The purpose of this survey was to investigate the nature and extent of the
problem of second language learning as a factor in national development in countries
of Asia, Africa, and Latin America. This document is based on the findings of the
survey but includes some information not covered in the survey and represents
essentially the reaction of half a dozen specialists to some of the problems dealt with
in the survey. Essays included are: (1) "Background to Second Language Problems,"
Charles A. Ferguson; (2) "The Language Factor in National Development," Ferguson; (3)
"An Outline of Linguistic Typology for Describing Multilingualism," William A. Stewart; (4)
"Mexican and Guatemalan Bilingualism," A. Richard Diebold, Jr.; (5) "Creole Languages in
he Caribbean," Stewart; (6) "Lingua Francas, With Special Reference to Africa," William
J. Samarin; (7) "Language Situation in East Africa," Ruth E. Sutherlin; (8) "Language
Problems in the Rural Development of North India," John J. Gumperz; (9) "Language
Standardization," Punya Sloka Ray; and (10) "Sociocultural Change and Communication
Problems," Janet Roberts. (DO)

Edited by Frank A. Rice

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
OFFICE OF EDUCATION

Study of the Role of Second Languages

in Asia, Africa, and Latin America

Edited by Frank A. Rice

Study of the Role of Second Languages

in Asia, Africa, and Latin America

Center for Applied Linguistics of the Modern Language Association of America

Washington DC 1962

Acknowledgment

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

This study is one of a series of documents resulting from the
Survey of Second Language Teaching conducted by the Center
for Applied Linguistics of the Modern Language Association
of America during the period December, 1959 - March, 1961
under the provisions of a special grant from the Ford Founda-
tion for this purpose. The aim of the survey was to investi-
gate the nature and extent of the problem of second language
learning as a factor in national development in countries of
Asia, Africa, and Latin America. It was carried out with the
advice of an informally constituted international group of
specialists in the field and in active collaboration with the
British Council, the French Bureau d'Etude et de Liaison pour
L'Enseignement du Français dans le Monde, the Common-
wealth Office of Education in Australia, the English Language
Education Council, Incorporated, of Japan, and other institu-
tions and individuals in the United States and elsewhere.

One aspect of the survey was the collecting of descriptive
data about specific countries and regions. It brought
together an extensive body of information about the present
position of second or additional languages, especially Eng-
lish and French, as well as about the present extent and
status of training in such languages, methods of training,
available and potential resources, and current efforts to
strengthen those resources. Over sixty country and regional
reports were prepared, papers were drafted assessing the
activities of resource countries such as Great Britain, France,
the United States of America, Canada, and Australia, and a
considerable amount of additional information was accumu-
lated in the files. Another aspect of the survey was con-
cerned with bringing together the professional evaluations,
opinions, and recommendations of individuals and organiza-
tions currently involved in the problem of second language
teaching.

The present document is based in the first instance on the
findings of the survey but includes some information not
covered in the survey and represents essentially the reaction
of half a dozen specialists to some of the problems dealt
with in the survey. The U.S. Agency for International Devel-
opment sponsored the preparation of the document because
of its concern with some of the basic problems involved in
its programs of assistance in the teaching of English as a
foreign language in a number of countries.

The opinions presented here have not been submitted to the original international advisory group of the survey, and therefore the authors themselves take full responsibility for the material given in their respective chapters. The Center for Applied Linguistics maintains that all this material, as the considered opinion of specialists, is relevant to fuller understanding of the role of second languages and is worth publication so that it may be available to those interested in it. The Center, in the person of Frank A. Rice, has assumed editorial responsibility for the whole study.

Charles A. Ferguson
Director
Center for Applied Linguistics
April 1962

Study of the Role of Second Languages

BACKGROUND TO SECOND LANGUAGE PROBLEMS

by Charles A. Ferguson

To understand the problems involved in the large-scale teaching of languages of wider comm.nication such as English and French in the developing countries it is necessary to become familiar with the very different kinds of language situations which exist in these countries. In a previous study of the Center (Information Series 1 1961) an outline was given of the major language characteristics of Asia, Africa and Latin America. The present study will take up some of the points made there and enlarge upon them, attempting to provide a somew'iat more sophisticated theoretical background and much more detailed information on certain sample areas.

Perhaps the most obvious point to deal with in describing the language situation of a country is its linguistic diversity, i.e. the number of different languages spoken and the incidence of multilingualism among the inhabitants. Strangely enough, apart from one article by the anthropological linguist Joseph Greenberg (Greenberg 1956), there has been no attempt on the part of social scientists to devise a numerical index of linguistic diversity which could be used to give a simple characterization of a locality or country, or larger area which could readily be used for comparative purposes. Certainly the planner or administrator in the language education field would welcome an index of this sort which would measure the level of linguistic diversity in one region as compared with that of another.

Greenberg in his article suggested several possible indices of this kind and calculated two of them for parts of Mexico and a few other areas. His simplest index, method A, the "monolingual nonweighted method", measures the probability that two members of the population chosen at random would not speak the same language. The scale runs from 0 to 1, calculated by the formula $A = 1 - \Sigma_i(i^2)$ where i is the proportion of speakers of each language to the total population. If in a population, to use his example, 1/8 speak language M, 3/8 speak N, and 1/2 speak O then the index figure of

Charles A. Ferguson

linguistic diversity (method A) is .5938. Using this index,
a country like Costa Rica where almost 100% of the population
speak one language (Spanish), the figure would be very close
to zero, while for an area like the Plateau Province of Northern
Nigeria, an area noted for its linguistic diversity, the figure
is .9539, very close to 1.

This index A does not take into consideration the degree of
similarity among the languages in question or the possibility
of multilingualism on the part of the inhabitants, and Green-
berg suggested several other means of calculating indices
(B C D E F G) which take these questions into account.
Perhaps his most interesting index, method H, the "index of
communication", measures the probability that two members
of the population chosen at random would have at least one
language in common.

Although Greenberg's indices are promising, they can be of
very little immediate help to the planner or administrator,
First because accurate information on which to calculate them
is not available for most countries and second because they do
not take into account the very different importance and range
of use of the various languages spoken in a given country.
Let us hope, however, that in the next few years more work is
done in the development of one or more satisfactory indices of
linguistic diversity which could serve as useful tools both for
setting a base line in language planning and for measuring
achievement of a second language learning policy in a country.

Closely connected with the notion of linguistic diversity is
the question of how the various languages in a community are
used. To say, for example, that a country has two languages
spoken by such-and-such percentages of the population says
very little about the language situation, and even a fully
quantified specification of this which would reflect the num-
ber of speakers of each, the number of lilinguals in the popu-
lation, the degree of mastery of the second language achieved
by various segments of the population, and data on the simi-
larity between the two languages would still leave out the
fundamental matter of when and under what circumstances
each language is used and what the attitudes of the people
are toward the two languages.

For example, France is a country of two languages, where
about 97% of the population speak French and about 2% speak
Breton; almost all of the Breton speakers are able to speak

French to some extent and many are completely bilingual.
The Malagasy Republic also is a country of two languages;
about 97% of the people speak Malagasy in one form or
another and about 2% of the people speak French; the over-
whelming majority of the French speakers also speak Mala-
gasy. In simple quantitative terms these two language situ-
ations are similar, but the differences in usage of the respec-
tive languages and the attitudes toward them are enormous.
In France the minority language is used as a home language
in one part of the country while the majority language is used
throughout the entire range of national life, including govern-
ment, education, literature. In the Malagasy Republic, on
the other hand, the majority language is the home language
of the population and the minority language is used for many
facets of national life including most education and many
government activities.

A language in a multilingual situation may serve as the identi-
fying language of an ethnic group or it may be the language
used only for certain ritualistic purposes in the religion or it
may be the means of communication between different speech
communities. General studies of multilingualism have
attempted to list the variables involved (cf. Lewis 1962) and
a number of linguists have commented on the "uses" of lan-
guage and the existence of "restricted" languages used for
limited purposes (cf. Firth 1960) but no satisfactory classi-
fication has yet been worked out which can be used to charac-
terize either a language or a language situation from a socio-
linguistic point of view. One very tentative proposal was
made in a paper on languages and national development
(Ferguson 1961) reprinted in this volume and another, some-
what fuller attempt is made in Stewart's paper on typology in
this volume. This is a field of considerable importance for
the understanding of societies which has been neglected
almost completely by sociologists and linguists.

If a typology of languages or language uses were worked out
this could be transferred to a typology of nations or other
sociopolitical units in language terms. Such a typology was
mentioned under the name "national profiles" in the Ferguson
paper just cited and is to some extent implicit in the charts
by Miss Roberts included in this volume.

The discussion up to this point has been chiefly in terms of
the existence of separate languages in a country and the
nature and extent of the differences between them. Another

question which must be touched upon is the amount of dialect
variation within a single language. Some languages are rela-
tively homogeneous, i.e. all speakers talk about the same
way, while other languages may show dialect cleavages so
great as to offer serious obstances to communication within
the speech community. Distinct varieties of speech within
a language are called dialects.

It must, of course, be emphasized here that the terms "lan-
guage" and"dialect" as used by linguists are technical terms
without evaluative or emotional character. A dialect in this
sense is neither a substandard variety of a language nor a
second-class language. A language in this classificatory
sense refers to the homogeneous speech form of a whole
linguistic community or to a group of such speech forms which
are mutually intelligible or constitute a chain of mutual intelli-
gibility. This use of "language", although as basic to linguis-
tic science as the concept "species" is to biology, involved
external non-linguistic factors. Mutual intelligibility is
difficult and sometimes impossible to test, and it alone does
not serve to delimit satisfactorily the units of analysis
referred to as languages, since the dialects of some lan-
guages are further apart in structure and mutual intelligibility
than whole languages are from each other in other cases
(Voegelin and Harris 1951, Pierce 1952). It is necessary to
include such notions as the existence of a unifying standard
form or the attitudes of the speakers toward their language in
order to arrive at a fully satisfactory definition of a language.
A recent discussion of this question examines the possible
kinds of variation and the appropriate definitions, with ex-
amples chiefly from South Asia (Ferguson and Gumperz 1960).

It is tacitly assumed by many that one of the features of
ideal nationhood is the possession of a standardized national
language. The absolute ideal would apparently be a language
which has a community of native speakers coterminous with
the national boundaries and which has a single accepted norm
of pronunciation, spelling, grammar, and vocabulary, used
for all levels of speaking and writing, including both a unique
national literature and work in modern science.

The actual language situation in a given nation is often far
from this ideal, and the selection of a national language and
the means of standardizing the language are often among the
problems of developing countries. In some nations the
selection of a national language has in effect been made by

the demographic fact of the country's having one language
used by the overwhelming mass of the population (e.g. Thai-
land – Thai, Somalia – Somali). In some multilingual coun-
tries the choice of a national language is simple because of
the clearcut dominance of one language in the country
(e.g. Iran – Persian, Burma – Burmese, Ethiopia – Amharic).
In a few cases (e.g. Indonesia – Malay/Bahasa Indonesia) a
minority language has become accepted as the national lan-
guage. In many countries of Asia and Africa the question of
a national language is still troublesome, with no clear
solution in sight.

The standardization of a language, i.e. the development of a
norm widely accepted throughout the speech community, takes
place in various ways. Standardization as a sociolinguistic
process is not well understood. There are accounts of the
standardization of a number of European languages (cf. Ven-
dryes 1931 pp. 260-279; Meillet 1928) which show quite
different sets of historical events in the standardization
process of different languages, but there are not enough
detailed studies of standardization in various parts of the
world and under various circumstances to yield useful
generalizations. It is clear that there are limits to what can
be legislated or decreed in linguistic change and that certain
kinds of change can take place more rapidly than others, but
this is far from an adequate understanding of the process.
Ray's study in this volume is devoted to a number of aspects
of this problem of standardization, especially insofar as it
can be a conscious, deliberate operation.

Against these background notions of linguistic diversity,
national languages, and language standardization, what is
meant by the term "second language" in Asia, Africa, and
Latin America? If we assume that it is normal for each
human being to learn one language in a "natural" way from
his communication partners at an early age (one to five years),
this question may be rephrased: When and why does an indi-
vidual learn another dialect of his language or another lan-
guage altogether? The answer is twofold. Either the speech
community into which he is born uses different dialects or
different languages in functionally different ways so that full
communication within the community requires a second lan-
guage, or the individual for one reason or another desires or
needs communication with another speech community. In the
remainder of this discussion the term "language" will be used
to mean either dialect or language.

The existence of marginal, overlapping, or anomalous cases does not invalidate this general formulation: an individual normally learns the primary language of his speech community at an early age and adds to it (a) additional languages required for full communication within the community and (b) additional languages needed for communication outside the community. Insofar as additional languages learned as (a) or (b) are regional or national languages or are required for access to modern science and technology or are needed for international communication they are directly relevant to the social, economic, and educational development of the nation.

Second language learning takes place either by relatively informal, unplanned imitation and use in actual communication situations or by formal study in a system of education. The impression of specialists in the language field is that languages learned by the informal "using" method are learned faster, more completely, and with greater retention than languages learned as subjects in school or special educational situations.

If this is so, then experimentation should be undertaken to find out the basic facts here. The problem for the educator is how to make the acquisition of languages through formal education - which must be the chief agency - either as much like the more natural learning as possible or else to discover and use methods of language learning different from the natural ones but superior in results.

REFERENCES

Ferguson, C. A. 1962. "The Language Problem in National Development" Anthropological Linguistics 4:1.23-28.

Ferguson, C. A. and Gumperz, J. J. 1960. "Introduction" in Linguistic Diversity in South Asia. Bloomington: Indiana University. Pp. 1-18.

Firth, J. R. 1960. "The Teaching of English Overseas in Relation to Uses" [London] Multilithed. 7 pp.

Greenberg, J. H. 1956. "The Measurement of Linguistic Diversity" Language 32.109-115.

Information Series 1 1961. Second Language Learning as a Factor in National Development in Asia, Africa and Latin America. Washington: Center for Applied Linguistics. v, 18 pp.

Lewis, E. G. 1962. "Conditions Affecting the 'Reception' of an 'Official' (second/foreign) Language". London: CCTA/CSA. Mimeog. 27 pp.

Meillet, A. 1928. Les langues dans l'Europe nouvelle. 2nd ed. Paris.

Pierce, J. E. 1952. "Dialect Distance Testing". International Journal of American Linguistics 18.203-10.

Vendryes, J. 1931. Language: a Linguistic Introduction to History. Tr. P. Radin. London.

Voegelin, C. F. and Harris, Z. S. 1951. "Methods for Determining Intelligibility Among Dialects of National Languages" Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society 95.322-9.

THE LANGUAGE FACTOR IN NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

by Charles A. Ferguson

0. Introduction
1. Development
2. Nations
3. National profiles

0. Social scientists of various disciplines are concerned with the concept "national development", in particular, of course, economists and political scientists, but to a lesser extent scholars in other fields.[1] Structural linguistics, however, in spite of its concern with diachronic matters, has been resolutely opposed to any developmental or evolutionary approach in linguistic analysis. The purpose of this paper is on the one hand to suggest the relevance of "national development" for linguistic analysis and on the other hand to point to linguistic aspects of national development as it is studied by social scientists in other fields. The approach followed here has resulted from the work of the Survey of Second Language Learning in Asia, Africa, and Latin America which was carried out by the Center for Applied Linguistics in collaboration with outside specialists from the United States and other countries.[2]

1. Of the many scales which could be developed for measuring language "development" in a way which might correlate usefully with nonlinguistic measures of development two seem particularly promising: the degree of use of written language and the nature and extent of standardization. Scales suggested here represent a modification of the viewpoint of Heinz Kloss.[3]

1.1. The 3000 or more languages currently spoken vary in the use of a written form of the language from cases in which the language has never been written to languages with an enormous and very varied use of written forms. It is difficult to arrange these cases in a simple, linear progression, partly because of the complex variation and partly because of the great range in the amount of use. As a first approximation to a useful scale, we suggest the scheme

   W0. - not used for normal written purposes
   W1. - used for normal written purposes
   W2. - original research in physical sciences
       regularly published

A convenient set of criteria for establishing "normal" use of the written language is as follows. (a) The language is used for ordinary interpersonal epistolary purposes. People write letters in it. (b) The language is used in popular periodicals. Newspapers appear in it. (c) The language is used in books not translated from other languages. People write and publish books in it.

Languages with rating "0." include languages such as Modern Aramaic for which no orthography has been suggested and which has no representative writing by members of the speech community, as well as languages like Tuareg where use of the writing system is limited to special and marginal purposes, or Lugbara where an orthography has been suggested which has been used in some dictionaries, grammars, textbooks, Bible translations and the like, but which has not yet become widely used in the community. Most languages are still at this level although there is a steady stream of languages moving up to level "1".

Examples of languages at level "1" include Amharic, Thai, Slovenian.   Many languages in category "1" have a substantial publication output. Languages with relatively small output often have a considerable amount of poetry, folkloric material and translations. Only a few languages fall in category "2". These are often also languages widely used for intercommunication by other speech communities. The number of languages belonging in this category, however, is steadily increasing and this suggests the need for a possible additional level.

   W3. - languages in which translations and resumés
       of scientific work in other languages are regu-
       larly published.

<u>1.2</u>. The establishment of a scale of standardization is much more difficult because there are at least two dimensions involved, one of which is itself quite complicated. One such dimension is the degree of difference between the standard form or forms of a language and all other varieties of it. This difference may be very small or very great independently of the other dimension, which is the nature of the standardization and the degree to which a standard form is accepted as such throughout the community. The simplest approach seems to be to set up the end points of the scale as St^0. and St^2. Zero refers to a language in which there is no important amount of standardization. As an example, we may take Kurdish, where there is a considerable dialect variation but where no form or forms of the language has received wide acceptance as a norm among people who do not speak it themselves.[4] At the other end of the scale we have what may be regarded as the "ideal" standardization. The term "ideal" is not inappropriate because individuals concerned with the development of their nation who make proposals for change in the language situation generally seem to make proposals aimed at achieving this "ideal" standardization even though they rarely state the desired goal explicitly. Category "2." refers to a language which has a single, widely accepted norm which is felt to be appropriate with only minor modifications or variations for all purposes for which the language is used. Differences between regional variants, social levels, speaking and writing, and so on, are quite small. An example of category "2."is Swedish, where the difference between the written and spoken standard is appreciable, but relatively minor and growing less, and where none of the original dialects are too far removed from the standard.

