D40S 143D50E - YINDJIBARNI 22DS 118DE - YORUBA 8DN 4DE - YUCHI 36DN 84DW - YUKAGHIR 69DN 155DE - YUKULTA 17D30S 138D30E - YULU 8D30N 24D50E - YUPIK 60DN 158DW - YUROK 41D30N 124D30E - YUWAALARAAY 29D30S 147D30E - ZANDE 4DN 26DE - ZAPARO 2DS 76DW - ZAPOTEC 16D30N 96DW - ZARMA 13DN 3DE - ZAYSE 6DN 37D30E - ZOOQUE (COPAINALLA) 17DN 93D15W - ZULU 10D5N 108D30W



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Literacy for Dialogue in Multilingual Societies

多言語社会における対話のためのリテラシー

Proceedings of Linguapax Asia Symposium 2011

Tokyo 2012

“Literacy for Dialogue in Multilingual Societies”

「多言語社会における対話のためのリテラシー」

Contents

Welcome Frances FISTER-STOGA (Director, Linguapax Asia 2004-2011)	2
Opening Remarks on ‘Dialogue and Society’ Junko HIBIYA (President, International Christian University, Tokyo)	3
From the Editors	4
Digital Divide and Internet Connectedness after the Great East Japan Earthquake Joo-Young JUNG	5
The Maintenance and Preservation of the Surigaonon Language in Cyberspace Francisco Perlas DUMANIG and Maya Khemlani DAVID	19
Literacy Policy in Multicultural Australia Kayoko HASHIMOTO	31
Not Writing as a Key Factor in Language Endangerment: The case of the Ryukyu Islands Patrick HEINRICH	39
Multi-Literacy among Cultural Diasporas Lachman M. KHUBCHANDANI	53
Multilingual Activities in an Elementary School in Yokohama, Japan: An Attempt to Overcome Institutional Monolingualism Atsuko KOISHI	59
Current Trends in Mayan Literacy Joseph DeCHICCHIS	71
Literacy for the Masses: The Conduct and Consequences of the Literacy Campaign in Revolutionary Vietnam Shaun Kingsley MALARNEY	83
Literacy in Multilingual Societies: an endnote John C. MAHER	92
Closing Remarks Dr. Fèlix Martí (Honorary President of Center UNESCO de Catalunya and President of the Linguapax Institute)	102
Contributors	103

WELCOME

Frances Fister-Stoga, Director of Linguapax Asia (2004 - 2011)

As founder and director of Linguapax Asia, I would like to welcome everyone to the 2011 Symposium on “Literacy for Dialogue in Multilingual Societies.” On the video screen you can see the library of the University of Warsaw, in the capital city of Poland, where I am researching the revitalization of Yiddish. 75% of Yiddish speakers were extinguished in the holocaust of World War II. The university library contains over twenty plaques written in various languages including Sanskrit, Esperanto, Japanese, Hebrew, as well as musical, mathematical, and chemical notation.

Not only do the plaques symbolize the need for multilingualism, but they also emphasize the need for written forms to preserve heritage and support oral transmission of language and culture. In 1188 B.C., Homer opens his famous epic, *The Odyssey*, with a call to the muse Mnemosyne or Memory to help him remember the words he will need to convey his story. We are thankful that somewhere in the past, a listener of the poem could not only remember what was recited, but saved it on a slate or on parchment.

However, in another sense, multilingualism means not only knowing various language systems, but being *multilingual* in *one* language: knowing both the spoken form as well as the visual form—be it written, transcribed, signed, or graphically presented. Multilingualism may also mean knowing the different registers of one language—the language of the digital world, for example. Our symposium today will explore these multiple areas of multilingualism.

Before beginning the day’s events, Linguapax Asia would like to thank International Christian University for its assistance and hospitality. A special word of thanks to Dr. John Maher who has vigorously supported Linguapax Asia from its first conference at the United Nations University. We would like to thank all members of the Linguapax Asia team for their efforts. We would also like to thank all presenters for their time and their sharing of expertise.

Opening Remarks on ‘Dialogue and Society’

Junko Hibiya (President, International Christian University, Tokyo)

International Christian University was delighted to host the Linguapax Symposium on the theme of literacy in multilingual society, at the close of 2012. As President of ICU it was a particular pleasure to welcome so many guests from various parts of the world. An affiliate activity of UNESCO, the Barcelona-based organization Linguapax is notable for its promotion of multilingualism and awareness-raising about endangered languages of the world. This chimes well with our university’s mission as a bilingual (Japanese and English) university with a vigorous sense of social commitment to justice, peace and global citizenship. May I highlight the fact that our university has a long tradition of student activity for UNESCO and the UNITED NATIONS. Likewise, not only does our Institute for Educational Research and Service sponsor a long-established literacy research group but also the concerns of literacy studies and multilingualism are reflected specifically in various courses offered in the ICU curriculum.

Finally, may I draw attention to the location of this event. The symposium was held at Kiyoshi Togasaki Memorial Dialogue House, on the verdant ICU campus: a building completed in August, 2010. The building was named after Kiyoshi Togasaki, the first Chair of ICU’s Board of Trustees. Mr. Togasaki was also the first Japanese president of Rotary International and contributed significantly to international cooperation and understanding after World War II. It is appropriate that the founding mission of ICU should echo through the Linguapax symposium and ICU is honoured to be part of that moving spirit of cooperation, dialogue and understanding.

FROM THE EDITORS

The Linguapax Institute is a non-governmental organization based in Barcelona, Spain that is dedicated to the preservation and promotion of linguistic diversity worldwide. Among its areas of concern are endangered languages and multilingual education. It was formed in 1987 after a UNESCO experts meeting. In 2001, the UNESCO Center of Catalonia (UNESCOCat) continued the project by establishing the Linguapax headquarters in Barcelona.

The papers in this collection present the challenge of literacy issues in Asia. Many places are surveyed: Japan, Vietnam and Australia, the Ryukyu Islands, Guatemala, India and the Philippines. The papers derive from the Symposium on Literacy in Multilingual Societies held on the verdant campus of International Christian University, Tokyo, December 3rd, 2011. The symposium was supported by the ICU Institute for Educational Research and Service (IERS), the ICU Social Science Research Institute (SSRI), and ICU UNESCO Club. Presentations dealt with literacy issues involving: social empowerment, development, the digital divide, language policy, historical perspectives on literacy and writing systems.

The issues are presented in many guises. A robust Tokyo-based study of internet connectedness and civic action in critical situations such as the 2011 Fukushima disaster in Japan (Joo Young JUNG), compares with a study of cyberspace and the possibility of maintenance of a threatened language in the Philippines (Francis DUMANIG and Maya Khemlani DAVID). Multimodal literacy in the Mayan areas of Guatemala and how success is possible in effecting language policy decisions is investigated by Joseph DeCHICCHIS. By contrast, Kayoko HASHIMOTO examines Australia, a quintessential example of a 'new' multicultural society, in the context of the current situation of second language education at the tertiary level and explores the values and meanings underpinning that education. We consider the paradox of (English) language hegemony in foreign language education in schools in Japan and how to introduce a language diversity experience in schools (Atsuko KOISHI). If we are now entering a communication era, as Lachman KHUBCHANDANI argues, where dispersed cultural groups, sharing a common heritage, can explore space through convenient modes of mobility and electronic 'networking' then what are the implications for diasporas? The witness of history in literacy campaigns is crucial as testified by the innovative strategies launched in revolutionary Vietnam to teach reading and writing to the masses while, at a broader level, the rapid attainment of almost universal literacy in North Vietnam: a critical narrative elaborated by Shaun MALARNEY. In the realm of language shift, Patrick HEINRICH reveals how the dominance of one language over others hinges on the extent to which a written tradition existed and how, in the Ryukyu Islands, language activism turns to writing in order to validate the Ryukyuan language.

John Maher, Biba Sethna, Cary Duval

2012, Tokyo

DIGITAL DIVIDE AND INTERNET CONNECTEDNESS AFTER THE GREAT EAST JAPAN EARTHQUAKE

Joo-Young Jung
International Christian University, Tokyo

Abstract: This paper examines the issue of digital divide in the context of the Great East Japan Earthquake that occurred on March 11, 2011. Based on a conceptual model of double barrier to internet connectedness and utilization, disparities in utilizing the internet after the disaster are explored. A survey research of 544 randomly sampled respondents in the Tokyo area reveals that although a majority of Japanese people own mobile phones and have access to the internet, their internet use via personal computers and mobile phones differed according to socioeconomic and demographic factors. Moreover, people's previous connectedness to the internet influenced the extent to which people utilized the internet after the earthquake. Those who employed a wider variety of online activities before the earthquake were more likely to increase their use of the internet after the disaster. The study also finds that people's internet connectedness has a positive effect on the likelihood of their engaging in related, post earthquake civic activities. The study results indicate that a second-level digital divide beyond technological access exists and influences the centrality of the internet in a disaster situation.

Key Words: digital divide, inequality, internet connectedness, internet use, earthquake, disaster, civic engagement, Japan

INTRODUCTION

A magnitude 9.0 earthquake hit East Japan at 2:46pm on March 11th, 2011. It was the strongest earthquake to hit Japan in modern history (USGS, 2011). The earthquake was followed by a tsunami and the nuclear meltdown of Fukushima nuclear plants. Communication technologies and the media played a key role in how people coped with the disaster. In particular, the use of new communication technologies such as mobile phones and social media during and after the disaster shaped new ways in which people act in a disaster situation. Based on survey research, this paper examines the ways in which people utilized new communication technologies after the disaster. Although a majority of Japanese people own mobile phones and have access to the internet, the extent to which people utilized mobile phones and the internet differed according to socioeconomic and demographic factors and previous use of the technologies. The implications of the internet connectedness for the digital divide and civic engagement is examined.

THE DIGITAL DIVIDE

The definition of the term 'digital divide' varies. The expression first entered public discourse when personal computers started to diffuse. In the late 1980s, digital divide referred to the gap between those who own a personal computer and those who do not (Dutton, 1999). However, the introduction of the World Wide Web brought the digital divide into the public domain. In particular, the policy direction of the Clinton/Gore

administration to connect the whole nation in a “national information superhighway” brought public and academic resources to bear on the study, improvement and amelioration of inequality in the uses and utilization of the Internet. Al Gore, former Vice-President of the United States, viewed the internet as necessary technology for every individual in order to survive in the contemporary world. Due to the positioning of the internet as a communication technology aimed at achieving universal access, the gap between those with access to the internet and those without became a social problem. The digital divide issue gained considerable public and academic attention in the late 1990s (Hoffman & Novak, 2000; US Department of Commerce, 1999).

As more people gained access to the internet, however, different opinions emerged on whether the digital divide still remained a social problem. One perspective argued that the digital divide was over because the majority of American people were online (US Department of Commerce, 2002). Whether those remaining without access to the internet gain access or not was considered a matter of individual preference rather than a problem of inequality. For example, the Chairman of Federal Communications Commission in the United States, Michael Powell, compared the digital divide to the “Mercedes divide,” characterizing internet access as an individual preference rather than a necessary resource (C-Span, 2001). The statement of Powell signaled that digital divide was no longer to be treated as a social problem by the US government.

Many academicians and organizations argue against the dismissal of the argument that the digital divide is a social issue. Vindication lies in the real disparity in internet access and an association with income, education, age and ethnicity (e.g., Pew Internet and American Project). Another rationale for the persistence of the digital divide relates to the definition itself. A group of researchers argue that digital divide does not end when people gain access to the internet (Hargittai, 2002; Jung et al., 2001). After people gain access, there is another level of digital divide in the ways in which people use the internet. Hargittai (2002) examined disparities in people’s online skills, and proposed that a “second-level digital divide” exists. By assigning search tasks to a random sample of internet users, she found a considerable difference in whether people could locate various types of content on the internet and how long it took.

Castells (1999) argues that diffusion is not sufficient to reverse information inequality. He articulates that “informationalization” — the reliance of economy, politics and culture on information processing in global networks via information and communication technology — and “dualization” — the divide between “high-value making group” and devalued group—are intertwined in contemporary society (p.28). In order to resolve the disparities, Castells argues that information technology should serve as an access to jobs and income generation by enhancing those social and political resources with which to educate people to make use of the technology in contemporary society (p.35). Van Dijk (1997) suggests four possible obstacles to information society access: no access to computers and networks; lack of basic skills and computer fear; insufficient user-friendliness of the resources available on the Internet; insufficient and unevenly distributed usage opportunities of software and services available in computers and the internet (pp.2-6). He argues that these obstacles magnify the effects of socio-cultural, material, and political disparity on information inequality.

Patterson and Wilson (2000) and Bonfadelli (2002) both cautioned against the possibility of the internet exacerbating society’s already existing inequality. Patterson and Wilson (2000) argue that inequalities exist in two types of interface between individuals and information technologies, the “upstream interface” and “downstream interface” (p.85). At the upstream interface, researchers ask how individuals with certain demographic characteristics do or do not gain access to hardware and information technology services. At the downstream interface, subsequent patterns of societal stratification in education, health, wealth and income intersect with asymmetric access patterns in the upstream interface so as to create further inequality in technology deployment (p.85). Therefore, the authors argue, even equal access to technology does not resolve social equality. Bonfadelli (2002) likewise argues that the “double digital divide” exists in current internet access and usage pattern in Europe (p. 65). In addition to gaps in access, further gaps exist in the internet’s content-specific use. People with a higher educational level use the internet more actively and more for information-oriented purposes, while those with lower educational levels mainly use the internet for entertainment-related functions. This pattern was also found in other studies (Jung et al., 2001; Shah, Kwak & Holbert, 2001).

In agreement with scholars who propose post-access digital divides, the author proposes a double-barrier model of internet connectedness and utilization (Figure 1) (Jung, 2003). The first barrier concerns inequality in accessing various resources on the internet. After people gain access to the internet, the types of resources that people connect to differ according to socioeconomic and demographic factors. Whether people engage in a narrow or broad range of activities is likely to be affected by existing socioeconomic factors. For example, Newhagen and Bucy (2004) define internet use as involving not only physical access to the internet but having adequate connection to internet resources as well as user’s social capital and cognitive ability. They argue that what is available on the internet becomes information when it has meaning to the users. Therefore, true access to the Internet implies access to content, rather than simply gaining access to the technology.

The disparities in connecting to different types of resources online are likely to bring about the second barrier in utilizing the resources. In order for the internet to reduce social inequality, the utilization of the internet cannot end online but must have an impact on social practice, such as career development, political/civic participation, and socialization. The impact of the internet in improving people’s social practices is likely to be influenced by

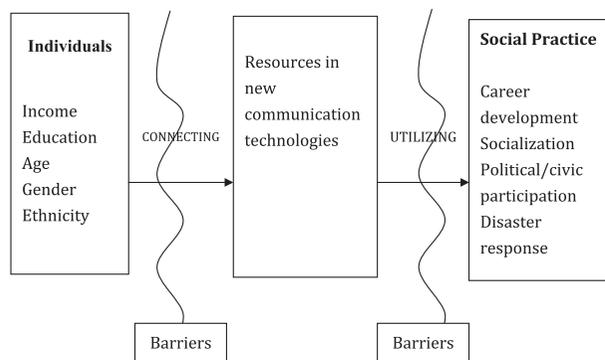


Figure 1. Double barriers to internet connectedness and utilization*
*Modified from Jung (2003)

the ways in which people are able to utilize internet resources. People's human, social and political capital is likely to shape how much they can apply resources for their wellbeing (Lievrouw, 2000). The current study focuses on disparities in utilizing internet and mobile resources in the context of the massive earthquake that occurred on March 11, 2011.

Based on the double-barrier model, the author and her colleagues developed a concept termed 'internet connectedness', to operationalize disparities in the use of the internet (Jung et al., 2001; Jung, 2008). Jung et al. (2001) conceptualized internet connectedness along three dimensions: context and history, scope and intensity and centrality. The authors showed that internet connectedness index (ICI) captured post-access inequality which followed the existing inequality pattern based on income and education levels (Jung et al., 2001). Jung (2008) later modified ICI to include five items (scope of internet use, intensity of internet use, time spent on the internet, centrality of internet and centrality of computers) and found that socioeconomic and demographic variables and internet-related goals influenced people's ICI scores. Internet connectedness has been applied to measure different levels of internet use and to assess the quality digital divide beyond access (Jung et al., 2005; Kim et al., 2004; Leung, 2010).

DIGITAL DIVIDE AND DISASTER RESPONSE

In considering the role of media in society, media system dependency (MSD) theory (Ball-Rokeach, 1985, 1998; Ball-Rokeach & DeFleur, 1976) proposes that people's dependency on media increases when there is high ambiguity in personal and social environments. The theory conceptualizes the mass media as an information system that is an essential part of a society. When the intensity of goals for *understanding* what is going on and *orienting* themselves how to act increases, people's dependency on the media is likely to intensify (Ball-Rokeach, 1985). The Great East Japan Earthquake and the subsequent nuclear accident was a major disaster that created intense levels of ambiguity in people's lives. Studies that surveyed media use after March 11 earthquake report that people's dependency on television increased (e.g., Nomura Research Institute, 2011); consistent with MSD theory and past studies (Hirschburg et al., 1986). At the same time, these studies report that the internet was another main tool for finding out what was going on and for communicating with others (Survey Research Center, 2011). Many newspaper articles report that social media, such as Facebook and Twitter, were important channels for people to share information, check the safety of others and organize activities (Preston, 2011; Wallop, 2011).

Reviewing past studies on disaster and media, numerous studies and reports discuss technical readiness for disaster situations (e.g., Junkus, 2005; Samarajiva, 2005) while fewer studies focus on the content of disaster information online (e.g., Paul, 2001; Tanner, 2009). There is a striking paucity of studies, however, that focus on the issue of the digital divide in utilizing internet resources during a disaster situation. Kim and his colleagues' work (2004) is notable among the few that have examined the influence of high and low internet connectedness on other media use and civic engagement following the September 11th terrorist attack in New York, in 2001. The authors coincidentally had access to people's internet use before and after September 11th because they were in the middle of collecting survey data when the terrorist attack occurred. The authors interrupted their survey on September 11th and went back to the field, 10 days later, with disaster-related questions

added. The authors divided respondents into internet high-, low- and non-connectors, and compared the internet connectedness of pre-9/11 and post-9/11 samples. Kim et al. found that internet high-connectors increased their time on the internet while internet low-connectors decreased the time. Also, the relative importance of the internet, in relation to other mass media, increased among the high-connectors while it decreased among the low-connectors. Low-connectors and non-connectors were more likely to increase their time with television, newspapers and radio than the high-connectors. The result indicates that when the disaster occurred, those who had high internet connectedness were able to utilize the internet to cope with the situation while the low connectors were less able to, and had to rely on other types of media. The internet became a more central medium for the high-connectors and less central for the low-connectors.

THE TOKYO SURVEY: Research Questions and Method

This study applies the internet connectedness concept to examine how the disparities in internet use before the earthquake influenced utilization of the internet after the earthquake. The study also examines the influence of internet connectedness on civic engagement after the earthquake. The study includes the following:

Research Question 1 (RQ1): Which communication technology did people connect to immediately after the earthquake?

Research Question 2 (RQ2): Which online activities did people engage in before the earthquake? How does the engagement differ by socioeconomic and demographic factors?

Research Question 3 (RQ3): How does the scope of internet activities influence the likelihood of increasing or decreasing online activities after the earthquake?

Research Question 4 (RQ4): Do types of internet activities and scope of activities have positive or negative effects on civic engagement?

This study is based on survey research conducted in Bunkyo-ku, a centrally located district and one of the 23 wards of metropolitan Tokyo, as part of an ongoing research project titled Media Exprimo (mediaexprimo.jp). A survey research firm administered the survey by employing an area interval sampling method. First, based on the address list obtained from Bunkyo-ku, interval sampling of areas was conducted to select 60 small block areas in Bunkyo-ku. Second, 50 households were randomly selected in each block area and the survey questionnaire was inserted in the mailbox of each household with a return envelope. In total, 3,000 questionnaires were distributed and 544 were returned by postal mail. The 18.1% response rate is higher than the average rate for a mail-out survey (Wimmer & Dominick, 2006). The average household income of respondents is 5 - 7 million yen, and the average educational level is college graduate. The average age range is 50-54, and 57% of the respondents are females.

Measures

Scope of internet activities

Respondents were asked whether they have participated in any of the fourteen online activities before the March 11th earthquake. Fourteen activities are (percentages of PC internet & mobile internet, respectively): email (68.8 & 72.3), chat/instant messaging (20.3

& 12), obtain information (traffic, weather) (69.6 & 54.2), read news (65.7 & 41.9), check local/community information (e.g., homepage of the local government)(38.7 & 11.1), social media (Mixi, Facebook, Twitter, etc.) (30.1 & 20.3), game (24.7 & 18.5), work-related (55.4 & 27.9), listen/download music (39.3 & 19), watch TV/movies/video (42.3 & 18.3), buy/sell products (48.2 & 11.4), maintain a homepage/blog (21.8 & 7.9), visit others' homepages/blogs (48 & 19.9), and internet phones (Skype, etc.) (17.9).ⁱ Respondents' participation in these activities via personal computers and mobile phones were asked separately in a yes or no format. The scope of internet activities was calculated by adding respondents' scores (yes: 1, no: 0) of 28 activities (14 each for personal computers and mobile phones). The variable ranges from 0 to 28 (M=9.87, SD=7.38).

Change in internet activities after the earthquake

To inquire whether people changed their internet use after the earthquake, we asked, "Compared to your internet use before the earthquake, did you increase, decrease or did not change the use of following internet activities via PC and mobile phones after the earthquake?" Ten internet activities (email, chat, get information, read news, get community information, social media, maintain a blog/homepage, visit others' blogs/homepages, internet phones, and view/listen to television/radio) were provided for PC and mobile phone separately with three response categories: increased, decreased and did not change. For statistics analysis, "decreased" and "did not change" categories were merged, to be compared with "increased" category.

Scope of civic activities

Respondents were asked to choose which civic activities they participated in following the earthquake. Nine activities were presented and respondents were allowed to choose all that applied. The nine activities listed were donated money or goods (81.4%); talked with neighbors about the earthquake (58.6%); checked the damage in buildings around the neighborhood (52.2%); participated in neighborhood organizations' meetings or volunteer activities (6.4%); participated in PTA or school meetings or volunteer activities organized by schools (4.3%); sent out information related to the neighborhood on the internet (e.g., mailing list, BBS, social media) (5.3%); sent out information related to the neighborhood in print (e.g., newsletters, community newspapers) (2.4%); sent out information related to school or work on the internet (e.g., mailing list, BBS, social media) (4.9%); sent out information related to school or work in print (e.g., newsletters, community newspapers) (0.8%). Respondents' answers (yes=1 or no=0) were added to create a scope of civic activities variable that ranges from 0 to 9 (M=2.16, SD=1.18).

RESULTS

With regard to research question 1, we inquired about which media people used on the day of the earthquake to find out about the magnitude of the earthquake. Consistent with media system dependency theory and past studies, television was accessed by the majority of the respondents (83.5%). The second and third most accessed media were computers (32.5%) and mobile phone calls and email (14.2%). About 12% of respondents accessed radio, and 9.4% used the internet (excluding mobile emails) via their mobile phones. The result indicates that television still occupies a central position in disaster situation, but new communication technologies such as mobile phones and computers have become important ways for people to understand what was going on after the earthquake.

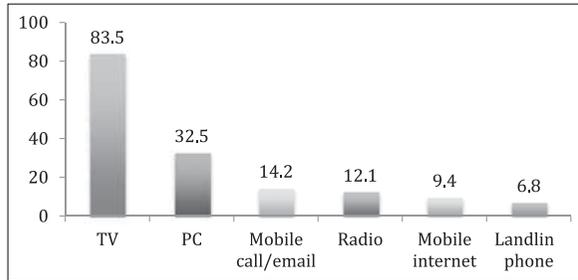


Figure 2. Media used on March 11 to find out about the earthquake (%)

With regard to research question 2, people’s engagement in online activities via personal computers and mobile phones before the earthquake was examined. The top five internet activities via personal computers are obtaining information (traffic or weather) (69.6%), email (68.8%), reading news (65.7%), work related tasks (55.4%) and shopping/selling (48.2%). The top five internet activities via mobile phones are email (72.3%), obtaining information (54.2%), reading news (41.9%), work related tasks (27.9%) and social media (20.3%).

The relationship between participation in internet activities and socioeconomic (income and education) and demographic (gender and age) factors was examined. According to logistic regression analysis for each internet activity, *age* was found to be significantly related to all 28 internet activities. Younger persons are more likely to engage in every internet activity included in the study than those in older age groups. With regard to *education*, 8 PC activities (email, chatting/IM, get information, read news, work-related tasks, watch TV/movies, shopping/selling, and internet calls) were significantly influenced by educational level but none of mobile phone internet activities were influenced by educational level.ⁱⁱ With regard to *income*, 7 PC internet activities (email, get information, read news, get community information, work-related tasks, shopping/selling, and visit others’ blogs/homepages) and 5 mobile internet activities (email, get information, read news, shopping/selling, and visit others’ blogs/homepages) were significantly related to income level. Regarding *gender*, males were more likely to engage in 6 PC internet activities (read news, social media, games, work-related tasks, listen/download music, and watch TV/movies) and 2 mobile phone internet activities (read news and work-related tasks).

Research question 3 inquires how the scope of internet activities (see the research method section for the measurement) influence the likelihood of people increasing or decreasing their online activities after the earthquake. We asked whether people increased, decreased or did not change the use of ten internet activities after the earthquake. Figure 3 and 4 display the percentage of people who increased the use of each activity via personal computers and mobile phones. On PCs, people increased news and information the most. This indicates that the internet was an important source of news and information for people. Twelve percent of respondents increased video/radio. Following the earthquake, online video sharing sites such as YouTube, Ustream and Nico Nico Douga streamed broadcast news. Individuals also uploaded video clips from affected areas. The availability of both macro-level mass media news and micro-level news uploaded by individuals made video/radio sites on the internet a useful resource for people after the earthquake. About 10% of respondents increased access to community information online. Immediately

after the earthquake, many local governments and community organizations uploaded information on their homepages and also set up an account on Twitter to reach residents (Nihon Shinbun Kyokai, 2011). Social media (7.3%), represented by Facebook and Twitter, are a relatively new activity online but were utilized widely after the earthquake. The versatility and multi-level functionality of social media allowed the platform to be utilized for different purposes (Jung and Moro, 2012). On mobile internet (Figure 4), information search was the most increased activity followed by news. While only 6% of the respondents increased the use of email on PC, 13.6% increased email use on the mobile phone. This reflects the centrality of mobile email in Japan (Ishii, 2004).

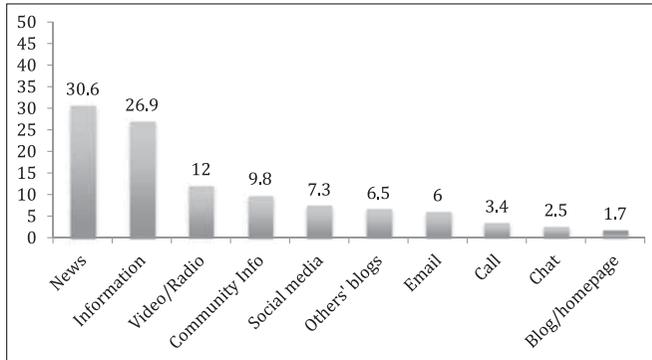


Figure 3. Increased PC internet activities after the earthquake (%)

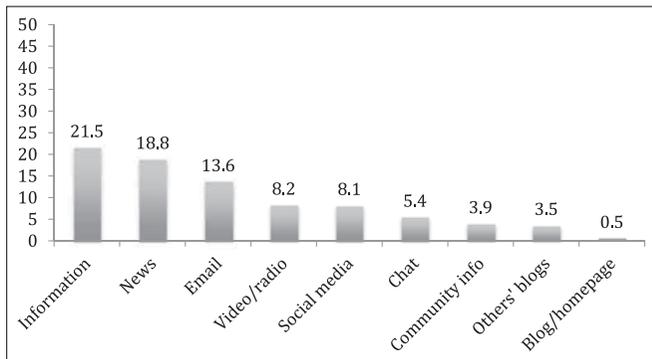


Figure 4. Increased mobile internet activities after the earthquake (%)

In order to test research question 3, the relationship between the scope of internet connectedness and the likelihood of increasing the use of a particular activity was examined. The difference between people in high and low internet scope categories was compared with regard to the increased use of a specific activity. According to an independent samples t-test, those who had higher scope of internet connectedness were more likely to increase the use of different activities after the earthquake than those who had lower internet scope. That is, with regard to participation in PC internet activities, the higher internet scope group was significantly more likely than the lower internet scope group to increase their usage of news ($t=3.10$, $p<.05$), information ($t=3.01$, $p<.05$), TV/radio online ($t=2.23$, $p<.05$), social media ($t=5.25$, $p<.05$), and read others' blogs/homepages ($t=2.61$, $p<.05$) (figure 5). For mobile internet activities, people in the higher scope group was more likely than those in the lower scope group to increase the use of information ($t=5.40$, $p<.05$), news ($t=4.50$, $p<.05$), email

($t=1.99, p<.05$), social media ($t=4.38, p<.05$), TV/radio online ($t=2.81, p<.05$), read others' blogs/homepages ($t=3.34, p<.05$) and community information ($t=2.46, p<.05$) (figure 6).

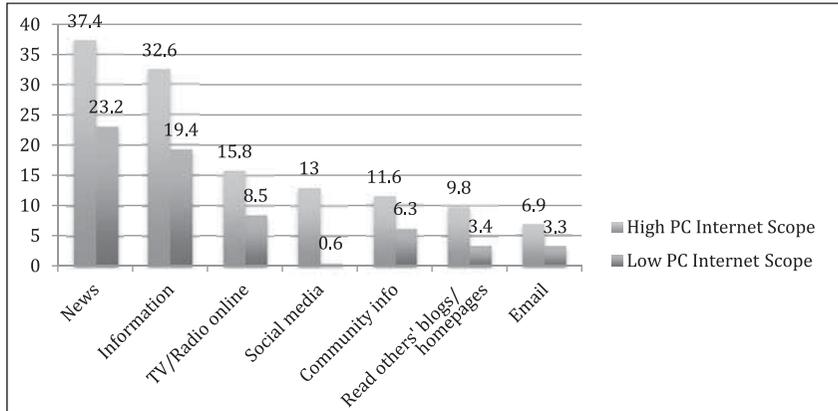


Figure 5. Increase in PC internet activities after the earthquake: Comparison of high and low PC internet scope (%)

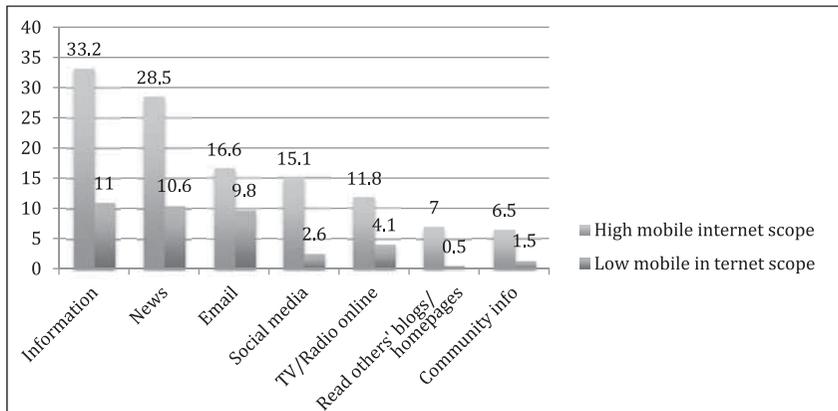


Figure 6. Increase in mobile internet activities after the earthquake: Comparison of high and low mobile internet scope (%)

Finally, research question 4 concerns whether different levels of internet use influence people's participation in civic activities after the earthquake. To test the effect of the internet scope on civic engagement, a multiple regression analysis was conducted controlling for income, education, age and gender. Internet scope is found to have a positive effect on the scope of civic activities ($b=.287, p<.01$) and it explains 7% of the scope of civic activities ($R^2=7$) (Table 1).

Table 1. Internet scope and civic engagement

	Standardized Coefficients
Control variables	
Income	.059
Education	-.115*
Age	.133
Gender (male)	-.150**
Internet scope	.287**
R^2 (%)	7
	$F=6.688^{**}$

$N=447, *p<.05, **p<.01$

In addition to the effect of internet scope on civic engagement, the effect of a specific internet activity on civic engagement was examined. Analysis of covariance (ANCOVA) test was conducted to examine the effect of each internet activity on the scope of civic engagement, controlling for income, education, age and gender. Internet activities engaged via personal computers to use email ($F=9.09, p<.05$), to get information (traffic, weather) ($F=13.59, p<.05$), to read news ($F=6.44, p<.05$), to obtain community information ($F=7.34, p<.05$), to use social media ($F=3.92, p<.05$), to use for work-related tasks ($F=6.98, p<.05$), to watch TV/videos ($F=10.1, p<.05$), to maintain a blog/homepage ($F=4.92, p<.05$) and to visit others' blogs/homepages ($F=10.43, p<.05$) had a significant effect on civic engagement (Table 2). With respect to mobile phone internet, to obtain information ($F=6.48, p<.05$), to read news ($F=5.91, p<.05$), to get community information ($F=7.27, p<.05$), to use social media ($F=6.78, p<.05$), to use for work-related tasks ($F=7.34, p<.05$), to maintain a blog/homepage ($F=10.14, p<.05$) and to visit others' blogs/homepages ($F=6.80, p<.05$) had significant effects on civic engagement (Table 3). Activities such as shopping, game, and listening to music did not have a significant effect on civic engagement.

Table 2. Analysis of Covariance of PC internet activities and the scope of civic activities (mean and standard deviation)

Source	Email	Info	News	Community info	Social media	Work-related	Watch TV/Video	Maintain a blog/homepage	Visit others' blogs/homepages
Use									
M	2.27	2.28	2.25	2.37	2.31	2.37	2.34	2.39	2.35
SD	(1.23)	(1.20)	(1.19)	(1.21)	(1.28)	(1.23)	(1.19)	(1.24)	(1.26)
Not Use									
M	1.91	1.85	1.97	2.02	2.10	2.01	2.02	2.09	2.00
SD	(1.10)	(1.13)	(1.21)	(1.18)	(1.16)	(1.15)	(1.20)	(1.18)	(1.12)
F	9.09*	13.59**	6.44*	7.34**	3.92*	6.98**	F=10.10**	F=4.92*	F=10.43**

Covariates: income, education, age and gender

* $p<.05$, ** $p<.01$

Table 3. Analysis of Covariance of mobile internet activities and the scope of civic activities (mean and standard deviation)

Source	Info	News	Community info	Social media	Work-related	Maintain a blog/homepage	Visit others' blogs/homepages
Yes							
M	2.31	2.33	2.65	2.45	2.39	2.79	2.45
SD	(1.19)	(1.22)	(1.32)	(1.32)	(1.30)	(1.23)	(1.29)
No							
M	2.00	2.04	2.10	2.09	2.07	2.11	2.09
SD	(1.20)	(1.18)	(1.17)	(1.16)	(1.15)	(1.18)	(1.17)
F	6.48*	6.44*	7.27**	3.92*	7.34**	F=10.14**	F=6.80**

Covariates: income, education, age and gender

* $p<.05$, ** $p<.01$

DISCUSSION

The current paper examined the disparity in the use of internet activities and how these disparities shaped the ways in which people communicated immediately after the Great East Japan Earthquake that occurred on March 11, 2011. Double barriers to the internet

connectedness and utilization model (figure 1) were proposed in order to conceptualize the digital divide that exists beyond access to the internet. First, among those with access to the internet, their ability to utilize internet resources broadly is likely to vary, dependent upon socioeconomic and demographic factors. A second barrier affects how the internet resources are used once people gain them online. The extent to which people can utilize internet resources in their offline lives is likely to be affected by their social position, including their human, financial and social capital.

The first barrier to internet connectedness was found in the current study (RQ2). Income and education levels have positive effects on using the internet for email, obtaining information and reading news. That is, among the internet users, those with higher income and education were more likely to engage in information gathering and communication activities than others. Shopping and selling activity was also found to be higher among higher income and education groups, indicating the disparities in utilizing the internet for commercial transactions. Gender disparity was found for reading news, social media, work-related tasks, music and TV/movies, with men more likely to engage in these activities. Despite the general research finding that the gender difference is disappearing, the current study finds that a meaningful difference still exists in certain activities. Gender disparity in social media draws particular attention in light of a recent report by Wikipedia that only 13% of the contributors of Wikipedia are females (Cohen, 2011). The most prominent disparity was found in connection with age. Logistic regression analysis revealed that age was the strongest variable influencing internet use in all 28 activities. Age difference in internet use is also found in the majority of other internet studies (Loges & Jung, 2001; Wellman & Haythornthwaite, 2003). Types of communication media that people utilize to obtain information and to communicate with other people show clear age distinctions: younger age groups are more likely to use the internet and mobile texting while older generation are more likely to use mass media (television and newspapers) and voice calls (Xenos & Foot, 2008). How the media landscape evolves in the next few decades as the current young generation becomes the older generation will be an interesting social transformation to observe.

The second barrier to internet connectedness was found in the current study. The scope of internet connectedness, that is the breadth of activities in which people participate online, was found to have a positive effect on the likelihood of increasing internet use after the earthquake. In other words, those who engaged in a wider variety of internet activities before the earthquake used the internet as a more central medium in coping with the disaster. On the other hand, those who engaged in a narrower range of internet activities maintained or reduced their internet use after the earthquake. In other words, those who had richer internet connectedness relied more on the internet, while those who had narrower internet connectedness relied less. The result is consistent with the Kim et al. (2004) study after the September 11th terrorist attack, which also found the Matthew effect: the rich get richer and the poor get poorer. The gap between high connectors and low connectors became visible in the disaster situation in both studies.

Another finding related to the second barrier is the effect of internet scope on civic engagement. Those with a wider scope of internet activities were more likely to engage in civic activities after the earthquake. The effect of the internet on civic engagement is an area of debate. It is argued that the internet has a negative effect on civic engagement,

particularly when it involves civic engagement in one's neighborhood or community organizations (Kraut et al., 1998). Conversely, new ways and venues for civic engagement may be observed either on the internet or by utilizing the internet to connect to one another (Bennett & Entman, 2001). The current study finds that those who engage in a wider variety of internet activities are more likely to engage in more diverse civic activities than their counterparts, supporting the latter opinion in the debate. Not only the scope, but particular internet activities had correlations to civic engagement. Of the fourteen activities on PC internet, communication and information related activities had significant effects on civic engagement. On the other hand, entertainment activities, such as game, chatting, listen/download music, and shopping/selling did not. Similarly on mobile phones, those who participated in activities such as information gathering, news, community information, social media, work-related tasks, and maintaining and visiting blogs/homepages were significantly more likely to engage in civic activities. In sum, not only the breadth but also the type of activities has implications for civic engagement.

LIMITATIONS AND FUTURE IMPLICATIONS OF THE STUDY

Several limitations of the current study need to be addressed. First, the study collected data from only Bunkyo-ku in Tokyo and the result does not represent the general residents of Tokyo. Second, the scope of internet activities before the earthquake was asked retrospectively. This limitation was inevitable because the earthquake happened unexpectedly and a pre-earthquake survey could not be conducted. The cross-sectional nature of the current research should be considered when interpreting the relationship between independent and dependent variables. Despite these limitations, the current study is one of the few to examine the influence of the digital divide in utilizing internet resources and participating in civic activities in a disaster situation. Further studies on new media and disaster should examine the influence of the digital divide on coping strategies in a disaster situation. Merely having a technology does not make the technology useful. Proper interventions and educational programs should be developed for the internet and mobile technologies to be helpful in disaster situations.

NOTES

- i Internet calls (e.g., Skype) for mobile phones are excluded because many respondents seemed to have been confused between internet phone calls and regular calls on their mobile phones.
- ii This result, that education is not found to be a significant factor for any of mobile phone activities, is noteworthy. Although further analysis is required, the result indicates that the gap between different educational levels is less prominent for mobile phone internet use.

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THE MAINTENANCE AND PRESERVATION OF THE SURIGAONON LANGUAGE IN CYBERSPACE

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Abstract: The number of speakers of the Surigaonon language in the province of Surigao del Norte, Philippines is slowly decreasing due to the intrusion of major languages such as English, Cebuano, and Tagalog (Dumanig, 2006). These languages are used in official domains of communication in schools, church services, and government transactions. In sharp contrast, the Surigaonon language is used only in the home and other informal domains of communication and is frequently used orally, usually when talking with friends and family members. Moreover, the above-mentioned three major languages are commonly used in the written form particularly in printed and online newspapers, and orally heard in news stories on the radio and in church services. Because of their dominance, a number of Surigaonon people read these languages in print and online media. The presence of the three major languages threatens the Surigaonon language. Consequently, a Surigaonon website has been developed in the town of Gigaquit, Surigao del Norte to help in maintaining and preserving the Surigaonon language. The creation of a website where Surigaonon speakers can communicate and interact with each other using their own mother tongue might help the younger generations and other Surigaonons who have migrated to other places in the Philippines and other countries to preserve and maintain the language. It is, therefore, the focus of this study to examine how the Surigaonon language is maintained by means of cyberspace and to explore the benefits of creating such a website. A total of 50 Surigaonon website users were interviewed online and asked how the website helps in maintaining and preserving the language. These findings can be useful in initiating a new project and strategy to help in the maintenance and preservation of the Surigaonon language and other minority languages in the region.

Key words: Surigaonon language, language maintenance, cyberspace, oral vs. written, multilingualism

GLOBAL ISSUES

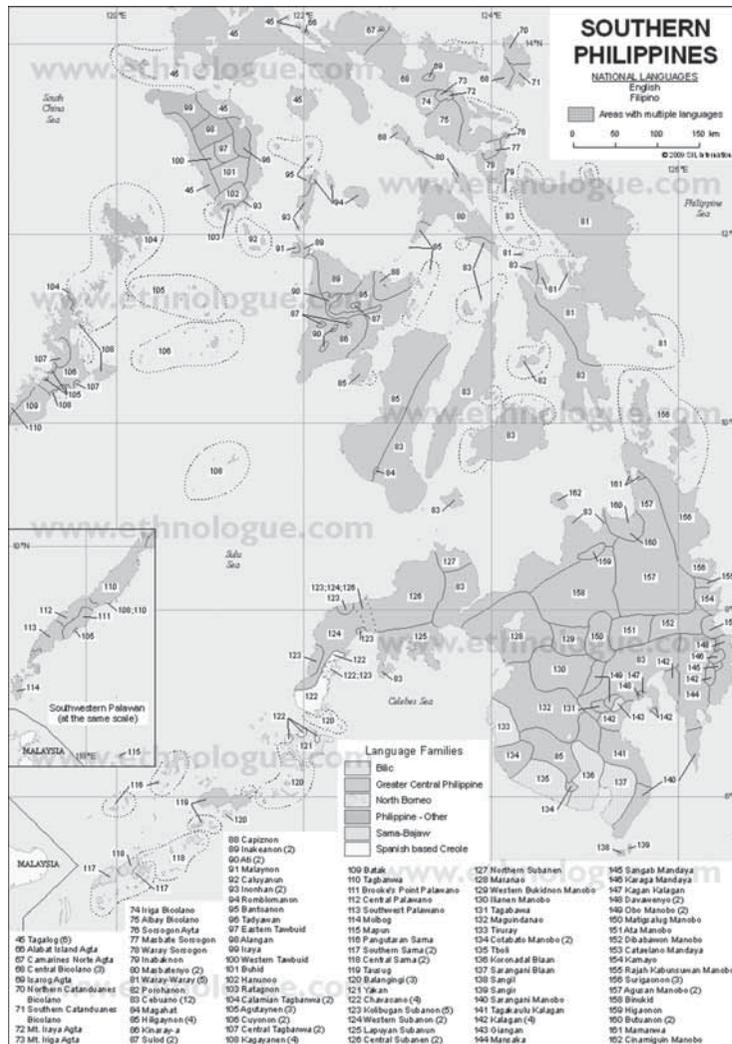
The Philippines is a multilingual and multicultural country (see map below). The latest survey of the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL) shows that the Philippines has 92 languages or dialects (SIL 2003). Except for Chavacano, a Spanish creole spoken mostly in the Zamboanga Peninsula in Mindanao, all indigenous languages in the Philippines are Austronesian (Paz 2002). Across the country, there are eight major languages with considerable number of native speakers. These languages are Tagalog, Ilocano, Bicol, Kapampangan, Pangasinense, Cebuano, Hiligaynon and Waray. Of these languages, only Tagalog, Cebuano and Ilokano are extensively studied. Many minor languages are not studied.



Map of the Philippines
Source: Dumanig, 2010

The Surigaonon language is one of the minor languages of the Philippines: it is not widely studied. In the 1990 census, there were 345,000 speakers of the language (The Ethnologue, <http://www.ethnologue.com/>) and this fell, in 2003, to 344,974 speakers of the Surigaonon language (International Encyclopedia of Linguistics, 2003). A survey conducted in the CARAGA region revealed, approximately 88,129, speakers of Surigaonon which is equivalent to 22.40% of the total population of the CARAGA region (Census 2002). This data can be misleading because of the high rate of bilingualism in Cebuano (see map of Southern Philippines).

Extensive bilingualism has affected the development of the Surigaonon language. In fact, the Surigaonon language has become a secondary language to the Surigaonon people and is used only in the home domain and other informal domains of communication (Dumanig 2006). Consequently, the number of Surigaonon users has decreased especially amongst the young. In fact, the number of speakers of the Surigaonon language in the province of Surigao del Norte is slowly decreasing due to the intrusion of the major languages in the Philippines such as English, Cebuano, and Tagalog (Dumanig, 2006). These languages are used in official domains of communication in schools, church services, and government transactions while the Surigaonon language is used only in the home and other informal



Language Map of Southern Philippines

Source: http://www.ethnologue.com/show_map.asp?name=PH&seq=20

domains of communication. These three major languages are commonly found in the written form particularly in printed and online newspapers, and in handouts at church services. Because of their dominance, a considerable number of Surigaonon people read and listen to these languages, everyday, in the print media in both hard and soft copy, the latter by means of online media. In contrast, the Surigaonon language is frequently used orally when talking with friends and family members. The presence of the three major languages threatens the Surigaonon language. Consequently, a website has been developed by Surigaonon speakers in the town of Gigaquit, Surigao del Norte to help in maintaining and preserving the Surigaonon language. The creation of a website encourages the Surigaonon speakers to communicate and interact with each other using their own mother tongue. This might help the younger generations and other Surigaonons who have migrated to other places in the Philippines and other countries to preserve and maintain the

language. It is, therefore, the focus of this study to examine how the Surigaonon language is maintained and preserved in cyberspace and to explore the benefits of creating such a website.

BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

Surigao is located in the Northeastern part of Mindanao, Philippines. It is part of the Caraga region. Its capital is Surigao City in the province of Surigao del Norte. The province has 434 barangays (provincial villages or wards) with 27 towns with a total land area of 2,739 square meters and has a total population of 409,468 (Census, 2010).

Surigaonon is the local language spoken in the district of Surigao del Norte and some parts of Surigao del Sur. 22% of speakers in the entire Caraga region used Surigaonon in 2002 (Census 2002). However, the number of Surigaonon speakers is difficult to quantify due to a high rate of bilingualism and the presence of other major languages in the Philippines (Table 1). The Surigaonon speakers have the highest rate of bilingualism in Cebuano (Dumanig 2006).

Table 1. Languages and Dialects Spoken in Caraga

Languages/Dialects	Number of Households	Percentage
Caraga	393,362	100%
Cebuano	116,633	29.65%
Bisaya/Binisaya	111,416	28.32%
Surigaonon	88,129	22.40%
Kamayo	21,756	5.53%
Manobo	12,546	3.16%
Boholano	11,546	2.94%
Hiligaynon	7,851	2.00%
Butuanon	6,407	1.63%
Other local ethnicities	17,055	4.34%
Other foreign ethnicities	121	0.03%

Source: <http://www.ethnologue.com/>

In the province of Surigao del Norte which is part of the Caraga region, 95% of the people speak Surigaonon as the dominant language. The Surigaonon language is spoken in the whole province of Surigao del Norte and in Carascal, Cantilan (Kantilan), Madrid and Lanusa where these towns are part of the province of Surigao del Sur. The language shares linguistic properties with the Cebuano and Boholano languages. A few people in these regions also speak Waray and Tagalog and the majority claimed they could speak English (Dumanig, 2006).

Surigaonon has a number of dialects, such as Jaun-Jaun, Cantilan (Kantilan), and Naturalis. Typologically, Surigaonon is classified as Austronesian, Malayo-Polynesian, Meso Philippines, Central Philippines and Bisayan language. Figure 1 shows the position of the Surigaonon language in the Austronesian tree. Previous studies show that Surigaonon has 82% lexical similarity with Dabawanon Manobo, 81% Agusan Manobo, 69% with Butuanon (Dumanig 2006)

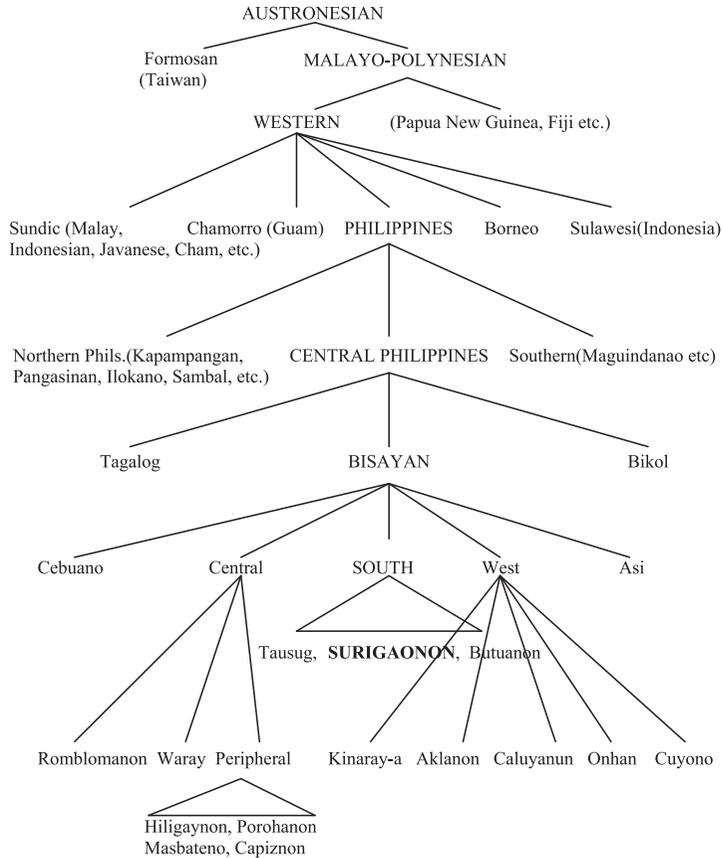


Figure 1. Surigaonon in the Austronesian Language Family
 Source: Lobel, J. W. (2000). An introduction to the languages of Romblon

THE COMPETING ROLES OF ENGLISH, FILIPINO, CEBUANO AND SURIGAONON

In formal domains of communication in the provinces of Surigao del Norte and Surigao del Sur, frequent use of English, Filipino and Cebuano are expected. However, in informal domains of communication, Surigaonon and sometimes Cebuano are used. This means that of the four languages, Surigaonon is only used in informal domains of communication. Other languages such as English, Filipino and Cebuano continue to dominate in the formal context and they are widely used in education. Both English and Filipino are used as the media of instruction in a bilingual education system. Consequently, English and Filipino are high status languages and have many functions in society. In addition, these languages are used in some places of worship. Because of their use in formal settings they hold much prestige. The Cebuano language is also used in formal domains particularly in church and the media. In sharp contrast, the Surigaonon language has no role in formal domains of communication. The Surigaonon language is used in informal domains such as home, market and friendship domains. Therefore, given this low language status, Surigaonons use other languages such as Cebuano, Filipino and English in various domains of communication. Moreover, these languages are perceived positively by people. Due to the unfavorable perception of the Surigaonon language, the number of speakers has fallen and

might further decrease in the near future.

METHODOLOGY OF THE STUDY

The participants in the study were native speakers of Surigaonon language actively involved in an online social networking known as *Sinurigao and Manunuyat (writer): Surigaonon Writing in Surigaonon*. The website was created in March 2011 with the aim of reviving the use of the Surigaonon language among Surigaonon speakers. Currently, the website has 66 members. Another website was also used for the data gathering, the *Lumad Gigaquitnon Gajud Kaw?* (You are a native Gigaquitnon?) which has 815 members. This website aims to connect the natives of Gigaquit from different parts of the world and encourages them to use the Surigaonon language as the medium of communication. A total of 50 Surigaonon website users were interviewed online and asked how the website helped them in maintaining and preserving the language. The participants selected were speakers of the Surigaonon language, born in Surigao and had stayed in the province for at least 15 years and considered themselves as fluent speakers of the language. Due to the limited number of online members, only 50 participants were considered.

To validate the data from the interviews, 100 online postings in the website were also examined to determine whether the participants who actively involved themselves in wall postings are using and maintaining the Surigaonon language.

RESULTS

Language choice of Surigaonon speakers

The participants were asked about their choice of language since Cebuano, Filipino and English languages in Surigao are dominant. The purpose of this question was to examine the frequency of use of the Surigaonon language. The data results revealed how the Surigaonon language is used in the following domains - the home, religion, school, TV, newspaper, broadcasting and literature. See Table 2.

Table 2. Use of Surigaonon Language in Different Domains

Domains	Surigaonon	Cebuano	Filipino	English
Home	40	10		
Religion	5	30	5	10
School			15	35
TV			30	20
Newspaper		5	5	40
Broadcasting	5	5	25	15
Literature		5	10	35

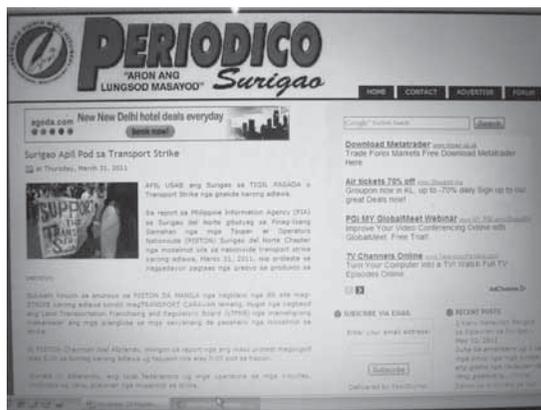
It is evident that in various domains of communication, the Surigaonon language has been and is being replaced by Cebuano, Filipino and English. The limited use of the Surigaonon language in a number of domains shows that the Surigaonons are shifting towards the major languages such as Filipino, English and Cebuano. Yet it shows that Surigaonon is still being used in the home domain by a large majority of the respondents and in the religious domain by a small minority of the respondents.

The choice of the major languages is perhaps influenced by TV, newspaper, literature and the educational system where English and Filipino are given much priority. Consequently, the Surigaonon language is left with limited functions. People, generally, have a negative attitude towards the local language.

The onset of language shift is evidenced by the extent of code switching found in the local Surigao newspaper. Newspapers are written in Cebuano and not in the Surigaonon language. In fact, a local newspaper “Periodico Surigao” is in the Cebuano language but much switching in English occurs as seen in the extract below:-

“Gibana bana ang **killer** nga may gitas-ong 5’4” kasarangan ang pamanit, klaro ang **cheekbones**, **standard** hair ug nagsul-ob ug **green** nga sinina ug naka itom ug **city shorts**.” (*It is assumed that the killer has a height of 5’4”, fair complexion, clear cheekbones, standard hair, wearing a green shirt and black city shorts.*)
 (Periodico Surigao, March 30, 2011 <http://periodicosurigao.blogspot.com/2011/03/matud-sa-saksi-killer-sa-pulis-taas-ug.html>)

“Sumala ni Albarando, ang **local federations** ug **operators** sa mga **tricycles**, **multicabs** ug **vans** gilauman nga musalmot sa **strike**” (*According to Albarando, the local federations and tricycle, multicab and van operators are hoped to join the strike*)
 (Periodico Surigao, March 31, 2011 <http://periodicosurigao.blogspot.com/2011/03/matud-sa-saksi-killer-sa-pulis-taas-ug.html>)



Source: <http://periodicosurigao.blogspot.com/>

The occurrence of code-switching in written discourses might affect the progress of the language. In this context, subtractive bilingualism endangers the fluency of the speakers of one particular language.

Attitudes to Maintenance and Preservation of the Surigaonon language

The websites require the users to use the Surigaonon language as the medium of communication to enhance other Surigaonons to speak the language. Below are some of the wall postings in the websites.

- *Suyod na diri mga kalomonan. Bisan kun dili pa kaw hanas sa Sinurigao kuman anhi kaw makatuon kay kinhanglan man na ato matun-an an ato kaugalingon na sinultihan. Sayang an imo kaabtik sa ato sinultihan bisan isa way imo mahikanat* (Join here my fellow Surigaonons. Even if you are not proficient in Surigaonon this time through this you will learn because it is important for us to learn our own language. Your expertise in our language becomes futile if you do not use it)
- *Lumad Gigaquitnon sa grupo tagpangayan way lain maka entra kundi gutgut lamang. Dili importante kon tal o dayo lang basta an kasing kasing lumad Gigaquitnon.* (Native Gigaquitnon the name given to a group, no one can enter except Gigaquitnon only. It is not important whether you are native or visitor what is important is that you have a heart like a native Gigagquitnon.)

The fifty Surigaonon participants interviewed were concerned about maintaining and preserving the Surigaonon language. Interacting with other Surigaonon speakers in cyberspace helps them to make use of the language and, hopefully, enhance their proficiency in the Surigaonon language. Interviews were conducted, in which, the participants said;

“An pakipagestorya sa iban na Surigaonon makatabang gajud sanan maka abtik sa ila sinultihan na Surigaonon”

(Interacting with other Surigaonons will really help us to enhance our Surigaonon language)

“Sa una nan waya pay ako ka estorya na Surigaonon puro Tagalog ug English ra gajud ako pero koman nakatabang na ma practice ko pirmi an Surigaonon”

(Before, when I had no one to talk to in the Surigaonon language, I only used Tagalog and English but now it helps me to practice my Surigaonon language all the time)

In fact, using the mother tongue, Surigaonon, has helped them to maintain their Surigaonon culture and moreover to create solidarity. The language serves as a marker of a speech community's membership. The data revealed that when Surigaonons used the Surigaonon language when talking to other Surigaonon speakers, they felt a sense of belongingness as members of a community. The creation of the website has contributed in the language maintenance and preservation of the Surigaonon language.