Category "1."requires considerable sub-classification to be of any use. Whatever scheme of classification is developed, it will have to take account in the first instance of whether the standardization is unimodal or bi- or multimodal, and in the case of more than one norm, the nature of the norms must be treated. Armenian may serve as an example of a bimodal standardization where the standards are essentially regional, East Armenian and West Armenian, both being used for normal written purposes. Greek may be cited as an example of a bimodal standardization based on a "vertical" or role differentiation, one being used for ordinary conversation and the other for most written and formal spoken purposes. Serbo-Croatian has two norms based to a large extent on religio-cultural differences. Norwegian is an example of a bimodal

standardization based on neither of these. As a single ex-
ample of a more complicated case of standardization, we may
mention the whole Hindi-Urdu complex with its regional
standards in addition to the religio-cultural split.[5]

2. Linguists have generally operated with the concept of
speech community "a group of people who use the same sys-
tem of speech-signals"[6] as the locus of linguistic behavior,
although recently some attempts have been made to deal with
multilingual communities.[7] Only rarely has the concept
nation been utilized by linguists for this purpose, and then
generally for describing certain features of language used in
Europe.[8] From many points of view, however, it is desirable
to use the nation as the basis for general sociolinguistic
descriptions: communication networks, educational systems,
and language "planning" are generally on a national basis
and national boundaries play at least as important a role in
the delimitation of linguistic areas as any other single social
barrier. In the description of the language situation of a
given nation two fundamental points must be treated, the
number of languages and the relative dominance of languages.

2.1. In determining for taxonomic purposes the number of
languages spoken in a country it seems advisable to distin-
guish between major and minor languages. A definition of
major language which has proved useful in the work of the
Survey is: a major language of a nation is a language spoken
by at least ten million people or one-tenth of the population.
The number of major languages in a nation may vary from one
to a dozen or more. It seems likely, however, that the
important categories are: one major language (e.g. Thailand,
Costa Rica, Holland), two major languages (e.g. Canada,
Belgium, Paraguay), and three or more major languages (e.g.
Switzerland, Nigeria, India).

2.2. In a nation with more than one major language, it is
often true that one is clearly dominant over the others or, in
some cases, several languages are dominant over the others.
One indication of dominance is numerical superiority: one
language is dominant over others if it is spoken by more than
half the population of the country. Another important indica-
tor of dominance is the extent to which a given language is
learned by native speakers of other languages in the country.
For example, Persian and Pashto are spoken by about the
same number of people in Afghanistan, but Persian is often
learned as a second language by speakers of Pashto and

other languages in the country, while Pashto, in spite of
official government support and formal classes, is rarely
learned well by speakers of other languages in the country.
A third indicator of language dominance is the use of one of
the languages of the nation for such clearly national uses as
publication of official texts of laws or decrees, medium of
instruction in government schools, normal channel of military
communication.

Full agreement among these three indicators provides the
"normal" form of national language dominance. Cases where
these indicators are not in agreement seem generally to have
serious social tensions connected with language problems.

2.3. In many nations, especially in Asia and Africa, lan-
guages of wider communication (LWC) such as English and
French, play an important role in the national language situ-
ation and this must be separately assessed. For one thing,
the LWC may be the language used for the clearly national
purposes listed under the third indicator of dominance. In
addition it may be an LWC rather than one of the local lan-
guages which is used as the means of access to scientific
and technological knowledge or to communicate with other
nations in the expanding network of international communica-
tion.

3. With the fairly simple machinery outlined in the previous
two sections, it is possible to draw up for a nation a profile
which will be of value for comparison with other non-linguis-
tic indices of development. The great drawback here is not
the theoretical complexity or even the practical man-hours of
work involved. It is the lack of reliable data for most nations.

The preparation of a national sociolinguistic profile in the
sense described here calls for putting down on paper about a
given nation the following information: how many major lan-
guages are spoken; what is the pattern of language dominance;
are there national uses of a LWC; for each major language
spoken in the country, what is the extent of written uses of
the language (W0. - W2.) and what is the extent of standard-
ization (St0. - St2.) and its nature (multimodal? range of
variation from the norm?).

Even with the preliminary profiles which can be put on paper
on the basis of currently available data, it is evident first
that there is a wide range of variability although certain

types are quite common, especially the one nation – one major dominant language W1. St2. It is also evident that certain types of profile occur only in underdeveloped countries, especially the one with no dominant language and an LWC used for national purposes as well as for access to science and international communication. Before any useful theorizing can be done, it is necessary to collect the data and prepare reliable national profiles. The possibility of significant conclusions arising from such study seems very promising.

NOTES

1. As examples of recent works concerned with the theory of national development we may cite W. W. Rostow, The Process of Economic Growth (New York, 1952); G. A. Almond and J. S. Colemen (eds.), The Politics of the Developing Areas (Princeton, 1960). One work which emphasizes the role of communication in the concept of nationhood is K. W. Deutsch, Nationalism and Social Communication (New York, 1953).

2. For an account of the Survey and some of its results, see Second Language Learning...in Asia, Africa, and Latin America (Washington: Center for Applied Linguistics, 1961).

3. Cf. H. Kloss, Die Entwicklung neuer germanischer Kultursprachen (Munich, 1952), in particular pp. 24-31,"Stufenfolge des Ausbaus eines Idioms zur Kultursprache."

4. Kurdish may not be a fully satisfactory example since the dialect of Suleimaniya is beginning to be accepted as a norm by a considerable segment of the Kurdish speech community. Cf. E. N. McCarus, A Kurdish Grammar (New York), 1958) p. 1; D. N. Mackenzie, Kurdish Dialect Studies I (London, 1961) p. xviii.

5. Cf. J. Gumperz and C. M. Naim, "Formal and Informal Standards in the Hindi Regional Language Area," in C. A. Ferguson and J. Gumperz (eds.), Linguistic Diversity in South Asia (Indiana University, RCPAFL 13, 1960)

6. L. Bloomfield, Language (New York, 1933) p. 29.

7. Cf. U. Weinreich, <u>Languages in Contact</u> (New York, 1953) pp. 83-110.

8. See, for example: L. Dominian, <u>The Frontiers of Language and Nationality in Europe</u> (New York, 1917); A. Meillet, <u>Les langues dans l'Europe nouvelle</u> (Paris, 1928); S. Rundle, <u>Language as a Social and Political Factor in Europe</u> (London, 1946).

AN OUTLINE OF LINGUISTIC TYPOLOGY FOR DESCRIBING MULTILINGUALISM

by William A. Stewart

Of the special social and technical problems which beset
new and developing nations in particular, a sizable number
turn out to be directly related to language in some way.
Such linguistic problems include those of widespread illiter-
acy, the lack of a standardized national language, the need
for pedagogical tools in locally adapted language teaching,
and the lack of modern technical vocabularies in languages
which must suddenly be employed for communicating techni-
cal and scientific knowledge. Linguistic problems such as
these can and do occur in areas with linguistic uniformity
and diversity alike, but it is especially in the latter case
that they may be characterized by greater complexity, with
their solutions rendered especially difficult.

National multilingualism, that is, the use of more than one
language within the same national territory, exists to some
extent in all the major areas of the world. It is especially
in Asia, Africa, and Latin America, however, where--often
as the linguistic aspect of a still vigorous ethnic or cultural
pluralism--multilingualism has given rise to national com-
munication problems of a serious enough nature to have
prompted a number of national governments to initiate remed-
ial programs. Although these programs have varied greatly
in their details, they have usually been based upon one of
two fundamentally different policies:

> 1. The eventual elimination, by education and
> decree, of all but one language, which remains
> to serve for both official and general purposes.
>
> 2. The recognition and preservation of important
> languages within the national scene, supplemented
> by universal use of one or more languages to serve
> for official purposes and for communication across
> language boundaries.

The first of these approaches aims at de-emphasizing linguis-
tic diversity as much as possible, and is usually part of a

more general policy of total assimilation to the "national"
culture of all ethnic and cultural minorities. The second
approach is more tolerant of multilingualism, and is merely
concerned with bringing about the additional use of certain
languages for inter-communication and for national repre-
sentation. This usually parallels a policy of officially recog-
nizing cultural pluralism as a fundamental part of the nation's
makeup. The extent to which either policy is a more suitable
one depends largely upon the nature of the particular multi-
lingual situation to be dealt with. Generally speaking, the
discouragement of linguistic pluralism is most feasible in
countries where essentially one language has already come
to enjoy a high degree of usage and prestige, while the
acceptance of linguistic pluralism is a more realistic course
for nations which are subdivided into a number of established
and to some extent culturally autonomous linguistic communi-
ties.

Almost every administrative, technical, or pedagogical pro-
gram which has been undertaken in order to deal with multi-
lingualism has met with problems in the form of unpredicted
reactions either for or against changes in the linguistic
status quo. For example, there have been cases where the
speakers of one language have resisted being taught some
other one because of a feeling that the second language,
even though it might have had a far larger number of actual
speakers, would be somehow "less appropriate" for general
use. Or, there have been other cases where individuals have
preferred to devote their efforts toward attaining fluency in
some language other than their native one--in spite of the
greater difficulties involved--merely because the second
language was regarded by them as being "more worthy" than
their native language. Where social reactions of this type
have not been foreseen, it has been largely because not
enough information was sought in advance about the different
ways in which the various languages in a multilingual situa-
tion may intermesh with social attitudes and behavior patterns.
Because of this, both scholars and policy makers in the lan-
guage field would benefit from a familiarity with at least the
more recurrent sociolinguistic phenomena which may charact-
erize multilingualism, especially those differences in the
ways in which individual languages are ranked and used by
people. Particularly useful insights into the sociolinguistic
constants and variables of multilingualism may be obtained
through the description and comparison of different national
case histories. Indeed, governmental administrators might

find a comparative context a useful one in which to evaluate
variations in the progress or outcome of past language-
oriented programs as well as in the planning of new ones.

In the present Outline, a sociolinguistic typology has been
developed especially for use in the description of national
language situations. It is designed to indicate in somewhat
abbreviated form the main kinds of functional and distribution-
al relationships which different languages may have in the
national linguistic scene. [1]

A. Language Types in Multilingualism

One important factor in the typology of multilingualism is an
essentially attitudinal one, which will be referred to in this
Outline as language type. It derives from the apparently
general phenomenon that, owing to attitudes which people
have come to adopt toward certain socio-historical attributes
of language, different languages may be accorded different
degrees of relative social status. Because of this, languages
which occur together may not stand in a relationship of social
equality with respect to one another. Language type in this
sense is often a major factor in determining whether or not a
language will be accepted by the members of a national
society as suitable for some specific rôle, such as for use
in education or as an official language. The specification
of the sociolinguistic type to which a particular language be-
longs requires taking into account several different facts
about it, since no single social or historical attribute seems
to be wholly decisive in determining a language's potential
social status. Languages may be differentiated into types in
terms of four attributes which demonstrate a consistent tend-
ency to affect social attitudes toward them. These are:

I. Historicity, i.e. whether or not the language is the
result of a process of development through use.

What makes a language obviously historical is its
association with some national or ethnic tradition.

II. Standardization, i.e. whether or not there exists
for the language a codified set of grammatical and lex-
ical norms which are formally accepted and learned by
the language's users.

Formalized grammars and lexicons tend to impart a
generally accepted status of "legitimacy" to languages
which possess them.

III. _Vitality_, i.e. whether or not the language has an existing community of native speakers.

Other things being equal, the recognition that a language has native speakers will have the effect of increasing its social importance for other people.

IV. _Homogenicity_, i.e. whether or not the language's basic lexicon and basic grammatical structure both derive from the same pre-stages of the language.

Most languages of the world are homogenetic, but there are languages of which the basic grammar comes from one source and the basic lexicon from another.

The way in which these socio-historical attributes combine to produce viable and extant language types is shown in the following chart. A plus sign indicates the presence of one of the variables, and a minus its absence. The resultant language types appear in descending order of potential social prestige.

Attributes				Language Type	Type Symbol
I	II	III	IV		
+	+	+	+ -	Standard	S
+	+	-	+	Classical	C
+	-	+	+	Vernacular	V
+	-	+	-	Creole	K
+	-	-	-	Pidgin	P
-	+	-	+ -	Artificial	A
-	-	-	+ -	Marginal	M

Standard (S) and classical (C) are the two language types
with the highest universal prestige. Their codified norms--
reinforced by literary models in many cases--tend to encour-
age a relatively high degree of uniformity in usage, even
where the languages' users are geographically or socially
separated. In some cases, allowances for certain kinds of
regional variation may even be made for within the formal
grammatical an᷉ 'ᵊxical conventions. These two language
types are the ones which are the most likely to be adopted as
official languages in newly formed nations. An example of a
standard type language would be English as it is spoken or
written by most educated users of the language.[2] Perhaps
the best example of a classical type now in use is that of
literary Arabic. Outside of Malta, which has an Arabic
standard (i.e. Maltese), it is the only standardized form of
Arabic, and exists in each country beside one or more related
vernaculars. Greece provides an interesting example of a
standard (i.e. Dhimotiki) and a classical (i.e. Katharevusa)
used side by side. It is possible for a classical to become
or give rise to a modern standard language by regaining a
community of native speakers, cf. Israeli Hebrew, a standard
developed from the classical language.

Vernacular (V) languages are usually learned as first, or
native languages, although in some cases they may be infor-
mally acquired as second languages by individuals. Due to
their lack of formalized grammars and lexicons (at least ones
accepted as authoritative by the languages' users[3]), vernacu-
lar languages are almost always ranked lower in prestige than
standard or classical languages. The fact that they often
have large numbers of monolingual speakers does tend to give
them some social or political weight. Most tribal languages
of Africa and the Americas are vernacular types. So also are
many speech forms related to standard languages but which,
though having no formalized grammars of their own, are
functionally and structurally autonomous enough to rank as
separate languages, cf. Yorkshire dialect or Egyptian collo-
quial Arabic. Because of their lack of standardization, ver-
nacular languages are generally not used for formal writing.
Of course, a vernacular may eventually become a standard
through the gradual codification and acceptance of its gram-
mar and lexicon.

Creole (K) and pidgin (P) languages are both the result of
the development of a secondary language for wider communi-
cation in certain kinds of social and linguistic contact

situations where grammatical and lexical material from different sources became fused. A _pidgin_ is such a language in its primary stage, when it is spoken only as a second language. At times such a language may acquire native speakers and undergo further development, and so become a _creole_. One widely used _pidgin_ which is fast becoming a _creole_ is Neo-Melanesian, or Melanesian Pidgin English. Several closely related French-based _creole_ languages are spoken in the Caribbean, and English-based _creoles_ are spoken in Surinam (i.e. Sranan and Saramakkan) and in Sierre Leone (i.e. Krio). Like _vernaculars_, _creoles_ may eventually become _standard_ languages.

Artificial (A) and _marginal_ (M) languages are alike in that they are both ad hoc creations. The former usually have a highly rigidified and simplified structure which has been contrived by their individual authors. _Marginal_ speech forms have much less of an established structure, being simply tools of private communication between very limited numbers of individuals who are frequently in contact, but who know no language in common. Examples of a few _artificial_ languages which have become well known are Volapük, Esperanto and, more recently, Interlingua. _Marginal_ languages have been quite common in colonial Asia and Africa as "household languages" developed between Europeans and their servants.[4]

B. Language Functions in Multilingualism

Another factor of importance in the typology of multilingualism is that of the _function_ of each language as some kind of medium of communication within the nation. Different languages, even when of the same language type, may have differing functions; some may occupy highly specialized rôles, while others may be used for very generalized purposes. Although differentiation between linguistic functions can be made as refined as the descriptive goals warrant, the following functional categories have been considered adequate enough for the purposes of general description and comparison:

Official (symbol: o)[5]; the use of a language as the legally appropriate one for all politically and culturally representative purposes. In many cases, the _official_ function of a language is specified constitutionally. In addition to its representative rôle, an _official_ language is almost always among those used for educational and literary purposes, and for wider communication within the nation.

Group (symbol: g); the use of a language primarily by the
members of a single ethnic or cultural group or sub-group.
So strong can be the association between language and group,
that at times languages with a group function may often serve
as informal criteria for ascertaining group membership. The
fact that a language is associated in this way with a particu-
lar social group may tend to create resistence on the part of
out-groupers to the adoption of that language for more gener-
al purposes--particularly if the group with which the language
is associated is otherwise strongly segmented from the rest of
the national society.

Wider communication (symbol: w); the use of a language,
other than an official one, for communication across language
boundaries for purposes of trade and commerce within the
nation.

Educational (symbol: e); the use of a language, other than an
official one, as a medium of instruction at some level of the
educational system.

Literary (symbol: l); the use of a language, other than an
official one, primarily for literary or scholarly activities.

Religious (symbol: r); the use of a language primarily in
connection with the practice of a religion.

Technical (symbol: t); the use of a language primarily as an
access to international technical and scientific literature.

Under various conditions, the same language may occupy
more than one functional slot. Although the correlation be-
tween language type and language function is flexible enough
so that it must be stated for each specific case, it is gener-
ally the case that the official (o), literary (l), and religious
(r) functions will almost always be occupied by either stan-
dard or classical languag... the technical (t) function by
standard or artificial languages, and the group (g) function
by standards, vernaculars, or creoles.