Language Revitalization

Although the Surigaonon language is used only in a few domains, such as home and religion, code mixing or code switching has become a common phenomenon. It is believed that due to popularity of the three languages in the media, these languages are being mixed with Surigaonon in the home domain. In the conducted interviews, code switching was rampant in the discourse of these speakers of Surigaonon.

“Well, nakatabang sija to promote surigao...like mga tourists spots amo jaon ako idea”
(Well. It helps to promote Surigao, like the tourist spots, that's my idea)

“I guess, not totally...dili man gud tanan kuman batan-on focus sa Surigaonon.” (I guess, not totally...not all young generations focus on Surigaonon)

Languages can be revitalized in various ways. Fishman (1991) provides some steps in reversing language shift. Fishman's model for reviving threatened languages consists

of eight stages. These include the acquisition of language by adults, creating a socially integrated population of active users of the language, encouraging informal use of the language and, when oral competence has been achieved, literacy must be encouraged, encouraging the use of the language in the educational system, in the workplace, in mass media and in higher education and government (Fishman, 1991).

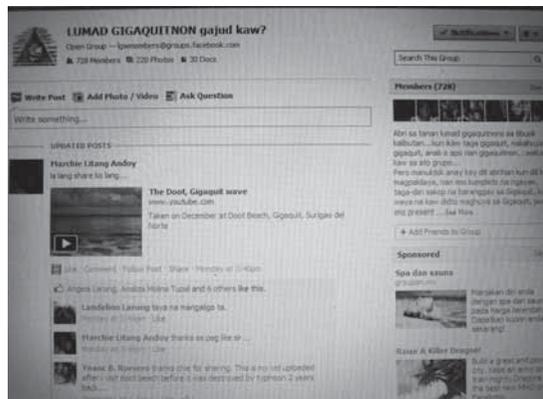
The social media and information technology may help in maintaining the language. Surigaonon websites were created to ensure that the speakers would have the chance to communicate with each other using the Surigaonon language. This also encourages those who are outside the locale to use the language and interact with other, Surigaonon speakers in cyberspace. The importance of using the Surigaonon language as emphasized in the website, helps people to realize that there is a need to maintain the language. The Surigaonon website was made to provide Surigaonon speakers with an opportunity to use and maintain the language. Postings in the Surigaonon language have motivated them to continually use the Surigaonon language as their medium of communication.



Source: <https://www.facebook.com/groups/211318468893697/>

Language preservation

Website users can initiate interaction between and among the members, or they can share their opinions on personal and social issues using their mother tongue.



Source: <https://www.facebook.com/groups/lgwmembers/>

Some members of the Surigaonon website were interviewed in the Surigaonon language and asked how the website has helped them to maintain and preserve the language. Based on their responses, it was clear that there were divided views. Out of 50 participants, 45 persons gave positive responses that the use of Surigaonon language will help preserve the culture and identity of Surigaonon people. The positive responses, shown below, focus on the benefits that users will experience in using the Surigaonon language.

“Nakatabang ba an mga website/s (GCC internal Forum) na ma preserba an ato sinultihan na Surigaonon.

The website (GCC internal Forum) has helped to preserve the Surigaonon language.”

“Nakatabang man kay hamok man nakakilaya nan ato sinultihan sanan nagpahibayo na surigaonon kaw.

It helps because others know about our language and it also informs that you are Surigaonon”

“Dinhi sa site na hibayuan nimo an sinultihan na Surigaonon.

In this website you learn the Surigaonon language”

Only 5 participants did not see the benefits of using the Surigaonon language believing that a dominant language like English will help the speakers economically. Participants said;

“Kinahanglan man sab an English kay para dali ra makatrabaho”

English is needed in order to find jobs immediately.

“Dili man magamit an Surigaonon sa iban lugar”

Surigaonon language cannot be used in other places.

Although the website focuses on some other social issues, basically Surigaonon speakers can interact and communicate with one another using the Surigaonon language. The website has also helped young generations to improve their Surigaonon language and have made them aware that the Surigaonon language can be used in other domains of communication particularly when discussing social issues. Consequently, the younger generation can learn the language as indicated in their voices (see extracts below).

“Oo, makatabang ini sa mga kabataan na Surigaonon.

Yes, this will help the young Surigaonons”

“Makahibayo gajud sila kun uno an Surigaonon.

They will really know what a Surigaonon is.”

“Matabangan sila kon mag join sila dinhi. Kon dili sila mag join unhon pagtabang na mulambo an ila sinultihan.

This will help if they join here. If they don’t join, how can they improve their language (Surigaonon)”

“Makatabang ang website para magkasinabtanay ang mga Surigaonon.

The website can help so that Surigaonons can understand each other.”

What is interesting is that there has also been an economic benefit of the website. The promotion of the Surigaonon Website and the emphasis on the Surigaonon language can help in improving the tourism industry. Tourists are becoming aware of the cultural and linguistic background of Surigao. The participants mentioned:

*“Parang nang invite sa mga tourist na mobisita sa Surigao.
It’s like inviting tourists to visit Surigao”*

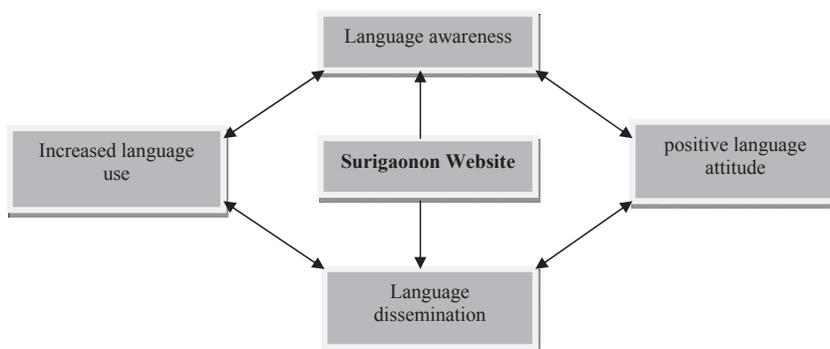
In short, the use of the website can be said to have helped the Surigaonon speakers in maintaining and preserving the Surigaonon language. Through the site, the users, both young and old, have become re-acquainted with their mother tongue and make use of it more extensively.

DISCUSSION

The creation of the Surigaonon website has offered speakers of the Surigaonon language an opportunity to maintain and preserve the language in cyberspace. It is evident from the findings, that Surigaonon speakers are becoming active in participating in discussions on social, political and personal issues and use the Surigaonon language to do so. In fact, the participants who took part in the study had positive remarks and feedback about the website and its contribution to language maintenance and preservation.

Based on the information provided by the netizens, it is evident that the Surigaonon website has had an impact on the Surigaonon speakers by resulting in them having a positive attitude of their language. The website has made speakers of the Surigaonon language aware of its importance in communication and this, in turn, has influenced their attitude to the language.

The findings can be illustrated as follows:



CONCLUSION

The emergence of major languages like Filipino, Cebuano and English in Surigao has reduced the functions of the Suriagonon language in various domains of communication. In fact, the Surigaonon language is used only in informal domains while English, Filipino and Cebuano are used in other domains. Consequently, people have developed a negative

attitude or perception towards the language because of its limited use. However, the establishment of a website for the Surigaonon speakers has helped them maintain and preserve their language. It helps, particularly young people, to be more familiar with the Surigaonon language. The creation of the Surigaonon website has had an impact on Surigaonon speakers by creating language awareness and positive language attitude, resulting in increased number of users.

Recently, a proposal has been made by the local government authority to establish a Surigaonon Language Center, in the City of Surigao. In the initial plan, the center will focus first on research on the Surigaonon language. Later the center will offer the Surigaonon language as an elective course at the tertiary level. Such a proposal coincides with the recent implementation of multilingual education in the Philippines in which English, Filipino and the local language are used as the media of instruction.

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LITERACY POLICY IN MULTICULTURAL AUSTRALIA

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Abstract: Australia is considered to be a multicultural society. 21% of people counted in the 2006 Census spoke a language other than English at home; the most common languages being Italian, Greek, Cantonese, and Arabic (Japanese was spoken by 0.2%, which is an increase of 24% from 2001). The politics of language has been an important feature of Australian politics, partly due to the fact that immigrants seeking citizenship are expected to be able to demonstrate a certain degree of fluency in English. Over the last twenty years, it has been realised that by maintaining the first languages of immigrants we can improve migrant children's literacy in English, and there have been moves to test this in the case of bilingual indigenous education. On the other hand, it has been pointed out that LOTE (Languages other than English) or second language programs in schools have not been as successful as expected, due to decades of policy neglect and inaction. At the same time, Australia has made considerable efforts to develop "Asia literacy" as a core part of the school curriculum in the 21st century in order to assist young Australians to make sense of the part of the world in which they live. In this paper, I examine the current situation of second language education at the tertiary level and explore the values and meanings underpinning that education.

多文化社会として知られるオーストラリアは、2006年の国勢調査によると21%がイタリア語、ギリシャ語、広東語、アラビア語など英語以外の言語を家庭で話している（日本語は0.2%で、2001年より24%の増加）。移民が国籍を取得するためには、ある程度の英語能力が必要なこともあり、言語行政はオーストラリアの政治において重要な位置を占めている。この二十年間で、移民の第一言語の保持が子供たちの英語での読み書き能力に効果的であることが認識されて来た。この認識に基づいて先住民の子供たちのバイリンガル教育が試みられている。一方で、学校におけるLOTE（英語以外の言語）または第二言語プログラムが、何十年にも渡る政策の欠如と怠慢により、期待されたほど成功していないことが指摘されている。それと同時に、オーストラリアは21世紀の学校カリキュラムの中心になるものとしての「アジア・リテラシー」に力を入れてきた。これはオーストラリアの子供たちが自分たちが生きている世界を理解する手助けを目的としている。今回の発表では大学レベルでの第二言語教育の現状を考察し、内在する価値及び意義を吟味する。

Key words: Multiculturalism, Asia Literacy, Languages other than English (LOTE), citizenship, indigenous affairs, immigration

This paper is divided into two parts: the first section focuses on Australia's multiculturalism as a background to literacy policies in Australia, including changes in multicultural policies and definitions of multiculturalism. The second section concerns Asian language teaching in the tertiary sector as part of "Asia literacy", including the example of recent changes in the situation in Queensland.

CULTURAL AND LINGUISTIC DIVERSITY IN AUSTRALIA

On May 24, 2011, the The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) launched the “Your Better Life Index”¹ to allow citizens to compare the quality of life across 34 countries, based on 11 dimensions — housing, income, jobs, community, education, environment, governance, health, life satisfaction, safety, and work-life balance; and Australia achieved the highest average score across the eleven dimensions, while Japan was ranked nineteenth. A noteworthy characteristic of Australian society is the strong sense of community and high level of civic participation. 95% of Australians believe that they know someone they could rely on in a time of need, in comparison to 90% of Japanese people. Voter turnout, which is a measure of public trust in government and of citizen participation in the political process, is very high in Australia, partly because voting is compulsory for Australian citizens: the average turnout during recent elections in Australia was 95%, compared to 60.92% in Japan. (The Osaka mayoral election in November 2011 recorded a 67% turnout, which is the highest in the last 40 years.) Overall, 75% of Australians are “satisfied with life”, as opposed to 40% of Japanese people. The figures for Japan are based on data from the 2008 census, before the Great East Japan Earthquake — the coming decade is likely to be more challenging than ever.

The overall sense of well-being is the backdrop to Australia’s current multicultural policy. On February 16, 2011, the Minister for Immigration and Citizenship launched “The People of Australia: Australia’s Multicultural Policy”.² This new policy reaffirms the importance of a culturally diverse and socially cohesive nation, based on the following facts:

- One in four of Australia’s 22 million people was born overseas;
- 44% of the population was born overseas or have a parent who was born overseas;
- 21% speak a language other than English at home;
- 260 languages are spoken; and
- The population has more than 270 ancestries.

“The People of Australia” was translated into twelve languages: Arabic, Chinese (traditional and simplified), Dinka, French, German, Greek, Hindi, Italian, Spanish, and Vietnamese. The two Chinese versions are to accommodate the needs of people from mainland China, Hong Kong, Taiwan and Singapore. Dinka is a dialect spoken in South Sudan, and is the language of recent refugee migrants from Sudan to Australia.

The Department of Immigration and Citizenship (DIAC) has created a section called “What’s in a Name?”³ on its homepage to illustrate its historical development. It lists the names the department has had since its establishment in 1945, highlighting how the department’s functions and responsibilities have changed over the years:

- DI - Department of Immigration (1945 – 1974)
- DLI - Department of Labor and Immigration (1974 – 1975)
- DIEA - Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs (1976 – 1987)
- DILGEA - Department of Immigration, Local Government and Ethnic Affairs (1987 – 1993)
- DIEA - Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs (1993 – 1996)
- DIMA - Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs (1996 – 2001)

- DIMIA - Department of Immigration, Multicultural and Indigenous Affairs (2001 – 2006)
- DIMA - Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs (2006 – 2007)
- DIAC - Department of Immigration and Citizenship (2007 – current)

After the White Australia Policy officially came to an end in 1973, the expression “ethnic affairs” was used until it was replaced by “multicultural affairs” in the 1990s. As I discuss below, Australia’s indigenous people were initially not included in the notion of Australian multiculturalism. The movement towards the inclusion of indigenous matters under the rubric of multiculturalism is demonstrated in the name change to “Department of Immigration, Multicultural and Indigenous Affairs” in the new millennium. In other words, the notion of a multiculturalism that includes Aboriginal affairs is relatively new in Australian society. The next step—the removal of “multicultural affairs” from the department’s name and introduction of the current “Department of Immigration and Citizenship”—was taken by the former conservative Howard government, which advocated a citizenship test for newly arrived migrants. This led to a national debate about the definition of what it meant to be an Australian.

Australia’s current multicultural policy, “The People of Australia”, consists of four principles:

1. The Australian Government celebrates and values the benefits of cultural diversity for all Australians, within the broader aims of national unity, community harmony and the maintenance of our democratic values.
2. The Australian Government is committed to a just, inclusive and socially cohesive society where everyone can participate in the opportunities that Australia offers and where government services are responsive to the needs of Australians from culturally and linguistically diverse backgrounds.
3. The Australian Government welcomes the economic, trade and investment benefits that arise from our successful multicultural nation.
4. The Australian Government will act to promote understanding and acceptance while responding to expressions of intolerance and discrimination with strength, and where necessary, with the force of the law.

Compared to the recent admission by European leaders that state-sponsored multiculturalism was a failure and that assimilation policies were therefore needed,⁴ “The People of Australia” celebrates cultural and linguistic diversity as a source of successful nation-building. The meaning or definition of multiculturalism, however, has changed significantly since the concept was introduced to Australia. Initially, there was indifference to indigenous affairs as a part of multiculturalism because the notion of multiculturalism was based on the assumption that the nation had been built by white people. This led to a view that multiculturalism represented the assimilation of “other” people (Aboriginal and Asian) into the majority (Anglo-Saxon). According to some members of the white majority, multiculturalism is a threat because it divides the nation, which is often seen as a “paranoid” view (See Hage, 1998 & 2003). Successive governments have negotiated such concerns, and have sought to promote the advantages of cultural and linguistic diversity for nation-building. This has been termed “hybrid multiculturalism” (Noble & Tabar, 2004).

ASIA LITERACY

Australia's geographical proximity to Asia has also played an important role in such nation-building (Lincicome, 2005). "Asia literacy" has been advocated in Australia since the 1990s, and refers to Asian language acquisition and cross curriculum studies of Asia to assist young Australians to make sense of the part of the world in which they belong. From 1994 to 2002 the federal government's "National Asian Languages and Studies in Australian Schools Program" (NALSAS) supported efforts by schools to develop and deliver an Asia-related curriculum. Since 2008, a similar scheme — the "National Asian Languages and Studies in Schools Program" (NALSSP) — has been implemented in order to assist schools in the teaching of four Asian languages: Chinese, Japanese, Indonesian and Korean. According to the Asia Education Foundation (2010), 18% of Australian secondary students were studying an Asian language at school in 2009; the percentage drops to less than 5% by Year 12. This means that the majority of students who study an Asian language finish secondary school with a low level of proficiency in that language. The small number of students who continue to study an Asian language to Year 12 also indicates that the academic status of language subjects is not high in the school curriculum. This can also be said of the status of language teachers in schools. The difficulties in securing qualified language teachers have been an on-going issue⁵: local teachers often fail the language proficiency tests for teaching languages, and recruiting overseas-born native speakers of the languages is not an easy alternative because teachers require formal qualifications from an Australian university and should also be able to teach other subjects.

There has been heated debate about the future direction of Asia Literacy in Australia, which is closely related to the issues surrounding Australian multiculturalism. From a "paranoid" point of view, languages other than English (LOTE) is a threat because LOTE education initially aimed at maintaining cultural identities in local communities. When Asian languages are offered to the "majority" of Australians, who are native speakers of English, it is often assumed that Asian scripts are difficult to learn and that such language study is therefore time-consuming.⁶ There is also resentment about the promotion of Asia Literacy because some believe that it has been conducted at the expense of European, indigenous and other community languages (see Ozolins, 1993). While NALSAS and NALSSP have made some progress in promoting Asian languages in schools, their contribution to promoting studies about Asia has been limited: no Australian education system at present mandatorily requires schools to teach about Asia as part of the history, geography, English or arts curriculum.

TERTIARY SECTOR IN SOUTH-EAST QUEENSLAND

In 2010, an alliance, currently known as the Brisbane Universities Languages Hub (BULH), was formed by three universities in Queensland — The University of Queensland, Queensland University of Technology, and Griffith University — to allow students to study languages offered by other universities as part of the degree at their home university. The name of the alliance will change to "Brisbane Universities Languages Alliance" (BULA) in 2012. The scheme was initially funded by the federal government under the Commonwealth Department of Employment, Education, and Workplace Relations (DEEWR)'s Diversity and Structural Reform Grant Program for a three-year period for the purpose of increasing opportunities to incorporate language studies into

tertiary courses. However, the initiative was rather political as it resulted, in part, from regional politics among universities in South-East Queensland. In 2009, Queensland University of Technology closed its Language Centre (located in the Business School) and ceased teaching German, Indonesian, Japanese and French Programs, as part of its strategic plan to focus on its perceived strength — namely, technology. Queensland University of Technology retained its Chinese Program even though it was the smallest language program because of its newly established Confucius Institute. Griffith University closed down its Indonesian and Korean Programs, retaining Chinese, Italian, Japanese and Spanish. Arrangements to transfer some teaching staff from the Indonesian, Japanese, Korean and French Programs to The University of Queensland were included in the scheme.

In 2011, ten languages are available through BULH: Chinese, French, German, Indonesian, Italian, Japanese, Korean, Portuguese, Russian and Spanish. The University of Queensland offers all languages except Italian; Griffith University offers Chinese, Italian, Japanese and Spanish; and Queensland University of Technology offers Chinese. In the first two years of BULH, The University of Queensland offered introductory-level units in French and Japanese at one of the Queensland University of Technology's campuses, but due to the small enrolment numbers, the arrangements ceased in the third year.⁷ As this indicates, one of the consequences of the formation of BULH is that significantly fewer students of Queensland University of Technology now study languages as part of their degree. It has been pointed out that issues relating to inter-campus travel, timetabling, exchange programs, enrolment processes, and assessment are the major factors that prevent students from studying languages at other universities through BULH.

LANGUAGES OFFERED AT THE UNIVERSITY OF QUEENSLAND

Currently, the UQ School of Languages and Comparative Cultural Studies offers four Asian languages (Chinese, Indonesian, Japanese and Korean) and five European languages (French, German, Portuguese, Spanish and Russian) as single and extended majors in the Bachelor of Arts degree as well as the Diploma of Languages, which is mainly for students of International Studies. Some students study a language as part of a dual degree program, e. g. a combination of Arts and Science or Arts and Law. There are also two Masters Programs in translation and interpreting to train students at professional levels in Japanese and Chinese: the Master of Arts in Japanese Interpreting and Translation (MAJIT) and Master of Arts in Chinese Translation and Interpreting (MACTI).

ASIAN LANGUAGES AT THE UNIVERSITY OF QUEENSLAND

The four Asian languages are offered to both local and international students. The Japanese Program has the largest enrolment, followed by the Chinese Program. Students enrolling in the undergraduate program include Japanese heritage or background students but not Japanese native speakers who have completed compulsory education in Japan, while the majority of enrolments in the MAJIT program are Japanese international students. The number of heritage students in the undergraduate program has been increasing, but is still very small compared to Chinese and Korean, reflecting the size of the Japanese community in Queensland.⁸ The undergraduate program has three different entry points, depending on a student's proficiency level: A stream for beginners; B stream for post-

Year 12 students; and C stream for students who have lived in Japan for more than ten months or the equivalent. Both skill-based and content-based courses are offered at intermediate and advanced levels. In order to maintain continuity through to the MAJIT program, introductory courses in interpreting and translation are offered at the advanced undergraduate level.

Similarly, the Chinese Program also has translation and interpreting courses in the undergraduate program. One of the major characteristics of the Chinese Program is that the majority of the students are heritage students. Reflecting the large and established nature of the Chinese community in Australia, many Australia-born Chinese background students (who often call themselves ABCs) study Chinese at school and university. This particular phenomenon has been seen as one factor that discourages non-Chinese-background Australian students from studying Chinese, because they are forced to compete with Chinese heritage students. The majority of students in the MACTI program are Chinese international students. The enrolment numbers in both MAJIT and MACTI have declined recently partly because of the changes to immigration regulations. Enrolment in translation and interpreting course is no longer given high priority in applications for permanent residency.

The Korean Program at UQ is relatively small, and the majority of students are Chinese heritage students, partly because of the familiarity with the culture and partly because of the smaller Korean community in Queensland, in comparison to the Chinese community.

Enrolments in the Indonesian Program have been declining for the past ten years despite the fact that Indonesia is Australia's closest neighbour and linguists have been in demand in fields relating to Australia's foreign policy in the region; no clear solution is likely to be available in the immediate future.

The Indonesian Program is perhaps an example of the difficulty of integrating Asian language programs and area studies in the current tertiary education system. Even though one of the strengths of language programs offered by the School of Languages and Comparative Cultural Studies is the incorporation of both language training and cultural understanding in its programs, the separation of language components from the Asian studies program is a recent trend. This has resulted in the lack of popularity of the Asian studies major. Compared to European Studies, which has long been established as part of the history and literature curricula as one aspect of understanding Australia's cultural heritage and civilisation (see Gunew, 2004), the definition of "Asian Studies" has not been successfully articulated in the Australian context.

The successful delivery of language programs as part of degree programs in the tertiary sector has required careful curriculum design. Given that there has been a universal trend in the tertiary sector to offer programs with fewer contact hours and larger class sizes based on the concept of so-called "blended learning", it has been a challenge to combine the instrumental aspect of language training with an academic understanding of the culture and society of the target language. Universities also need to accommodate the differing needs of students with diverse backgrounds and different expectations of language learning. There are five major motivations or reasons for learning an Asian language at university:

1. To increase employment opportunities combined with other majors
2. To maintain linguistic and cultural heritage
3. As part of vocational training (translation and interpreting)
4. To pursue personal interests (e. g. popular culture)
5. As an easy subject option (international students with previous study experience)

Combined with Study Abroad programs, the overall number of students who study languages at The University of Queensland has increased, but it is not clear how much this has contributed to an increase in “Asia Literacy”.

CONCLUSION

This paper has looked at Australia’s literacy policies from the perspective of multiculturalism, focusing on Australia’s efforts to increase Asia Literacy since the abandonment of the White Australia Policy. It is important in this context to consider individual issues specific to regions, groups and sectors as part of an examination of the literacy policies of a nation. Power relationships between languages, prejudice against and fear of other languages, and empowerment by maintaining particular languages are crucial elements in nation-building. Education systems, including both the curriculum and teacher training, are also important in the successful delivery of language programs. Political, economic and geographical factors have a significant influence on literacy policies, as do learners’ backgrounds and motivations, which reflect the dynamics of the international community. The popularity of Spanish at universities has been supported by the Cervantes Institute, which was created by the Spanish government. The newly established Portuguese Program is a successful outcome of promotion by the Brazilian government. In other words, literacy policy in Australia also depends on the complicated relationships between Australia and the international community.

NOTES:

1. OCED Better Life Index <<http://oecdbetterlifeindex.org>> and OECD Launches Your Better Life Index, May 24, 2011 <www.oecd.org/document/63/0,3746,en_2649_201185_47912639_1_1_1_1,0.html>.
2. The People of Australia: Australia’s Multicultural Policy <www.immi.gov.au/media/publications/multicultural/pdf_doc/people-of-australia-multicultural-policy-booklet.pdf>.
3. “What’s in a Name?” <www.immi.gov.au/about/anniversary/whats-in-a-name.htm>.
4. BBC News. February 5, 2011. <www.bbc.co.uk> “State multiculturalism has failed, says David Cameron”; BBC News October 16, 2010. <www.bbc.co.uk> “ Angela Merkel says multicultural society has failed”.
5. The Courier-Mail. December 20, 2011. <www.couriermail.com.au> “Many Queensland state schools not teaching foreign languages despite education policy” by Tanya Chilcott.
6. East Asia Forum. August 27, 2008. <www.eastasiaforum.org> “Asia literacy: making a good policy better” by Ken Anderson.
7. See Levy and Steel (forthcoming) for issues in terms of establishing and administering collaborative arrangements for BULH.
8. See Shiobara (2005) about a Japanese community in Sydney.

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NOT WRITING AS A KEY FACTOR IN LANGUAGE ENDANGERMENT: THE CASE OF THE RYUKYU ISLANDS

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Abstract: Language shift differs from case to case. Yet, specific types of language shift can be identified. Language shift in the Ryukyu Islands is caused by the socioeconomic changes resulting from the transition from the dynastic realms of the Ryukyu Kingdom and the Tokugawa Shogunate to the modern Meiji state. We call the scenario of shift after the transition from a dynastic realm to a modern state ‘type III’ language shift here. In type III, one language adopts specific new functions, which undermine the utility of other local or ethnic languages. The dominance of one language over others hinges, amongst other things, on the extent to which a written tradition existed or not. In the Ryukyu Kingdom, Chinese and Japanese were employed as the main languages of writing. The lack of a writing tradition paved the way for the Ryukyuan languages to be declared dialects of the written language, that is, of Japanese. Such assessment of Ryukyuan language status was first put forth by mainland bureaucrats and later rationalized by Japanese national linguistics. Such a proceeding is an example of what Heinz Kloss calls near-dialectization. In order to undo the effects thereof, language activists are turning to writing in order to lay claim to their view that the endangered Ryukyuan *Abstand* languages be recognized as languages.

Key words: Ryukyuan languages, language shift theory, writing, language adaptation, language revitalization

INTRODUCTION

The Ryukyuan languages have rarely been written in their history. While this did not pose any socio-political consequences for many centuries, the lack of Ryukyuan writing served as a rationale for modernity to declare Ryukyuan languages ‘dialects’ of Japanese. A consequence of this was the interruption of Ryukyuan language adaptation, and the opening up of a gap between the Ryukyuan languages and Ryukyuan life in modernity. This was seen as further evidence that the Ryukyuan languages are, indeed, ‘dialects’, and hence not fit for writing. The Ryukyuan languages were not written under US occupation either, despite some early considerations to establish Ryukyuan medium school education then. In view of the present-day endangerment of the Ryukyuan languages, writing is increasingly considered to be crucial for language documentation, language transmission outside the family, and the restoration of verbal hygiene. While this may be clear to Ryukyuan language activists, many Ryukyuan linguists stick to the modernist ‘leave your language alone’ stance. This position is not without problems. To start with, language endangerment in the Ryukyus is the result of active and purposeful intervention into Ryukyuan language ecology. Furthermore, creating ecologies, in which the Ryukyuan languages can survive, requires adjustments. In other words, it requires intervention. Developing the practice of writing is a crucial component in the creation of language ecologies where both Ryukyuan languages and Japanese can coexist. Let us start our considerations by first considering

types of language shift, in order to identify and better comprehend the case of the Ryukyus.

LANGUAGE ENDANGERMENT IN THE TRANSITION FROM DYNASTIC REALMS TO NATION STATES

Despite remaining knowledge gaps in the genesis, spread and development of the Ryukyuan languages, the basic scenario of their rise and endangerment is clear. Large-scale migration of an agronomy practicing population from Kyushu to the Ryukyus around the 10th to 12th century introduced the Japonic languages spoken in Kyushu at the time to the Ryukyus. Old Japanese later displaced these Japonic languages in Kyushu, while they developed into the Ryukyuan languages in the Ryukyus. We have no traces of the languages spoken in the Ryukyu Islands before that (see Pellard 2013 for details). The Japanese invasion into the Ryukyu Kingdom in 1872 in turn led to the dissolving of the Ryukyu Kingdom and to its incorporation into the Meiji state (Kerr 1958: 365-378). A rather complex development involving monolingual language ideology, language stigmatization campaigns, discrimination suffered first at the hand of mainland Japanese, and then at the hands of US occupiers, resulted in a process of language shift, which reached the domain of the family in the 1950s (see Heinrich 2012: 146-149). As an effect, all Ryukyuan languages are either severely or critically endangered today (Moseley 2009).

The language shift we are concerned with in this paper is the effect of the transformations of the dynamic realms of the Ryukyu Kingdom and the Tokugawa Shogunate into the modern Meiji state. Narrowing down the discussion on language endangerment to specific types of socio-political change is a meaningful way to better define language shift, the study of which has been criticized for often being too vague (Spolsky 2008: 152). Indeed, our methods of studying language shift have by and large remained the same since Fishman (1966) and his associates started to study language choices in the Barrio almost half a century ago. Ever since then, the key term to studying language shift and reversing language shift has been that of the ‘domain’. While domain constitutes a powerful tool for the study of language choices, its application has prevented further theorization of language shift. As a result, we still lack detailed insights into the general, that is, non-specific mechanism of language shift (Mühlhäusler 1996: 19).

In seeking to add more precision to the concept of ‘language shift’, a distinction between the two large waves of language shift is a helpful first step. The first wave of language shift is an effect of the transitions from hunter-gatherer societies to agrarian societies. This process started 12,000 years ago and continues until today (Grenoble and Whaley 2006: 1-2). In this kind of language shift, the invading language usually moves in from east or west while the hunter-gather populations and their languages are driven by force into geographical pockets (Nichols 1992: 18-20), or are assimilated, or killed. The second wave began with the transformation of dynastic realms, i.e. divinely ordained hierarchical polities, into modern nation states. This process started with the French Revolution and continues until today (Salminen 2007: 209). Thus, at present, we are experiencing the effect of two large waves of language shift which are eroding language diversity across the world. Yet, the socio-economic settings in which they take place differ fundamentally.

Altogether four types of socio-economic organization need to be distinguished for general considerations of language shift: hunter-gatherer communities, agrarian societies, dynamic

realms, and modern societies. Put simply, transition between these four socio-economic types often gives rise to language shift, resulting in three basic types of language shift: (I) from hunter-gathers to agrarian society, (II) from agrarian society to dynastic realms, and (III) from dynastic realm to nation states. Besides (1) the socio-economic organization of the communities in which language shift takes place, these shifts also differ with regard to (2) the role of ideology behind social change, (3) the ways in which dominant languages grow, and (4) the envisaged language regime.

Table 1: Basic types of language shift

	community	ideology	growth	regime
Type I	bands	more population	organic	community language
Type II	segregated	more territory	merge	diglossia
Type III	invented	more loyalty	unify	national language

In the present paper, we need to concern ourselves only with language shift of type III, that is, the transition from dynamic realm to modern nation states (see Wendel and Heinrich 2012 for a discussion of all types). In type III, a national language replaces regional languages because language is employed to constitute imagined communities, which serve the ideology of creating loyalty to the state.

It is important to note for shift type III that dynastic realms do not constitute societies in the strict sense, because a ‘sense of belonging’ is not equally shared among all inhabitants. Hence, language is not employed in order to foster a sense of belonging to a given society (see e.g. Kamusella 2009 for a detailed discussion). Furthermore, frontiers, rather than borders, limit dynastic realms. In comparison to modern states, this renders the transitions between dynastic realms and their inhabitants more fluid, gradual, and opaque. In contrast, modern states serve as the main agent for organizing, regulating, reproducing, and thus constituting society in consistent and uniform ways, creating, in so doing, the idea of the nation. As an effect, national communities become imagined as homogenous and uniform, from border to border, irrespective of center or periphery, and this ideological arrangement becomes normalized in the minds of modernists to the extent that it is taken to be natural (Blommaert and Verschueren 1991). The conflict between the subjective antiquity of the nation in ideology and the objective novelty of the nation in history is hidden through modernist ideology and the institutions supporting and reproducing this idea. The idea of national language is such an institution, and the discipline of national linguistics yet another one (Harris 1980). For both, writing constitutes an important epistemological basis.

Benedict Anderson (1991) has famously described the rise of the nation state and the role of language played therein. According to him, writing plays a particular crucial role in constituting the large imagined communities, i.e. the nations, who populate the modern world today. However, what Anderson did not consider was that national languages did not lay ready for the definition of nations (Silverstein 2000). Rather, powerful written vernacular languages were declared to be national languages, and the standard languages representing the national languages came to ‘roof over’ (*überdachen*) all other languages and language varieties within a linguistic continuum spoken within the boundaries of the nation state (Trudgill 2004). Understanding what writing and the idea of national language does to language ecologies is crucial, because taking national languages as a given results in ideological and institutional support for the dominant language. The point to remember

from these brief theoretical considerations of language shift is twofold. Firstly, national languages are vernacular languages, which developed at some point in time a practice of writing, and it is this which allowed for their development into modern national languages. Secondly, taken the ideology of national language at face value results in a denigration of other vernacular languages spoken in modern states. This, in short, is what happens in language shift III, and this is what is happening in the Ryukyus today.

WRITING IN THE RYUKYUS

In sociolinguistic terminology, the Ryukyuan languages comprise a group of unroofed *Abstand* languages ('languages by distance'). Unroofed implies, that no standard variety 'unifying' any of the Ryukyuan languages exists. The Ryukyuan languages constitute a dialect continuum with a prominent divide between northern (Amami, Kunigami, Okinawa) and southern (Miyako, Yaeyama, Yonaguni) Ryukyuan languages (see Shimoji and Pellard 2010). The number of dialects within these *Abstand* languages is impressive. 750 dialects are presently known to exist, 650 of them are part of the Northern Ryukyuan branch, indicating that the spread of Japonic and the genesis of Ryukyuan varieties in the southern part of the Ryukyuan Archipelago is more recent than in the north. In addition, social varieties are prominent in many regional varieties of Ryukyuan, and gendered speech is firmly encoded in Ryukyuan grammar as well. The lack of some sort of standard for any of the Ryukyuan languages points to fact that Ryukyuan languages were rarely written.

The history of writing in the Ryukyus can be broadly divided into five periods: (1) the period of the Ryukyu Kingdom (1429-1872) when Chinese and Japanese served as the main languages of writing; (2) the modern period until 1945 when Japanese came to serve as the unequivocal language for writing; (3) the early US occupation period (1945-1972) when attempts, albeit quite brief ones, were made to establish Ryukyuan writing systems; (4) a return to the prewar practices from 1950 onwards which lasted until 2000; (5) the present time where new efforts are made write Ryukyuan in order to document and revitalize the local languages. In the following section, the first four periods will be briefly dealt with, before we turn our main attention to current efforts of writing Ryukyuan, and the problems encountered thereby.

WRITING IN THE RYUKYU KINGDOM

The Ryukyu Kingdom was under the cultural and political influence of Japan and China for many centuries. For more than 250 years, the Ryukyu Kingdom was even, in actuality, a vassal state of both China and Japan at the same time. The name of the archipelago itself bears witness of such contact. 'Ryukyu' was a name coined in 7th century China, while 'Okinawa' was first used in Japan of the 8th century. Japanese and Chinese were also both used for writing in the Ryukyu Kingdom.

Consider Chinese writing first. It is not exactly known when Chinese writing started in the Ryukyus. It is however documented that Emperor Hongwu of the Ming Dynasty sent 32 Fujian families to the Ryukyus in 1392. Settling on Okinawa Island, these families became influential persons in Ryukyuan society, where they spread Chinese culture and knowledge among the Ryukyuan elite. Many Ryukyuan studied Chinese in the Ryukyus

as well as in China. The beginning of Chinese language education for the Ryukyuan elite is also not exactly known. We know, however, that Ryukyuan officials had to study the Chinese language and culture as part of their formation, and that Ryukyuan students of Chinese were considered model students in the Fujian Province (Kádár 2011). As an effect of Chinese proficiency among the literate elite and the settlement of Chinese families in Okinawa, a large number of Chinese texts were written in the Ryukyu Kingdom. The most important documents in Chinese are beyond doubt the kingdom's records of foreign relations. The *Rekidai Hōan* ('Precious Documents of Successive Generations') is entirely written in Chinese. It covers the time between 1424 and 1867.

Consider Japanese next. Following his return from a study tour in the Kamakura period Japan, Ryukyuan scholar Senkan introduced written Japanese to the Ryukyu Islands in 1265. Japanese was subsequently also used for writing in the Ryukyu Kingdom. It was employed for diplomatic correspondence with the Japanese authorities. Initially, Japanese monks prepared such correspondences on request of the Ryukyuan King. The documents were written in Japanese Style Chinese (*wayō kanbun*) and not in *kanbun*, that is, Classical Chinese. This must be considered a break of the protocol. In doing so, the Ryukyuan Kings distanced themselves from China and underlined an alliance with Japan. The Japanese, in turn, drafted their documents for the Ryukyuan Court entirely in *katakana*, again a break with the protocol. This choice of style suggests that Japanese authorities recognized the Ryukyuan neither as Japanese, nor as a Chinese vassal state (Nelson 2006: 370-371). However, despite the fact that the Japanese Satsuma Domain, which colonized the Ryukyus from 1609 until 1872, issued an order of banning the 'Japanization' of the Ryukyus in 1617, writing and reading Japanese literature (*wabun*) continued to be taught among the aristocracy in temple schools and in training academies until 1872.

Since writing in the Ryukyu Kingdom was restricted to a small elite on Okinawa Island, written Ryukyuan was confined to the local variety of the locality where this elite resided, that is, to the ancient capital of Shuri. Most notable among these written texts is without doubt the *Omoro Sōshi* ('Compilation of Thoughts'), a collection of 22 volumes comprising 1,532 poems and 'religious songs' (*omoro*), which had been compiled between 1531 and 1623. The *omoro* has several subgenres, which are related to daily life and include topics such as shipbuilding, navigation, and prayer. It is written in a *kana-kanji* writing system, just as Japanese is. Other manifestations of Ryukyuan writing include epigraphs and notes written into Chinese language textbooks. Despite the fact that it is not too difficult to adapt the Japanese writing system to the Shuri variety of Okinawan, a writing system and orthography for Shuri Okinawan was never developed. The reason therefore is simple. There existed no necessity to develop an Okinawan orthography because Chinese and Japanese were predominantly used for writing. The absence of a popular and institutionalized practice of writing in Ryukyuan languages would however prove crucial after the Japanese annexation in 1872, and again after the end of WWII.

WRITING IN THE MEIJI STATE

Writing Japanese had remained restricted to circles of the literate elite until the so-called 'Disposal of the Ryukyuan Kingdom' (*Ryūkyū shobun*). It was only after the end of the 'no-policy-period' (*kyūkan onzon*, 1872-1879), which followed the first years after the Japanese annexation of the Ryukyu Kingdom, that orders were given to spread written and

spoken Japanese among the entire population. The aim of such policy was to render the inhabitants of the Ryukyu Islands Japanese nationals along the lines of nationalist ideology. Towards this end, Okinawan-Japanese bilingual textbooks were compiled and compulsory school education was mandated (Okinawa Kyōiku I'inkai 1965-1977, vol. 2: 20).

Needless to say, perhaps, claiming the territory of the Ryukyu Kingdom to be part of the Meiji state, spreading Japanese among the inhabitants of the Ryukyu Archipelago, and providing them with a Japanese identity required some kind of justification. As in the case of other nation states, the assertion that the language, culture and ethnicity of minorities incorporated into the nation constituted subsets or variants of the dominant part of the nation played a crucial role in the Japanese nation building process. In the Ryukyus, mainland Japanese officials in charge of incorporating the Ryukyu Kingdom into the Meiji state highlighted historical, cultural and linguistic similarities between the Ryukyus and mainland Japan (Oguma 1998: 28-29). The first modern linguist ever to conduct research on the Ryukyuan languages, Basil Hall Chamberlain (1850-1935), drew different conclusions though. Chamberlain ([1895] 1999) saw the relationship between the Japanese and the Ryukyuan languages as similar to that between Spanish and French, and defined the Ryukyuan languages to be sister languages of Japanese. Faced with the same linguistic information, scholars of Japanese national linguistics (*kokugogaku*) would however choose to back modernist nation imagining ideology. This is not really surprising, given the fact that this discipline had been founded with the explicit aim of institutionalizing national language as a shared bond between all Japanese nationals (Yasuda 2000: 152-153). Be that as it may, the ultimate rationale for spreading Japanese in the Ryukyus was that the Ryukyuan languages were Japanese dialects, and that language spread and Ryukyuan language suppression were measures of Japanese language standardization. This view has only rather recently come under criticism (see e.g. Miyara 2010, Mashiko 2012).

It is well-known that powerful ideology affects reality. In the 50 years between 1880 and 1930, the Japanese language was spread so thoroughly, that Ryukyuan linguist Ifa Fuyū (1975: 458) reported in 1930 that Japanese was now understood across the entire Ryukyu Archipelago. However, the introduction of Japanese also led to effects of ‘fragmentation’ (Tsitsipis 2003) of the Ryukyuan languages. In other words, linguistic coherence between Ryukyuan language, life and culture was swept away because Japanese was now unreservedly used in administration, news reporting, modern literature, and school education. As an effect of Japanese being the default choice for writing, Ryukyuan writing systems and orthographies were not developed in modernity either (Ogawa 2011). What is more, the Ryukyuan languages were not modernized, and this in turn cemented their status as Japanese dialects. In sociolinguistic terminology, the practice of writing exclusively in Japanese led to effects of ‘marginalization’. That is to say, the subordinate status of the Ryukyuan languages in comparison to Japanese, an effect of the fragmentation processes, became reproduced on all levels of linguistic description. Japanese made its entry into the Ryukyuan phonetic system, morphemes were replaced, relexification took place, Japanese speakers were accommodated by shifting to Japanese across all domains, and so on. Marginalization then resulted in effects of ‘sublimation’. That is to say, the Ryukyuan languages were decontextualized from their unmarked functions. Whereas Ryukyuan could be used in all sociolinguistic domains until 1879, these domains became increasingly restricted. In other words, the Ryukyuan languages ceased to serve as the unmarked language in an ever-growing number of domains. The languages became

restricted to marginal fields such as a folklore and music, to particular terms such as self-designation or kinship terms, leading to more effects of fragmentation and marginalization (see Heinrich 2005 for a detailed discussion). All in all, the situation in the Ryukyu Islands confirms Blommaert's (2010: 134) observation that rather than languages *per se*, it is "their deployment over specific genres and registers – for instance, their use as a language of instruction in schools or of political debate in the public arena" which is often repressed as an effect of language policies. Note that this process was set in motion because Japanese served as the sole language of writing in the Ryukyus.

WRITING IN THE EARLY OCCUPATION PERIOD

The separation from of the Ryukyus Islands from the Japanese mainland after the Battle of Okinawa presented an occasion for a possible reversal of the language practices summarized above. Indeed, in the early occupation years, the status of the Ryukyuan languages was debated and its restoration in all domains considered. When the US Military Government established the Okinawa Advisory Council (*Okinawa shijun-kai*) in August 1945, which in turn established the Okinawa Department of Culture and Education (*Okinawa bunkyō-bu*) in January 1946, the responsibilities of the department were specified by US authorities to include (cited from Fisch 1988: 277) "educational affairs insofar as they concern actual operations of schools, including planning of curriculum, preparation of texts, appointment and removal of principals and teachers and other personnel, inspection of schools, allocation of personnel, maintenance of records, and general administrative detail." Note, that the above directive did not specify the language of school instruction. Rather, this issue was left for the Okinawan Department of Culture and Education to decide, which established a working group responsible for examining the feasibility of developing Ryukyuan curricula and textbooks.

The working group was called Textbook Compilation Staff (*Kyōkasho henshū-buin*). While it took up its work, school education was relaunched in April 1946 in an *ad hoc* fashion. No conclusions about the role of the Ryukyuan languages henceforth had been reached at this point. Under pressure to come up with a scheme how the Ryukyuan languages could be developed in a way to serve as a medium of school education, the Textbook Compilation Staff expressed doubts over the benefits of using Ryukyuan languages in school education. The lack of a unified and unifying variety of any Ryukyuan language eventually took to the effect that no writing system or orthography was developed (Nakamatsu 1996: 62-63). The entire idea of basing formal education on Ryukyuan was ultimately abandoned and the fragmented state of Ryukyuan was accepted as a quality intrinsic to these languages, rather than being seen as an effect of the politically motivated pre-war restrictions of language use. Hence, an important chance to revitalize the Ryukyuan languages was missed. With other pressing issues at hand at the time, reinstating the practice of writing exclusively in Japanese was an effortless solution to the conflict at hand for a population then entirely bilingual in Ryukyuan and Japanese.

WRITING IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE 20TH CENTURY

At a conference of school directors in 1950, it was decided that school education in the occupied Ryukyu Islands should follow exactly the pattern of mainland Japan (Motonaga 1994: 185-188). From 1951 onwards, Japanese textbooks were imported to the Ryukyus.

Thus, after a short period of uncertainty, the language educational practices established before 1945 were continued. The only difference was that Japanese language education was no longer called *kokugo* ('national language') but *yomigata* ('reading lessons').

As before 1945, the promotion of (Standard) Japanese in the Ryukyus came to serve as an important means to foster a Japanese identity for the Ryukyuan population. This time, it was meant to lay claims for Ryukyuan being part of the Japanese nation. This claim was meant to serve as an argument to end oppressive US occupation and to improve societal and economic wellbeing in the Ryukyus. The Okinawa Teachers' Association (*Okinawa kyōshokuin-kai*) was key in pushing this agenda ahead. It played the central role in the reversion movement (*fukki undō*), promoting besides Japanese language, also the display of the Japanese national flag and the recitation of the Japanese national anthem (Oguma 1998: 564). In the same way as before 1945, efforts of promoting Japanese resulted in the suppression of the Ryukyuan languages from around 1950 onwards. Ryukyuan and Japanese bilingualism was believed to be responsible for poor achievements in school (Narita 2001: 245), and the punitive 'dialect tag', to be worn by pupils speaking Ryukyuan languages in class, was seeing a revival (Karimata 2001: 38).

Needless to say, writing Ryukyuan was not widely practiced in such circumstances. Writing Ryukyuan was by and large restricted to dictionary authors and songwriters then (Ogawa 2011). However, the importance of such written documents grew ever more important because language shift in the family during the 1950s resulted in having an increasingly large part of the population being no longer proficient in Ryukyuan languages. At the same time, disappointment over the terms and results of Ryukyuan reunification with Japan led to a re-evaluation of all things Ryukyuan. Such reconsideration also included language and culture.

RECENT WRITING FOR LANGUAGE DOCUMENTATION AND REVITALIZATION

The tide has started to turn again on the Ryukyuan languages, notably so, in particular, from 2000 onwards (see Hara 2005). One landmark event with regard to efforts of maintaining and revitalizing the Ryukyuan languages is the founding of the Society for Okinawan Language Revitalization (*Uchinaaguchi fukyū kyōgikai*) in 2000 (UFKK 2010). Another is a publication by Higa Kiyoshi (2006), in which he discusses political and historical issues concerning Okinawa, in Okinawan. In so doing, Higa proved those wrong believing that Okinawan was unfit to discussing contemporary and learned issues. What makes his work extraordinary is that his meta-pragmatics is implicit. In other words, he does not claim Okinawan to be up to this task, he shows it is.

The success of Higa's exceptional book notwithstanding, reducing Ryukyuan languages to writing is not an easy endeavor. There are number of problems which need to be addressed. These issues involve such basic decisions as the choice of a writing system. According to Ogawa (2011), the leading scholar on Ryukyuan writing, the preferred writing system for Ryukyuan languages is that of *kana* mixed with *kanji*. However, this choice results in a number of problems ranging from difficulties to read *kanji* in Ryukyuan languages, over conventions for inflectional *kana*, to *kanji* choices for Ryukyuan lexemes. Most crucially however, *kana* syllables have been devised for writing Japanese. Given the fact that

roughly 30 morae are not shared between Ryukyuan languages and Japanese, makes the use of *kana* for writing Ryukyuan often a difficult task.

Higa's rather recent book and some newly established Ryukyuan language blogs such as the 'dialect diary' (Yugurihaikarah 2012) notwithstanding, most writing in Ryukyuan has been done by lexicographers. By now various dictionaries have been published, each of them using their own *kana* orthographies. One exception is the landmark *Okinawago jiten* ('Okinawan Dictionary') published by the National Institute of Japanese Language and Linguistics (Kokuritsu Kokugo Kenkyūjo 1963), which uses only IPA. The effect is that the dictionary is widely praised in Ryukyuan linguistics, but is not so popular outside such specialized readership. Other dictionaries use *kana* orthographies, which employ a great number of contradicting and confusing conventions (see Ogawa 2011 for a detailed discussion).

There are by now almost 50 dictionaries published or being prepared for publication (see Lawrence 2013 for an overview). They all comprise one and the same problem. Readers need to be proficient in the language in order to know how to pronounce the entries listed therein. Given the view that the number of proficient speakers (and readers) is in decline, and that revitalization efforts result in an increasing number of readers not proficient in the language, more transparent orthographies are therefore desirable. In endangered language studies, such transparent orthographies are called 'shallow'. In an seminal manual for language documentation, Seifart (2006: 283) writes the following on this issue: "Shallow orthography, i.e. orthographies that represent linguistics forms in a way that is close to their actual pronunciation in each context, are considerably easier to learn for a beginner reader (and writer), including second language learners." So far, so good. The difficulty lies in the fact that developing shallow *kana* orthographies for Ryukyuan languages is quite tricky. The dialects of the Miyako language but also those of the Amami language must be considered to present the biggest challenges in this respect; the former due to the high number of consonant clusters, and the latter due to the high number of vowels.

Consider the difficulties of an easier example with which the present author happens to be more familiar. The Yonaguni language demands the development of some diacritics, because it makes phonemic distinctions between voiceless /h/ and voiced epiglottal fricatives /ʕ/, as in /ha:/ (tooth) versus /ʕa:/ (chestnut); between non-aspirated /k/ and aspirated voiceless velar plosives /k^h/ as in /kuruN/ ('to kill') and /k^huruN/ ('to make, produce'); between non-aspirated /t/ and aspirated voiceless alveolar plosives /t^h/ such as in /ti:/ ('mouth') and /t^hi:/ ('hand'). Furthermore, pharyngealized voiceless bilabial plosive /p^ʕ/ in words such as /anap^ʕu/ ('hole') or a pharyngealized voiceless palatal fricative /ç^ʕ/ in words such as in /ç^ʕima/ ('island', 'community') demand orthographic specification if these words are to be pronounced correctly by non-speakers of the Yonaguni language. That is, they demand specification if Yonaguni is to be written with a shallow orthography. Shallow orthographies seem to be unavoidable for language documentation and revitalization, as sociolinguistic research has already revealed an infiltration of the Standard Japanese phonemic and phonetic system into the Yonaguni language (Nagata 2001). Such infiltration is part of what we identified as marginalization above. Note also that the response to such Yonaguni language attrition is that Yonaguni speakers prefer to speak Japanese when being addressed in such language. This language choice is again part of a larger language loss circle, in which attritioners are deprived of the possibility to speak and improve their

proficiency in the endangered language (see Heinrich 2011a for a detailed discussion).

Given the rare instances of writing and reading Ryukyuan languages, knowledge and awareness on issues such as the infiltration of the dominant language system into that of the endangered languages is not widely spread. Consider the scarcity of writing Ryukyuan languages. In a comprehensive survey into the linguistic landscape of Yonaguni in 2008, the present author found a total of 832 Japanese language signs. There were also 13 signs in English, but only 6 in the Yonaguni language. 70 signs were Japanese and English, but only 2 Japanese and Yonaguni. This situation is not particular to Yonaguni. A survey into the linguistic landscape of Naha Airport (Heinrich 2010) found only extremely little evidence of writing Ryukyuan languages there, despite the fact that the airport is under prefectural control. More concretely, there were decorative ceramic tiles outside the airport, which at times included some Okinawan words, there was a split curtain featuring a glossary of Okinawan basic vocabulary in an abandoned UFO-Catcher in a game center, and there were two signs, both of which read ‘welcome’. Ryukyuan writing in the public sphere is rare, and so is the awareness that the absence of writing Ryukyuan languages is a major factor in its endangerment, or that practicing Ryukyuan writing could serve as an important tool towards their revitalization.

CONCLUSIONS: THE ROLE OF WRITING IN (REVERSING) TYPE III LANGUAGE SHIFT

Benard Spolsky (2009: 1) states the obvious in writing that a dialect “becomes a language when it becomes recognized as such.” We have seen in the case of the Ryukyuan languages that the development of a popular writing practice is an important part on the road to gaining recognition and institutional support granted to (recognized) languages. Of course, none of this is new. More than four decades ago, Heinz Kloss (1967) pointed out at the prominent role that writing plays in this respect. He stressed that writing, the existence of separate orthographies, literatures, histories etc. of a language variety lends these varieties the characteristic of ‘autonomy’. In case that one or more *Abstand* languages shared the same written language with a sister *Abstand* language, these languages are prone to undergo what Kloss (1967: 34) calls ‘near-dialectalization’. Rendered graphically, Kloss’ political and sociolinguistic classification of language status types results thus in a double dichotomy.

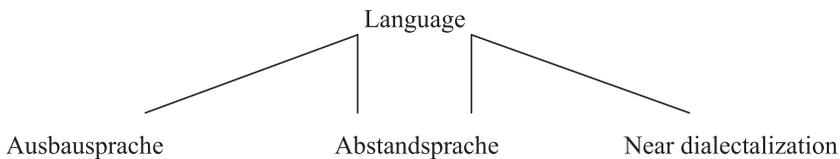


Figure 1: Types of languages according to Kloss

Due to the prestige attached to written language, non-written *Abstand* languages, within a linguistic continuum, tend to become conceptualized as dialects of the literary sister language, as was the case for the Ryukyuan languages in the modern period.

Recall that in type III language shift, loyalty to the state by an imagined community of strangers is sought by imposing one language as a national language among all nationals.

This serves as a bond unifying such a community but it also undermines the utility of other languages spoken within the state. This is exactly what is happening in the case of the Ryukyus. Since our ideas about language are shaped by modernist ideology, and because the social sciences, too, are informed by such ideology (Giddens 1990: 40), such ideology needs to be challenged if endangered languages are to be revitalized. It is simply not possible to revitalize languages and restore linguistic diversity within an ideological frame of linguistic homogeneity (Heinrich 2011b). It is equally clear that linguistic scholarship informed by modernist ideology will be of little help in the quest to maintain and revitalize languages, which have undergone type III language shift. The hallmark of such ideology and the credo of such an orientation to linguistic scholarship is to 'leave your language alone'. Thus, such scholarship takes modernist ideology at face value and ignores the fact that national language regimes, in which minority and other dominated language are marginalized, is all but natural. Such marginalization is the outcome of the intervention of powerful actors into language ecologies, and it is such intervention, which led to language endangerment in type III language shift. And while language activists have started to attack modernist language ideology (see e.g. Fija in an interview by Heinrich, Fija and Heinrich 2007), large parts of endangered language studies remain firmly based in modernist ideology (see e.g. Sanada and Uehara 2007 for the case of the Ryukyus, and Heinrich 2011c for a discussion of such ideological stance).

What, then, can be learned from the case of the Ryukyus in general terms? I believe this: as long as linguistics remains to be prominently rooted in modernist language ideology and to pass the stamp of scholarship on modernist language ideology, language activists will have to largely play along the rules laid out by such language ideology. If writing makes language, they are well advised to develop and foster the practice of writing for languages having undergone near-dialectization. Criticizing them for being ideological, modernist, or essentialist is to miss an important point. We cannot dismiss endangered language activists for being modernist, if modernism is the sole frame in which endangered languages can be maintained and revitalized. In the same vein, branding linguistic research not buying into the 'leave your language alone' scheme as 'ideological' or 'political', as opposed to 'neutral' and 'scientific', confuses 'neutral' with 'supporting powerful actors and institutions'. More to the point, perhaps, such stance amounts to nothing else but a majority perspective on minorities. Such perspectives must be displaced if linguistic diversity is to be maintained. A popular understanding of this would constitute a crucial step towards overcoming the limitations imposed on minority languages in modern societies.

What then are the conclusions for the case of the Ryukyus? Without questioning the dominant and dominating ideology about the Ryukyuan languages, which led to their endangerment in the first place, the Ryukyuan languages cannot be maintained. Ideology, in turn, does not float in a vacuum, but is constantly being reproduced. Such reproduction must be stopped, or at least weakened, if the Ryukyuan languages are to be maintained, and this can only be done by using creating and disseminating new knowledge and attitudes pertaining to Ryukyuan languages, and by a redistribution of power as an effect of such novel knowledge. Writing Ryukyuan runs counter to the modernist ideas of what the Ryukyuan languages became in modernity. In this being so, writing in Ryukyuan languages is one step, albeit an important one, on the road to their recovery.