Multilingual situations tend to stabilize so that different
languages used together are often functionally non-competi-
tive. This is accomplished by any two languages being in
complementary distribution in some social or geographical
sense. For example, two languages with a group function or
with a religious function will by definition virtually always

be used by different social groups or for different religions,
respectively. On the other hand, two languages with differ-
ent functions, for instance, one with a group and the other
with a religious function, may be used by the same people
but under different circumstances; the language with the
group function will be used for general purposes, excluding
religious ritual, while the religious language will be used
only for the latter purpose.

Problems of linguistic conflict occur when this reciprocal
network is broken down, either by a natural historical pro-
cess, as in the development of simultaneous pressure from
two linguistically different cultural sources, or by direct
administrative intervention, such as when an attempt is made
to replace a vernacular language by a different standard lan-
guage in a particular group function, or by political compe-
tition between two different languages for a wider communi-
cation or official function in a given area. In such cases,
either one of the languages will eventually be eliminated
from use, even though the remaining one may be heavily
influenced by the other in structure and lexicon.

C. Diglossia
Because of differences in language types and language func-
tions which can occur in any case of national multilingual-
ism, linguistic pluralism can exhibit a network of very com-
plex relationships. The situation is further complicated by
the fact that there are two very different kinds of associative
relationships which two languages may stand in with respect
to each other. So far, it has been assumed that the normal
relationship between any two languages was: (a) general
mutual unintelligibility, and (b) no marked mutual identifica-
tion of the two languages. This may be considered the
"normal" bilingual relationship.

In general, a historical relationship between two languages
does not necessarily guarantee either any appreciable degree
of mutual intelligibility or mutual identification, especially
if the relationship is one of the remote past.[6] Where, how-
ever, two languages are historically related closely enough
so that there is an obvious correlation between them at some
structural level--usually lexicon--of both, and where the
languages are in complementary functions, then they may
come to be regarded as variants, in some way, of each other.
This special kind of language relationship is usually termed
diglossia in sociolinguistics.[7] In some cases of diglossia,

two languages may be in such a subtle reciprocal function
that they may even serve as different style levels in the same
discourse situations.[8]

In most cases of diglossia, the two languages represent
different language types as well, and the resultant hierarchi-
cal relationship tends to intensify their reciprocity and to
inhibit the drift of one language into the functional slot of the
other.

A diglossia relationship between languages can be symbol-
ized by the notation "Language $\underline{A}$ ~ Language $\underline{B}$", with the
language of higher prestige always listed first.

A sample of this and other symbols suggested in this Outline
can be furnished in the form of a notational résumé of the
linguistic situation in the State of Louisiana:

English	(So)	
French	(Sl)	(French ~ Acadian, Negro Creole)
Acadian	(Vg)	(French ~ Acadian)
Negro Creole	(Kg)	(French ~ Negro Creole)
Latin	(Cr)	

This can be interpreted: "there is a standard language, Eng-
lish, which is the official language of the area. There is also
another standard language, French, which is used primarily
for literary and scholarly purposes. In addition, there are
two languages used by special social groups: a vernacular
called Acadian and a creole called Negro Creole. Both stand
in a diglossia relationship to standard French, which serves
as the language of higher prestige. Lastly, there exists a
classical, Latin, which is used primarily in carrying out the
ritual of a particular religion. "

NOTES

1. Most linguistic typologies have been concerned with
indicating historical relationships between various languages.
However, historical relationship is not necessarily signifi-
cant as such in multilingualism, particularly if the related
languages have evolved sufficiently along different lines.
Thus English, Bengali, and Hindi are all related languages,

but this fact appears to have no effect on the problems
involved in their coexistence in multilingual India.

2. In a strict sense, standardization is independent of writ-
ing, since there have apparently been cases of unwritten
languages which have nevertheless been standardized on the
basis of traditionally recited and preserved oral models.
Also, any language can be technically reduced to writing for
certain specialized purposes, e.g. linguistic description,
the publication of biblical texts, poetry, etc., without any
of these writing techniques becoming established among the
language's real users. However, in view of the fact that
writing is so frequently a characteristic of present-day
standard languages, it will be generally included in the def-
inition of standardization here, but only in the sense of
"an established writing system, together with an appropriate
set of orthographical conventions, which has become part of
the language's codified grammar." The reader who knows
German will find a useful discussion of the relationship of
writing to standardization in Chapter I of Heinz Kloss, Die
Entwicklung neuer germanischer Kultursprachen von 1800
bis 1950, Munich, 1952.

3. Linguists hold that all languages have a grammatical
structure and a vocabulary, and that these are subject to
scientific analysis and description. The question is merely
whether or not the culture with which the language is tradi-
tionally associated has developed a formally accepted set of
rules about the way in which the language is supposed to
behave.

4. This characterization of marginal languages is essential-
ly an expansion of the one in J. Berry's typology of Sierra
Leone multilingualism in his "Pidgins and Creoles in Africa,"
Second Meeting of the Inter-African Committee on Linguistics;
Symposium on Multilingualism, Brazzaville, 16-23 July, 1962
[advance copy, p. 2]. The process involved in the formation
of marginal languages may possibly be akin to that of some
pidgins, but of course on a smaller scale. For this reason,
marginal speech forms deserve additional study under con-
trolled conditions.

5. Upper case symbols have been used for coding language
types, and lower case symbols for language functions.

6. Even where two languages are fairly closely related

historically, their identification with different and sometimes
rival cultures may cause attitudinal interference with any
mutual intelligibility which might be feasible because of
similarities in their structures. This phenomenon is discuss-
ed in Hans Wolff, "Intelligibility and Inter-ethnic Attitudes"
in Symposium on Urbanization and Standard Language
(= Anthropological Linguistics, Vol. 2, No. 3, March 1959).

7. For a general discussion of diglossia, with examples
from four similar but unrelated cases, see Charles A. Fergu-
son, "Diglossia," in Word, vol. XV, No. 2 (August 1959).

8. For examples of this particular aspect of diglossia taken
from two different cases, see Haim Blanc, "Stylistic Varia-
tion in Spoken Arabic: a Sample of Interdialectal Educated
Conversation" (in Charles A. Ferguson, ed., Contributions
to Arabic Linguistics, Cambridge, Harvard University Press,
1960), and William A. Stewart, "The Functional Distribution
of Creole and French in Haiti" (to appear in Georgetown
University Monograph Series on Languages and Linguistics,
No. 15, Thirteenth Annual Roundtable of Languages and
Linguistics.)

MEXICAN AND GUATEMALAN BILINGUALISM

by A. Richard Diebold, Jr.

1. INTRODUCTION

From the late fifteenth through the seventeenth centuries, a technologically superior Spanish task force busied itself with the conquest and colonization of much of the American Indian territory which makes up modern Latin America. By the middle of the sixteenth century, it had achieved hegemony over the various Indian groups in most of that area, including the region which comprises the modern republics of Mexico and Guatemala, a region which I will hereafter refer to as Middle America.

Linguistically, Spanish hegemony created in Middle America a situation of multiple language contact in which Spanish soon assumed the role of a dominant lingua franca (Diebold, 1962), and Middle American Indian languages today constitute a grouping of languages on the basis of their common tradition of contact with and linguistic interference from a single dominant language.

But it is upon the social role played by the Spanish lingua franca that I want to base my remarks here. It is surprising how little study has been directed to this question (Diebold, 1958). In ways which should become clear below, culture change in rural Middle America is very much bound up with becoming bilingual in Spanish, which is the national lingua franca. It is my hope that the following discussion of Middle American bilingualism will offer to those persons engaged in the teaching of lingua francas (such as English and French) as secondary languages, an insight into the relationship between such a secondary lingua franca and the primary languages with which it is in often competitive contact.

The following section will describe some of the salient features of Middle American bilingualism. A final section will discuss some of the "grassroots" details of bilingualism, drawing upon a study of bilingualism which I undertook in

the Huave Indian community of San Mateo del Mar, in the
Mexican state of Oaxaca (see Diebold 1961a, 1961b).

2. SOME FEATURES OF MIDDLE AMERICAN BILINGUALISM

After the initial period of conquest, Spanish colonization was
marked by a concern with dividing up the Indian population
for purposes of administration and taxation. There thus
emerged very early an interest in the taking of censuses, and
the communications problems inherent in such a linguistically
diverse area early forced attention on the census quantum of
the language which an individual spoke. The interest in
collecting data on primary language and bilingual skills has
persisted through until the latest national censuses taken in
Mexico and Guatemala.

There has been controversy over the sociological classifica-
tion of the Middle American population into Indian and Mesti-
zo elements (e.g. Caso 1948; Gamio 1948; Gillin 1949;
Goubaud Carrera 1946, Luís Arriola 1950; Nash 1957; Redfield
and Tax 1952); and one of principal diagnostics used in this
classification is the language spoken. An appreciable seg-
ment of the population in certain areas learns Spanish only as
a secondary language, or not at all; the primary language is
an American Indian language. Often enough, the socioloci-
cal classification seizes as its criterion the distinction that
the "Indian" first acquires an American Indian Language in
childhood. It thus becomes an easy task not only to decide
who is and who is not an Indian, but to proceed to finer
distinctions according to the particular language spoken; and
thus one speaks of Mayas, Zapotecs, Mixtecs, and so on.
The sociological term is in part a linguistic index.

It has been asserted that an individual can move upward
socially from an Indian to a Mestizo group by a mere juggling
of language symbols, i.e. the chief item of his Indian heri-
tage which the individual in transition must consider is his
language: he has to learn Spanish. Many previously iso-
lated communities in Middle America which are monolingually
Indian-speaking find themselves engaged in greater social
contact with and participation in the national life, and an
inevitable concomitant is a greater degree of bilingualism
and even shifting to Spanish (Aguirre Beltrán 1957; Gamio
1948; Gillin 1949; Goubaud Carrera 1946c). With bilingual-
ism (the learning of Spanish as a secondary language) and
acculturation (to the Mestizo model) the individuals affected

often leave their Indian community to join the Mestizo society.
This accounts in part for the conservatism and uniformity mani-
fested by many of these communities: they lose their culture
marginals (and hence many of their bilinguals) to the ever-
growing national society.

But for those communities whose members are predominantly
monolingual in an Indian language, there looms a communi-
cations problem, for any venture in bicultural behavior
involves the acquisition of the language of the dominant cul-
ture.

Greenberg (1956:110) has summarized the problem as follows:
That it is expected "that areas of high linguistic diversity
will be those in which communication is poor, and that the
increase in communication that goes with greater economic
productivity and more extensive political organization will
lead typically to the spread of a lingua franca, whether
indigenous or imported, resulting in widespread bilingualism
and the ultimate disappearance of all except a single domin-
ant language."

Additional factors are relevant: First, there are no Spanish
Indian creoles or pidgins reported from Middle America.
Second, although bilingualism today usually involves a pri-
mary Indian language and the acquisition of Spanish as a
secondary language, there is still a sizeable incidence of
Indian-Indian bilingualism, such as Otomí-Nahuatl.

3. SOME DETAILS FROM A BILINGUAL COMMUNITY

The 1950 Mexican national census showed that the municipio
of San Mateo, a community of speakers of Huave, had a
population of 3611. Unofficial calculations placed the per-
centages of bilinguals in the total population at "less than"
20%.

One of the primary field-problems was to retake a village-
wide census. This resulted in a household census which
sought information on household constituency and the kinship
relationships involved, and the age, sex, place of birth, and
language skills of the various individual members of the
household. Moreover, the census inquired about the house-
hold head's contacts with the outside world and about his
occupation.

In this census, a person's language skills were categorized
by highly impressionistic measurements. Native Spanish-
speakers assisted in taking the census. They were asked to
classify as coordinate bilinguals any Mareños (i.e. inhabi-
tants of San Mateo) who appeared to speak Spanish natively
or with little accent. Mareños whose Spanish was productive
but which exhibited noticeable interference from Huave were
to be classified as subordinate bilinguals. Persons unable to
make complete meaningful utterances in Spanish were classi-
fied as monolinguals. The breakdown of the total of 2934
speakers into these three categories was as follows: 175
coordinate bilinguals (6% of the total), 392 subordinate
bilinguals (13%), 2369 monolinguals (81%). Certain prob-
lems arose in the classification of a large number of mono-
linguals who, in their minimal use of Spanish, seemed really
to be incipient bilinguals; this problem is treated in Diebold
1961b.

If we examine the data of the village-wide census, three
significant social correlates to San Mateo bilingualism
emerge:
(1) By sex. Bilingualism is predominantly a male skill. Of
the 175 individuals classified as coordinate bilinguals, 146
(or 86%) were males; of the 392 classified as subordinate
bilinguals, 273 (or 70%) were males. Of the 49 female
coordinate bilinguals, 38 were young adults or adolescents
who resided in households the head of which (and often the
mother) was bilingual. Of the 119 female subordinate biling-
uals, 91 resided in households in which the head was biling-
ual.

(2) By age. Bilingualism is predominantly an adult or ado-
lescent skill. No one interviewed reported that he had
acquired Spanish as a primary language or had learned it
simultaneously with Huave. This is borne out consistently
by the census data: of the 175 coordinate bilinguals listed,
121 were age 18 or older; of the 392 subordinate bilinguals,
264 were age 18 or older. The bilinguals under age 18 (34
coordinate and 128 subordinates) are all from households
having at least one bilingual adult. Of the 34 coordinate
bilinguals under age 18, 23 had bilingual mothers.

Factors of sex and age taken together indicate that the major-
ity of bilinguals will not pass on this linguistic heritage to
their children.

(3) By occupation. Bilinguals appear in comparable numbers
from the three male occupation categories: farmer, fisherman,
or artisan. The direct correlation is not to the occupation but
rather to the degree to which the occupation obliges the indi-
vidual to establish contact with outside Spanish-speaking
communities. While frequency of contact did not correlate
for the monolingual group, it did for both the bilingual groups.
Two variables in one's economic life seem to increase the
intensity of the contact: (a) the individual's having a sal-
able surplus, and (b) the recurrent need for particular cru-
cial goods from the larger outside markets.

In summary, we can state that Spanish is rarely the language
of the home and that it is always secondary. The situation
with respect to the age of acquisition and the sex of the
individual is in fairly stable equilibrium: the Huave child
cannot often acquire Spanish as a childhood language since
few mothers would themselves be bilingual. Contact with
the Spanish-speaking outside world seems to be the crucial
factor involved. Spanish is learned late in adolescence or
in adulthood, and chiefly outside the community. Individual
Huaves acquire various degrees of proficiency in Spanish
outside their home community; upon return to the home, they
have little or no opportunity to speak Spanish, and in fact
most are rarely heard to do so.

Further generalizations about bilingualism in San Mateo
result from examining the various factors which tend to rein-
force the stable equilibrium of bilingualism; these can be
discussed in terms of factors internal and external to the
community.

There are internal factors which bind the individual to
the village and make it less likely that he leave. Such bond-
ship acts as a resistance factor to bilingualism, since the
social functions of the secondary language within San Mateo
are quite limited.

(1) Endogamy. San Mateo is markedly endogamous. There
is a fantastic web of real and fictive kinship ties which
limit the individual's mobility outside the community. Fail-
ure to conform is regarded as moral aberration or psychosis,
and ridicule, fines, and ostracism may result from their
repeated infraction. Moreover, Huaves find difficulty in
marrying into non-Huave-speaking groups; those in the
immediate vicinity regard the Huaves with considerable

negative social prejudice, and the rate of Huave exogamy
remains very low.

(2) The dependent nuclear family. Residence patterns rein-
force the kinship bonds discussed above and the chances are
likely that the nuclear family which one establishes upon
marriage will be a constituent of a larger extended family.

(3) Religious and political duties. Until very recently in
San Mateo, no individual physically or mentally able would
have demurred from the obligations imposed by the escalafón,
a series of successive public offices through which every
village member must progress. Functionally, the escalafón
assured the allocation of duties and leadership necessary to
sustain the community; furthermore, many of the roles demand
economic behavior which assures a regulated flow of goods
throughout the village.

The only effective way to break these social bonds is to open-
ly defect from the community, but the rate of defection remains
low, since incentive to do so (although it is growing) is curb-
ed by the external pressures which remain to be discussed.

There are negative external factors which tend to reinforce
the features discussed above. Chief among these is the
Huave's economic and political dependency on the Spanish-
speaking outside world.

The Huave economy emphasizes fishing, and marine produce
surpluses are destined for nearby markets. But unfortunately
for the Huave, little economic power can be enjoyed since
they in turn are at the complete mercy of the outside market
economy for all manufactured goods and many foodstuffs,
including even the staple starch in the diet, corn. And there
exists on the part of the Spanish-speaking merchants a very
conscious effort to keep the Huaves in this disadvantageous
position.

Politically, too, San Mateo is satellite to the larger
Spanish-speaking towns, principally to Tehuantepec. There
is covert energy devoted to forestalling any change which
will upset the present power ratio. This is manifest in the
overlooking or withholding of social security services and of
educational and judicial facilities, with which the township
of Tehuantepec is entrusted.

The Huave is thus almost a second rate citizen. The pres-
.sures which are exerted on him make it less likely that the
Huave will leave his village, and less likely that he will
have to or even be able to learn Spanish. The present diffi-
culties which the Huave encounters in attempting the transi-
tion from Indian to Mestizo are all but insurmountable.

Positive external factors are varied and contradictory. There
is no consistent policy of government-sponsored education
in San Mateo. Nor has the village received direct attention
from any of the indigenist bureaus. The community is almost
wholly illiterate, and those few individuals who are literate,
are so chiefly in Spanish.

The effect of these factors is that bilingualism in San Mateo
is in a state of near stable equilibrium. Physical defections
from the community occur, but rarely if ever involve whole
families. Defections are principally among single adult men
who are socially or psychologically marginal to the commun-
ity. Since these individuals rarely return, their contribution
to bilingualism is negligible.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Caso, A. 1948. "Definición del indio y de lo indio", Améri-
ca Indigena 8.275-280.

Censo General 1953. Séptimo Censo General de Población
1950. Secretaría de Economía, Dirección General de Estadís-
tica. México D. F.

Diebold, A. R., Jr. 1958. Impresiones particulares sobre el
bilingüismo en México. ms. New Haven.