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MULTI-LITERACY AMONG CULTURAL DIASPORAS

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Abstract: In migration studies the term diaspora has acquired currency as “cultural groups living trans-locally outside their ancestral country”. In the cultural realm, these groups transcend the bounds of political and administrative institutions, and the onus of defining the canvas rests within the confines of the community itself. Andersen (1983) calls such groups ‘imagined communities’. Describing the necessary elements of a new kind of diaspora, a virtual community, Barlow (1996) points out that even when one loses place and continuity in time, there is a basic desire to connect, to interrelate through a value system, a sense of collective stake as well as shared adversity — a sort of communication ethos. In such a scenario, we are now entering into a communication era where dispersed cultural groups, sharing a common heritage, explore space through convenient modes of mobility and electronic ‘networking’. Cultural diasporas utilize potentials of interactive technologies in a creative manner, introducing diverse information highways (websites, e-mails, search engines, and other networking devices). Novel Information Communication Technology (ICT) devices can supplement or replace traditional channels of communication which, hitherto, have been linked with physical proximity (i.e. neighbourhood, school, village, metropolis, etc.). An overlap of electronic information channels in many of their domains potentially enables communities to create a multi-environment for collaboration, discovery, design.

Key words: bilingual sensibility, communication ethos, cultural diasporas, information communication technology (ICT), power and trust in communication, Sindh workies, virtual community

INTRODUCTION

In modern times we find many cultural groups “dispersed outside their ancestral abodes”. These groups, known as *diasporas*, often transcend the bounds of political and administrative institutions. The onus of defining the canvas rests within the confines of the *community* itself. Anderson (1983) refers to such groups ‘imagined communities’, that characterize the illusionary nature of primordial identities leading to the formulation of new configurations.

Describing the necessary elements of a new kind of diaspora, a *virtual* community, Barlow (1996) points out that even when one loses place and continuity in time, there is a basic desire to *connect*, to interrelate through a value system, a sense of *collective stake* as well as *shared adversity* — a sort of *communication ethos*. Cyber space is regarded as “an undefined place where geography becomes irrelevant”. Space becomes quite *fluid*, encouraging interactions between the local speech community and the time-sharing dispersed diaspora; one illustration is the installation of *Trinidadeshwara Shiva* in Trinidad, a case of shifting sacred space in the context of global Hindu identity. Such initiatives

usher in a new era of *living together*, resembling McLuhan's notion of *global village* (Khubchandani 2003). In such a scenario, we are now entering into a communication era where dispersed cultural groups, sharing a common heritage, explore space through convenient modes of mobility and electronic networking.

Sweeping trends of the ICT (Information Communication Technology) revolution have metamorphized the contents characterizing 'knowledge' and 'culture'. Consequently, the world at large is becoming more conscious of the issues concerning technological expansion, information deluge, and so on.

Symbolically, man lives in different layers of space. A *base* for the community's solidarity, a sense of belongingness, can be identified with:

- The *communitarian* space manifested through the density and intensity of interactions among its members.
- The *physical* space, as delineated by state boundaries protected with varied accreditations and privileges for specific speech, creed, etc. in a political set up.
- The *cyber* space, tapped by dispersed conglomerations of people engaged in various socio-economic activities on the global scale, and /or induced by 'perceived' links of language, religion, tradition or any other socio-cultural traits (Khubchandani 1998).

Cultural diasporas utilize potentials of interactive technologies in a creative manner, introducing diverse information highways (websites, e-mails, search engines, and other networking devices). Novel ICT devices radically affect the traffic regulations of human communication (Illich 1985): "Computers are doing to communication what fences did to pastures and cars did to streets."

These enclosures and regulations undermine the spontaneity and autonomy of community life. These devices can supplement or replace conventional channels of communication which hitherto have been linked with physical proximity (i.e. neighbourhood, school, village, metropolis, etc.). An overlap of electronic information channels in many of these domains potentially enables communities to create a multi-fid environment for collaboration, discovery, and design, and interactions through more than one language.

Many diaspora studies have been engaged in examining the profiles of linguistic minorities living outside their 'home' regions (Fisher and Vemury 2011). These studies direct our attention to the processes of transplantation among migrant groups, characterizing diasporal links fostered among different populations away from their ancestral abodes. What role do 'home' and 'host' cultures play in developing relationships among diverse communities living together in a single space. Cultural diasporas generally sustain their identity away from their place of origin by cherishing salient features of rootedness. In a way they live in many spaces. Diasporic experiences involve achieving multiplicity of social and cultural memberships in the host milieu.

Members of a diaspora usually acquire the language of the host region as a source of social empowerment. At the same time, an urge to cultivate their ancestral language (may

it be the mother tongue and/or the heritage language), leads them to be engaged in plural literacies; as a normal course, these are acquired at different levels outside the formal education system. In the trans-national context, they deal with the problems of the dilution of identities and the complexes of uprootedness, nostalgia, etc. The dialectic of exclusion and alienation also distinguish them from the host culture.

THE CASE OF SINDHI DIASPORA

The partitioning of India in 1947 and, since then, the accelerated pace of urban 'job-oriented' mobility among migrant communities have led to the emergence of many new linguistic diasporas ancestrally linked with South Asia, like Sindhi diaspora in Indian subcontinent and in many parts of the world.

With the growing intensity of ICT networks, the Sindhi diaspora is being transformed as a virtual reality in cyber space. This collective reality generates a sense of binding, of belongingness, among Sindhis across the globe. In this backdrop, I probe into the dynamic of dispersal of Sindhi speakers, as an aftermath of the Partition enacted on an epochal scale over six decades ago. I focus on the issues of multiple literacies among the transplanted Sindhis in India; it has been further extending to the overseas as well.

Sindhi merchant networks, known as 'Sindhworkies', are one of the most wide-ranging of all diasporas from the Indian subcontinent since pre-colonial times. These groups belonging to Hyderabad (in lower Sind, today in Pakistan) and to Shirkapur (in upper Sind) are spread from the Pacific (Luque and Gabriel), to Hong Kong, Jakarta, Singapore, Penang, extending to London (David 2000, 2001, 2005), Manila (Thapan 2002), Kobe, Cairo, Malta, Brussels, Panama, New Jersey, California and to numerous other parts of the world. Studies by Markovits (2000), Falzon (2004), Narain & Siu tung (2003), and Kavita Panjabi (2005), present insights in understanding these entrepreneurial groups characterized by a set of trans-local trading linkages. While maintaining the base in their homes in Sind in pre-Partition days (now mostly in India), a majority of them are concentrated in rim countries around the Indian Ocean (the Gulf and East African coast), the South-east and the Far-east (particularly Japan and Hong Kong).

The defining characteristic of Sindhi diaspora is its ability to adapt to a variety of contexts and cultures, and constant cultivation among themselves of contacts, knowledge and relationships. How are diasporic links being fostered among scattered, diffused populations with their ancestral region across nations?

A few pilot studies of the use of Sindhi language among migrant Sindhis in India (Thakur 1960, Khubchandani 1963, Daswani and Parchani 1978), reveal that Sindhi has been yielding place to regional languages and to lingua francas like Hindustani and Angrezi (South Asian English). In these situations, the Sindhi language, is primarily retained as a symbol of *identity* for ingroup interactions (for details, Khubchandani 1963, 1991, 1997).

LANGUAGE RIGHTS

The over-arching reality of the subcontinent is denoted by a wide spectrum of linguistic and cultural diversity in everyday life. The masses at large, in spite of wide divergences on

surface, share a deep sense of collective reality in their verbal repertoire across languages. It gets amply illustrated in creative writings in Indian vernaculars, maintaining a *common* communication ethos, even when inspired by the bonds of *plural* cultural heritage.

“Language needs” in a plural milieu are viewed as a social and political construct on a heterogeneous speech spectrum (Khubchandani 1992). New vistas of ICT, with converging attributes of harmonization and synchronization, can indeed go a long way in generating a sense of binding and security among all sections of society.

Trans-local community strategies adopted by various cultural diasporas need to be considered in working out alternate paradigms of language development that could meet the requirements of communication in a plurilingual world. A speech spectrum gets manifested through the *fusion* of mother tongue and other language(s) signifying various processes of language blends, as in code-switching, code-mixing, and codes-floating i.e aesthetic intermingling of different codes for effective communication (Khubchandani 2011).

The universal human rights movement in the contemporary World Order is gathering momentum with an agenda to assure dignity to every human being irrespective of her/his caste, creed, culture, nationality and language. The movement articulates many issues concerning the identity, freedom of expression, upholding copyright and privacy in communications, and protecting the heritage of individual groups and nations.

With the spread of the avenues for mediation facilitated by technology, individuals often get deprived from one’s own primary, personal, practical experiences; with the result they lose the self-reflecting processes of checks and balances, that threaten society as “a community of communicating individuals”. The global reach of electronic communication, and the erosion of ‘distance’ in a three-dimensional reality, implies disregard for cultural, social and linguistic *particularities* that could ultimately lead to the denial of ‘true’ community. These ideological and legal debates as ‘perceived’ in the context of an individual *per se* as well as of a community, lead us to reflect over the philosophical, technological and socio-political dynamic of the Human Rights Movement. In contemporary societies, mass media’s omnipresent ‘perfect’ images, allow individuality to degenerate and give way to a conditioned reflex to mass, public rituals and generalizations. We need space to exercise our basic human right to *imperfection*.

From this perspective, human communication is seen as resting on two pillars: *power* and *trust*. The contemporary focus on ‘language empowerment’ as projected by Foucault (1977), seems to miss the ‘trust dimension’ of *negotiating activity* in human communication; a sense of ‘transientness’, in Wittgenstein’s terms as demonstrated in urban multilingual landscaping in metropolitan areas, particularly in advertising.

CONCLUSION

Linguistic rights of diasporas are essentially *cultural*, the fulfillment of the human urge of gratification to a particular heritage. One notices such trends of *exclusiveness* in the treatment of Sindhi literature as well. The dynamic of living in many communitarian spaces is apparent in the feeling of restlessness among many Sindhi writers settled in India and in Pakistan. A kind of cultural insecurity of being marginalized in the shadow of ‘state-

sponsored' literatures draws some writers of Sindhi in India to express their feeling of being 'in exile'. But they are not equipped to express their 'undiluted' native sensibility either. A Sindhi writer's deep past (of Sindh, now in Pakistan) gets impinged in the diffused space in India in a number of ways hybridizing her/his poetic output irrevocably. The plurality and the mobility of the diasporic experience in creative writing transcend the insularity of physical space. For immigrant writers, charged with intense native sensibility like that of the Indian poet A.K. Ramanujan (writing in Kannada and English) :

Poetry becomes a dialogue between two spaces –one naturalized, another innate [...] Each self, assumed of privilege, punctures and is punctured by another equally self-validating space
(cited in Akshaya Kumar 1998).

One should be optimistic that the trans-linguistic experiences of a migrant Sindhi writer in a plural milieu can pull her/him out of the nauseating feeling of being in perpetual 'exile', and aspire for more positive goals:

*The man who finds his homeland sweet
Is still a tender beginning.
He to Whom every soil is as his native one
Is already strong.
But he is perfect to Whom
The entire World is a foreign land.*

▪ **Victor Hugo**

These efforts enable enterprising diasporas to translate their vision into a reality, by *thinking globally* and *acting locally* to create an effective community bondage among cultural diasporas diffused on the globe.

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MULTILINGUAL ACTIVITIES IN AN ELEMENTARY SCHOOL IN YOKOHAMA, JAPAN: AN ATTEMPT TO OVERCOME INSTITUTIONAL MONOLINGUALISM

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Abstract: Foreign language education in Japan is becoming increasingly oriented toward 'English monolingualism' from the time of the introduction of English in primary school and earlier. This tendency has grown in tandem with the earlier starting age of English education in school, which disregards the need for a proper sensitivity to linguistic and cultural diversity and is a matter of concern for the education of children. This paper reports on the goals and implementation of a multilingual activity project in one elementary school in Yokohama, Japan. This project, inspired by and planned in accord with the Swiss and European multilingual project EOLE (Multilingual Education in Schools) and EVLANG (Awakening to Language), includes languages such as French, Chinese, Korean and Japanese Sign Language. The project considers how children can be enlightened by the concept of multilingualism while advocating the importance of a multilingual approach to the Japanese foreign language education in a system where English monolingualism prevails.

わが国の外国語教育における「英語モノリンガリズム」は近年ますますその傾向を強めており、開始時期も低年齢化している。このような傾向は世界でも突出しており、言語や文化の多様性に対する無自覚さ・無神経さには子ども達の将来を危惧させるものがある。本発表では、ある小学校で開始した「多言語活動プロジェクト」について、その企画の意図および実践結果を報告したい。このプロジェクトはスイスやフランスの多言語教育プログラムであるEOLE（学校での多言語に開かれた教育）やEvlang（ことばへの目覚め）に触発されて企画され、フランス語・中国語・朝鮮語・日本手話を導入したが、多言語に触れることを通して、子どもたちに何を与えることができるのかについて考察を深めたい。

Key words: Multilingual activities, primary school, English monolingualism, language education in schools

INTRODUCTION

Japanese society, once considered mono-cultural and monolingual, is now progressively diversifying. Nevertheless, the English language-centered policy for foreign language education in schools in Japan, directed by the Japanese Ministry of Education and Science (MEXT), is now being further intensified. The gap between the needs of a newly diversified society (including classroom curriculum and activity) and language education policies is ever more widening.

In this paper, in an effort to suggest a commendable direction for Japan's foreign language education policy, particularly at primary education level, I will introduce the experimental multilingual activities implemented at an elementary school in Yokohama. I argue that

what the Japanese society urgently needs, especially in education, is a multilingual and multicultural approach that encourages students to embrace diversity and to nurture a positive attitude in order to function as a member of the diverse society that surrounds them.

FOREIGN LANGUAGE EDUCATION POLICY IN JAPAN

English monolingualism evidenced in MEXT official documents

The recent ‘New Course of Study for Elementary Schools’ in Japan, enacted in 2008 and implemented in 2011, introduced “foreign language activities” in 5th and 6th grades, once a week, for a total of 35 units per year. It must be noted that, in spite of naming this curriculum “foreign language activities”, there is a stipulation that “in principle, English be introduced.” As if this stipulation alone is not enough, MEXT has made commonly available, learning materials such as the “Eigo (English) Note” (renewed as “Hi, Friends!” in April 2012), available to all schools on request.

The MEXT Course of Study has changed over time but English monolingualism has not only been consistent but has also, increasingly, been reinforced. At the secondary level, the former Course of Study for Junior High School, enacted in 1998 and implemented in 2002, made two major changes. Firstly, it made foreign language education “obligatory”, and secondly, it stipulated that “in principle, *English should be taught* in junior high schools.” Until that time, for more than half a century since the end of World War II, English had never enjoyed such a special treatment vis-à-vis other languages in education.

At the higher education level, the University Curriculum Regulations were deregulated in 1991. It used to be that the majority of universities in Japan distinguished the mandatory 1st and 2nd foreign languages : the 1st being, in most cases, English, and the 2nd being German, French, Chinese, etc. Liberalization, however, changed the status of second foreign language education from “mandatory” to “optional”, and whether or not to impose the second foreign language requirement was left to each university’s discretion. Needless to say, many universities dropped a second foreign language requirement and kept only English as a foreign language.

What can be termed MEXT’s ‘English monolingualism’ is also evidenced in its officially published documents. Three documents, published in the past ten years, are particularly marked in this respect. The first was ‘A Strategic Plan to Cultivate Japanese with English Abilities’ published in 2002, immediately followed by ‘An Action Plan to Cultivate ‘Japanese with English Abilities’ (2003). In both documents, MEXT expressly specified how to improve the entire system of English education in order to ‘cultivate’ Japanese people’s ‘English proficiency’. The document best displaying this commitment is the “Five Proposals and Concrete Measures thereto for Improving Abilities in English, the Common International Language” (2011).

Yokohama is not an exception

The City of Yokohama is a major port city, a populous municipality of Japan, located south of Tokyo, on Tokyo Bay. Historically the base for foreign trade in Japan, from the Meiji Restoration onward, Yokohama was the entry point for many Western and other Asian influences attracting a substantial immigrant and sojourner population. This is the reason why the city developed its original curriculum on foreign language and intercultural education (‘Yokohama Edition Course of Study’) according to which, English education

starts in the first year of elementary school. In addition, an intercultural education program called Yokohama International Communication Activities (YICA)² is being provided. Foreign residents of Yokohama City are recruited by the City and sent to YICA classes as International Understanding Instructors (IUIs or “*Kokusai Rikai Kyōryokuin*”). In many respects, Yokohama City has been progressive in foreign language and intercultural education compared to other parts of Japan. However, IUIs are encouraged to use English for YICA courses *even if their mother tongue is not English* !

WHAT ARE THE REAL NEEDS?

Proficiency in English may be useful and beneficial to Japanese citizens, but the possibility that every Japanese is proficient in English does not alone suffice to meet current and future needs of Japan, both nationally and internationally. Japan has become increasingly multilingual and multicultural in the last two decades. No doubt the economic globalization played the major role, but the Immigration Control Law amendment enacted in June 1990³ has also contributed to this change. The number of officially registered foreign residents of Japan exceeded 1% of the total population for the first time in 1992. In 2006, it rose to 1.63%, a 3.6% increase from the previous year and an astonishing 47.3% increase from the 1996 figure⁴. The economy, information technology (IT), environmental issues, and many other factors have forced all of us to become members of the global community. Every country is now required to deal multilaterally with every other part of the world, diplomatically, commercially and even on an individual basis. Japan is definitely no exception.

Why, then, does the “English monolingualism” trend continue to prevail notwithstanding the reality of the changes in the Japanese society? Erikawa (2009) and many others’ researches have confirmed that it is in fact the industrial/business world’s needs that are driving Japanese educational policy towards that direction. It is also addressed that the parents have strong wish for their children to be proficient “in English”.

It is generally known that “all English” or “English First” advocates routinely insist on “learners’ needs”, namely, that it is students that wish to learn English. However, there is ample information to attest otherwise; students are interested in learning not only English but also other languages, and there have been efforts made to meet such needs. Diagram 1 shows the steady increase in the number of high schools, both public and private, that have established courses for foreign languages other than English over the last 15 years. Compared to 10 years ago, the number has more than doubled. Diagram 2 shows the increase according to language: Chinese shows a significant increase, followed by Korean. French has also marked an increase.

In addition, there is other evidence that demonstrates students’ desire to acquire languages other than English. At Musashi Junior and Senior High School in Tokyo, a private boys’ school, a 2nd foreign language beginning in the 3rd year of Junior High School has become mandatory since 2003. Students are to choose from German, French, Chinese and Korean. However, even before 2003, 90% of the students voluntarily chose to learn a 2nd language, said Mr. Yamazaki, a school master.

Likewise, Kanagawa Prefectural Yokohama High School of International Studies (formerly ‘Senior High School Affiliated with Kanagawa Prefectural College of Foreign

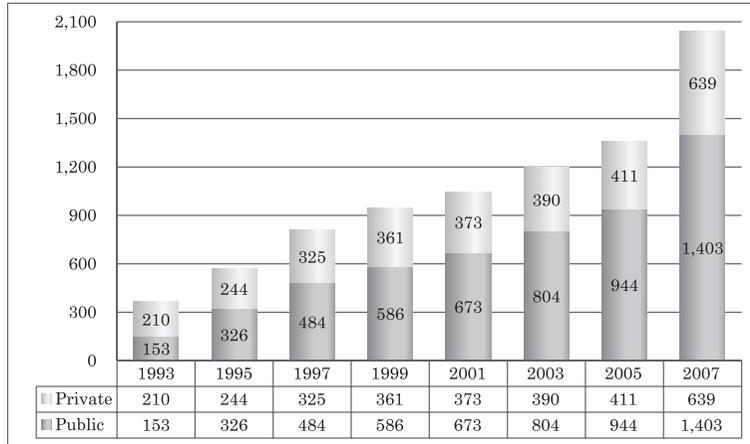


Diagram 1. Transition of Non-English Language Courses Established in High Schools (# of schools)

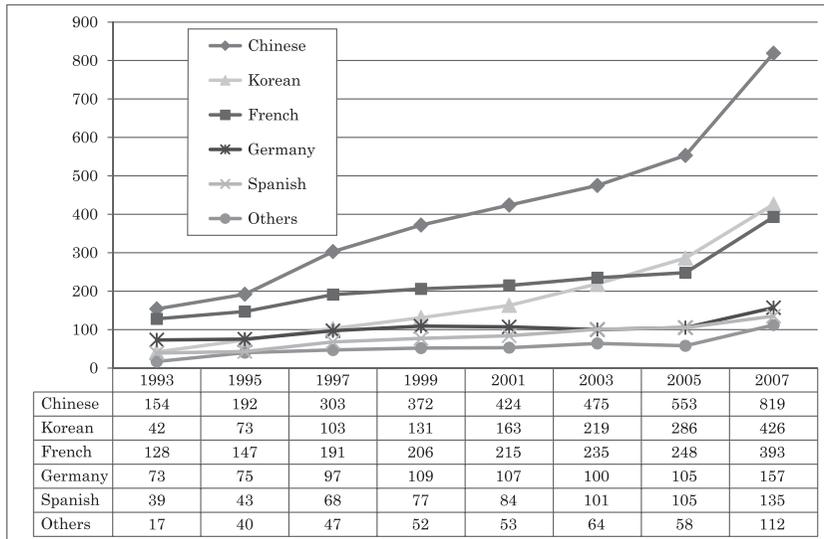


Diagram 2. Transition of Non-English Courses Established in High Schools (by language)

Studies’). In this public high school, a 2nd foreign language is mandatory. This school specializes in the mastery of foreign languages, but Ms. Suzuki, a language teacher at the school, found the following interesting results from a survey of those who applied to the school. The results showed that 2nd foreign language requirement is what has attracted potential students. Ms. Suzuki states, “Students not immediately facing university entrance exams have true desire to learn not only English but also other languages”.

Whilst emphasizing that information on various languages is critical for students to become interested in other languages, and eventually in choosing to learn them, we cite the third case from Keio University ShonanFujisawa Campus (SFC). Since the campus opened in 1990, SFC has provided students with a mandatory two-month-long course

titled *Sôgô-Kôza*, *Shokokugo-gaisetsu*, or the General Course on Various Languages, in which the students are provided with information about different languages and cultures. This course has completely changed the “needs” of students from the first year it was offered (1990). The numbers ‘speak for themselves’; there have been significant changes in the choice of languages by students before and after completing the *Sôgô-Kôza*. The percentage of students who selected English as the language of choice decreased from 86.6% to 50.3% from the very first year.

Table 1. Needs and Choices of SFC Students ⁵

1990	Before <i>Sôgô Kôza</i>	After <i>Sôgô Kôza</i>	Actually Registered
English	86.6%	50.3%	56.2%
German	4.2	17.2	13.7
French	5.7	14.0	11.6
Chinese	2.8	9.2	9.8
Korean	0.3	5.8	5.7
Indonesian	0.4	3.5	3.0

Table 2 shows the 1993 figures in which the percentage of students who chose English sharply dropped after completing *Sôgô Kôza*. Again, the figures show dramatic changes. Providing information on what students do not know helps arouse practical interest in the new subjects and languages.

Table 2. Needs and Choices of SFC Students

1993	Before <i>Sôgô Kôza</i>	After <i>Sôgô Kôza</i>	Actually Registered
English	71.8%	21.4%	43.2%
German	8.2	20.9	14.9
French	10.6	20.1	17.5
Chinese	5.5	25.1	13.8
Korean	1.3	7.6	6.9
Indonesian	2.7	4.8	3.6

WHAT IS THE PURPOSE OF FOREIGN LANGUAGE EDUCATION?

I believe that Japan has much to learn from Europe in terms of foreign language education policy making and direction. The European Union consists of 27 member countries, and their official languages amount to 23. I would like to highlight here the philosophy that is the backbone of this “multilingual principle.” The EU is determined to preserve this principle in order to protect linguistic and cultural diversity of all members, and to assure the European citizens of freedom to directly participate in European politics. We must also learn from the “mother tongue plus 2 modern languages” policy in EU language education. The importance of learning from the foreign language teaching principles of the Council of Europe must also be highlighted. The goals of these principles of language education are: Plurilingualism / Pluriculturalism⁶, Linguistic Diversity, Mutual Understanding, Democratic Citizenship and Social Equity.

Language Education (including mother tongue education) is, in general, an important part of school education. Not only does language learning provide a tool to communicate with others, it also helps to develop knowledge, experience, logical thinking and new ways to express emotion. What, then, is the major role of foreign language education? What can be attained only through foreign language education? According to Byram (2011), foreign language education fosters learners' "intercultural competence" which leads to a true "intercultural citizenship". Kawada, a Japanese anthropologist, stresses the importance of "defamiliarization experience from one's familiar language", or an experience of distancing oneself from the mother tongue, (Kawada, 1997) which allows persons "to free themselves from ethnocentrism" (Perregaux, 2007).

MULTILINGUAL ACTIVITIES AT AZALEA HILL ELEMENTARY SCHOOL

"Evlang" and "EOLE"

Before discussing Azalea Hill Elementary School project, the origins of this project must be mentioned. The source of inspiration for these multilingual activities have been European "Evlang" (Eveil aux langues/au langage, Awareness of Language/Languages) prompted by Candelier and colleagues, and "EOLE (Education et Ouverture aux Langues à l'Ecole, Education and Opening to Languages at School) promoted by Perregaux and her colleagues. According to Candelier (2003), the goals of the Evlang approach were: (A) Cultivation of open minded attitudes towards pluralism of languages and cultures (*attitudes, savoir-être*), (B) Cultivation of metalinguistic aptitudes (*aptitudes, savoir-faire*), and (C) Cultivation of ability to understand/appreciate linguistic cultures (*savoirs*) (p.23). We were certain that this educational focus was urgently needed in language education in Japan, where "dual monolingualism" (Perregaux) of the Japanese and English languages strongly prevails.

The start

The project began with the encounter with Naho Nakazawa, a teacher of the 6th grade (class 3), at the time. She expressed some doubts about implementing merely "once a week English activities" and contacted me to ask if we could organize multilingual activities. I was pleased to cooperate because, in general, it is relatively difficult to go into schools, especially a public school, and be involved in their curriculum. We found out that we shared the same goals and ideas regarding multilingual activities. We discussed our ideas with the school principle, and by the end of the school year, March 2010, a demonstration session was scheduled for May. The success of that session led to the approval of the multilingual activities project for the fall semester for the entire 6th graders in 3 classes. Typically, like our case, new initiatives are started by individuals.

Implementation: language choice, methodology, instructors, materials

The languages proposed for Azalea Hill were French, Chinese, Korean, and Japanese Sign Language (JSL), each chosen for a particular/specific reason. French, the only Western language other than English, was chosen because it was the language by which the project was originated; Japanese language borrows many French words especially in the field of cuisine and fashion. Chinese and Korean were chosen for their regional proximity. We included JSL because we wanted to show students that it is a language like any other, and that non-hearing people should not be perceived as disabled but, instead, as a group of linguistic minority people inside Japan.

We had nine 45-minute sessions for this project during the fall semester. We decided to use two consecutive sessions for each language (please refer to the actual schedule below). For the 9th and last session, we lined up all four languages for children to choose the language of their preference.

French	September 24 and October 8, 2010
Chinese	October 29 and November 5
Korean	November 12 and December 17
JSL	January 17 and 21, 2011
All 4 languages	February 14

As for instructors, we asked specialists (either native or non-native teachers) to design a program for each language. We did not seek complete uniformity of content, but requested that “numbers” (at least up to 20) and daily greetings be included. The learning of writing was not required, but the Korean alphabet writing was introduced in the project because the encounter with Korean alphabet in public places in Japan has become quite frequent.

Contrary to the approach of Eulang or EOLE which promote the use of several languages, or more precisely the use of “words” or “expressions” of several languages (at least in more than 2) at a time, we introduced only one language at a time, along with the cultural elements associated with each respective language. We chose this manner of teaching because (1) we did not have enough time to develop rich teaching materials like those used by Eulang and EOLE, and (2) we believed that by concentrating on one language at a time and covering broader topics on each language (as compared to words or expressions in Eulang/EOLE), the pupils would have some sense of “having learned” multiple languages. This approach is probably more suitable to the Japanese schoolchildren whose exposure to multiple foreign languages in daily life is quite limited.

I should mention how we succeeded in allocating nine sessions of multilingual activities to the existing curriculum. This project was assigned as part of the *Sôgô Gakushû*, or Integrated Study Time of the curriculum. *Sôgô Gakushû* as a subject was introduced, alongside mathematics or science, for the first time when the previous Courses of Study were enacted by MEXT (1998 for elementary and junior high schools, and in 1999 in high school) and implemented progressively since 2002. The objective of this subject is to encourage interdisciplinary and integrated study. Its contents may be determined by teachers and pupils according to their local needs and interests. In elementary schools, almost 3 hours per week are allocated to *Sôgô Gakushû* which features four major recommended fields: International Understanding, Informatics, Environment and Welfare and Health. In many schools, English activities are categorized as International Understanding; the term “international” being used as equivalent of “intercultural” in Japan.

ASSESSMENT AND RESULTS

Ideally, the effects on students’ transformation in various aspects, including attitudes and aptitudes (A, B and C on p.64) would be assessed. However, according to Eulang, students must have a minimum of 35 hours of sessions of multilingual activities in order to show any effect. Therefore, from the beginning, it was not our intent to obtain quantitative assessment. We limited ourselves, therefore, to obtaining reactions from students and teachers through questionnaires and interviews.

Questionnaires to students (1)

In May, five months before the implementation of multilingual activities, we asked students a small number of questions on their basic feelings about countries and languages in the world. We asked which country/countries they liked and disliked and why, which language/languages they wished to learn, which country/countries they wished to visit, and why, etc⁷. The objective of this set of questions was to establish a base line in order to see if one semester of multilingual activities would have any effect on students' feelings about countries and languages. Naturally, we did not entertain high expectations at that point in May. However, the results were somewhat surprising and some made us uneasy.

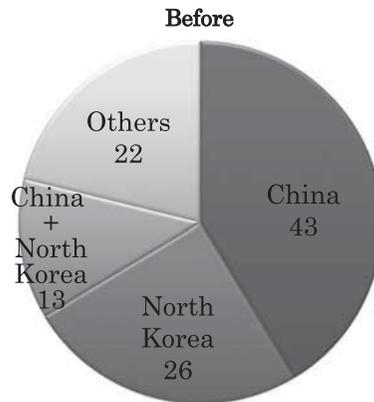


Diagram 1: Questionnaire “Country/countries I dislike” (May 2010)
Response Total : N = 104, Total of China + North Korea = 82%

Diagram 1 shows that 80% of the students chose China, North Korea⁸ as their country/countries of ‘dislike’. The reasons most mentioned were related to the “poisoned *gyōza* (Chinese ravioli) incident⁹” for China and the abduction of Japanese nationals by North Korea. Both researchers and teachers, were astonished to find that students’ answers mirrored public opinion in the Japanese media at the time. As for the “country I like”, 40% of the students replied “Japan”. The reasons were Japan’s cleanliness, safety, etc. We were, at first, somewhat puzzled by this answer; that they would choose their own country was unexpected. Would this be the birth of ethnocentrism? Moreover, the students dislike for neighboring countries, worried us. It foregrounded the importance of the role played by foreign language teachers.

Diagram 2 shows the results of the questionnaire asked in February after the multilingual activities. In terms of ‘country dislike’ (Question 2), we did not observe significant differences before and after the multilingual activities.

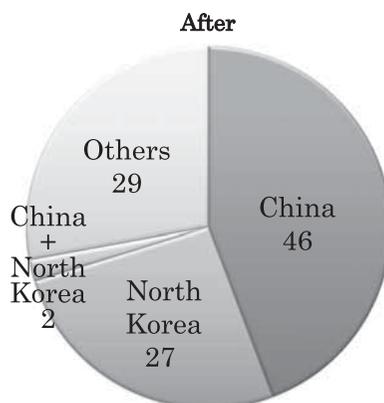


Diagram 2: Questionnaire "Country/countries I dislike" (February 2011)
Response Total : N = 99

As for the country liked (Question 1), please refer to Diagram 3. The result shows that the number of students who answered 'Japan' as the country liked decreased from 40.38% to 27.27%, a statistically significant diminution. It is our hope that the learning experience with unknown languages and cultures had opened the students' minds. More data are needed in order to attribute this result solely to our multilingual activities.

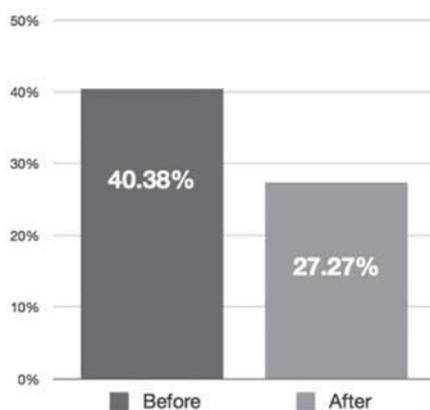


Diagram 3: "Country/countries I like" (May 2010 and February 2011)

Questionnaires to students (2)

After the multilingual activity sessions, we added two new questions, (Question 6 and 7), to the original questionnaire conducted in May.

6. *What are your thoughts after participating in the French, Chinese, Korean and Japanese Sign Language activities?*
7. *Which language did you choose on your last day of the Multilingual Activity (Feb. 14) and why did you choose it?*

The students' overall reactions were positive. Key words that appeared in many responses were: "good", "enjoyable", "interesting", "easy to understand", "useful", "hope to use it",

“informative”, etc. Some used the word “difficult”, but this was coupled with positive impressions like “It was difficult but I enjoyed it” or “It was difficult but good”, etc. Asked about their impressions after the encounter with new languages, many said they were surprised, or found the similarities and differences between languages interesting. Some explained that they were made aware that they were surrounded by many languages, or that learning them was unexpectedly easy.

What follows are samples of students’ feedback that may well represent the feedback as a whole. Comprehensive analysis of all responses remain a future task.

Student 1: *The common lesson I learned from learning all (languages) was the “importance of communicating with others”. Even if I couldn’t speak English or couldn’t hear, I felt it is important to send out messages to communicate with others.*

Student 2: *I was amazed to learn that there are so many languages other than the one I use daily, and that within the country, there is a language that I don’t even know.*

Student 3: *Because I participated in Multilingual Activities, I get to know many things “for the first time in my life”.*

Student 4: *At the beginning, I was only superficially interested. However, halfway into the course, I started to recognize the “importance of languages”.*

Student 5: *I learned various languages, but I thought learning Japanese is the toughest. It made me really wonder why we all live on this same planet, yet the languages vary so much.*

Interview with teachers and a student assistant

Finally, I would like to refer to the feedback from the teachers who participated in the Multilingual Activities. They explained how they were made aware of the many different languages in everyday life. They realized that they had been unconsciously led to believe that only English was important to children and were impressed by the linguistic and cultural diversity of the world. Some said that their perception of Korean and Chinese residents in Japan had changed, and that such a change of perspective would definitely affect their students. Teachers also made surprising discoveries about their students. Though a cliché, it was, nevertheless, astonishing to see firsthand how easily children adapted to new languages. Teachers also found how children were talented in their way: some liked Chinese and being good at it, while others enjoyed JSL. They thought that, given freedom to choose from multiple languages, students with difficulty in English might have another chance to be good at mastering an alternative: an opportunity for students to rid themselves of an inferiority complex toward English and language learning. Here are the impressions we received from two of the teachers and a student assistant.

Teacher 1: *Both students and I were made aware that there are so many kinds of languages, and many are around us! I feel that our awareness towards people from Korea and China has changed. In classes, I was surprised to find out how receptive the students are to languages, sounds and voices, and how quickly they absorb them. I think by being exposed to various languages, each student’s individuality was cultivated. They certainly enjoyed it.*

Teacher 2: *The conventional way to learn about other countries has been to compare our culture, food, etc. with theirs, find out what are similar and what are not. I think learning other cultures through languages led us to new crosscultural understanding. Some students now wish “to converse with people from a*

particular country”. To me, this is the first time that I witnessed such reaction from my students.

Student Assistant: *I truly enjoyed it!! The preparation was a lot of hard work, but the experience of teaching students by using materials I created “revolutionalized” me. I tried to think from the students’ perspective when teaching. I then witnessed students going ahead with guessing from the information we provided, absorbing them, voicing them, starting moving their bodies.... It was a wonder for me to see students as if they were absorbing (the experience) with their entire body. At the same time, I felt the weight of responsibility as well as joy of being able to make differences in students. Through this experience, I renewed my aspiration to learn more about education. From this school year, I am enrolled in the teacher-training course.*

CONCLUSION

The importance of a multilingual approach in Japanese foreign language education, where English monolingualism strongly prevails, cannot be stressed sufficiently. Judging from the feedback we obtained from participating students and teachers, the experimental project at the Azalea Hill Elementary School was a great success. Unfortunately, however, this experimental project ended abruptly after the initial implementation (one semester) because the school principal changed in March, 2012. In Japan, elementary school principals are given substantial authority that can affect the educational policies of each school. When the principal changes, so do the overall, individual educational policies, in many instances. Our multilingual activities ended up as one such “change.”

To conclude this paper, let us stress the issues identified through these experimental multilingual activities. More work is needed on the following issues in order to further a multilingual approach in Japanese foreign language education.

- Reexamination of methodology
- Development and accumulation of materials
- Diffusion of multilingual activities
- Securing and nurturing human resources
- Development of assessment tools
- Securing budget

NOTES

- 1 Until then, foreign languages had been taught in almost all junior and senior high schools without being required officially by Course of Study or in any other official documents.
- 2 This program was launched in 1987 under the name *Kokusai Rikai Kyōshitsu* (KRK = class for international understanding”).
- 3 The number of South Americans has increased enormously since the revision of this Law that permits *Nikkei-jin* (people of Japanese ancestry) to work in Japan while other foreigners are prohibited entry if the purpose is to engage in simple manual labour.
- 4 The breakdown by country of origin is: Chinese (31.1%), Koreans (26.5%), Brazilians (12.2%), Filipinos (9.7%), Peruvians (2.6%) and Americans (2.4%). (<http://www.moj.go.jp/content/000049970.pdf>, access July 27, 2012)
- 5 Koishi (2005, pp.46-49)

- 6 Reflected in *Common Framework of Reference for Languages: Learning, teaching and Assessment* (CEFR).
- 7 See the Appendix for details of the questionnaire.
- 8 Please note that it took place before the territorial conflict between China and Japan (September 2010) and the bomb attack of South Korean islands by North Korea.
- 9 Some imported *gyôza* from China were poisoned, causing several casualties.

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APPENDIX

Questionnaire to students

- [1] Asked before, in May: no.1 through no.5
- [2] Asked after, in February: no.1 through no.4, and no.6, 7
1. Which country/countries do you like, and why ?
 2. Which country/countries do you dislike, and why ?
 3. Which country/countries do you wish to visit, and why ?
 4. Is there any languages you wish to learn, and why ?
 5. Have you ever lived abroad ? Where and how long ?
 6. What are your thoughts after doing French, Chinese, Korean and Japanese Sign Language activities ?
 7. Which language did you choose on your last day of the Multilingual Activity (Feb. 14) ? Why did you choose it ?

CURRENT TRENDS IN MAYAN LITERACY

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Abstract: The Maya are not dead, and their languages continue to be used. Reviewing the history of Mayan literacy, we focus on several important changes which have been facilitated by an invigorated spirit of pan-Mayanism since the mid-1980s. The Maya have succeeded in changing Guatemalan language policy and statutory law during the past generation. Key legal changes and policy decisions, which seemed perhaps insufficient at first, have resulted in increased literacy, including multimodal literacy, throughout the Mayan areas of Guatemala. Robust language communities, such as the K'iche' and the Q'eqchi', have certainly benefitted from government literacy initiatives, but even endangered communities, such as the Ch'orti', have seen improvements in literacy. Guatemala clearly deserves most of the credit for initiating the new laws and policy changes which have fostered growing literacy among the Mayans. The spirit of pan-Mayanism has also helped to improve Mayan literacy in Belize and Mexico. Guatemala's initiatives have also been a catalyst for NGO literacy programs, and they have served as a touchstone for pan-Mayan cooperation and coordination in general. Of course, the Maya's ancient writing is legend, so today's Mayan literacy is actually a recovery of literacy. Still, on balance, the past 25 years represent perhaps the most optimistic period for Mayan literacy since the destruction of the indigenous Mayan literature in 1697.

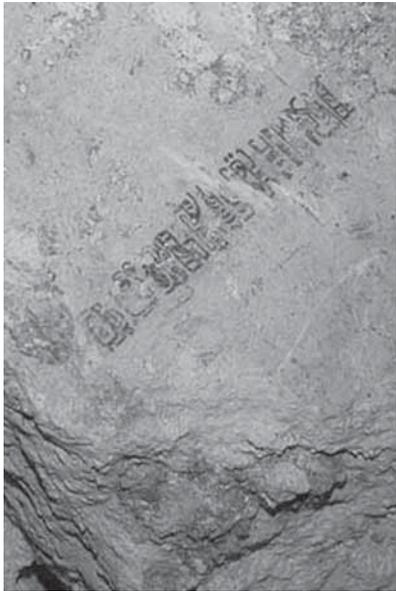
Key words: Mayan languages, language policy, pan-Mayanism, literacy revitalization

MAYAN LANGUAGES AND HISTORICAL MAYAN LITERACY

Mayan is a Mesoamerican language family, characteristic of the Maya people. The Maya are localized into many cultural subgroups, with different languages, different clothing, different music, and different eating habits. There are about 30 Mayan languages spoken today, in various parts of Guatemala, Belize, Mexico, Honduras, and, because of recent migration, El Salvador and the United States. This paper follows a long anthropological tradition of using "Mayan" to refer to the language family and linguistic properties, whereas "Maya" or "Mayas" refer to the people and their properties in general. Thus, in the usage promoted here, Mayan language speakers are "Mayans", whereas otherwise culturally Maya persons are "Mayas". Moreover, we might say that "the Maya love tortillas", just as we might say that "the British hate the French". (Cf. Justeson 2009 for a historically consonant, though emotionally variant, viewpoint.)

There are seven agreed-upon subgroups of the Mayan language family. There has been significant variation of language names and spellings over the years. This paper gives some popular alternates in parentheses (cf. Guatemala 2003 and ALMG 2012 for official, though sometimes inconsistent, spellings of the Guatemalan language names). The Huastecan subgroup includes the Wastek (Teenek) language spoken in the Pánuco River area of Mexico and the extinct Chicomuceltec. Yucatecan includes Yucatec (Maya), Mopán, Lacandón (Lakantum), and Itzaj. Cholan includes Ch'ol, Chontal, Ch'orti', and

the extinct Ch'olti'. Tzeltalan includes Tzotzil and Tzeltal. Greater Kanjobalan includes Jakaltek (Popti), Q'anjob'al, Akatek, Chuj, Tojolabal, and Mocho. Greater Quichean includes Q'eqchi' (Q'eqchi', Kekchi), Uspantek, K'iche', Achi', Kaqchikel, Tz'utujil, Sakapultek, Sipakapense, Poqomchi', and Poqomam. Mamean includes Mam, Awakatek,



Chalchiteko, Ixil, and Tektitek (Teko). Two of the languages encountered by Spanish conquistadores became extinct long ago (Chicomuceltec and Ch'olti'). Three languages are currently in great danger of extinction (Lacandón, Itzaj, and Mocho). With the exception of Wastek, the traditional homelands of all Mayan languages are in the "Maya area" stretching east from Mexico's Isthmus of Tehuantepec to Honduras. Recent urbanization has increased the pressure to switch and shift to Spanish and English; however, despite this pressure, many of the languages are quite robust.

Figure 1: Photograph by B. Beltrán, drawing by D. Stuart (Science)

Mayan writing is nearly as old as the oldest known Mesoamerican writing, and literacy has been an important component of Maya culture for over two millennia. The oldest known Mayan writing (Figure 1) has been dated at 300-200 B.C. During the First Millennium of the Christian Era, the Mayan script flourished (Figure 2). This was the Classic period of



Figure 2: first four glyph blocks of the Tablet of the 96 Glyphs at Palenque (cf. A1, B1, A2, B2 of Figure 3)

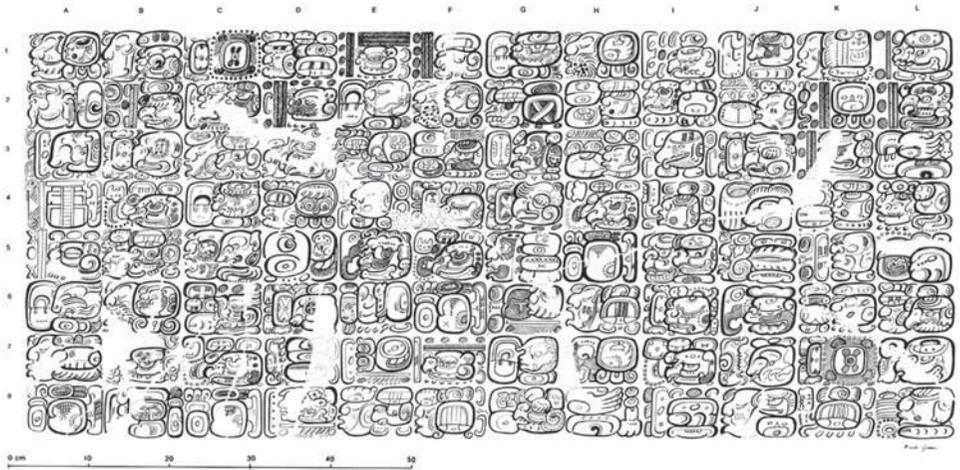


Figure 3: Table of the 96 Glyphs, as drawn by Merle Greene Robertson



Figure 4: a page from the Dresden Codex

Maya history (A.D. 200-900). We believe that the language spoken by the scribes of this time was similar to modern Ch'orti'. Post-Classic writing was more likely Yukatek, whereas early scribes may have spoken a language similar to Q'eqchi' (though this is rather speculative). Oracy skills are esteemed as in many cultures; however, beyond oracy, the Maya accord great respect to individuals who can read and write well, and nearly every community has a respected literate adult male who is known as "the Scribe" (e.g., aj Tz'ib'; cf. Laughlin 1993).

Classic Mayan script was written as a sequence of glyph blocks, with glyphs written in pairs arranged in descending columns, with columns progressing from left to right. Thus, for the Tablet of the 96 Glyphs (Figure 3), beginning in the upper left-hand corner, with the columns labeled alphabetically and the rows labeled numerically, the glyph blocks are read in this order: A1, B1, A2, B2, A3, B3, ..., A8, B8, C1, D1, C2, D2, ..., C8, D8, E1, F1, E2, F2, E3, F3,

The Mayan script is normally said to be logosyllabic, because an individual glyph typically represents either a morpheme or a syllable; however, a glyph can also represent just the onset of a syllable. In some ways, Mayan script resembles Japanese script. There are

homophonous glyphs, just as there are homophonous kanji; there are phonetic determinants in both scripts; and Mayan script suffixes are in some ways like okurigana. Yet, despite this resemblance to a modern script, modern researchers were unable to phonetically read Mayan script until the 1980s (Coe 1992).

Spanish contact with the Maya began in 1511, but the conquest was not completed until 1697, so there were nearly two centuries during which the various Maya communities evidenced radically different situations of language contact, language dominance, and literacy models. The Mayas had no central government; they were organized more like city-states, and they often warred with each other. Because of this, the Spanish conquest took many years. In fact, the Q'eqchi' and Poqomchi' of Guatemala's Verapaz were never conquered militarily; their territory in northern Guatemala was eventually placed under protection of the Spanish Crown, and their pacification and christianization was entrusted to the Church at the behest of Bartolomé de las Casas. Some Maya welcomed alliances with the Spanish, others submitted to Spanish might, and others were won over by Dominican and Franciscan proselytizers.

As a result of their capture on the Yucatan Peninsula in 1511, Gerónimo de Aguilar and Gonzalo Guerrero became the first notable Europeans who could speak and understand Mayan languages. Aguilar (1489–1531) was a Franciscan friar from Spain. During the 1519 Spanish conquest of Mexico, Aguilar assisted Hernán Cortés (together with La Malinche) in translating indigenous language to Spanish. Guerrero (died 1532; also known as Gonzalo Marinero, Gonzalo de Aroca and Gonzalo de Aroza) was a sailor from Spain. Guerrero married the daughter of Nachan Can (Lord of Chactemal, which included parts of Mexico and Belize), and he fathered three of America's first mestizo children. Later, Guerrero led Maya warriors against Cortés and Pedro de Alvarado. The complexity of such early multiple allegiance is evident in the account of Bernal Díaz (who accompanied Cortés, but wrote in 1568) of Guerrero's response to Aguilar's plea to join Cortés:

“Hermano Aguilar, yo soy casado y tengo tres hijos. Tienenme por cacique y capitán, cuando hay guerras, la cara tengo labrada, y horadadas las orejas. ¿Que dirán de mi esos españoles, si me ven ir de este modo? Idos vos con la bendición de Dios, que ya veis que estos mis hijitos son bonitos, y dadme por vida vuestra de esas cuentas verdes que traéis, para darles, y diré, que mis hermanos me las envían de mi tierra.”

[“Brother Aguilar; I am married and have three children, and they look on me as a cacique (lord) here, and captain in time of war. My face is tattooed and my ears are pierced. What would the Spaniards say about me if they saw me like this? Go and God's blessing be with you, for you have seen how handsome these children of mine are. Please give me some of those beads you have brought to give to them and I will tell them that my brothers have sent them from my own country.”]

Throughout this period, Spanish conquerors destroyed Mayan-script books. Today, readable remnants of only three Conquest-era Mayan-script books are confirmed to exist. The Madrid Codex, The Dresden Codex (Figure 3), and the Paris Codex are named for the cities in which they currently reside. The authenticity of the Grolier Codex, which has been in Mexico since its public display at the Grolier Club in New York in 1971, is disputed.

Other confirmed precolumbian Mayan books have been recovered by archeological excavation, but they are unreadable, because their pages are either fused together or in fragments. Because of this, modern Mayan script decipherment has relied heavily on the corpus of pottery inscriptions, as well as on stone monument inscriptions. During the colonial era, the indigenous Mayan script fell into disuse, and Mayan scribes began to write in Latin script.

In 1549, a Franciscan monastery was established at Maní (which is south-southeast of Mérida, Yucatán, Mexico) with the coöperation of the local Maya, and the Maní Land Treaty provides a 1557 example of Mayan language written in Latin script. Indeed, by the time of this treaty, use of the Latin script for Mayan language seems to have been fairly well established (Roys 1933: 11-13). In subsequent decades, missionary linguists and young bilingual mestizos produced some of the earliest known Mayan dictionaries and grammars.

Sometime between 1554 and 1558, the Popol Vuh was written in K'iche' using the Latin script, being probably transliterated from a precolumbian Mayan script document. This Latin script transliteration was discovered in 1701 in a parish church in Chichicastenango by Francisco Ximénez, who copied it and translated it into Spanish. The manuscript of Ximénez was later discovered by Brasseur de Bourbough, and it is now in Chicago. Having recognized the importance of Mayan folklore, many friars recorded oral literature and translated it into Spanish.

The first major work of Mayan literature known to be originally written in Latin script is a manuscript written in Kaqchikel, by Francisco Hernández Arana Xajilá in 1571 (later completed by his grandson, Francisco Rojas, in 1604). Although this document continues an oral tradition, it was not transliterated from an existing Mayan script document. An English translation, *The Annals of the Cakchiquels*, by Daniel G. Brinton was published in 1885. The colonial scribes quickly recognized that certain Mayan phonemes could not be written using the regular Spanish spelling rules, so they adopted conventions for diacritics and special characters to write several Mayan languages. These special characters are thought to have been invented by Francisco de la Parra around 1545. In the excerpt here from Brinton (1885: 128), we can plainly see the “cuatrillo”, the “cuatrillo con coma”, and the “tresillo” characters, some of the special adaptations which were used to write uvular obstruents and ejectives.

68. Ru tzih ahauh **ʄ**ikab, tok xepon chic ka mama chuvi
tinamit Chiavar **ʄ**upita**ʂ**ah, xavi **ʄ**a xla**ʂ**abex can ronohel
huyu ruma vinak, quere navipe xbe cu**ʄ**in ahaua ok
xquila**ʂ**abeh tinamit Chiavar, ru chi **ʄ**ikab.

[“68. It was by command of the king Qikab that our ancestors returned to the city of Chiavar and Tzupitagah. All the towns were occupied by the nation, therefore they came with the chiefs when these removed to Chiavar by order of Qikab.”]

Recently, Unicode has been revised to include these special Mayan letters, thus permitting the standard encoding of many colonial documents. The Unicode block “Latin Extended-D”

now contains both upper and lower case versions of “HENG”, “TZ”, “TRESILLO”, “CUATRILLO”, and “CUATRILLO WITH COMMA”.

THE LOSS AND RECOVERY OF ORTHOGRAPHY

Orthography is a “proper” or “standard” way of writing, but writing is indeed possible without “orthography”. It can be said that the Maya had lost their orthography by the early 19th Century, even though there has never been a time when Mayan languages were not written. The ancient Mayan script was fairly standard, with no more variation than modern Japanese writing. Moreover, the transition from Mayan to Latin script resulted in fairly standard orthographies for several Mayan languages. However, as the Ladino population grew, the writing of Mayan texts decreased. By the 19th Century, becoming “literate” meant learning to read and write Spanish, so even educated multilingual Mayan speakers typically wrote in Spanish. The Mayan script had been forgotten, but Latin script literacy for Mayan languages also languished. Consequently, whenever it was necessary to compose a Mayan language text, writers resorted to various non-standard spellings, because they had not mastered the older Latin script conventions. When scholarly interest in the Maya and the Mayan languages grew in Europe and the United States at the end of the 19th Century, different authors adopted different Spanish, Anglo-American, or other foreign spelling conventions, and the Latin script variation increased further.

Although most national governments are not renowned for their tolerance of linguistic minorities, Guatemala has shown concern for the assimilation of the Maya and their languages into the national bureaucracy. This is surely because the majority of Guatemalans are Mayas and their cultural history is such an important part of the national identity of Guatemala. Worried about the “proper” writing of names (for the preparation of maps and for the registration of taxpayers), the Guatemalan government decreed official orthographies for the various Mayan languages on a number of distinct occasions. These decrees were no more than feeble attempts to legitimate the dominant writing customs already operative. The prevailing habits, which generally fell within the Spanish orthographic tradition, coincided in the main, but they conflicted in certain aspects. For example, in 1962, orthographies were published for thirteen of the Mayan languages by the Dirección General de Cartografía. Interestingly, the Dirección, which published the orthographic system, and for whom it was ostensibly prepared, never did use it. Instead, it authorized a practice of not distinguishing between plain and ejective stops and affricates in order to facilitate pronunciation by “the users of the technical maps” (Guatemala 1962: 3). It is easy to believe that there were no Mayan speakers working for the Dirección.

It is important to mention that the official orthographic system of 1962 was formulated in consultation with the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL). Also, SIL received special permission from the Guatemalan government to establish its original compound in Zone 2 of Guatemala City. The compound comprised a library, a print shop and bindery, a chapel, offices, meeting rooms, and living quarters. As part of the quid pro quo for certain sweetheart concessions involving land use and taxes, SIL agreed to use orthographies for the Mayan languages which conformed to the Spanish tradition (rather than to an international linguistic tradition, e.g., Americanist, IPA) in its publications, and SIL agreed to promote such orthographies through its literacy education of the Maya (cf. Eachus & Carlson 1980 for Q’eqchi’). In light of SIL’s role as Latin America’s ubiquitous linguistic

organization, and given the high degree of Spanish-language familiarity among SIL's employees, this concession was not such a bitter pill to swallow. We gain further insight into how the concession was made when we remember that SIL's top administrators are not necessarily linguists and that SIL has competing nonlinguistic desires which must be accommodated. Of relevance to the topic at hand, we note SIL's commitment to the promotion of literacy in the national language and SIL's position that any literacy training in other languages must be justified in terms of this primary goal. In Pike's terms (1943: 208), SIL was willing to make certain sacrifices in the area of scientific adequacy in order to minimize any offensiveness to the national government. By striking the Guatemala City deal, SIL became the primary disseminator of Mayan-language publications, and the Guatemalan government acquired a linguistic organization willing to legitimate Spanish-based orthographies in the face of mounting pressure for orthographic reform within the linguistic tradition. SIL's influence in the establishment of 20th Century Mayan language policy was enormous.

In the 1970s, a new player entered the Mayan orthography drama. The Proyecto Lingüístico Francisco Marroquín (PLFM) trained many native Mayan speakers as linguistic informants. These informants were taught to work with transcriptions based on linguistic tradition, with knowledge of both Americanist typewriter norms as well as IPA symbols (cf. Kaufman 1970). Some of the native informants were literate in Spanish-style orthographies when they came to PLFM. With rare exception, the native speakers preferred the more linguistic orthographies to the Spanish orthographies. PLFM and other groups began to commission Mayan-language publications, which increasingly familiarized native Mayan speakers with the more linguistic orthographies.

some Mayan transcription choices										
International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA)										
	[p]	[t]	[k]	[q]	[ʔ]	[ts]	[tʃ]	[ʃ]	[x]	
[b]	[p']	[t']	[k']	[q']		[ts']	[tʃ']			
Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL)										
	p	t	c/qu	k	'	tz	ch	x	j	
b'	p'	t'	c'/qu'	k'		tz'	ch'			
Proyecto Lingüístico Francisco Marroquín (PLFM)										
	p	t	k	q	ʔ	tz	ch	x	j	
b'	p'	t'	k'	q'		tz'	ch'			
Academia de Lenguas Mayas de Guatemala (ALMG)										
	p	t	k	q	'	tz	ch	x	j	
b'	p'	t'	k'	q'		tz'	ch'			
DeChicchis										
	p	t	k	q	ʔ	z	c	x	j	
b	p'	t'	k'	q'		z'	c'			
Burkitt (plosives)										
	p	t	k	q	'	ts	tx	x	j	

Figure 5: key differences of Q'eqchi' Mayan transcription

Little by little, the population of linguistically sophisticated Mayan speakers grew. Also, the entrance of native Mayan speakers into Guatemalan government service positions accelerated during the 1980s. Mayan speakers of the four largest language communities helped set up the Ministry of Education's Program for Bilingual Education. The Maya who ran the Program had received training in linguistics, and they were very keen to apply their knowledge in setting Mayan language policy. Faced with the competing orthographic systems of SIL and PLFM and a number of lesser entities, the Program

became concerned that there be a single unified system of orthographies for all the Mayan languages. Other important groups, both private and governmental, also wanted a unified system. SIL had expected everyone to use the SIL orthographic system; however, SIL no longer enjoyed exclusive access to the government's ear on this subject. As the writers of Mayan languages grew in both number and sophistication, they became more opposed to SIL's system. Eventually, PLFM's system of orthographies was adopted almost intact as the official Guatemalan system. On 30 November 1987, the Guatemalan Ministry of Culture and Sports adopted a system of orthographies for twenty-one Mayan languages. The system was proposed after a long and heated debate involving representatives from a wide range of ethnic, governmental, and scholarly interests. Though not perfect, it was the best orthographic standard ever issued by the Guatemalan government. In 1989, the Guatemalan government passed a law to organize an academy of Mayan languages, which was founded in 1990 as the Academia de Lenguas Mayas de Guatemala (ALMG), which has ever since been entrusted with developing and promulgating the orthographies of the Mayan languages of Guatemala.