-----1961a. Bilingualism and Biculturalism in a Huave
Community. ms. Yale University, New Haven.

-----1961b. "Incipient bilingualism", Language 37.97-112.

-----1962. "A laboratory for language contact", Anthropologi-
cal Linguistics 4, No. 1.41-51.

Gamio, M. 1948. Consideraciones sobre el problema indígena. (=Ediciones Especiales del Instituto Indigenista Interamericano, Núm. 5) México D. F.

Gillin, J. 1949. Mestizo America. In: R. Linton, ed. Most of the World. Columbia University Press, New York. Pp. 156-211.

Goubaud Carrera, A. 1946. "El grupo étnico indígena: criterios para su definción", Boletín del Instituto Indigenista Nacional 1, núm. 2-3.13-30.

Greenberg, J. H. 1956. "The measurement of linguistic diversity", Language 32.109-115.

Haugen, E. 1956. Bilingualism in the Americas: A Bibliography and Research Guide. (=Publications of the American Dialect Society, No. 26) University, Alabama.

Luís Arriola, J., ed. 1950. Integración social en Guatemala. (=Publicacion del Seminario de Integración Social Guatemalteca) Guatemala.

Mapas lingüísticos de la República Mexicana. 1944. Departamento de Asuntos Indigenas: México D. F.

Nash, M. 1957. "The multiple society in economic development: Mexico and Guatemala", American Anthropologist, n.s., 59.825-833.

Redfield, R., and S. Tax. 1952. General Characteristics of Present-day Mesoamerican Indian Society. In: Tax et al., op. cit., pp. 31-42.

Tax, S., et al. 1952. Heritage of Conquest: The Ethnology of Middle America. The Free Press: Glencoe, Illinois.

CREOLE LANGUAGES IN THE CARIBBEAN

by William A. Stewart

It has been said of the Caribbean that the historical function
of its marine expanse has been more that of a roadway to man
than a barrier.[1] Perhaps it is largely for this reason that trade
and commerce, closely connected with the development of a
plantation economy based on sugar, spread over the area and
made its island and costal land masses among the most rapid-
ly settled and densely populated in the New World. A number
of European nations, principally Spain, France, Great Britain
and Holland, vied with each other for its control during the
three centuries which followed Columbus' memorable landfall.
As a result both of the plantation economy and of strategic
settlement programs carried out by the competing European
nations, the aboriginal populations of the Caribbean were
soon overrun by the flow of immigrants from Europe and Africa
in most places.

In many centers of settlement--especially in those established
by nations other than Spain--the importation of African slaves
took place on so large a scale that European cultures never
really became dominant for the total population. Instead,
there grew up a number of synthesis cultures which combined
African, European, and occasionally Amerindian elements, to
which they added innovations of their own. Where this hap-
pened, the "pure" European cultures remained restricted to
the small minorities which governed and administered such
settlements. Thus a cultural cleavage came about which
matched the social cleavage between master and slave and,
at a later date, that between Continental Europeans and the
native born.

In their early stages of development, the European element in
these synthesis cultures usually corresponded to those Euro-
pean cultures with which they were associated. For example,
in a French controlled or settled area, an Afro-French culture
would be likely to develop. As time went on, however, this
relationship became less neat, since some areas changed
hands administratively and others experienced cultural drift.

In the Curaçao island group, for example, an Afro-Spanish culture developed (possibly upon the basis of an earlier Afro-Portuguese substratum) under Spanish occupation during the sixteenth century. When the area was taken over by the Dutch in 1634, this Afro-Spanish popular culture became over-laid by the Dutch culture of the administrative élite. In Dominica, on the other hand, the predominately Amerindian population gradually gave up their Carib culture after the annexation of the island by Great Britain—but not, interest-ingly enough, for an English type culture, but rather for an Afro-French one, presumably because of the influence of the neighboring French islands.

This highly varied political and cultural history has given the Caribbean by far the most complex socio-political landscape of any part of the New World and causes it to stand in con-trast to the rest of the Americas, where three European nations came to dominate vast areas of land, and where acculturation of the aboriginal and immigrant populations to something closely approximating the European home cultures has been, if not rapid, at least fairly thorough.

The cultural diversity of the Caribbean is perhaps nowhere more clearly manifest than in its present day linguistic make-up. At first glance, the most obvious level of linguistic diversity is that of variations in the standardized, official or "national" languages, which correspond to differences in the political affiliations of the various administrative units. The distribution of these official languages is as follows:

LANGUAGE	DISTRIBUTION
Spanish	Cuba; Dominican Republic; Puerto Rico (with English); mainland areas of Central and South America except for British Hon-duras and the three Guianas; island depend-encies of Venezuela.[2]
English	Gulf Coast of the United States and all U.S. island dependencies; Puerto Rico (with Spanish); British dependencies and members of the West Indies Federation.
French	Haiti; French dependencies.
Dutch	Dependencies of the Netherlands.

These are the standardized languages which are used for all
official and representative purposes, and which are usually
found given as the languages "spoken" by the particular
populations. For those areas where Spanish is the official
language, it is indeed the language used by virtually every-
one for practically every purpose. In the other cases, how-
ever, it takes very little first hand observation for the visi-
tor to discover that in many areas there exists a clear lin-
guistic dichotomy in that beside the official language there
is used another, obviously different form of speech. This
other form of speech is in most cases the really popular
medium of communication for the area, and is used for prac-
tically all unofficial and non-representative purposes.

There are several such popular languages in the Caribbean--
as many, in fact, as there are official languages. Further,
these popular languages show a definite historical relation-
ship with the four predominant official standard languages of
the area in that their vocabularies are obviously derived from
those of the standard languages (or from Portuguese, which is
no longer used in the Caribbean region). Yet the geographical
distribution of these popular languages is by no means identi-
cal with that of their standardized relatives, and they are
different enough from them in other respects--particularly in
grammatical structure--to leave little doubt that they qualify
as independent languages. Viewed apart, these popular
languages are "new languages" in that they show evidence of
having acquired their present shapes much later than their
nearest related standard languages. These new languages,
which are clearly related to European languages, and yet
have grown up entirely outside of Europe, have been given
the name of Creoles.[3]

The most widely used Caribbean Creole by far is that with a
vocabulary based upon French.[4] Used over an area extending
from one end of the Caribbean to the other, the four major
dialects of French-based Creole, i.e. those of Louisiana,
Haiti, the Lesser Antilles, and French Guiana, are all mu-
tually intelligible. French-based Creoles are generally
known by the name créole or patois in areas where they are
spoken. The second most widely used variety is a Spanish/
Portuguese-based Creole known as Papiamentu. Thirdly,
there are two main varieties of English-based Creole, which
are known as Sranan and Saramakkan.[5] Lastly, there is one
Dutch-based Creole, usually called Negerhollands (i.e.
Negro Dutch), which has now become practically extinct, but

which once had enough native speakers to justify the trans-
lation into it of large portions of the Bible by Danish mission-
aries.

The distribution of these Creoles is shown by the following
table:

CREOLE & ESTIMATED

NUMBER OF SPEAKERS	AREA	POLITICAL AFFILIATION

French-based Creole (4,500,000)	Louisiana
	Haiti
	Lesser Antilles
	  Guadeloupe
	  Les Saintes
	  Marie-Galante
	  Martinique
	  Dominica
	  Trinidad
	  Grenada
	  St. Lucia
	  French Guiana
		(U.S.)
		(Indep.)
		
		(Fr.)
		(Fr.)
		(Fr.)
		(Fr.)
		(G.B.)
		(G.B.)
		(G.B.)
		(G.B.)
		(Fr.)

Spanish/Portuguese-based Creole (200,000)	Curaçao Aruba Bonaire	(Neth.) (Neth.) (Neth.)
English-based Creole (80,000)	Surinam	(Neth.)
Dutch-based Creole (negligible)	Virgin Islands	(U.S.)

A comparison of the political affiliation of each of the areas where
a particular Creole is spoken with the distribution of Caribbean
official languages indicated earlier will show that in many cases
the Creole and the official language spoken in a particular local-
ity may not be related. Indeed, largely due to changes in the

political affiliation of many areas after the Creoles had be-
come established, French-based Creoles, besides being
spoken in French dependencies and in Haiti (formerly the
French colony of St.-Domingue), are spoken in areas where
the official language is English, i.e. in the State of Louisi-
ana and in a number of British dependencies. Also, English-
based and Spanish/Portuguese-based Creoles are spoken in
dependencies of the Netherlands, where the official language
is Dutch. The Dutch-based Creole, however, has been
centered in the Virgin Islands, where the administrative lan-
guage was once Danish and is now English.

The population in a Creole speaking area can be divided into
three different categories of speakers on the basis of whether
individuals know the Creole, or the Standard, or both:[6]

> 1. Monolingual Creole speakers (i.e. those who
>   have a working knowledge only of the Creole)
>
> 2. Monolingual Standard speakers (i.e. those
>   who have a working knowledge only of the
>   Standard)
>
> 3. Bilinguals (i.e. those who have a working know-
>   ledge of both the Creole and the Standard)

The first group consists for the most part of native inhabi-
tants of the area who have had little or no formal education
of any kind. The second group consists almost invariably of
persons born and raised outside the area (e.g. immigrants,
colonial administrators, high churchmen, etc.) who know
the Standard either as their mother tongue or as a second
language, but who have never become conversant with the
Creole. The third group consists in the main of those native
inhabitants who, in addition to their Creole, have learned
the Standard at home or in school.

The relative numerical weight of the three groups varies from
area to area, but the number of monolingual Standard speak-
ers is always fairly low. As would be expected, they and
bilinguals are more common in urban centers than in rural
localities.

One of the most interesting aspects of the interrelationship between Creoles and Standards in the Caribbean is their relative functional distribution in the national communicative network, and the different sets of attitudes which the society attaches to them.[7] One technical fact which affects the functional difference between Creoles and Standards in the Caribbean is that Creoles are seldom written, so that the Standard is the usual language to employ for all normal writing purposes in national life, e.g. signs, correspondence, newspapers, etc. However, the functional difference between Creoles and Standards goes beyond writing. Even in purely spoken situations, each language has its appropriate uses, which are largely correlated with the particular social situation. Of all the contextual variables in the social situation, there are two which appear to be especially important as determinants of whether the one or the other language is the more appropriate one to use. These are:

    1. Public (i.e. impersonal or representative) vs. private (i.e. personal and non-representative) behavior.

    2. Formal (i.e. prescribed) vs. informal (i.e. non-prescribed) behavior.

The functional distribution of the two languages in terms of these variables can be diagrammed as follows:

	FORMAL	INFORMAL
PUBLIC	Standard	Creole (Standard)
PRIVATE	Standard (Creole)	Creole

Examples of public-formal activity are official governmental activities, legal procedures, academic and other formal educational activities, public speaking, the programmed part of radio and television broadcasts, and ceremonies of introduction between strangers. Examples of public-informal activity are the singing of popular songs, the telling of anecdotes, bartering, advertising, and general conversation between acquaintances when in the presence of strangers. Examples of private-formal activity include unofficial government

connected activities, formal receptions and parties, and
general conversations between strangers. Finally, examples
of _private-informal_ activity will include practically all cases
of interaction which are exclusively between friends, lovers,
or relatives, such as within the family, at informal parties,
in the street, at work and at play, etc.

In those cases where the chart indicates that either language
may be employed, usage varies locally with the tendency in
the direction of the language listed first. In Haiti, Curaçao,
and Surinam, for example, the tendency is to use the Creole,
while in Louisiana and the French and British dependencies,
it is to use the Standard.[8] It will be noted, however, that
for certain kinds of activity only one of the two languages is
appropriate, and consequently that neither language is used
for all situations. Since monolinguals tend to be excluded
from direct participation in those activities where the lan-
guage used is unknown to them, it is clear that only those
who are bilingual will enjoy full integration into the national
communicative network. For those who are monolingual
speakers of the Standard, this situation does not present
very serious problems, since use of the Standard by foreigners
in private and informal situations tends to be tolerated and
even expected. Such people are inconvenienced primarily by
their inability to communicate with monolingual Creole speak-
ers.

Far more serious are the consequences which arise for the
monolingual Creole speakers, for the language distribution
excludes them from direct participation in public-formal
activities, and this includes important administrative and
legal procedures. In areas where the percentage of mono-
lingual Creole speakers is high, this matter of differences
in language function may give rise to grave problems of
political and legal non-representation.

The functional distribution of the Creole and the Standard as
outlined above holds for practically all of the Creole speak-
ing Caribbean. However, in cases where the Creole and the
Standard have a close lexical relationship, the two languages
may be much more closely identified with each other, with
the result that the functional distribution of the two languages
may be even more refined. In such cases, the two languages
may even come to function, in the discourse of bilinguals,
much as if they were but different style levels of the same
language. This special kind of language relationship--

sometimes called <u>diglossia</u>, to distinguish it from other kinds
of bilingualism--exists between the Creole and the Standard
in Haiti and the French dependencies.[9]

Interwoven with these largely unconscious and automatic con-
ventions governing the functional distribution of Creoles and
Standards, there exists almost everywhere a set of conscious
social attitudes toward them, by means of which the society
expresses differences in the degree of prestige which it
attaches to each of the two kinds of language. One of the
basic reasons why the languages are ranked differently is
that Creole speakers--and this includes monolinguals--can
be just as aware as anyone else that there is something dif-
ferent about Creoles as compared to other languages. There
are several reasons why such an awareness may exist:

    1. It is observed that Creoles are seldom written,
and are never used for formal, public, representative,
or any other "important" purpose by persons who have
responsibility and authority in the society.

    2. It is observed that Europeans (who have generally
high prestige in the Caribbean) do not speak any of
the Creoles in their home countries.

    3. Where speakers of a Creole come into contact with
the lexically related Standard, it is almost unavoid-
able that there will be a comparison of the two related
forms of speech. When this happens, the political
and cultural prestige and linguistic formalism attached
to the Standard will almost invariably weigh in the
Standard's favor, and differences from it observed in
the Creole will be regarded as substandard.[10]

    4. The history of the Caribbean is recent enough so
that there is a generally shared knowledge that devel-
opment of the Creoles has some connection with the
slave trade and early plantation economy.

As a result of this awareness, there is a general tendency to
"play down" the role of Creole in the life of the area. In
official publications, for example, the number of speakers of
the Standard is almost always overestimated and, where the
Creole and the Standard are related, the temptation to class-
ify them both under the language designation of the Standard
alone often proves irresistable. In addition, bilinguals tend
to be curiously inaccurate in their vocal estimates of the

extent to which they use one or the other language, and the error is always in favor of the Standard. Thus individuals can be heard to state something like "Oh, I never speak Creole; I am from an educated family and the only language which I am used to speaking is Standard", when in fact direct observation will show that very person using both the Creole and the Standard, along the lines of the functional distribution indicated earlier.

In addition to such generalized attitudes, there exists in most areas a set of cliches which deprecate the Creole and thereby imply the superiority of the Standard. These clichés are so frequently parroted that it is apparent that they are not simply the product of amateurish linguistic speculation on the part of individuals, but rather are formal tenets of the culture. Like any such tenets, they are simply assumptions which are acquired and passed on unquestioningly--in the home, in the street, and in this case most of all, in the school--with no attempt made by most people to judge their validity by empirical observation. Indeed, the questioning of any of these clichés by a member of the local society will be very likely to be regarded by the other members as a somewhat antisocial act.

It should not be assumed, however, that these linguistic cliches have an entirely mythical basis. Given certain facts, they are in many cases just the kinds of conclusions which one would be expected to arrive at in the absence of scientific techniques of linguistic analysis. In other ways, they may well represent the normal social differentiation which can be expected between a standardized and a non-standardized language when both exist together.[11]

Since these clichés and the attitudes which they express undoubtedly have their effect on local administrative policy with respect to language problems, and since every serious student of the area can expect to encounter them at some time, it is well worth while to review them here:

Creole is not a language. The rationale of this cliché is usually the fact that Creoles are not standardized, not generally written, and have little in the way of an important serious literature. Although it is quite possible that standardization, writing, and literature may have important social implications for a language, they are not in themselves scientifically acceptable as criteria for defining what is and

what is not a real language.

Creole has no grammar; it is a "made up" form of speech.
All languages have grammatical structure, Creoles no less
than other languages; moreover, much of the grammar of most
Caribbean Creoles has already been described. However,
since knowledge of these descriptions is still limited largely
to linguistic specialists and has not become accepted as
formalized conventions in the cultures of the Creole speaking
areas, it is understandable that a speaker of Creole (whose
grammar has been internalized unconsciously in childhood)
may get the impression that he is "making up" the language
as he goes along.

Creole is a corruption of [the lexically related] Standard.
When two closely related languages occur side by side, one
with a grammatical structure which has been formalized into
known and accepted conventions, and the other with one
which has not, there is a tendency to regard departures in the
behavior of the latter from the conventions of the former as a
departure from structure itself. Thus, a Creole may sound to
those who know the lexically related Standard as a corrupted
or badly spoken version of it. What has really happened to
the Creole, however, is that it has simply developed its own
behavioral patterns, and is no more a "corruption" of a Stand-
ard with which it happens to have a historical relationship
than, say, French is a corruption of Latin merely because it
has developed out of Latin into a different form of speech.

Creole has no uniformity of usage. Persons who are predom-
inantly speakers of a Creole can be expected to be more sen-
sitive to variations in that Creole than in a Standard which they
know only from formal samples. There is, nevertheless, an
unjustifiable degree of exaggeration of the amount of regional
variation for Creoles as compared with Standards. In Haiti,
for example, people are fond of pointing out one of the few
clear cases of regional lexical variation in Creole, i.e.
kanistè(r) 'tin can' in the North for ma(r)mit or fè(r)blã else-
where. Yet they seldom call attention to like differences
between their French and that of the Continent, e.g. gasoline
in Haiti where France uses essence. A certain amount of
regional variation is natural in any widely used language,
although one would expect it to be less marked in a standard-
ized language than in one which remains unstandardized.