One of PLFM's failures, and hence a failure of the ALMG system, was the continuation of the Spanish-style spellings for the affricates (Figure 5). DeChicchis (1989) suggested a non-Spanish-style practical alternative, using simple Z and C for writing the affricates. Other scholars (e.g., Fought 1972) advocated the well-regarded linguistic practice of writing affricates with the digraphs TS and TX, as was done by Burkitt (1902), for phonetic perspicuity. In the end, however, the TZ and CH digraphs were just too well accepted to be discarded.

ALMG's system continued SIL's apostrophe problem. PLFM had used a distinct symbol (usually 7, or sometimes 2, on a typewriter when ? was not available) to write the glottal plosive, in order not to confuse this with the apostrophe used to write the ejective consonants. Unfortunately, many of the Maya disliked the use of a numeral (i.e., "el siete") as a letter. Thus, SIL used a simple apostrophe to write the glottal plosive, and it used the same apostrophe to write ejective consonants; however, this resulted in ambiguity. Does written T' represent an ejective [t'] or a sequence of plosives [tʔ]? For most languages, the phonotactic system prevented any misunderstanding, but sometimes the ambiguity was problematic. Thus, for the language Q'eqchi' ad hoc solutions for the ambiguity were devised, such as writing T- for the plosive [tʔ] (cf. DeChicchis 2011 for further discussion). Nevertheless, although scholars at ALMG have acknowledged the apostrophe problem, the ambiguity was deemed tolerable, so the apostrophe continues to have a dual function, unfortunately for Q'eqchi' orthography.

The great success of the ALMG orthographies was the pan-Maya agreement to (1) use K for the velar stops, and (2) use Q for the uvular stops (Figure 5). The use of both letters is in line with IPA practice, and this usage made printed Mayan texts jump off the newspaper as non-Spanish language texts. Siglo Veintiuno (Siglo XXI, Siglo21), a daily Guatemalan newspaper, soon began publishing regular supplements written in four Mayan languages (Mam, K'iche', Kaqchikel, and Q'eqchi') using the ALMG orthography. The importance of this one publishing gesture cannot be overstated. Casual Spanish readers knew immediately which pages were written in Mayan, even if they might not be sure about which of the four Mayan languages was being written. Readers who knew one of the Mayan languages were immediately impressed by cognate similarities, especially

among the three languages of the Greater Quichean subgroup, which served to reinforce pan-Maya feelings of solidarity (cf. Cojtí Cuxil 1996 for an English-language expression of pan-Maya feelings). The phonetic differences between Spanish and Mayan languages became as clear as the printed letters. The new ALMG orthographies were a source of pride and a focus for new multilingual education initiatives. In 1996, the Primer Congreso de Estudios Mayas also made a point of requesting and publishing academic abstracts in Mayan languages using the new orthographies. Today, Guatemalans can take pride in their orthographic policy leadership, as Mayas in Mexico, Belize, and Honduras have begun to follow the ALMG guidelines.

GUATEMALA'S MAYAN LANGUAGE POLICY

As the civil war in Guatemala came to an end, bilingual education became instituted, putting further pressure on the government to promote orthographic standards. Since 1990, there has been an explosion of publications in the new official Mayan orthographies, including important grammars, dictionaries, and collections of folklore. Key elements of Guatemala's educational language policy include the new orthographies, Mayan-Spanish bilingual education, the recognition of language rights (e.g., the provision of translators in judicial courts), and the publication of Mayan books.

In 1995, DIGEBI, the Directorate General of Bilingual and Intercultural Education, was created. In 2003, the Vice Ministry of Bilingual and Intercultural Education was created, and a new language protection law was enacted. Under the new law, the Mayan languages are to be "recognized", "promoted", and "respected". Thus, the legal status of the Mayas, who constitute the majority of the Guatemalan population, is now comparable to Spanish. Moreover, this legal status is also accorded to the languages of the minority Garifuna and Xinca peoples as well.

Of the 100,000 teachers in Guatemala, 30,000 can speak at least one Mayan language, according to the Ministry of Education (Barreno Castillo 2012). There are well over 6,000 certified bilingual teachers working in the public education system in 14 of the country's 22 departments (provinces), and these teachers use 18 languages, in addition to Spanish, as media of instruction. As a direct result of these efforts, literacy among 15-to-24-year-old Guatemalans rose from 54% in 1989 to 71% in 2006. (Inez 2007) Despite this progress, literacy rates are still among the lowest in Latin America, and this lack of educational attainment is linked to ethnicity, gender, poverty, and residence (Hallman, Peracca, Catino & Ruiz 2006: 13). Nevertheless, the outlook is positive.

The cadre of linguistically trained native Maya have been working hard to standardize neologisms. The rich morphology of Mayan languages permits the easy and elegant creation of new words for just about anything. Not only have new words for fax machines and photocopiers been created, but also words for unfamiliar natural phenomena (e.g., snow in the lowlands) are needed. Scholarly Mayas with pan-Maya concerns are seeking to standardize these neologisms, certainly across dialects of one language, but also across Mayan languages generally.

Mayan literacy includes the "recovery" of Mayan script elements, especially numerals and calendar glyphs. For example, it is now common for books written in Mayan languages

to use Mayan numerals for page numbers. Moreover, using the Application Programming Interface (API) of modern cell phone technology, it is now possible to render spoken language directly into ancient Mayan script, and this can even be done for those Mayan languages which had not been written in ancient times. An API ontology relies on dictionary data for GLOSSes and COGNATEs and GLYPHs and SPELLINGs, which usually looks something like this in a computer program:

<English “fish”>,
<QEQ kar, TZO choy, YUK kay>,
<GLYPH T738>

Given such an ontology, voice recognition software, together with knowledge of the language of the speaker, can be used to transcribe an acoustic signal into either Latin or Mayan script. For example, the word for fish spoken by a Q’eqchi’ speaker would be transcribed as KAR, whereas the word for fish spoken by a Yukatek speaker would be transcribed as KAY; and both pronunciations could appear on a smart phone display as the same ancient Mayan logographic glyph:



Even cognates for more distantly related Mayan languages could be transcribed with the same Mayan script glyph. For example, the Tzotzil word for fish, which is CHOY. Thus, the use of voice recognition API-assisted transcription can be used, not only to ensure that standard Latin spellings are used across dialects, but also to facilitate the use of logographic written communication between speakers of mutually unintelligible Mayan languages, much as written Chinese is used to communicate between speakers of different Sinitic languages.

SUMMARY

The literacy of the ancient Maya never really died. The Mayan scribes shifted from Mayan script to roman, in a long process of nearly 200 years. Christian missionaries began to teach roman script to their regular Maya churchgoers from the 1960s onward. This democratization of literacy was increasingly secularized by university scholars during the 1970s and 1980s. Official bilingual education since the 1980s has dramatically increased the number of Maya, especially women, who can read and write.

When not carving stone, the ancient Maya typically used brushes to write, and later writers used quills, fountain pens, pencils, and ballpoint pens. The use of typewriters resulted in character substitutions and further standardization. Eventually, Maya writers switched from typewriters to computers in the 1980s. By the 1990s, Maya writers were sending me e-mail messages written in their native language. Now they are composing and transmitting Mayan language texts with cell phones.

Although the Mayan script was nearly destroyed by the Spanish colonizers, it was rediscovered and later re-learned by linguists. Computers have facilitated the recovery

and use of the ancient Mayan script elements, which are now in widespread usage. Mayan numerals and name glyphs are increasingly found in both electronic and printed documents.

API programming initiatives will further facilitate Mayan script use and pan-Mayan translation. It is now technologically feasible to use a preprocessor to turn a Latin script character string into a Mayan glyph, just as we use a preprocessor to type Japanese kanji using a Latin script keyboard. A Mayan logograph can also be phoneticized into alternate spoken languages. Voice recognition software will eventually permit the direct transcription of Mayan oral texts into Mayan script texts. With such modern voice recognition interfaces, the Maya can leapfrog directly from their spoken languages to Mayan script, and back again, with the option to use Latin script as well. Watch out Apple Siri: Here comes Chilam Balam!

ILLUSTRATIONS

Figure 1: Photograph by B. Beltrán, drawing by D. Stuart (Science). National Geographic, “<http://news.nationalgeographic.com/news/bigphotos/30567508.html>”, accessed 18 April 2012.

Figure 2: first four glyph blocks of the Tablet of the 96 Glyphs at Palenque. Canadian Museum of Civilizations, “<http://www.civilization.ca/cmcc/exhibitions/civil/maya/images/maycrv1b.gif>”, accessed 18 April 2012.

Figure 3: Tablet of the 96 Glyphs, as drawn by Merle Greene Robertson. Mesoweb, “<http://www.mesoweb.com/palenque/monuments/96G/65.html>”, accessed 18 April 2012.

Figure 4: a page from the Dresden Codex. Wikimedia, “http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/c/ce/Dresden_codex%2C_page_2.jpg”, accessed 18 April 2012.

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LITERACY FOR THE MASSES: THE CONDUCT AND CONSEQUENCES OF THE LITERACY CAMPAIGN IN REVOLUTIONARY VIETNAM

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Abstract: Northern Vietnam's revolutionary leader Hồ Chí Minh famously commented that the French colonial regime had employed a "keep the people stupid" policy (*chính sách ngu dân*) in order to make the Vietnamese masses easier to rule. One important part of this policy was restricting access to literacy in Vietnamese society to a small percentage of the population. This paper's purpose is to explore the conduct and consequences of the literacy campaign that was launched by Vietnamese revolutionaries in the 1940s and 1950s. As will be shown, authorities employed a number of innovative strategies to teach reading and writing to the masses, while at a broader level, the rapid attainment of almost universal literacy in North Vietnam became an important symbolic marker of Vietnam's transcendence of what revolutionary authorities regarded as the "backwardness" that had characterized colonial society.

Key words: Vietnam, revolution, literacy campaigns, cultural symbolism of literacy, colonialism

INTRODUCTION

According to statistics provided by the General Statistics Office of Vietnam, in 2009 the nation's literacy rate, for individuals aged 15 and over, was an impressive 93.5% (General Statistics Office of Vietnam 2011:23), while in the nation's major cities of Hanoi, Hai Phong, and Ho Chi Minh City, the literacy rate was a shared 97.9% (General Statistics Office of Vietnam 2010). Although these figures make Vietnam one of the most literate nations in contemporary Southeast Asia, they conceal the fact that as late as the mid-1940s, the vast majority of the Vietnamese population was illiterate. Definitive statistics on illiteracy are unavailable, but some scholars have estimated that during the period of French colonization in Vietnam, prior to the Second World War, illiteracy could have been as high as 80-95% of the population (DeFrancis 1977:240). Equally significant, however, was the fact that the small percentage of the population that was literate was composed, almost exclusively, of elite men. In contemporary Vietnam, male literacy remains several percentage points higher, with male literacy at 95.8% and female literacy at 91.4% (General Statistics Office of Vietnam 2011:23). These differences, however, do not diminish the tremendous accomplishments in increasing Vietnam's literacy rate.

This essay's purpose is to examine the conduct and consequences of the campaigns launched by the revolutionary authorities in post-1945 northern Vietnam to bring literacy to the masses. As will be described, revolutionary authorities regarded high rates of illiteracy as a marker of "backwardness" as well as an effective mechanism, employed by the former elite, to disenfranchise and dominate the poor masses. From the official perspective, mass literacy was vital for the nation to overcome its difficulties and create a new and

positive future. To this end, revolutionary authorities organized an obligatory, mass literacy campaign, which included novel instructional materials and pedagogical approaches, that succeeded in raising the literacy rate for 12-50 year olds to an impressive 93.4% by the late 1950s (Ngô Văn Cát 1980:135).

LITERACY IN PRE-REVOLUTIONARY VIETNAM

When in September 1945 the Vietnamese revolutionaries embarked upon their “Mass Education” campaign (*Bình Dân Học Vụ*) to bring literacy to the people, they had to contend with a complicated historical inheritance regarding Vietnam’s writing systems. The Vietnamese language (*Tiếng Việt*) is classified as a member of the Mon-Khmer branch of the Austro-Asiatic language family. The language has a number of dialects and, according to the *Ethnologue Languages of the World* (2012), has a total speaker population of approximately 65,800,000 in Vietnam (1999 census); and a total for all countries of 68,634,000 worldwide. It is most closely related to Mường, a language spoken in the lowland mountainous regions to the southwest of the Red River delta in northern Vietnam. Both languages are part of the Vietic branch of the Mon-Khmer branch, which includes other languages in Vietnam and Laos. Vietnamese is a tonal language. This distinctive feature creates a challenge for its orthographies. The number of tones varies, ranging from the six tones of the Hanoi dialect, which is regarded as the standard form, to five tones in some southern and central regions.

The region, which is now northern and northern central Vietnam, was occupied by the Chinese for nearly 1000 years until the Vietnamese general Ngô Quyền overthrew the Chinese rulers in 938 AD and established the first independent Vietnamese state. The combination of Vietnam’s proximity to China, the centuries of occupation, and China’s regional status as the pinnacle of culture and civilization, had a significant effect on the writing systems employed in pre-modern Vietnam as classical Chinese became the dominant writing system. For centuries, as Joseph Lo Bianco has noted, “Chinese prevailed for all transactional, legal, scholarly and governmental discourse” (Lo Bianco 2001:164). In using classical Chinese, the Vietnamese employed their own readings of the original Chinese characters. Thus, for example, the numbers 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 were read as *nhất, nhì, tam, tứ, ngũ*. This had an interesting consequence in that, while the Vietnamese could voice the readings of their characters, they were largely unable to voice the Chinese readings. Thus, as John DeFrancis observed, the number of Vietnamese who entered the Chinese court and were proficient in Chinese could “be counted on the fingers of one’s hand” (DeFrancis 1977:11; quoted in Lo Bianco 2011:172).

The differences in the readings of the characters represented but one level of a deeper problem as the character readings and grammar of classical Chinese did not match the vernacular language spoken by everyday Vietnamese. In response to this disjuncture, the Vietnamese elite in the thirteenth century began developing a new script, named *Chữ Nôm* (字喃), which employed borrowed and modified classical Chinese characters to represent spoken Vietnamese. The earliest usage of *Nôm* is generally regarded as occurring in 1209. In 1282, however, a Vietnamese official wrote what is considered to be the first literary usage of *Nôm* (Lo Bianco 2001:173). In the following centuries, *Nôm* would go in and out of favor as the official language of administration. Under the Hồ Dynasty (1400-1407) and Tây Sơn Dynasty (1788-1802), *Nôm* was adopted as the language of administration,

though other dynasties, such as the Lê Dynasty (1428-1788) even went so far as to ban it since it was a popular idiom for the expression of political dissent. Despite its varied political fortunes, the greatest achievements for *Nôm* occurred in the literary realm and from the time of its creation, *Nôm* served as the primary script for high literary production, especially poetry. Indeed, Vietnam's greatest poem *The Tale of Kieu* (*Truyện Kiều*) written by the poet Nguyễn Trãi in the early 19th century, was composed in *Nôm*.

Classical Chinese characters and *Nôm* remained the dominant writing systems for Vietnamese until the early 20th century. Despite their existence, both writing systems remained almost exclusively the preserve of the male elite and, with but a few exceptions such as the remarkable female poet Hồ Xuân Hương (1772-1822) who wrote in *Nôm*, the female population remained almost completely illiterate.

While *Nôm* and classical Chinese remained the dominant writing systems in Vietnam for a period of over seven centuries, a third writing system was introduced in the third decade of the 17th century as a result of the efforts of Portuguese missionaries who had travelled to Vietnam to convert the Vietnamese to Catholicism. Given the difficulties involved in mastering *Nôm* and classical Chinese, the missionaries began developing a Romanized script based upon Portuguese orthography in order to evangelize more efficiently. Following some tentative early efforts, the French Jesuit priest and lexicographer Alexandre de Rhodes, who worked in Vietnam for two decades in different periods from the 1620s to the 1640s, created a standardized version of the script which appeared in his 1651 volume, *Dictionarium Annamiticum Lusitanum et Latinum* (Annamese, Portuguese, and Latin Dictionary). This script, which would undergo further modifications and later come to be known as the "National Language" (*Quốc Ngữ*) in the early 20th century (Lo Bianco 2001:178), was primarily confined to Catholic circles until the advent of the French colonial period in the 1840s. The French colonial government did not want to rely upon *Nôm* or classical Chinese in official administrative affairs. Thus, over time, they gradually eliminated the usage of characters in official documents and adopted *Quốc Ngữ* as the official script for administration. This decision had significant consequences as it neutralized the symbolic and practical implications of the exclusive possession of literacy for the former male elite.

The first three decades of the 20th century witnessed a broad array of changes in Vietnamese society, but economic development, urbanization, and the growth of a middle class helped foster the growth of a *Quốc Ngữ*-based print industry. This, combined with the use of *Quốc Ngữ* in education, led to a rapid expansion of its usage in Vietnamese society, such that by the early 1930s, it had completely supplanted both *Nôm* and classical Chinese. Given its ease of learning, compared to the two earlier writing systems, *Quốc Ngữ* also helped advance the spread of literacy in colonial Vietnam, particularly in urban areas.

BRINGING LITERACY TO THE MASSES

Despite the modest gains in literacy in the latter decades of the colonial period, by the early 1940s the vast majority of Vietnamese remained illiterate. The illiteracy problem had started to gain the attention of Vietnamese politicians and intellectuals in the mid-1920s (see also Marr 1977:178ff.). By the early 1930s, more organized efforts to teach literacy were being implemented, such as the approach applied by the Vietnamese Communists to

teach literacy, as well as basic mathematics, in colonial prisons. Encapsulated in the slogan, “He who knows teaches one who knows little, he who knows a lot teaches one who knows a little,” the Communist approach marshaled the knowledge available among them to teach literacy to as many people as possible (Ngô Văn Cát 1980:23).

Soon after the Vietnamese Communists succeeded in seizing power in the 1945 August Revolution, they initiated their first official efforts to eliminate illiteracy. In April of that year, while still engaged in the anti-colonial struggle against the French and Japanese, the Communists had endorsed the elimination of illiteracy as a central policy goal and some modest efforts had subsequently been launched. As they developed their program, the authorities decided to adopt a unique pedagogical approach for teaching Vietnamese that had been created, in the late 1930s, by a popular organization, The Association for the Propagation of *Quốc Ngữ*. The members of this association had concluded that one of the most significant obstacles to expanding literacy in Vietnam was the pool of potential students. Unlike the a primary school setting, populated with young children, the expansion of literacy would involve large numbers of older people who led busy lives and in many cases had little to no experience of study (Ngô Văn Cát 1980:27). To maintain their interest and motivation, the association abandoned traditional methods that had involved requiring students to spell words by sequentially sounding out their letters, indicating the tone, and then stating the whole word. In its place, the new method emphasized the similarities and differences between different letters and the various strokes added to them and this information was presented in poem form. Thus, to distinguish between the letters “I” and “T,” students were taught:

i, t	both are like hooks
i	is short and has a dot
t	is long and has a bar

Variations on the letter “O” were taught as:

o, ô, ơ	
o	is round like the egg of a chicken
ô	wears a hat
ơ	has a whisker

This approach was applied to every letter in the *Quốc Ngữ* alphabet. In addition to its clarity and simplicity, the use of poetic forms, which traditionally was a popular pedagogical method, enhanced the ease of remembering the distinctions between letters. This method continues to be employed in contemporary Vietnam and older Vietnamese who became literate during the revolutionary literacy campaigns still beam with pride as they recite the standardized lines.

THE LITERACY CAMPAIGN BEGINS IN EARNEST

When describing the revolutionary literacy campaigns in northern Vietnam, it is important to note that the campaigns did not represent one continuous nation-wide process, but instead were profoundly affected by the eight year war fought from December 1946 until May 1954 when the Vietnamese resisted France’s efforts to reassert colonial control. The process is, therefore, best divided into three main periods. The first began in September 1945 when, following the successful August Revolution the previous month, the revolutionary authorities launched the *Bình Dân Học Vụ* (Mass Education) campaign in newly liberated Vietnam. This period concluded with the outbreak of war in December

1946, though it still succeeded in organizing 74,957 classes, in which 95,665 teachers taught 2,520,678 students, the oldest of whom was apparently 92 years old (Ngô Văn Cát 1980:58 and 46). The second period lasted from December 1946 until late 1955. Prior to the war's end in May 1954, literacy classes were organized in what were referred to as "free areas" (*vùng tự do*), which was the contemporary term for areas under control over the Vietnamese Communist resistance or Việt Minh. These classes succeeded in teaching approximately 7.5 million students. Thus, by the end 1954, some 10,000,000 Vietnamese had become literate (Ngô Văn Cát 1980:104). Following the war's end, the campaign modestly expanded nation-wide until the end of 1955. The third period of the literacy campaigns occurred as part of the 1956-1958 Three Year Plan and succeeded in teaching 2,161,362 more students. By the conclusion of this final period, official estimates reported that North Vietnam had achieved a 93.4% literacy for individuals aged 12-50 years old (Ngô Văn Cát 1980:136).

In order to understand the literacy campaigns' success, it is important to explain the social and cultural dynamics of Northern Vietnamese communities during the campaigns' conduct, particularly in rural villages where most of the instruction occurred. In contrast to the previous, somewhat attenuated level of social and political control that the French colonial administration had exercised over rural villages, Vietnamese Communist revolutionaries established a vigorous local administrative structure that was dominated by party members and had a more intrusive presence in local life. This new structure greatly increased the citizenry's contact with the administration and also generated increased social pressures to abide by the new revolutionary policies, though many who lived through the era note that there was a level of genuine enthusiasm to create a new and better society.

As a general principle, the literacy campaigns were organized at the communal level and the classrooms were set up at the village or sub-village level, depending upon community size. Instruction could occur at all times of day, though in many communities classes were conducted at night in order allow the students to work during the day. Beyond, the classroom, however, teachers and other local officials increased the pressure on residents to learn by challenging them in public places to spell words. An example of this practice from Thịnh Liệt commune south of Hanoi, which had a modest unofficial attempt in 1944 and then its official literacy campaign in 1945-46, is an illustrative example:

The 1945 stage also involved more classrooms (one per neighborhood (*xom*) instead of one per village), a course duration of two to three months, more than thirty teachers (including five women), and students of all ages and genders. The first eight months of 1946 represented the peak of Thịnh Liệt's campaign as hundreds of local residents learned rudimentary literacy. Like other North Vietnamese communes, public pressure to participate was very strong. At different spots in the commune, literacy campaign teachers forced passing villagers to spell words. If a villager still could not spell a word after several attempts, they were allowed to pass, but the fear of public humiliation, or a few strong words from the teachers, encouraged many to attend the classes (Malarney 2002:75).

Photographs from Ngô Văn Cát's comprehensive official history of the literacy campaigns, *Chống Nạn Thiếu Học* (Against the Lack of Education)(Ngô Văn Cát 1980), has several interesting photographs of these practices, such as one photo with a group of approximately

ten market traders, who appear to all be women, clustered on a roadside and looking up at a teacher with a portable blackboard, who is teaching the group to spell the word *qua*, which, perhaps somewhat ironically, is the verb “to pass.” Another rural scene has a buffalo with *Bình Dân Học Vụ* (Mass Education) written in chalk on its side while above it hanging from a tree is a sign that reads, “Our neighborhood is committed to eliminating illiteracy before September 2nd,” which is the anniversary of Hồ Chí Minh’s 1945 declaration of Vietnam’s independence (For both images, see Ngô Văn Cát 1980).

The conduct of the literacy campaigns took place during times of political struggle for the Vietnamese government, be it in the war against the French or the struggle to consolidate the revolution, thus authorities also designated participation in the literacy campaigns as a patriotic duty (Ngô Văn Cát 1980:45). One didactic poem stated:

Studying in the Mass Education movement is patriotic!
Teaching in the Mass Education movement is patriotic!
Helping in the Mass Education movement is patriotic!
Killing the enemy of ignorance makes Viet Nam strong!
Fighting the disaster of illiteracy is like fighting against a foreign invader!
(Ngô Văn Cát 1980:45)

Beyond the more obvious elements of persuasion, or perhaps coercion, revolutionary authorities also attempted to create an atmosphere in which illiteracy was stigmatized. In some instances, illiteracy was portrayed as a shameful dead end, such as in the following propaganda poem:

If you can read, go to the gate marked “glorious,”
If you cannot, go to the “gate of the blind.”
Young girl, strong, pretty, and fresh,
You can’t read a letter, you creep to the blind gate,
Dear girl, that gate, what shame
(Ngô Văn Cát 1980:53)

Another propaganda poem engaged the youth with regard to one of their most pressing social concerns, their marriageability. In one poem a woman lamented the illiteracy of her potential spouse.

You’ve left, but I couldn’t go
I lay on my back writing a line to a poem
For I’ve just learned “i, t”
Marrying a man who can read sends one forward,
Marrying one who can’t leaves one in debt
(Ngô Văn Cát 1980:49)

Through these diverse social and cultural pressures, revolutionary authorities attempted to increase the stigma of illiteracy and, for those less than fully motivated, create stimuli to motivate them to study and become literate.

THE LITERACY CAMPAIGN AS REVOLUTIONARY PRACTICE

When analyzing Vietnam’s revolutionary literacy campaigns, it is important to recognize that the campaigns engaged several other issues beyond teaching the citizenry to read and write. As the previous poems indicate, one element of the campaigns was to stigmatize illiteracy at the individual level, though this also applied to the national level. For

revolutionary authorities, a high rate of illiteracy, along with other phenomena such as poor public hygiene and the acceptance of what the authorities labeled as “superstitions” (*mê tín dị đoan*), were all considered “backwards” (*lạc hậu*). Revolutionary policies were dedicated to eliminating “backwardness” in Vietnamese society. Thus, at a symbolic level, a high literacy rate represented social progress and development. Hồ Chí Minh had highlighted the importance of literacy for this effort in September 1945 when he commented, “The number of ignorant Vietnamese people compared to number of people in the nation is 95%, meaning that almost all Vietnamese people are illiterate. How can one progress like that?” (Ngô Văn Cát 1980:39).

Revolutionary authorities also regarded literacy as an essential attribute of the newly politically empowered citizenry. One common adjective employed in revolutionary ideology to describe the pre-revolutionary social order was “feudal” (*phong kiến*). This term encompassed a wide variety of features of pre-revolutionary social life, such as patriarchy or arranged marriage, but central in its meaning was the existence of hierarchical relations of domination. Vietnam’s socio-political order had been feudal and officials argued that central to the maintenance of this order was a policy that Hồ Chí Minh described as the “keep the people stupid policy” (*chính sách ngu dân*). By denying the masses knowledge, education, and literacy, the people remained ignorant and easy to rule. (It is interesting to note, in fact, that official documents often used “illiteracy” (*nạn mù chữ*) and “lack of education” (*nạn thất học*) interchangeably.) Through the literacy campaign and later educational efforts, revolutionary officials sought to create an educated population that had the knowledge and skill necessary to create the new society. Here again, Hồ Chí Minh commented in 1945, “Every Vietnamese must know his rights, his obligations, he must have the new knowledge to participate in the construction of the country, and above all he must know how to read, how to write *Quốc Ngữ*” (Ngô Văn Cát 1980:39). At the beginning of the 1956-1958 period of the literacy campaign, Hồ again commented, “The elimination of illiteracy is the first step in raising our cultural level. A higher cultural level for the people will help us strengthen the task of resuscitating the economy, developing democracy. The elevation of the people’s cultural level is an essential task in the construction of a nation that will be peaceful, united, free, democratic and wealthy” (Ngô Văn Cát 1980:123).

When conducting the instruction sessions, teachers were required to include discussions of news and politics, which were obviously to accord with revolutionary policies. On one hand, the inclusion of such content could take the form of the grander forms of propaganda, such as the slogan, “The Mass Education Campaign is a falling bomb, Crashing into the dreams of the invaders” (Ngô Văn Cát 1980:68), but the authorities also recognized the possibilities that the instructional materials had for the transmission of other officially sanctioned knowledge and values. An early illustration of this practice was evident in the name of the third literacy textbook published, “Practical Hygiene” (*Vệ Sinh Thường Thức*) (Ngô Văn Cát 1980:28), that supplemented contemporary official efforts to improve personal and public hygiene. Another early textbook included the following lessons:

Exercise 11: Our People are Free

Exercise 20: We have democracy, let’s have our people lead each other to study, to fight against illiteracy

Exercise 30: The revolution has brought freedom and happiness to our people

Exercise 33: Our country is a democratic republic. Everyone can vote for the National

Assembly. Make an effort to become literate, so you can write on your ballot
(Ngô Văn Cát 1980:41)

The task of creating a literate population, therefore, was intimately linked with broader revolutionary ideas and values.

CONCLUSION: THE LITERACY CAMPAIGN'S CONSEQUENCES

As previously mentioned, by the late 1950s, North Vietnam had achieved 93.4% literacy for individuals aged 12-50 years old. This was a remarkable achievement given the situation only fifteen years earlier. Difficulties, of course, remained. For example, male-female literacy rates remained unequal and regional variations existed also. According to figures compiled in 1958, the city of Hanoi had a 97.5% literacy rate, while rural Nam Định province to the southeast of Hanoi had a 90.5% literacy rate. Some highland areas remained stubbornly lower, a problem that still remains (Ngô Văn Cát 1980:136). However, according to Ngô Văn Cát's statistics, by the end of the 1950s the literacy campaigns had succeeded in bringing literacy to some twelve million people.

The basic statistics aside, the consequences of the literacy campaigns' are evident in other domains as well. One official summary of the campaigns' consequences, which was attuned to the multipartite nature of the campaigns, stated:

Propagandizing about the resistance, putting the guidelines and policies of the party deeply into the hearts of the people, teaching patriotism and fortitude to fight and win, strengthening the efforts to eliminate the enemy hunger, defeating foreign invaders, implementing all production policies, establishing revolutionary bases, instructing cadres in the countryside after the land reform...at every level of important revolutionary change, the campaign helped to strengthen the revolutionary efforts in every manner, and registered many impressive accomplishments (Ngô Văn Cát 1980:102)

Though seemingly encompassing, the volume failed to acknowledge several other achievements. Perhaps most obviously, the literacy campaigns transformed a nearly completely illiterate female population into an almost completely literate population. One of the Vietnamese revolution's stated goals was the creation of male-female equality. While in this and some other aspects, theory did not completely equal practice, female access to literacy created previously unimaginable opportunities for women; the notion that a daughter should not be taught to read or write was definitively abandoned.

Near universal literacy also created in Vietnamese society a previously nonexistent level of access to written knowledge. As with the case of women, literacy created educational opportunities, which in turn created previously unattainable social opportunities for the formerly illiterate. The previously successful mechanism of denying literacy to many in order to maintain the domination of a literate male elite was thus overturned and opportunity expanded for many. From another interesting perspective, the spread of literacy created other opportunities for social development. One of the striking features of the Vietnamese revolution, particularly as it was carried out from 1954 onward, was the centrality of written texts that were circulated to the multiple levels of administration across the country. These texts detailed the knowledge and practices regarded as central to the issue at hand, be it the elimination of agricultural pests, the construction of two-pit latrines to control parasites, or proper pre- and post-natal care. Though it is impossible

to determine exactly how often these texts were read or their concrete consequences in specific contexts, the spread of literacy and the widespread dissemination of knowledge in official texts arguably did have an impact upon the gains in agricultural productivity and public health that occurred in the post-1954 period.

Finally, from the perspective of the revolutionary authorities, the improvements in the literacy rate had important symbolic implications for the Vietnamese state's efforts to concretely demonstrate how official policies helped the Vietnamese transcend "backwardness" and achieve a "progressive" (*tiến bộ*) and "civilized" (*văn minh*) society. To this day, the Vietnamese government takes tremendous pride in its literacy rate and the casual observer of Vietnam's major cities cannot fail to be struck by the sheer number of publishing houses, newspapers, book stores, and sidewalk newstands. Literacy is now a skill shared by nearly all Vietnamese and engagements with the written word have become a central and expected part of everyday life.

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LITERACY IN MULTILINGUAL SOCIETIES: AN ENDNOTE

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Abstract: Is there more illiteracy in the world? Or is being literate so much more complicated, more demanding than before? Common to societies is the view that, in school and out, children and adults can profit from a wide range of experiences. When those experiences present themselves in the dress of different languages and dialects (in a multilingual environment) a demanding and complicated challenge emerges. Being literate in a society that hosts many languages is a multilayered phenomenon full of intriguing scenarios: (a) you are monolingual and literate, (b) you are trilingual and illiterate, (c) you support the introduction of indigenous languages in pre-school and early primary school but send your own children to special private schools where English and French are taught (not the mother tongue), (d) you formulate policies for literacy in a mother tongue which competes with other mother tongues, (e) the alphabet or orthography of a language chosen for literacy promotion is disputed as distorted grammar and unrepresentative of the correct sound system. Literacy in one national language is an honest belief. It is a force of unity and unification, it challenges tribalism and regionalism, it is the panacea for communal discord. Conversely, literacy in a designated national language can be an instrument of the suppression of minority languages and cultures, the rejection of language diversity, a policy that relates to political or religious power and rivalry.

Key words: literacy, multilingualism, postcolonialism, indigenous languages

“Any fact becomes important when it’s connected to another.”
— Umberto Eco, *Foucault’s Pendulum*

WORDS, SIGNS AND UMBERTO ECO

Any language becomes important when it is connected to another. Language is a fact and Umberto Eco’s proposition that facts in combination carry the weight of more significance can surely be applied to language. It is not that a language is essentially solitary, and thereby lacking, but rather than languages together become strategic, inquisitive, reflected in a mirror. This is the nature of the word. A word is a kind of sign. When a word is placed in context it becomes a complex sign. It acquires new meanings and new readings. Umberto Eco suggests that words do not have meanings that are simply lexical, but rather, meaning is continually deferred. A sign is, therefore, a vehicle of possible worlds and a producer of meaning: a text to read and interpret endlessly. A sign is both a fulfillment and an expectation. A personal name, for example, is a word full of significations. It encodes the past (how the name came uniquely to me), the present (public associations surrounding this shared name), and the future (what it can intend for bearers of the name). A place-name also tells the tale of the land because the land is a palimpsest upon which different peoples in different era inscribe their activities, their values, and their names.

READING THE SIGNS IN MACAO

In Macao, we read time codes in bilingual street signs such as *Calçada da Igreja de S. Lazaro* or the trilingual *Terminal Marítimo do Porto Exterior*, *Macao Ferry Terminal* and 港澳碼頭. The reverberations of this signage-sign touch the fringes of history and culture, economics and politics. The bilingual/multilingual sign admits several realms of meaning.



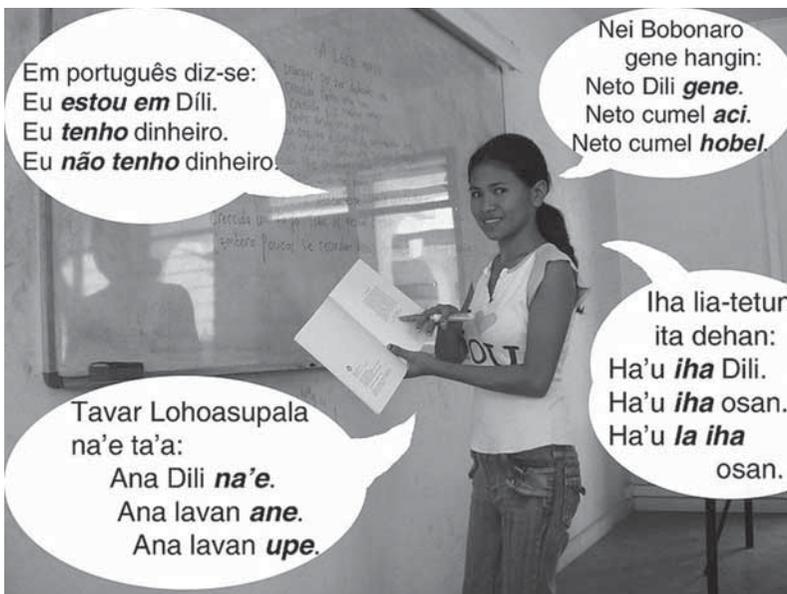
We stop and wonder. Portuguese? Chinese? English? Each display of language is part of a narrative and each language has come into view, in historical episodes, like a river rounding a bend. The sign is a textual realization of

- colonial history, annexation
- continuity and change
- political circumstances of reintegration with China and Chinese sovereignty
- language policy formulated by the local government
- the importance of tourism as an agent of capital
- language equality among two co-official languages

A sign denotes something, somewhere. It is a place on a map. A multilingual sign expresses the relational identity of a city and the fact that, for example, Macao is a micro-climate of several languages that serve the social order. Let us see how. Portuguese was the language of the Portuguese settlement from the 16th century but the overthrow of the Portuguese dictatorship, in 1974, led Lisbon to relinquish its overseas possessions and China assumed sovereignty in 1999. In Macao, Chinese (Cantonese) and Portuguese are designated official languages. The Macanese *Patuá* (creole based on Portuguese vocabulary and integrating Malay, Cantonese, English and Spanish) is spoken by a handful of residents. Portuguese occurs in the linguistic landscape as a written form. There are language networks of migrants from the Philippines, Thailand and China and Portugal. The literacy rate of the territory is 93.5%; the illiterates mainly among the senior residents over 65. The younger generation aged 15–29, has a literacy rate of above 99%. There is only one Portuguese-medium school in Macau. English is used in trade, tourism and commerce, and is also the major working language in the University of Macao. In the industrialized world of lifestyle languages, there are changing demands on literacy. It may matter less whether a citizen of the 21st century, compared to the 19th century, is literate in Portuguese, the co-official language of Macao, but the obligation to be literate in English and Chinese, for the purpose

of work, education and civic life is clear. A changing social order implies a new language regime that influences literacy practices in education.

How does this compare to the role of language and literacy in multilingual East Timor? As in Macao, Portuguese is an official language, following the postcolonial way, but now with a quite different set of symbols and expectations. Both Tetum and Portuguese are the official languages of East Timor (Democratic Republic of Timor-Leste). Indonesian which is widely spoken, and English to a lesser extent, are designated as ‘working languages’ according to the constitution. There are also 37 indigenous languages, of which are Tetum, Galole, Mambae, and Kemak. The literacy programme in Portuguese is gaining momentum and works through the medium of other languages. Literacy in East Timor continues to develop. It is reported that two-thirds of women and half of the men between the ages of 15 and 60 are illiterate (United Nations, 2010). More children now receive formal education but up to 30 percent of primary school age children still do not attend school. In the following picture, *Linguas timorenses in Mai ita aprende portugues ho Emilia*, a weekly Portuguese language course in Tetum, lessons published in the East Timorese newspaper *Lia Foun* (2006, February 9), Beatriz Cardoso dos Santos, an East Timorese girl learns Portuguese with reference to East Timorese languages (*uma moça timorense e linguas de Timor*): the languages starting top left clockwise are Portuguese, Bunak, Tetum, Fataluku.



Portugal established colonial control over multi-state Timor in the 16th century and relinquished control in 1975 after which Indonesia invaded and integrated the colony. An estimated 100,000 to 250,000 individuals lost their lives during a brutal campaign of *pacification* during this time. East Timor became independent in 2002 following a bloody separation from Indonesia. In a study of multilingual literacy practices on the armed front, the clandestine and diplomatic fronts, Cabral and Martin-Jones (2008) charted the ways in which literacy in different languages was embedded in the East Timor struggle against the Indonesian occupation. Particular languages were used for different purposes. Tatum

was employed as a lingua franca for informal correspondence and email, for songs and anthems. Whilst Portuguese was banned during the Indonesian occupation it remained a tool of communication with the outside world and among the resistance. Portuguese was used to 'write the resistance' (p.165) and prepare for a future civil society. Significantly, Portuguese moved from being a symbol of a colonial order to a symbol of resistance and freedom. Latterly, it is now supported by Brazil, Portugal, and the Latin Union and the country is a member of Community of Portuguese Language Countries (CPLP), also known as the Lusophone Commonwealth.

INDIGENOUS LANGUAGES AND LITERACY

Strategies and Options

The importance of literacy in local languages is not universally accepted. What Skutnabb-Kangas (2000: 598) called the 'parochial language fallacy' is the belief that single language literacy is the royal road to successful development in multilingual states. She assesses negatively UNESCO advisor Bhola's statement that "literacy in a language other than the national language may doom those involved to a limited, parochial and marginal existence (1984:191) and that "a single language of literacy has contributed to the success of mass literacy campaigns in Burma, China, Cuba, The United Republic of Tanzania and Somalia (ibid.,191). Education through a single language that is not the mother tongue of a community of speakers (i.e. a foreign language) might seem like a pedagogical recipe for illiteracy. And yet, this is common practice throughout the multilingual world. Mulhausler (1996) and Skutnabb-Kangas (ibid) go further in arguing that when one oral language is selected among several others, for writing and standardization, i.e. reducing the spoken language to writing, this also contributes to the reduction of language diversity.

Thus, the individual in a multilingual society may or may not be faced with several possibilities: (1) becoming literate in more than one language, including a mother tongue and another (local) language, (2) adopting literacy in a national or official language that has likely higher status than his own mother tongue. (3) learning to read and write in his mother tongue alone, (4) becoming literate in the national or official language through the medium of a language, bigger than his own, and which is not itself the official language. The International Conference on Public Education held in Geneva in July, 1965 setting out the stall for literacy policy (and the role of linguists and literacy workers), summarized core issues thus:

"In countries where a number of different languages are spoken by the population, the government before launching or extending a literacy programme, may have to decide what language or languages are to be used for literacy in the country as a whole or in particular areas or groups of population; furthermore, where it is decided to use an unwritten language or a language with a deficient orthography or lacking texts, the important task of studying and transcribing the language and preparing basic word lists, grammar and literacy texts must be entrusted to specialized linguists and educators, who must be given sufficient time to carry out this task before the teaching can begin" (UNESCO document Minedlit 6, 1965).

What Writing Systems in a Multilingual Society?

Many local language programmes in multilingual environments, are dedicated to

indigenous language support but there arises the question of what writing systems are appropriate. Kosonen 2008:180-181 notes how in northern Thailand, literacy programmes have been in operation for decades among the population of 60,000 Northern Pwo Karen and, more recently, small-scale literacy initiatives. There is argument, however, about the writing system. Some Pwo argue that the system introduced by NGOs, though readable, does not represent the sounds of the dialect and also that the earlier orthography developed by Christian Pwo is not theirs. Literacy initiatives work differently among the Chong ethnic population in the Eastern province of Chantaburi, Thailand, where Central Thai is the increasing medium of communication, especially among young Chong. To address concern over the declining use of Chong, literacy projects (led by the local stakeholders) were begun involving primary schools, children's story writing, curriculum materials production and writing workshops have been developed. Since Chong is a previously unwritten language, the literacy programme simply employs a Thai-based orthography.

Typically, local languages in Asia, Africa and elsewhere have been written in Roman-based orthographies. Linguistic fieldwork, language instruction and development were frequently done by Western missionaries. In Hokkaido, the northern island of Japan, John Batchelor transcribed the Ainu Bible into Romaji (Roman letters) in 1896 and in the Philippines, the earliest texts in Tagalog, the *Doctrina Christiana en lengua Espanola y tagala*, prayers compiled in 1593 by the Franciscans, were written in both Latin and baybayin scripts.

Literacy practices in Asia have continued for a thousand years. When the first explorers and missionaries arrived in the Philippine islands (Errington 35) they were surprised to find local people using "certain characters [which] serve as letters with which they write whatever they wish...The women commonly know how to write with them, and when they write, it is on some tablets made of bamboos which they have in those islands, on the bark. In using such a tablet, which is four fingers wide, they do not write with ink, but with some scribes with which they cut the surface and bark of the bamboo, and make letters" (quoted in Scott 1994: 210). In a world of limited literacy, some languages stand out as textual embodiments of truth, what Benedict Anderson called 'privileged systems of written representation' (1991:14). Latin was paramount as a language of truth in medieval Europe, a vehicle of meaning and a "superterrestrial order of power" (1991:14). The Roman alphabet has usurped that role in the modern era.

HOMOGENIZATION AND LITERACY

A homogenization strategy was fundamental to literacy practice in the colonial era. Whereas Asia, Africa and South America teemed with different dialects it was the duty of the corps of civil servants to create and codify one standard form that would serve as a tool of communication between local populations and their European superiors. This effort began with the selection of an influential local language and making a standard orthography and grammar. Errington describes the ironic situation in Zimbabwe where in 1890 a hitherto unimagined 'Shona language' was cobbled together by the European powers out of a chain of selected Bantu dialects. The policy backfired when a similarly invented 'Shona ethnicity' emerged, unexpectedly, in the 1950s to mobilize native opposition to colonialism. Shona is taught in schools in Zimbabwe and has acquired a literature; the first novel in Shona, Solomon Mutsuwauro's *Feso*, was published in 1957.

During the American colonization of the Philippines, English was made the medium of instruction nationwide; independence and liberation in 1946 being made conditional upon the acceptance of wide-ranging military and economic by the United States government. The backlash, during the 1960s, called for the establishment of a national language policy: ultimately, Tagalog-based Pilipino because of, as Tupas (2008: 236) writes, the dominant presence of anti-colonial, nationalist rhetoric which advocated the use of a national language through which a homogeneous set of ‘national’ ideals and dreams would flow”. This would only serve to cripple the cultural standing of some 150 local languages that would be moved aside by the pragmatics of the new political economy.

Popular understanding of ‘language diversity’, linking notions of ‘biodiversity’ and ‘cultural diversity’, continues to evolve in nation states and the globalized world. Whilst regional dialects were once considered inferior and unwelcome deviations from the standard language now they are viewed as authentic alternative forms. Some have brand status. Kansai’s Osaka-*ben* and London cockney are cool. Multilingualism is a social and political presence. It involves the recognition of regional dialects that were hitherto designated unwelcome deviations from the norm, older mother tongues, newcomer languages, and newly standardizing languages. Multilingualism in a society is greater than the sum of its languages. It resides less in the celebration of micro-ethnicities, but in a growing awareness of life-style hybridity and portable ethnicities that ‘play’ with language, a *jouissance* (like soft drinks machines in Osaka that say ‘thank you’ in local dialect) than appeal to industrial strength ‘difference.’ Multilingualism is inclusive. In most societies, it involves a zone of interaction between several languages and dialects. Let us consider this further.

WHAT IS A MULTILINGUAL SOCIETY?

A multilingual society is a place, somewhere, at some time, where language contact occurs between two or more languages. A Turkish Deaf signer in the Berlin metro reads a German newspaper and signs a piece of news to his friend across the train. A man from the Gaeltacht sings a song in Irish walking down the street in bilingual Galway city. A Tagalog-speaking Filipino man operates an all-English call centre in Shanghai. Multilingualism occurs when several languages are used in a particular location or society. There are approximately 4500-5000 languages in the world divided among 193 countries. Multilingualism is the social norm despite the fact that most countries recognize a small number of ‘national’ languages and (differently) ‘official’ languages (de Varennes 1996). Languages have different functions (e.g. temple, school, workplace) and different social distribution among people (the deaf, ethnic minority). When multilingualism is found within an individual speaker it is termed ‘bilingualism’. A theory of societal bilingualism is the answer to the question posed by Fishman (1965): *who chooses to speak to what language to whom and when?* It can be heard in the streets of most cities in the world. It is visibly present in the written signs of cityscapes in Tokyo (Backhaus 2005). In every country, in every age, multilingualism is a normal part of life. Much contact is taking place. The result of languages in contact is multilingualism - a society that possesses several languages. Languages are not all equal but vary according to power and prestige. These involve factors such as geographical spread, ‘socio-economic’ importance, cultural significance, number of native speakers and foreign language learners. It is likely that no society on earth can be called ‘monolingual’.

Language contact is taking place all the time and everywhere: in Macao, as we have seen. In neighbouring Hong Kong, for example, English and Chinese are both official languages of under the Hong Kong Basic Law. All official signs are bilingual, English language is widespread in education, publication and the media whilst Cantonese is the de facto official spoken variety of the population (97%). This co-exists with migrant and sojourner community languages such as Filipino (112,000), Indonesian (87,000), Japanese (25,000 speakers), Korean, Vietnamese, and Thai (Census 2006).

We distinguish between ‘official’ multilingualism (e.g. Switzerland, South Africa) and ‘de facto’ multilingualism (e.g. Japan). Multilingualism involves cultural and intellectual life, politics, education, history, personal identity. Many nations have been linguistically diverse in ancient and pre-modern history. The lines of cultural and linguistic flows influence geography, social and regional dialects, food, music, local history and tradition. There is a complex interaction between spoken and written forms complicated further by their distribution among mainstream varieties compared to other (‘sidestream’) languages. Consider Japan, for example, such as JSL (Nihon shuwa), Korean, Ainu, Chinese, Ryukyuan and others. Japan also has a tradition of Pidgins and Creoles (e.g. Japanese-JSL). Some pidgins are extinct (e.g. Yokohama Pidgin, Ogasawaran, Nagasaki Pidgin, Hamamatsu Pidgin) and some emerging (migrant worker pidgins). As Japanese society becomes increasingly multicultural, political and educational policy is still struggling to build an adequate social framework: replacing the previous monocultural, monolingual ideology to a new paradigm based upon 21st century linguistic and cultural diversity.

Multilingualism reflects population movement, for a variety of reasons, for example, work and education, migration. The U.S. Census Bureau reports that 36.7 million of the nation’s population (12 percent) were foreign-born, and another 33 million (11 percent) were native-born with at least one foreign-born parent in 2009, making one in five people either first or second generation U.S. residents. This means that there are many different types of language users with different needs. A person might come to be classified in a jumble of interconnected ways. L2 writer = second language writer, NNS = nonnative speakers, LP = limited proficiency, LL = language learner, bilingual = speaker of two languages, multilingual = speaker of two or more languages or generation 1.5 = someone who was born in another country but moved to the US and obtained some literacy education in US schools.

THE MOTHER TONGUE vs THE NATIONAL LANGUAGE

There is increasing evidence that, for young persons in multilingual societies, literacy skills in a home language are not only beneficial for the mother tongue but that they provide a more fluid and effective transition to the school language: learning is better and faster. The Threshold Project in province of KwaZulu-Natal South Africa (Macdonald 1989) indicated that literacy in English was enhanced when the cognitive and academic skills in local languages are such as IsiZulu linked up with school language. Butheleze (2002:1) has written that in South Africa, for example, resources in South African schools are inadequate and there is not the underpinning of culture of reading Literacy campaigns such as Masifunde Sonke (a Zulu phrase meaning “let us all read”) was launched in 2000 to develop a such a culture but encountered difficulty owing to a lack of available reading

especially for the poor, lack of support from publishers (for whom indigenous language publishing is a financial loser) politicians, labor movements, and business. This issue will be taken up further. We must ask, at the outset, what factors control and influence the choice of a languages in a multilingual situation? Bowers (1968: 385-387) provides an intelligent classification of what factors impinge on the choice of languages for literacy. In addition to the complicated choices faced by governments about which languages and mother tongues to adopt and which to pass over, there are other considerations.

Cognitive Factors. Knowledge of a second language (a national or international language) enhances prestige and widens the scope of communication and career opportunities. An illiterate person may already be fluent in second or national language. Needless to say, the case for primary literacy in the mother tongue is persuasive. It is easier and quicker to connect written symbols to known sounds and concepts than to those of an unknown or foreign language. Thinking in an unfamiliar language is disadvantageous, fluency of communication is slowed down, personal expression is handicapped. In adult literacy programmes in developing countries, typically held in the evening, poverty, distance from school, tiredness after work may play a part, the speed of progress helped by learning in the mother tongue is an incentive.

The language corpus and the literary status of the language. How is the language documented? Does the language have an accepted alphabet, dictionaries, a grammar and texts of stories and poetry. Preparatory work needs to be done if such materials of the language is not available. Where an earnest documentation of the language exists, such as dictionaries and grammars constructed by amateur linguists, the alphabet may be unsatisfactory or in a dialect which may be not be an acceptable standard accepted form of the language.

Teachers of Literacy. Volunteers, schoolteachers, specialists and non-specialists are the typical population involved in teaching literacy. This diversity can pose problems. Teachers of literacy require specific training appropriate to the teaching of either adults or children. Teachers are sometimes called upon to work with a language they do not speak, read and write fluently or correctly. In a multilingual situation, a 'bilingual elite' capable of dealing with two languages may be enlisted to teach literacy in a second language.

Materials and Workers. The availability of teaching materials is crucial for a programme adapted to the needs of learners. Assuming that the basic materials (a dictionary and grammar) are available and a satisfactory basic teaching kit is ready there follows other desiderata such as continuity of production of materials, cost and the workforce. Workers, cost, time, printing, computer access, the training and employment of teachers form the axis of success or failure in literacy projects.

MOTHER KNOWS BEST?

There are practical problems associated with the 'Mother Tongue knows best' formulation. Literacy in multilingual societies highlights the conflict between the importance of the mother tongue and the demands of a national language. On the one hand it is widely accepted that the proper development of a child's education is consonant with the continued use of a language used in the environment from an early age. This makes for

easier transition from home to school, enhanced cognitive skills, the internationalization of concepts, and reading readiness for the second language. However, in a society of multiple mother tongues or a society of increasing upward mobility of the middle class, which language will be designated the main medium of education? Many countries have tried to avoid the *huis clos* of a strictly either-or scenario. Complex situations reach for a hybrid solution. In many countries, the mother tongue is used as an early medium of instruction (pre-school, elementary school) and higher education is conducted in another language in a national or international language.

In Cameroon, home to 230 languages, Cameroonian Pidgin English as well as Camfranglais (Frananglais) are lingua franca. However, English and French are the official languages and a bilingual education approach is employed. Following independence, education was operated along language lines: English medium in the western Anglophone part - with one English- medium university - and French in East: although now the six state-managed universities in Eastern part are bilingual institutions. This contrasts with the national policy on education in neighbouring Nigeria a “nation of nations” comprising several ethnic groups and unrelated languages, where language policy favours the mother tongue at pre-primary and primary school up to level three as an essential part of the educational cycle and in order to achieve a permanent literacy and numeracy. Specifically, the government’s strategy requires among others: the development of orthography for many Nigerian languages, the production of textbooks in Nigerian languages. Things are not so straightforward. The use of indigenous languages at the early levels, as indicated in a study of language attitudes by Fakeye and Soyinka (2009) proves unattractive to parents who prefer their children to be taught in English especially since (a) teachers may be alien to the mother tongue of the pupils and (b) some pupils are from different ethnic groups where indigenous languages are not the same. Kolawole (quoted in Fakeye and Soyinka 1997) reported that “Many members of the educated elite in English-speaking West Africa countries who take part in the formulation of policy are loudest in praising the virtues of education in the mother tongue. Yet, when it comes to sending their children to school they settle for the special private schools where English and French are taught (but not the mother tongue).” It is likely that such paradoxes of literacy management in multilingual societies will continue.

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CLOSING REMARKS

Dr. Fèlix Martí (Honorary President of Center UNESCO de Catalunya and President of the Linguapax Institute)

LINGUAPAX ASIA, UNA ESPERANÇA

Em complau tornar a fer una presentació de les actes del simposi de Linguapax Asia. Cada any rebo amb renovada admiració el conjunt de textos que recullen les contribucions d'alta qualitat dels participants. Em sembla exemplar que, amb recursos molt limitats, i gràcies a la col·laboració generosa de persones i institucions diverses, es pugui continuar el gran debat sobre el present i el futur de les llengües al Japó, a Àsia i al món. Penso que Linguapax Asia ha d'aconseguir que les agendes dels països emergents del continent asiàtic i del Pacífic incloguin com una prioritat la protecció efectiva de totes les comunitats lingüístiques, el respecte a la diversitat cultural i la promoció de noves formes d'interculturalitat. Crec que les polítiques dels estats en relació a les llengües han de ser acompanyades i fins i tot precedides per les anàlisis, les propostes i les iniciatives de la societat civil. Necessitem espais de concertació entre els acadèmics, els líders de les comunitats lingüístiques, els educadors i els periodistes. Linguapax, a tots els continents promou aquesta concertació i aquesta esperança.
Gràcies Linguapax Asia!

Fèlix Martí,
President de Linguapax Internacional.

LINGUAPAX ASIA, HOPE

I am pleased to introduce, once again, the proceedings of the Linguapax Asia symposium. Every year I receive, with renewed admiration, the text of high quality contributions of participants. I consider it exemplary that, with very limited resources, and thanks to the generous collaboration of people and institutions, we are able to continue the great debate on the present and the future of languages in Japan, Asia and the whole world. It is Linguapax Asia's mission to ensure that the agenda of the emerging countries of Asia and the Pacific prioritize the effective protection of all linguistic communities, respect for cultural diversity and the promotion of new forms of multiculturalism. I believe that government policies in relation to languages must be accompanied and in fact preceded by the analysis, proposals and initiatives deriving from civil society. We need spaces for consultation among academics, leaders of linguistic communities, educators and journalists. Linguapax, across all continents, promotes this constructive dialogue and this hope. Thank you Linguapax Asia!

Fèlix Martí
President of Linguapax International

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