Creole is a mixture of many languages. Some Creoles,

e.g. Papiamentu, may indeed show evidences of a vocabu-
lary that is more mixed than that of their closest lexically
related Standards. But other Creoles, such as the French-
based ones, have vocabularies which are overwhelmingly
based on one and the same source language. It is interest-
ing to note that the French-based Creoles have less vocabu-
lary of non-French origin than Standard English has of vocab-
ulary of non-Germanic origin. The fact is that all languages
engage in at least some borrowing of vocabulary from other
languages, and Standards do this no less than Creoles.

Similar to the foregoing cliches both in tone and implication
is the traditional account of how the Creoles came into exist-
ence. This account holds that the Creoles originated in
colonial times as linguistic compromises resulting from an
incomplete acquisition of the Standards by the newly imported
African slaves, whose linguistic mistakes were reinforced by
deliberate efforts on the part of their European masters to
"talk down" to them. Since the contact between master and
slave occured for the most part on plantations, it is assumed
that the Creoles were purely local developments.

Since this theory is not entirely unreasonable, and in fact
ties in with Caribbean history rather neatly, it is easy to see
how it has gained wide acceptance. However, more recent
linguistic studies of the Caribbean Creoles have highlighted
new kinds of evidence which suggest that the scope of their
historical development has been greatly underestimated.

In the first place, none of the Caribbean Creoles are now
mutually intelligible with their lexically related Standards,
and if early accounts are to be trusted they apparently never
were. Since this is the case in spite of the considerable
lexical overlap between a Creole and its related Standard,
the principal reason for the lack of intelligibility would seem
to lie in the fact that their respective grammatical structures
differ greatly. This discrepancy--similar vocabularies on
the one hand and dissimilar grammars on the other--has
never been satisfactorily accounted for by the traditional
version of the development of Creoles.

Within a given Creole, however, dialectal variation is usually
so moderate that mutual intelligibility over different dialects
is the rule rather than the exception, even for cases where

dialects may be geographically separated from each other. The most striking example of this occurs in the French-based Creole, where speakers from opposite ends of the Caribbean --from Louisiana in the north and French Guiana in the south-- are able to converse together with a minimum of misunder- standing. Similar cases, though on a much smaller scale, are common in the other Creoles as well.[12] Although this mutual intelligibility is in part due to the fact that the various dialects of a Creole derive their vocabularies from the same source language, the fact that Creoles are not mutually intelligible with their lexically related Standards shows that vocabulary alone is not a sufficient explanation. What is of equal importance for the Creoles is the fact that their like vocabularies are matched by grammatical structures which are also very much alike. Since it is highly improbable that dia- lects showing such overall similarities would have developed quite independently of each other, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the dialects of at least the French-based Creole must have had some common origin before they became implanted in widely separated parts of the Caribbean. This conclusion receives some support from French-Creole texts dating from not much more than a half-century after the first French settlements were established, showing that the lan- guage had by that early date already evolved into something fairly close to its present form.[13]

A very likely explanation of this situation is to be found in a kind of linguistic development which involves rapid grammati- cal shift within a language, and which has been attested to in the case of a number of specialized trade languages which have developed in various parts of the world. In this type of change a language undergoes a restructuring of its basic grammar while preserving its basic vocabulary relatively intact. Languages which have undergone such a restructuring process are usually called pidgin languages, and the process itself is often referred to as pidginization.[14] Accordingly, it is quite possible that the Caribbean Creoles first developed in their present shape as pidginized forms of the respective European languages--presumably at some date before coloni- zation was over, if the high level of dialectal uniformity within each Creole is to be explained--and gradually became creoles as they acquired native speakers.

Such a hypothesis certainly helps to explain both the gram- matical gap which exists between the Creoles and their near- est European relatives, as well as the high degree of linguistic

uniformity within each individual Creole. However, it has
also been noted that the Caribbean Creoles exhibit an im-
pressive degree of correspondence in their respective basic
grammars. This correspondence includes not only similari-
ties in syntax but even cases where specific grammatical
morphemes are shared in common.[15] Furthermore, some
investigators have shown that there is a similar type of
correspondence between the Caribbean Creoles in general and
certain pidgin and creole languages of Asia and Africa.[16]
This strongly suggests that there is some kind of genetic
relationship between the various Caribbean Creoles, and
even between them and other creole-type languages spoken
outside the Caribbean. The nature of this relationship is
suggested by evidence that at least some of the Caribbean
Creoles have undergone a kind of lexical shift, whereby the
vocabulary derived from one source language has been large-
ly replaced, through a process of widespread borrowing, by a
more recent vocabulary derived from another language, while
the original grammatical structure is preserved practically
unchanged.[17] This process of relexification seems to be the
converse of restructuralization. For example, if a language
A can be shown to derive its vocabulary from language B and
its grammatical structure from language C, then language A
can be both "restructured B" and "relexified C" at the same
time.[18] Thus, although the Caribbean Creoles are usually
considered (from the point of view of their vocabularies) to
be restructured or pidginized forms of French, etc., it is
just as possible to consider them all (from the point of view
of their similar basic grammars) as relexified forms of some
prior language. But then the question is, what prior language?
It would have to be a language which had a historical connec-
tion with the settlement of the Caribbean, one with a basic
grammatical structure like that of the Caribbean Creoles, and
one toward which other kinds of linguistic evidence, such as
cases of a substratum vocabulary, would also point.

The clearest cases of lexical substrata in the Caribbean
Creoles appear to be of Portuguese origin. Therefore a very
likely source language for the Caribbean Creoles would be
the Portuguese trade pidgin which apparently originated as
early as the middle of the fifteenth century and was once
spread throughout areas of Portuguese contact and expansion
in Africa and Asia.[19] This was the language which was
apparently used between the Portuguese and West Africans,
and which became the earliest common language used in the
slave trade.

When the French, Spanish, English, and Dutch entered into the trade, it is probable that this pidgin served as their first language of wider communication, both with the Portuguese and with the West Africans. Subsequent relexification of the pidgin could have taken place both at the slave factories on the African Coast and, in some cases, later within the Caribbean itself. The latter cases are in all likelihood the ones which have furnished documented evidence of relexification. These new French, Spanish, English, and Dutch pidgins were then used as the primary means of master-slave communication in the new plantation life in the Caribbean settlements, and were the immediate ancestors of the modern Creoles.

It is known that there was a deliberate policy in almost all of the early Caribbean settlements of mixing the slaves linguistically. This encouraged learning of the pidgins, which then became the only means of communication both between Europeans and Africans as well as between Africans with different linguistic backgrounds. By the time immigration to the Caribbean from Europe and Africa had begun to ebb, these contact languages had become well established as the mother tongues of those ensuing generations born and brought up in the new land.

For well over two centuries, Creoles and Standards have been used side by side in the Caribbean. Reflecting a traditionally rigid social structure, the relationship between Creoles and Standards has been one of a well defined, mutually exclusive social and functional distribution. As long as Caribbean society remained essentially an extension of colonial plantation social structure, little motivation existed for equalizing the linguistic opportunities for participation in local cultural and administrative affairs. More recently, however, social and technological change has begun to penetrate the region, and this has prompted among other things the adoption of policies aimed at reducing those linguistic differences which it is felt promote social and political inequality, i.e. the contrast between literate and illiterate, and between use of the Creole and of the Standard.

Policies dealing with multilingualism are usually directed toward bringing about the eventual use of a particular

language by all members of the society. Ideally, this implies
complete monolingualism in the language chosen for use.
Considering the standardization and high prestige of the
official languages in the Caribbean, it is not surprising that
their elimination is never seriously considered, even though
the Standard may be known by less than ten per cent of the
population, as is the case in Haiti. This leaves the discour-
agement of the Creole or else generalized bilingualism as the
only practical alternatives.

In some areas of the Caribbean the Creole, once widely used,
has been largely replaced by the Standard within the past one
hundred years. For example, in Louisiana, the Virgin Islands,
Grenada, and Trinidad, use of the Creole is becoming more
and more restricted to members of the older generation. Where
a well marked trend in this direction already exists, the
achievement of monolingualism in the Standard is a definite
possibility, and could probably be speeded up by an enlight-
ened program encouraging exclusive use of the Standard and
making easier the transition to it from the Creole.

However, in areas where the Creole is the primary medium of
communication, as in Haiti and Surinam for example, it is
doubtful if a similar policy would ever meet with much suc-
cess. Indeed, it would probably only frustrate communication
further by discouraging the use of Creole in situations where
the Standard is not a realistic substitute. In view of the
general reluctance to do away with the Standard, the only
realistic course available for dealing with such a situation
would seem to be one which would lead toward general
bilingualism.

In any event, the selection of the most suitable linguistic
policy for a given area in which both a Creole and a Standard
are used should be made only after taking into account the
relative importance of the two languages. This should be
determined wherever possible by careful study carried out by
competent linguists or social scientists.

In situations where the encouragement of bilingualism appears
to be either preferable or necessary--especially in cases where
some speakers of the Creole are not likely to become involved
in situations which would require the Standard (e.g. the
Saramakkan speakers in Surinam)--it might be useful to im-
part to the Creole through the process of standardization
some of the status and versatility enjoyed by the Standard.

In the past there have been attempts to standardize certain
Creoles to some extent, but these have never really caught
on. One of the main reasons of failure seems to be that
normalization has in most cases not been carried beyond the
devising of an orthography. The reduction of a language to
writing without a corresponding formalization of other aspects
of the language is simply a meaningless step in terms of what
most people expect in a prestige language.

In future programs of standardization for Creoles, an effort
should be made to present the users of the language with a
set of conventions dealing not only with orthography but with
grammatical and lexical usage as well. Before such standard-
ization is achieved, however, there should be no attempt to
spread the use of the Creole into the functional distributional
area of the Standard, since the use of a language outside of
its prescribed function without an accompanying change in its
status is likely to be considered locally as inappropriate or
even ludicrous, and consequently might meet with some
resistance.

Another matter related to the use of a Creole and a Standard
together concerns their respective roles in local programs of
second-language teaching. It would seem obvious that the
structure of the Creole should be taken into account in teaching
the Standard, yet textbooks for teaching Caribbean Standards
are usually copies of European works designed primarily for
children who are monolinguals in the language. Some very
important work needs to be done in the development of peda-
gogical materials which contrast the differences in linguistic
structures of a Creole and Standard.

Finally, in teaching second languages to those who are al-
ready bilingual in Creole and the Standard, there is the ques-
tion whether in teaching the foreign language the linguistic
materials should be designed on the assumption of major
interference from the Standard, from the Creole, or from both.
But scarcely any attention has been paid to this important
matter. In teaching English and Spanish in Haiti, for example,
both local and foreign pedagogical materials utilized have all
been of the same kind as those used for teaching English and
Spanish to monolingual speakers of French. Yet anyone who
hears Haitians speak English or Spanish will quickly notice
that they speak these languages with an accent which is
noticeably different from that of a Frenchman, and that they
also appear to have special kinds of difficulties with grammar

as well. Much more attention should be devoted to orienting
foreign language teaching in Creole speaking areas to an
approach in which greater account is taken of potential inter-
ference from the Creole.

NOTES

1. The Caribbean area proper is usually taken as that cover-
ed by the Greater and Lesser Antilles. By extension, however,
the term is often made to include certain other regions which
share many of the topological, historical, and cultural char-
acteristics of the Antilles, i.e. parts of the North American
Gulf Coast, the Bahamas, and the Central and South Ameri-
can costal regions down as far as and including the three
Guianas. Where it is necessary to make a distinction, the
marginal area is referred to technically as the Circum-
Caribbean. In this paper, the term Caribbean will always be
used in its most inclusive sense.

2. The political affiliation of the various island and main-
land forms will be found indicated (by color coding in most
cases) on any good map of the area.

3. The term Creole, as applied to a language, should not be
confused with other uses of the term. In particular, it should
be emphasized that a Creole language is not necessarily sim-
ply a language spoken by people who are known in one or
another locality as Creoles--whatever these may be. Here
the term is used to distinguish languages which have certain
characteristics from other languages which do not have those
characteristics. Anyone may be the native speaker of a Cre-
ole language, providing he has been brought up in an area
where one is spoken.

4. Creoles will be identified in terms of the origin of their
vocabulary. Thus a Creole language with a vocabulary which
is predominantly of French origin is termed a French-based
Creole, and so on. This is the common practice, although it
will be seen later that there are other possible ways of assign-
ing genetic relationship for Creole languages.

5. There are in addition local varieties of English which are
spoken in Jamaica, British Honduras, Trinidad, British

Guiana, and the Lesser Antilles. These, however, are not
regarded as Creole languages in this survey. The reason is
that when all the varieties of English of any one of these
areas are taken together, the result is a continuum of varia-
tion, with Standard English at one end and the most deviant
local form at the other. This is reminiscent of usual dialect
variation around a standardized norm, and contrasts with the
situation for the Creoles where, no matter how much they may
be compromised in the direction of their lexically related
European standard languages, there is always a structural
gap between the two at some point, and consequently it is
always clear just which language is being spoken at any par-
ticular time. What this means is that there is some constant
criterion available for distinguishing Creoles from related
standard languages, whereas Jamaican and other regional
varieties of English are best treated as dialects of English.
That such dialects are often referred to locally as creolese
(particularly in the Lesser Antilles) should not be allowed to
obscure their basic difference from real Creoles. Also, it is
worth noting that the Gullah dialect, spoken on the islands
off the coast of South Carolina and Georgia, is possibly an-
other English-based Creole. It has not been included in this
survey, however, since its geographical distribution puts it
clearly outside of the Caribbean, and because its relation to
Standard English and to the other English-based Creoles needs
further study and clarification.

6. Since much of this survey will consist of statements about
the general characteristics of Creoles as a class of languages
and their relation to related European standardized languages,
the term Creole will refer hereafter to any or all Creole lan-
guages, and Standard will refer to any or all of the standard-
ized European languages which have an official function in
the Caribbean.

7. The relationship of Creole and French in Haiti is in all
probability the case for which the most sociolinguistic
descriptive material is available and, with very few modifi-
cations, it seems to be typical of most of the Caribbean. For
an overview of the situation in Haiti see the chapter on Creole
in James G. Leyburn, The Haitian People, New Haven, Yale
University Press, 1941, and the insightful article by Edith
Effron, "French and Creole Patois in Haiti", Caribbean Quar-
terly 3:14.199-213 (1954). For information on one other
French-Creole area, see Mervin C. Alleynde, "Language and
Society in St. Lucia", Caribbean Studies 1:1.1-10 (1961).

8. In Louisiana, French exists beside English as a Standard, though in an unofficial capacity and with steadily diminishing use. The point is that Louisiana Creole speakers will have a tendency to employ some sort of Standard in the situations indicated.

9. For a general description of diglossia, see Charles A. Feguson, "Diglossia", Word 15.325-340 (1959). The mechanism of diglossia in Haiti has been described in William A. Stewart, "The Functional Distribution of Creole and French in Haiti" (to appear in Georgetown University Monograph Series on Languages and Linguistics, No. 15, Thirteenth Annual Round Table of Languages and Linguistics).

10. The opportunity to compare a Creole with a lexically re-lated Standard is probably an extremely important factor in determining the kinds of social attitudes which will develop toward a Creole. It is interesting to note that in Surinam, where the speakers of the English-based Creoles have had only slight contact with Standard English, the Creoles have acquired some degree of social prestige.

11. It is striking that these clichés about Caribbean Creoles are almost word for word counterparts of what was once said in Europe about the Standards themselves, back when these were as yet unstandardized and occupied an inferior social position with respect to standardized and written Latin.

12. By exception, the two main varieties of English-based Creole, Sranan and Saramakkan, are not mutually intelligible, though there is general intelligibility within each of these.

13. Examples of most of the important early French-Creole texts are given in Elodie Jourdain, Du francais aux parlers créoles, Paris, 1956.

14. See Robert A. Hall, Jr., "Pidgin Languages", Scientific American, February 1959, pp. 124-134. In most cases, restructuring has been attributable to the influence of the grammatical systems of other languages, or to certain func-tional pressures for maximum grammactical simplicity.

15. For technical details, see the two articles by Douglas Taylor, "Language Shift or Changing Relationship?",

International Journal of American Linguistics 26.155-161,
(1960), and "New Languages for Old in the West Indies",
Comparative Studies in Society and History 3.277-288 (1961).
Although the term basic grammar refers essentially to such
fundamental structural characteristics of the language as
verbal categories, syntactic structures, etc., it is interest-
ing to note that in Creoles certain kinds of lexical items
tend to be associated more with the grammar than with the
vocabulary, insofar as historical derivation is concerned.
These include grammatical morphemes such as prepositions,
verbal particles, and some pronouns. Also behaving this way
are certain types of symbolic behavior which are marginal to
language, e.g. vocal qualifiers and ideophones.

16. See R. W. Thompson, "A Note on Some Possible Affini-
ties Between the Creole Dialects of the Old World and Those
of the New" in R. B. Le Page (ed.), Creole Language Studies,
II, London, 1961, pp. 107-113. A pidgin language is a
simplified version of some other language, and usually devel-
ops in certain contact situations when no language is previ-
ously known in common. Pidgins are definitionally limited in
scope to languages which have no native speakers. Once
native speakers develop for a pidgin, it becomes a creole
language.

17. There is some documentation of this process in Papia-
mentu and in Sranan; see the two articles by Douglas Taylor
noted in footnote 15, above.

18. Languages which exhibit a dichotomous genetic relation-
ship of this type might be termed heterogenetic languages.

19. Languages which seem to be direct descendants of that
Portuguese pidgin are presently spoken as creoles in certain
islands off the coast of West Africa, e.g. Cape Verde,
Annobón, and São Tomé.

LINGUA FRANCAS, WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO AFRICA

by William J. Samarin

Origin of the term

The language of the Crusaders was not the first <u>lingua franca</u> in the history of mankind, but it furnished the name for all such similar languages ever since.

The horde which descended upon the Muslims on the eastern shores of the Mediterranean had come from many parts of western Europe. The native languages (the vernaculars) of these priests and soldiers, merchants and blacksmiths, porters and page boys, were forerunners of English, French, Italian, and German. Though Latin was the language of relig- ion and of learning, the Crusaders did not all speak Latin, nor did they speak each other's languages. While there were certainly bilinguals among them, there were with equal cer- tainty people who did not understand even other dialects of their own language: an Englishman from the South might find it difficult if not impossible to understand an Englishman from the North on the first encounter.

Linguistic diversity (i.e. multilingualism) has always set the stage for the development of <u>lingua francas</u>, and the multilingual Crusaders found a need for such a language. They found it in the language of Provencal, spoken along the southern shores of Europe between Marseilles and Genoa, and this language became the basis of a language used by the Crusaders all the length of the Mediterranean. The 'French language' (which is what <u>lingua franca</u> literally means, though it was most likely only a particular dialect of a Romance language) thus came to be used among the Crusa- ders and with the non-French speaking peoples who had learned this language.

The use of this particular form of French eventually died out, but not before having left its own name as its heritage for languages which are used in a similar fashion. Today when we find a language which is commonly used by people whose

native languages are different, we describe it as a lingua
franca. One can even speak of a lingua franca for a particu-
lar occasion. If, for example, a Norwegian and a Persian,
whose languages were unknown to each other, talked in Eng-
lish, this language would function as their lingua franca.

A definition

If the term lingua franca is to be used with the widest possi-
ble meaning it is necessary to adopt a definition with the
fewest restrictions. The following (UNESCO 1953, p. 46) is
worthy of general adoptio::: "A language which is used habit-
ually by people whose mother tongues are different in order
to facilitate communication between them." An additional
requirement included in some definitions is that a lingua
franca be a pidgin language (a so-called "hybrid" or "mixed"
language), but it is not true that all lingua francas are pid-
gins. A second requirement sometimes found is that a lingua
franca be used for commercial purposes, but this is again not
always true of lingua francas, though they frequently arise in
a commercial environment.

Other terms compete with lingua franca as designations for
the kind of language being discussed.

> 1. Trade language ("langue de traite") is usually used
> for some language not included among the world's
> majority languages and which is used by some people
> as a second language in commercial situations. All
> trade languages are therefore lingua francas, e.g.
> Kituba and Hausa in Africa.
>
> 2. Contact language (probably equivalent to French
> "langue véhiculaire") is a lingua franca whose use is
> not necessarily habitual. It is the most neutral of the
> terms.
>
> 3. International (or Universal) language is a lingua
> franca whose use is actually or virtually international.
> Some writers, however, make the error of using it of
> lingua francas indiscriminately, even of those with
> restricted use, e.g. English, French.
>
> 4. Auxiliary language is generally meant to describe
> an artificially devised lingua franca, e.g. Esperanto.

Kinds of lingua francas

Since a lingua franca is simply a language used to communi-
cate across linguistic barriers, it can itself be any kind of a
language; natural, pidginized, creole, or artificial. By
natural language is meant any language acquired by the nor-
mal processes of enculturation. Natural languages are thus
the mother or native languages of some people. When a
natural language is acquired as the second language of differ-
ent people, it becomes their lingua franca. In the process of
becoming a lingua franca, a language often loses some of its
vocabulary or is simplified in its phonology or grammar.
Where the structure of the language suffers serious modifi-
cation, it is said to be pidginized.

A pidginized language (or simply pidgin) traces its lineage
to at least one natural language. A pidgin, strictly speaking,
is not a natural language (see above). However, it may
become a natural language; at this point it may be called a
creole.

Unlike either of the preceding kinds of lingua francas are the
artificial languages. Not all such languages are lingua
francas, for some are intended for very restricted use. All
such languages were created ad hoc, though based on some
natural languages, for express use as lingua francas.

Natural language lingua francas

For Sub-Saharan Africa the more important natural language
lingua francas--outside of English and French--are the
following.

> 1. Swahili, a Niger-Congo language spoken in Kenya,
> Tanganyika, and much of Uganda.
>
> 2. Lingala, a Niger-Congo language spoken in the
> Congo.
>
> 3. Various other Niger-Congo languages, such as
> Bambara and Fulani in the West; Bulu in the Cameroons;
> Ngbandi in the Northern Congo.
>
> 4. Hausa, a Chadic language of the Afro-Asiatic fam-
> ily, used as a trade language in Dahomey, Togo,
> Ghana, Upper Volta, Nigeria, and the Cameroons.

Pidgin languages

Pidgin languages as a group typify most completely the
lingua francas in their development and structure. Bona fide
pidgins are found all over the world and have been under
observation for about one hundred years. However, it was
not until recently that they have been submitted to careful
analysis. The reason for this was the opinion that pidgins at
their best were nothing more than poor approximations to cul-
tural languages such as English and French.

However, what people failed to see was that the pidgins
were not mixtures of linguistic debris, but rather examples of
genuine linguistic structures. The earliest of such studies
was Hall's of Melanesian Pidgin English (Hall 1943).

The bibliography reveals that today many scholars are work-
ing on several different pidgins, and the published literature
has not only made available working data on the languages,
but has also raised several interesting theoretical or method-
ological questions, such as the following: (1) Can pidgins
be classified as belonging to language families like natural
languages? (2) What are the psychological and social corre-
lates of their use? (3) Can they be described with the same
rigor as natural languages?

Following is a list of African pidgins (Niger-Congo) lan-
guages.

Bangala-Lingala: spoken in the Congo and derived from
Ngala; Bangala is supposed to be the more simplified of the
two.

Bulu-Yaounde: two dialects of the same Cameroon language;
although Bulu is a natural language lingua franca, there
appears to be a pidginized form of it used by--among others--
truck drivers.

Fanagalo (also known as Fanikalo, Chilapalapa, Kitchen or
Mine Kaffir, Isikula, Cikabanga, Cilololo, Cilungubo:
"Basic Bantu"): a pidgin Zulu of Southeast Africa.

Kituba (also known as Commercial Kikongo, from which it is
derived, Simple Kikongo, Kibulamatadi, Kikwango): spoken
in the Congo.

Sango: derived from a language of the same name which is an
intimate dialect with Ngbandi; spoken in the Central African
Republic.

Swahili: derived from the language of the same name; spoken
in Tanganyika and neighboring areas; the dialect of the East-
ern Congo is called Kingwana.

As linguistic curios a few others might be cited: Coromanti,
spoken in Jamaica around 1800, and derived from some West
African language (Le Page 1960, p. 98); pidginized Ewondo
("Ewondo populaire") in the southern Cameroons, (Pierre H.
Alexandre in correspondence); Nago, probably based on
Yoruba and ultimately used only in certain Brazilian pseudo-
African cults (Pierson 1942, p. 73).

If a pidgin language is used long enough in any one area,
children reared in the area acquire it as their native language.
When this happens the pidgin becomes the natural language
of a segment of the population and is said to be creolized.
This creolized language may outlive the competing languages
or it may become fully naturalized. At this point it is said
to be a creole. (While the process here described is well
known, the terminology may not represent a consensus; writers
differ in the technical use of the word "creole".)

The list of pidgin lingua francas scattered throughout the
world hides an important fact: though numerous and wide-
spread, most of them are based on some Indo-European lan-
guage--Dutch, English, French, Portuguese, or Spanish.
When located on a map, another significant fact appears:
every one is located adjacent to a marine expanse. This
suggests that the history of these pidgins is somehow con-
nected with oceanic travel, which is in fact the case. What
is not obvious, however, but certainly demonstrable, is that
a remarkable number of these lingua francas owe their origin
to the heroic masters of the Age of Exploration, the Portu-
guese. In the fifteenth century there developed a pidgin
Portuguese which may have originated in the first contacts
with the Africans, but ultimately spread to the ports of the
Far East (Lopes da Silva 1958). According to Whinnom,
"Even at the beginning of the eighteenth century, English
trade at Canton was carried on through Eurasian Portuguese
interpreters who translated the Cantonese into a Portuguese
pidgin comprehensible to the English sailors" (Whinnom
1956, p. 7, fn. 13).

The influence of Portuguese pidgin on the other Atlantic pid-
gins was effected through the slaves for whom the language
had become a lingua franca as early as the fifteenth century
(the vestiges of this Portuguese sub- or ad-stratum has been
documented for several languages). This language made
communication possible among the slaves and with their mas-
ters until another language was learned. When this second
language was pidginized, it often was pidginized along the
pattern of the earlier one. For this reason Loftman (1953)
speaks of a "Caribbean creole" grammar, regardless of the
Indo-European language superimposed on it.

The origin of pidgin lingua francas are for the most part hid-
den behind the veil of history. In only brief sketches can
the origin of some be described. The past of others perhaps
is buried in obscure or unknown records awaiting the scholar.

More important than knowledge of the origin of these lingua
francas, however, is that of their subsequent history. What
is significant about their linguistic development, about their
part in the lives of human beings? What then are some of
the linguistic and sociological concomitants in their use?

Linguistic changes

All lingua francas undergo certain linguistic changes which
in their extreme form are called pidginization. As the use of
a natural language is taken up by people for whom it is only a
second language, either in the same or in a different area, it
suffers from linguistic interference, which is common in all
bilingual situations. The speakers of the first (or source, S)
language receive the second (or target, T) through the grid
of their S language. If, for example, the S language had no
gender whereas the T language did, one finds--as in the case
of Hausa feminine--that one is lost. In the same way other
features of the language are "reinterpreted."

This process might be called simplification, and it affects
the grammatical structure as well. Many of the devices used
for distinguishing various parts of sentences from one another
and for showing the relationships between these parts may be
lost. In Ngbandi, a tone language with three levels of tone,
the pronouns and verbs are intimately related in the aspectual
system: different combinations of pronouns and verbs are
used to mark aspect and tense. Tone is also used to derive
nouns from verbs, and in other parts of the language varies

William J. Samarin

considerably, but regularly, in the context of other tones.
Practically all of this has been lost in Sango, the contact
language derived from it. While three tones still persist in
Sango, they function hardly at all to distinguish words or to
mark grammatical usage. Were it not for the fact that it is a
lingua franca used almost exclusively by Africans, who
already speak tone languages, the distinctive function of tone
might be altogether lost.

What is lost in the morphology is to some degree compensat-
ed for in the syntax. Sango therefore used periphrasis to
mark aspect or time. One says fàdé mbi gwe 'I shall go'
(literally 'now I go') and mbi gwè àwè 'I went' (literally
'I go is finished').

Lingua francas accompany--in fact, make possible--culture
contact and acculturation. It is no wonder therefore that
their vocabularies show dramatic changes. This happens
when the natural language can no longer compete with other
languages, either because it has moved into a different area,
or because non-native speakers predominate over the native
speakers where the language is indigenous. Thus where
Pidgin English is spoken one can usually describe an original
situation where learners of English were not only of inferior
status but also far more numerous than speakers of English
(as in Jamaica, Le Page 1960). The second case might be
illustrated by South African Fanagalo or even Town Bemba of
Northern Rhodesia.

Lexical borrowing (using words from other languages) and
innovations (extending meanings of old words or forming new
words with old stock) characterize the aforementioned
changes. As an example, witness hay (from 'high') in Cam-
eroon Pidgin English: i mɔni i hay 'his price is high'; i tu
hay mɔf fɔɔ tɔk 'He is a loud mouth'; hay stik 'tall tree';
hay skın 'proud'; hayam smɔl 'Raise it a little'; ha yu də
hayam hayam go bifɔɔ? 'Why are you continually increasing
it?'.

When lingua francas are learned under controlled circum-
stances (e.g. in a classroom) and when there is a recogniz-
ed value in attaining the normative standard, such linguistic
developments occur on a much smaller scale. Yet they are
nonetheless revealed in "accepted" dialects of such standard
languages as English spoken in West Africa, the Caribbean,
or India. Because of their close approximation to the standard

there is little doubt that they will be tolerated. Difficulties
will arise only when literature produced in the newer dialect
is read by speakers of the standard (to some extent this
already happens in reading the works of some Indians).

Fate of lingua francas

What is the future of the languages now spoken by peoples
whose cultures are marginal to the prestigious one? With
what degree of accuracy can one predict their life expectancy?
Assuming an inevitable demise, to what task can they be
assigned? Can they accomplish some legitimate goal satis-
factorily? These are questions to which responsible govern-
ment officials and other interested people, such as religious
leaders, have addressed themselves. Several fact-finding
investigations have already been initiated but their reports
are too often filed away with other governmental or private
documents. A few conferences have been held. UNESCO
convened a meeting of linguists in 1951 to discuss the use of
vernacular languages in education (UNESCO 1953). In 1951
there met at Kitwe, Northern Rhodesia, a significant All
Africa Conference on Christian Literature and Audio-Visual
Communication. In Africa in July 1962 at Brazzaville an
international congress of specialists will discuss the subject
of multilingualism in Africa. At this meeting due attention
will be devoted to the whole subject of lingua francas, and
to pidginized languages in particular.

The problem which faces policy makers is fraught with com-
plexities. In every instance they are concerned with welding
a heterogeneous multilingual political state into a unified and
harmonious nation. They should like to reduce the number of
languages. They also want to introduce their countries into
the stream of modern civilization. For this they need either
a world language in which there already is an important
literature or a local language, which must be "modernized."
This latter is no mean task. It is difficult enough for Arabic,
which had to step from the Middle Ages into the Twentieth
Century. How much more difficult it is for an undeveloped
lingua franca, such as Swahili.

In many of the emergent nations the official language is act-
ually a marginal language, little known and little used by
the population. In Haiti, for example, only about ten per
cent of the population can be said to have mastered the lan-
guage (UNESCO 1951, p. 38); the rest of the population uses

Haitian Creole. Sometimes there is a blindness to the real
facts. People in the more prestigious strata have been known
to deny the very existence of a pidgin language (like Jamai-
can Creole) or to claim that "everybody knows" the official
language (like French in the Central African Republic). Poli-
cy makers must therefore avail themselves of the ever-grow-
ing body of literature on all relevant subjects in addition to
initiating sociological and linguistic studies; only then can
they hope to have established a sound basis for operation.

Linguistic research is necessary to determine the exact nature
of the lingua franca. For example, how many different forms
of Swahili are there? What are the means in the language to
permit it to adapt itself to growing needs? Answers to such
questions are being sought for Swahili under the aegis of the
East African Swahili Committee (Kampala), but such bodies
are rare.

Sociological research must accompany linguistic research to
assure a more probable prognosis concerning the outcome of
any policy with linguistic ramifications. There are only a
few ethnolinguistic monographs in circulation, although sev-
eral anthropologists are currently interested in related sub-
jects. An inescapable aspect of language use is that it is
more than a communication code; it also serves, among other
things, to mark ethos identification and prestige.

Some of the most interesting developments are taking place
in Africa, which in many respects offers itself as an experi-
mental laboratory to the linguist. Nida (1955) has discussed
the linguistic developments on the continent. In a more
recent paper by Richardson (1957) (which should be read with
Epstein 1959) the competition between several languages as
lingua francas is presented. Briefly, there is developing in
Northern Rhodesia a form of the Bemba language, a veritable
lingua franca, which is gaining ascendance over Nyanja and
the two other lingua francas--English and Fanagalo. Five
reasons are given: (1) the mine workers in the copperbelt
are linguistically heterogeneous; (2) although Fanagalo had
been used as a lingua franca until the last war, its identifi-
cation with the denigrating policies of the Europeans, many
of whom used only this language with the Africans, has stig-
matized it; (3) the use of English by Africans is opposed by
most Europeans, who see in its use an attempt to raise the
Africans' status (cf. the discouragement of the learning of
German and Dutch in the former colonies of the Cameroon and

Indonesia); (4) Nyanja is identified with the people whose language is the lingua franca of the army and police; (5) Bemba is spoken indigenously by over 60 per cent of the labor force.

Conclusion

Lingua francas have served tribal communities and vast empires from time immemorial when linguistic diversity prevented social and literary intercourse. Among them have been many drastically reconstituted languages (the pidgins) whose study is currently being undertaken in several quarters. Some dare to say that these are vanishing from the modern world (Whinnom 1956), but the ease with which Korean Bamboo English developed leads one to imagine the inevitability of pidgins in the world.

Historians might feel that all things point to "one world" where internationalism or an international federation or monolithic state would require a single lingua franca. An informed person cannot deny this possibility. But, short of a totalitarian system, the rise of such a language is beset with difficulties.

The possibility of a true world lingua franca would have its advantages. But can one develop without a totalitarian state? Someone has said that Russian is grammatically too complex to serve as such a language; English, however, already meets many of the requirements. In any case, should there ever be an international lingua franca, one thing is almost certain: like all lingua francas before it, it will pass through a stage of pidginization.

REFERENCES

Bloomfield, Leonard 1933. Language. New York.

Epstein, A. L. 1959. "Linguistic Innovation and Culture on the Copperbelt, Northern Rhodesia." Southwestern Journal of Anthropology 15.235-53.

Greenberg, Joseph H. 1955. Studies in African Linguistic Classification. Branford, Connecticut.

Hall, Robert A. Jr. 1943. <u>Melanesian Pidgin English</u>. Baltimore.

Le Page, Robert B. 1960. <u>Jamaican Creole</u>. London.

Loftman, Beryl B. 1953. Creole Languages of the Caribbean Area. Columbia University M. A. thesis.

Lopes da Silva, Baltasar 1958. <u>O dialecto crioulo em Cabo Verde</u>. Lisbon.

Nida, Eugene A. 1955. "Tribal and Trade Languages." <u>African Studies</u> 14.155-58.

Pierson, Donald 1952. <u>Negroes in Brazil</u>. Chicago.

Richardson, Irvine 1957. <u>Linguistic Survey of the Northern Bantu Borderland: Volume Two</u>. New York.

UNESCO 1951. <u>The Haiti Pilot Project: Phase One 1947-1949</u>. Paris.

UNESCO 1953. <u>The Use of Vernacular Languages in Education</u>. Paris.

Weinrich, Uriel 1953. <u>Languages in Contact</u>. New York.

Whinnom, Keith 1956. <u>Spanish Contact Vernaculars in the Philippine Islands</u>. Hong Kong.

LANGUAGE SITUATION IN EAST AFRICA

by Ruth E. Sutherlin

INTRODUCTION

Languages as well as tribes compete for national recognition
and hinder the establishment of stable government in Kenya,
Tanganyika, and Uganda. Almost 200 African vernaculars,
Swahili, and English are spoken by an African population
representing almost 200 tribes. If communication and unity
rather than isolation of tribal rivalry is to be realized, all
these languages can not be emphasized equally in education,
government, or the mass media: a common means of commun-
ication or the systematic usage of selected languages is pre-
requisite to effective national government.

This discussion of the language situation in East Africa takes
the point of view that language choices made in a tribal con-
text have implications of which educators and administrators
should become aware if they would insure success of their
programs. This paper considers: I. possible results of un-
equal language education in a tribal context, II. factors in-
fluencing the availability of language education, III. factors
influencing the choice of one language rather than another,
IV. some choices made by educators and administrators
within the specific tribal contexts of Kenya, Tanganyika, and
Uganda respectively.

I. The higher one can go in the African education system,
the more English one can learn. English is generally intro-
duced late in primary school, made the language of instruc-
tion in secondary school, and used extensively in higher
education. However, statistics show that relatively few
Africans gain secondary or higher education and competency
in English. Further, percentages of students enrolled, com-
pared to the actual school age population, show a sharp drop
between primary and secondary school.

Those Africans among the linguistic minority who use English
well are generally among the political elite. The designation
of English as the official language of Kenya, Tanganyika and

Uganda makes it a pre-requisite for active participation in
government. Political opportunities are open to English
speakers but closed to others. Africans who have not had
the opportunity to learn English are dependent on the political
elite for translations into the vernacular or Swahili of politi-
cal concepts derived from English sources.

Because of limited education and the ambiguity or inaccessi-
bility of political information in languages other than English,
many Africans find themselves without the linguistic means to
participate in national politics. In the swiftly changing polit-
ical situation which they are not equipped to influence direct-
ly, they emphasize tribal traditions and their vernaculars as
a source of pride and continuing identity. A tribe which does
not want to lose its autonomy to national government can
demand recognition for its language, or emphasize its lan-
guage in tribal or "nationalistic" movements. (In this paper,
"nationalistic" will refer to tribal nationalism.) For example,
the Gusii in Kenya's North Nyanza District--where Swahili is
used in the Legislative Council representing three different
tribes with different languages--have requested the formation
of a unilingual district. And the Kikuyu of Kenya used their
language to promote Kikuyu nationalism during the Mau Mau
rebellion credited to them. Tribal identity is a definite link
between political and linguistic issues.

Unequal language education often creates dissatisfaction
between different generations and sexes, regardless of their
tribal identity. For example, most of the older men who would
ordinarily hold positions of authority in Kenya are eliminated
from direct participation in national government by the require-
ment that candidates for the Legislative Council pass Eng-
lish tests. Simply because they were too old for public
schooling when the British made it available on any wide
scale, they did not learn English, and the situation is not
corrected by adult literacy campaigns, which are usually
conducted in vernaculars. Younger men who do speak English
seek the positions in government which their fathers might
have held in traditional society, and frequently they must
break openly with their families, who regard such strivings
as premature or disrespectful.

Women who do not receive education frequently do not speak
their husbands' language, even when they move to their hus-
bands' villages or to towns. Whitely notices that Swahili is
not spoken by women as much as by men in East Africa; wives

of Swahili speakers who have come to towns from their native
villages persist in using the vernacular (Whitely, 1956).
English speaking Africans are apt to marry English speaking
women who can best complement their own political motiva-
tions. They recognize inadequate education of women as a
problem, however. A Kikuyu saying exemplifies possible
dissatisfaction resulting from discrepancy between men's and
women's education, "Why learn about sanitation if one must
come home and eat from a dirty plate?"

II. The availability of education in general and of language
education in particular is influenced (apart from finances
available) by educational facilities and their location, num-
ber and quality of teachers, availability of text books, library
books, and mass media, and policies and attitudes concern-
ing sex and age.

The location of schools influences their curriculum and
accessibility. In Tanganyika, Bush schools teach in the
vernacular or Swahili, and village schools in Swahili. Middle
schools continue with Swahili until Standard VII where English
(introduced as a subject in Standard V) is used. Secondary
school work is taught in English, and Swahili becomes a sub-
ject.

The curriculum of town schools is likely to contain experi-
mental programs which depend on the better facilities, and
means for testing available. Children who live outside towns
do not have the same general opportunities for higher educa-
tion or accelerated primary and secondary programs as do
urban children. It is common for young Africans to walk miles
to school or literally leave home to get an education in a dis-
tant place. Travel is almost always pre-requisite to higher
education. Makerere College in Kampala, Uganda has been
the sole institution of higher general education in all of East
Africa.

A shortage of teachers is one of the greatest problems for edu-
cation in Africa, and the teachers who are available often lack
training and consequently produce poor work in their students.
There are several programs designed to increase the number
of qualified teachers. Americans are being trained by the
Peace Corps, and by Makerere College in cooperation with
Columbia University. Uganda trains ex-service men as com-
munity development teachers and encourages participants in
adult literacy campaigns to enlist as teachers for their com-
munities.

One drawback to the use of poorly trained teachers is the
potential loss of interest in an experience which lack of
training makes unrewarding. An illustrative incident occurred
in Uganda in 1959. Primers were prepared in Teso and sold
as a pre-requisite for enrollment in a language course. Al-
though 2,500 primers were sold, only 1,181 students could
be accommodated, and only 80 were able to finish the course.
The high wastage rate was attributed to teachers' lost inter-
est. Even Africans who have the training to make teaching a
rewarding experience may lose interest in favor of politics.

Textbooks are available in limited quality and only in select-
ed languages. The content of most of these books is appro-
priate to an English rather than African context, and may even
dull interest in learning. Library books are available in Eng-
lish and Swahili and some vernaculars, but are mostly limit-
ed to city populations.

Lacking textbooks, schools turn to the mass media. A num-
ber of newspapers in vernaculars, Swahili, and English, and
a few periodicals help fill the need for reading matter. Radio
broadcasts direct to schools are a common feature of African
schools. Cinema vans showing films in Swahili or English
accompanied by vernacular broadsheets are used more for
adult than public school education.

As indicated above, educational opportunities for adults are
limited. Adults are sometimes dependent on their children's
better education for keeping up with politics. During the
1961 campaign in Kenya children were seen reading news-
papers to their parents. Adult education in mass literacy
campaigns is not in English but in the vernacular, a result of
the principle underlying teaching in primary school--one
should be literate in his own language before one becomes
literate in a second.

The need for educated women is recognized in East Africa.
After the British manner, separate girls schools are common.
The percentage of women enrolled in primary and secondary
schools is higher than might be expected from the low over-
all enrollment.

III. The choice of a language from the many available has
political implications. Neglect of a particular vernacular in
education can arouse a tribe's nationalism and disrupt an
education or government program. In Uganda, a mission

committee tried to solve a language problem of a northern
province where tribes refused to communicate with one an-
other despite the similarity of their languages: they estab-
lished a composite language as an official language only to
have one tribe whose language was dissimilar demand recog-
nition for it. Other tribes followed suit and the composite
language is today known as a "church" language. To guide
language choices in education, government, and mass media
three indices are suggested: (1) size of a language group and
the relation of its language to those of other language groups;
(2) political history of the language group; (3) attitudes to-
ward the language and its speakers held by would-be speakers.

(1) Only three of the almost 200 vernaculars of East
Africa are spoken by over 1 million people--Kikuyu in
Kenya, Luganda (Ganda) in Uganda, and Sukuma in
Tanganyika. Both Kikuyu and Luganda are the lan-
guages of tribes with a tribal consciousness that has
led them to seek political domination in modern Kenya
and Uganda. Foreign administrators have recognized
the importance of these languages by printing news-
papers in them, providing textbooks, and--in the case
of the Baganda--excluding them from education pro-
grams involving another language. When tribes resist
a program involving a language other than their own,
investigation of similarity between the languages in-
volved exposes possible extra-linguistic factors at
work. Tribes can claim that other languages are unin-
telligible simply because they are reluctant to grant
another language the same status as their own. The
Nandi and Kipsigis of Kenya who speak mutually intelli-
gible languages refused to accept literature written in
each other's languages on grounds of unintelligibility.
A Nandi-Kipsigis language committee, aware of the
similarity of the languages and guessing the political
reasons for the claim of unintelligibility, solved the
problem by giving the languages equal prominence with
the cover term "Kalenjin".

(2) The size of a language group is not an adequate
index to its potential demands for attention in education
and government policies. The Masai are one of the
smallest tribes in Kenya, but they have had an influence
in tribal history disproportionate to their size. Reputed
and feared as warriors before they were confined to
their present reserve, the Masai are the traditional
enemy of the Kikuyu. They are known among Europeans

as well as Africans for their pride which keeps them
aloof from prolonged contact with other groups. Despite
their small size, their poor economy, and their separa-
tion by the common border of Kenya and Tanganyika, the
Masai try to maintain their tribal unity, and oppose
those who would have it otherwise. This persistence
suggests that program planners consider the history of
language groups which they would include or leave out
of programs.

(3) The connotations and attitudes which languages
arouse in their speakers and others vary greatly. Ver-
naculars tend to have nationalistic connotations for
native speakers, and threatening connotations for non-
native speakers, who fear domination. Swahili, the
acknowledged lingua franca of East Africa, is spoken
by an estimated 7,000,000 and widely used in both
education and the mass media. Yet it is "nobody's
language," and does not usually arouse the pride or
the fear which the vernacular can. Swahili combines
Bantu and Arab elements, borrows heavily from lan-
guages of administrators , and reflects interference of
other bilingual speakers. There are nineteen dialects
--the one of Zanzibar defined as "standard,"--a poetry
form, and an abbreviated form developed by European
settlers in Kenya's White Highlands.

The history of Swahili's development reveals sources
of the varied connotations and attitudes it elicits. In
the eleventh century the Shirazi of Persia landed at
Pemba off the coast of Tanganyika. They travelled up
and down the coast and inland along routes they made
famous as the routes of the slave trade. They settled
along the way, married Bantu or took them as slaves,
and developed for communication in their mixed fami-
lies and in their business, a language which they named
"Swahili," the Arab word for the coasts along which it
was first spoken. Swahili is the language of the slave
trade, an association which persists today and which
has been strong enough to influence the creation of
Kingwana, a Belgian Congo dialect supposedly free of
Arab elements, which the slaves settling in the Congo
as free men wished to eliminate. An Afro-Shirazi par-
ty is active in Zanzibar politics. Apparently it arouses
the slave trade connotation when politics border on
linguistic issues. In response to Zanzibar's current

insistence that the coastal strip of East Africa should
become part of Zanzibar for historical and linguistic
reasons, a Kenya party representative replied that they
should not make the request because, "it reminds us of
the slave trade" (Africa Report, Dec. 16-22, 23-29,
1961).

The Arab elements in Swahili permit it positive connotations
as well as negative ones. Swahili has the distinction of be-
ing the first African language to be written before the arrival
of Europeans. An adapted form of Arabic script permitted the
early beginnings of a literary tradition, with its own poetry
forms. Organizations for the promotion of Swahili have col-
lected many old manuscripts, transcribed them into roman
script, and translated them into English.

Unconcerned with its Arab connotations, the Germans and the
British welcomed Swahili as a language of administration, and
encouraged its use in education to facilitate their control over
Africans. They added connotations of their own to the eclec-
tic language. Among Europeans, Swahili often is reputed to
be a language inadequate for the expression of abstract
thought or of technical terminology, and thus inappropriate
for use in the twentieth century. This attitude towards Swa-
hili may stem from European acquaintance with "KiSettla",
the abbreviated form of Swahili originated and used by Euro-
peans for the administration of their plantations in the White
Highlands. Described as primarily affirmatives, negatives
and commands, it lacks an abstract vocabulary or a technical
terminology to an extent that Swahili does not. In Tanganyika
Swahili has been proposed as the National language by Julius
Nyerere, former Prime Minister and president of the Tangan-
yika African National Union (TANU), who found it more than
adequate for his political campaigning.

In Uganda, Swahili is limited by attitudes toward indigenous
languages. It is taught only in the Police Force and in
schools for the children of the Police.

Obviously there is no one attitude toward Swahili in East Af-
rica. There is controversy over its continued usage in edu-
cation. Educators consider dropping it from the curriculum
in Kenya, and increasing it in Tanganyika. Although elimin-
ated from Uganda education as a language of instruction, it
is admitted to be of surprising usefulness in Kampala, and is
recommended to natives who would travel to other parts of
East Africa.

Swahili can be a unifying force among potentially antagonistic
groups, and in urban contexts where members of diverse tribes
intermingle, Swahili has permitted the establishment of new
acquaintances and a common life outside the tribal context.
In view of high wastage rates in primary school the elimination
of Swahili from primary education may seriously deprive those
Africans who leave school early and migrate to towns.

Whatever other connotations it may have, Swahili is generally
admitted to be "useful".

With English is associated its official position, the political
prestige of its speakers, and the increased opportunities it
offers students. Africans who have a poor opinion of British
administration devalue English: they may prefer French or
Russian as a language of wider communication. French is a
language which the political elite would like to learn. Despite
the obvious benefits of their English education, they are im-
patient with things English which they associate with delayed
independence in Kenya. French offers a means to Pan-African-
ism. Russian competes with English and French. There is a
Russian-Swahili dictionary already published, and there are
opportunities for study in Russia available to Kenya students.

Interviews conducted among African students at an eastern
college by Marion Kilson provide a synopsis of language atti-
tudes among multilingual east Africans. Of five students,
three preferred their vernacular to either Swahili or English,
one for admitted "nationalistic" reasons. All five plan to
teach the vernacular, Swahili, and English to their children.
Two plan to add French and admit reasons of "Pan-Africanism".
Two are themselves studying French, and one wants to study
Russian and German. Each language they speak is categor-
ized with a distinct function. English is appropriate for
official business, use with foreigners, and politics; Swahili
is the language for "other people," "the masses," "other
tribes,"; the vernacular is for relatives and "at home." Dif-
ferent subjective feelings are aroused by each language: the
vernacular makes one feel "homey," as does Swahili, while
English gives one a "formal" or "cosmopolitan" feeling. That
Swahili has a positive evaluation is indicated by students'
special efforts to speak the language at least three times a
week. Students contrast the gains of knowing Swahili and
English on personal and social dimensions: Swahili is judged
to open avenues of personal communication, "knowing people",
and English is judged to open more social opportunities related

to status--getting a new job, participating in politics, learn-
ing more.

IV. Attitudes toward languages and their use are influenced
by the specific tribal contexts, and the history of administra-
tion and education policy on language. Some facts for Kenya,
Tanganyika and Uganda follow as examples of specific tribal
situations and language choices made within them.

KENYA. Kenya has an African population divided among ten
main tribes and a number of smaller ones, which make up
16% of the African population. The Kikuyu, who comprise
16.9% of the African population, and the Masai, their tradi-
tional rival, have dominated most of Kenya's tribal history.
Rivalry is still expressed through the opposition of the Kenya
African National Union (KANU) and the Kenya African Demo-
cratic Union (KADU), modern political parties for whose ori-
gin the tribes are respectively responsible. The Kamba and the
Luo, the second and third largest tribes, are joined with the
Kikuyu in support of KANU.

The political aspirations of the Kikuyu, Luo, Masai, Kamba
and other tribes have influenced language in the mass media.
The Kikuyu publish several newspapers with definite political
orientations. The Luo and Kamba have four and seven vernac-
ular papers respectively, and the Masai have their own govern-
ment sponsored paper. Government recognition of tribalism is
reflected in the programming of radio networks as well as the
use of vernacular in the Press. Regular news bulletins were
broadcast in fourteen languages eighteen times a day in the
last election, suggesting that, excluding Swahili, English,
Arabic, and Gujerati, there are at least ten tribes whose feel-
ings and languages are judged to make a difference in national
politics.

Swahili and English both have wide usage in public mass med-
ia. There are twenty-seven Swahili newspapers. In the recent
campaign, candidates who did not speak Swahili found them-
selves at a definite disadvantage, and because illiteracy is so
high, candidates represented themselves with symbols which
could be recognized on ballots. Even Muslim candidates had
Swahili speaking representatives on the radio networks. The
circulation of English papers is considerably less than that
of the Swahili papers and represents a much smaller percent-
age of African readers than the total circulation figures would
indicate.

Education policy reflects the influence of tribalism. Nine-
tcen vernaculars are used in primary school education, Swa-
hili among them along the coastal strip. Swahili is taught
as a lingua franca in up-country schools by the third year,
and is replaced by English in junior secondary schools. In
the coastal towns where Swahili is the vernacular, English is
taught from the third year on. Textbooks are available in
nineteen vernaculars including Masai.

TANGANYIKA. Tanganyika has 104 tribes listed in the census.
They are small in numbers for the most part and often have
transitory elements. This extreme tribal diversity and poten-
tial instability makes decisive language policy imperative.
The acceptance of Julius Nyerere's proposal that Swahili be-
come the national language of Tanganyika would permit great-
er participation in government for the scattered groups than
does English, which is not spoken as widely. Swahili was
used by the German administration and continued by the Brit-
ish for both administration and education. Swahili is used in
all schools after the first year as the language of instruction
until relatively late in the system and then as a subject.
The missions in Tanganyika have emphasized vernaculars
rather than the lingua franca, however. Forty-four of Tangan-
yika's newspapers are in Swahili. Only two papers are in
Sukuma, the language of the largest tribe, and four in Haya.

Not so much attention is given the vernaculars in either edu-
cation or mass media as it is in Kenya, suggesting that Tan-
ganyika's tribal situation is one in which assertive national-
istic traditions are not as outstanding.

Legislation to strengthen the position of Swahili among the
tribes has been constant in Tanganyika. One of the first
groups in East Africa concerned with the standardization of
Swahili was the publishing committee established in Tangan-
yika in 1925. A society for the preservation of Swahili came
later, and more recently TANU devoted a cultural study group
to the problem of Swahili as a national language. In 1954,
regular simultaneous translation in the Legislative Council
was introduced. A Swahili Primer has been used for adult
literacy campaigns, and Swahili is taught by the government
to representatives of both the Peace Corps and the American
Friends Service Committee.

The potential usefulness of Swahili to government is illus-
trated by the Chagga's solution of their linguistic problem--

which Chagga dialect would the government head speak?
Swahili was adopted because it was not associated with any
group, and hence did not arouse the same nationalistic oppo-
sition as dialects.

UGANDA. The Baganda, the largest and most influential
tribe in Uganda, have a traditional monarchy that resists plans
for representative government that would deprive them of accus-
tomed authority. Other prominent Uganda tribes also form king-
doms of only slightly less strength.

Luganda, the language of the Baganda, has influenced the
position of the other vernaculars, of Swahili, and of English
in Uganda. In 1930 when the Inter-territorial Committee on
Swahili was formed, Uganda agreed with Tanganyika and Kenya
on the importance of Swahili for education. But three years
earlier the Kabaka (king of the Baganda) had issued a public
statement protesting the introduction of Swahili into the school
system, on the grounds that it threatened loss of tribal status
which the Kabaka was dedicated to protect. (The government
responded with an explanation that they never planned to in-
clude the Baganda in the program.) Missions in Uganda ob-
jected to Swahili because of its Arabic words and their asso-
ciations with the Muslim religion.

Today the position of Swahili in Uganda has declined consid-
erably. Swahili is taught nowhere but in the schools for
police and their children, a silent admission of Swahili's
usefulness as a means of inter-tribal communication necessary
for police work. The very fact that Swahili is "nobody's lan-
guage" (the Swahili population of East Africa, centered in
Tanganyika and Zanzibar is not a tribe, but isolated individuals
born of Arab and Bantu parents) caused a reaction of distaste to
it among Uganda's powerful kingdoms.

By 1944 a Committee for the Standardization of Ganda was
formed as part of a movement to increase Luganda's use in
Uganda. So emotionally involved were the Baganda with the
decisions of the committee, that two years after the standard-
ization an African editor was beaten for using the "wrong" form.
(The Kabaka had formed an African Editors Club in order to pre-
vent "wrong" language usage in the press, and had assumed
powers to demand correction of such usage when it occurred.)

Despite the influence of the Kabaka and the Uganda, Luganda
did not become the national language. In part, the power of

the Baganda prevented the dominance of their language:
Baganda served as administrative agents for the British and
aroused other tribes' hostility against themselves and Luganda.
Six literature committees for languages other than Luganda
were established to promote languages other than Luganda,
particularly in education. In 1947, Luganda, four other ver-
naculars, and Swahili were educational media. Demands
were made for introduction of the two other languages repre-
sented by the committees. At present eight vernaculars are
used in primary school during the first three years. More and
more stress on English occurs. Teachers frequently introduce
it before the prescribed middle standard level. In anticipation
of increased emphasis of English in education, the Institute of
Education at Makerere is investigating the problems of tran-
sition from the vernacular, especially Luganda, to English.
Textbooks in languages other than English are available in
Luganda, Nyoro, Lwo, and Swahili, but in limited supply.
Though Luganda does not dominate the schools, it does the
press. There are fourteen Luganda newspapers, five in an-
other vernacular, three in each of two others, and one in
each of three others. The Baganda's past resistance to lan-
guage programs that would be introduced or extended at the
expense of Luganda predicts their resistence to efforts to
elevate English over Luganda in modern Uganda.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Allen, J. W. "The Collection of Swahili Literature and its
    Relation to Oral Tradition and History," Tanganyika Notes
    and Records, 53:224-228, 1959.

-----. "The Rapid Spread of Swahili," Swahili, Journal of
    the East African Swahili Committee, 30:70-74, December
    1959.

Baker, E. C. "Notes on the Shirazi of East Africa," Tangan-
    yika Notes and Records, 11:1-10, April 1941.

Broomfield, G. W. "Development of the Swahili Language,"
    Africa, Vol. III, 4:16-22, 1930.

-----. "Re-Bantuization of the Swahili Language," Africa,
    Vol. IV, 1:77-85, 1931.

Gower, R. H. "Swahili Borrowings from English," <u>Africa,</u>
    Vol. XXII, 2:154-156, 1952; reprint, <u>Tanganyika Notes and</u>
    <u>Records</u>, 50: 118-120, 1958.

-----. "Swahili Slang," <u>Swahili, Journal of the East African</u>
    <u>Swahili Committee</u>, 28:41-48, July 1958.

Harries, L. "Congo Swahili," <u>Tanganyika Notes and Records,</u>
    44:50-54, September 1956.

-----. "Swahili Epic Literature," <u>Tanganyika Notes and</u>
    <u>Records,</u> 30:73-78, January-June 1958.

Kilson, M. "Multilingualism among African Students,"
    (unpublished manuscript.) Harvard, 1962.

Reusch, R. "How the Swahili People and Language Came into
    Existence," <u>Tanganyika Notes and Records,</u> 34:20-27,
    January 1953.

Robinson, A. E. "The Shirazi Colonization of East Africa,"
    <u>Tanganyika Notes and Records</u>, 3:40-81, 1937.

Roehl, K. "The Linguistic Situation in East Africa," <u>Africa,</u>
    3:191-202, April 1930.

Sutherlin, R. "Interdisciplinary Approach to Tribalism,"
    (unpublished manuscript.) Stanford, 1961.

UNESCO. <u>The Use of Vernacular in Education</u> (Monograph on
    Fundamental Education.) Paris: UNESCO, 1951.

-----. <u>African Languages and English in Education</u> (Educa-
    tion Serials and Documents.) Paris: UNESCO, 1953.

-----. <u>The Education Situation in Africa Today; Final Report</u>
    <u>of the Conference of African States on the Development of</u>
    <u>Education in Africa.</u> Addis Abbaba: 1961.

U. S. National Commission for Unesco. <u>Africa and the United</u>
    <u>States; Images and Realities, 8th National Conference</u>,
    (Background Book) Boston: 1961.

Whitely, W. H. "The Changing Position of Swahili in East
    Africa", <u>Africa</u>, Vol. XXVI, 4:343-354, October 1956.

Ruth E. Sutherlin

-----. "Language and Politics in East Africa," _Tanganyika_
    Notes and Records, 47-48:159-174, June and September,
    1957.

-----. "Swahili and the Classical Tradition," _Tanganyika_
    Notes and Records, 53:214-224, 1959.

-----. "Political Concepts and Connotations, Observations
    on the Use of Some Political Terms in Swahili," in K. Kirkwood
    (ed.) _St. Antony Papers No. 10, African Affairs: Number 1._
    Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press 1961. Pp. 7-22.

Whitely, W. H. and Gutkind, A. E. _Linguistic Bibliography of_
    East Africa, Revised 1958. Arusha: Beauchamp Printing
    Company for the East Africa Swahili Committee and the East
    African Institute of Social Research.

LANGUAGE PROBLEMS IN THE RURAL DEVELOPMENT OF
NORTH INDIA

by John J. Gumperz

Most of the discussion regarding the language issue in India
so far has revolved about two problems. One of these con-
cerns the spread of Hindi knowledge in those areas or fields
of endeavor where other regional languages or English are
now used; the other, the enrichment of Hindi vocabulary (or,
as is usually stated, the development of the Hindi language),
so as to make it possible to use it for dealing with topics
related to modern science and technology. The Central Govern-
ment and several of the state governments have devoted much
effort towards the solution of these problems by setting up
special departments for the creation of vocabulary lists to
deal with new subjects, encouraging attempts to introduce
Hindi in universities and legislative bodies, and fostering
the growth of societies for the propagation of Hindi learning.
These activities have aroused a great deal of controversy,
and so much has been written about the pros and cons of the
issues involved that the above two problems seem to be the
only ones associated with language in the public mind.

There is, however, another language problem of a slightly
different nature which has received little attention so far.
This concerns the difference between the everyday spoken
language of the people and literary language used on formal
occasions and especially in writing. It applies to all parts
of India, including even those areas in which Hindi is now
the regional language. It is common knowledge that in
addition to Hindi and the various regional languages recog-
nized by the Indian Constitution, a number of dialects are
spoken on the village level, but very little is known to non-
linguists about the difference between these dialects and the

standard spoken and written language and the extent to which
the three are mutually intelligible.

The present paper is an attempt to illustrate this problem on
the basis of observations made during eighteen months of
linguistic research in various parts of rural North India.[1]
The area chosen for illustration is the area in which Hindi is
now the regional language. The problems discussed, how-
ever, apply to a greater or lesser degree to all parts of the
country. The paper consists of two parts. Part one is a
short descriptive statement of some of the facts of geographic
and social language distribution in the so-called Hindi-
speaking area; the other is an account of some of the linguistic
difficulties in communication that have come up between exten-
sion workers and government officials and villagers in a North
Indian village.

The gap between popular speech and written language has
been in existence during the greater part of Indian history.[2]
Sanskrit had long ceased to be a spoken language in the times
of Kalidasa, the greatest of its writers, and even the Prakrits,
which are used by lower-class characters in Sanskrit plays,
do not seem to have been accurate reflections of popular
speech. In the present discussion, an attempt will be made
to draw a clear distinction between literary or written idiom
and spoken language.

Before going into the matter of language distribution, an
attempt will be made to explain the various uses of the terms
Hindi and Urdu, regarding which there seems to exist a great
deal of confusion in non-linguistic literature. The word Urdu
was originally used to designate the literary idiom which had
gained currency in the Dravidian-speaking country of Golconda
on the Deccan Peninsula in the late sixteenth century and
which was based on the spoken lingua franca used around the
Moghul army camps and administrative centers.[3] This lan-
guage in turn had had its roots in the local dialects spoken
in the Gangetic Doab, that is, the area around Delhi and
Merut. Urdu literature was written in an adaptation of the
Persian script and had taken over a great number of words
from Persian. During the eighteenth century it spread to such
North Indian urban centers as Delhi and Lucknow. In the
beginning of the nineteenth century, a number of Hindi writers
began using the Devanagari alphabet for their writings and
started replacing many of the Persian borrowings with loan
words taken from Sanskrit. The new idiom which thus developed

was given the name of Hindi. Literary Hindi and Urdu are thus two styles of the same language; they are used in writing and, on a spoken level, for formal lectures and discussion. Both have the same inflectional system and a common core of basic vocabulary; they differ in the learned or abstract words used and in word order. Spoken literary Urdu also has taken over a number of sounds from Persian, such as those represented by q and g͡h which have fallen together with those of k and g in spoken Hindi.[4] The sounds equivalent to k͟h, z, and f, which also come from Persian, are commonly used in both styles. Literary Hindi, on the other hand, uses a number of initial and final consonant clusters which are not common to Urdu.

Side by side with the above two literary idioms, the spoken lingua franca from which they had sprung continued to spread in the bazaar towns and urban administrative centers. Its spread was favored by the fact that it had become the official medium of the British administration and also by the great improvement in communication facilities during the nineteenth century. Outside the area where Hindi is the regional language, it is now widely used in such urban centers as Karachi, Bombay, Calcutta, Hyderabad, and others. In British India it had usually been referred to by the name Hindustani. After Indian Independence this latter term was dropped and the word Hindi was adopted for the national language of India. This change in terms, however, has not resulted in a corresponding change in language.

In spite of the fact that there is a large relatively active group of people who favor the elimination of many colloquial words in favor of Sanskrit borrowings, the gap between the spoken language (hereafter referred to as standard spoken Hindi) and the literary idiom remains. This fact is usually ignored in the non-linguistic literature on language problems. The confusion in terminology is further increased by the popular use of the terms Hindi and Urdu. Hindus of every class are now apt to refer to their own speech as Hindi, whether they speak a village dialect or the standard language. Muslims, on the other hand, refer to their speech as Urdu, although from the point of view of the hearer there might be little difference between their speech and that of their Hindu neighbors. The author has had several experiences in which Hindus in complimenting him on his efforts to speak the local idiom would say, "You speak Hindi well," whereas Muslims would react to the same or similar words with, "You speak

Urdu well." A formal analysis of at least one village dialect has shown that the differences between the speech of touchable and untouchable castes are much greater than those between that of Muslims and Hindus.[5]

The area in which Hindi is the regional language extends from Rajastan and the eastern part of Punjab in the west to the eastern borders of Bihar and Madya Pradesh. The standard spoken Hindi, which is current in the urban areas of this region, is relatively uniform. The literary Hindi idiom is taught in the schools. The introduction of Hindi literature has displaced a number of older literary idioms in which there had been literatures since the late Middle Ages. The best known of these are Braj Bhaśa, Avadhi, and Maithili. At the present time literary activity in these idioms has died out, but the spoken forms on which this activity was based continue to be used by educated as well as uneducated city residents in the home and when among friends. Most city speakers of these dialects are equally at home in Hindi, however, and actual conversations are characterized by frequent switching from the dialect to Hindi and vice versa. These dialects occupy a somewhat intermediate stage between standard spoken Hindi and the local village speech, since they are spoken in relatively uniform form over a large area. They will be referred to hereafter as regional standards.[6] In addition to those mentioned above, there are a number of regional standards which have had no literature, e.g., Marwari and Jaipuri spoken in Rajastan, Surguja in Madya Pradesh, Magadhi in Bihar. Some of these regional standards differ only slightly from Hindi; others must be classified as different languages from a linguistic point of view. Thus for example, Braj Bhaśa, the language spoken around Agra, differs little from standard Hindi. The Jaipuri and Marwari dialects of Rajastan, on the other hand, show many more differences. They have a much greater variety of inflectional noun and verb forms. The differences between their inflectional system and that of Hindi are so great that linguists generally classify them as part of a separate language, Rajastani, which as Grierson states, is more different from standard Hindi than Punjabi, one of the regional languages recognized by the Indian Constitution. The greatest amount of linguistic difference within the Hindi-speaking area is found between Maithili and Hindi. Maithili has a vowel system which is akin to that of Bengali and a system of verbal inflection in which the verb is inflected for person and according to the social status of both the subject and the object, and not according to person and number as in Hindi.[7]

On the level of village speech, the amount of linguistic variety
is even greater. The saying goes in rural India that each vil-
lage has its own dialect. This is of course an exaggeration.
In the Gangetic Doab, however, the region where standard
Hindi first developed, differences are so great that villagers
from Moradabad District state that they have difficulty in
understanding the speech of their own relatives by marriage
from Karnal District, slightly more than a hundred miles away.
These local dialects have been studied very little by linguists
so far. Grierson's survey is based on written answers to
questionnaires administered through British official channels
and not on direct field work; most of the other publications on
Indian dialects deal with regional standards.[8]

From a linguistic point of view the local dialects form a con-
tinuous chain from Sind to Assam, the speech of each area
shading off into that of the adjoining one. The individual
speech differences can be plotted on a map with lines show-
ing the geographical boundaries of usages, but in no two
areas adjacent to one or a group of such boundaries are the
differences so great that there is no mutual intelligibility.
Lack of mutual intelligibility is found only between areas
that are relatively far apart. The regional languages such as
Sindhi, Gujerati, Marathi, and Hindi, and also the above-
mentioned regional standards have been, so to speak, super-
imposed on this chain of dialects as a result of political and
historical factors. If therefore we take two villages, say on
the borderline between Rajastan and Gujerat, we will find
that villagers will have no difficulty in understanding each
other, whereas government officials who speak only the stand-
ard languages might have to resort to interpreters in order to
communicate effectively. If the official from Rajastan knows
the regional standard, communication will be easier. Learn-
ing a literary idiom for a villager, on the other hand, often
requires much more than mere acquisition of literacy--it may
be equivalent to learning a foreign language.

The greatest amount of conservatism and inflexibility with
respect to local dialects is found among those groups in the
village that have little opportunity for contact with outsiders,
such as women and certain members of the lower castes.
Outside the village, when talking to traders and officials in
the bazaar towns and administrative centers, villagers are
forced to drop some of their most divergent localisms and
adapt their speech to the regional standard. It is also in
centers of this type that standard Hindi is becoming more and

more current. Many of them contain settlements of traders
from different areas, e.g., Marvaris from Rajastan, Sikhs
from Punjab, Muslims from Lucknow or Delhi, who use Hindi
to communicate with the local population. Other factors
which aid in the spread of Hindi are the improvement of com-
munications, which has made long travels rather painless,
the schools and the movies, which may be found in the small-
est of towns. Data from one village in the Bhojpuri-speaking
area of eastern U. P. shows that a large proportion of the
local men understand and speak some Hindi; the women and
many of the low-caste people, on the other hand, have
trouble in following it. It must be remembered, however, that
the language which is spreading is the spoken standard Hindi
and not the literary idiom. Except in the schools, the aver-
age villager has very little opportunity for coming in contact
with the literary language, since the amount of printed mater-
ial that reaches him is still very small. It is also true that
the conversations in standard Hindi that the ordinary villager
has occasion to engage in revolve about such everyday mat-
ters as common greetings, commercial transaction, etc.;
conversations about philosophical problems or the more inti-
mate problems of family life and religion would be more diffi-
cult to carry out in Hindi. Anthropologists working in the
Gangetic Doab have found difficulties in discussing such
matters without resorting to the local dialect.

The studies of written communication were made in a village
in Saharanpur District of Uttar Pradesh. The dialect of the
area is referred to by Grierson as Vernacular Hindustani and
it is one of the group of local dialects which show closest
affinity to standard Hindi. The standard speech is universally
understood, although the village speech itself is not easily
understandable to outsiders from different regions.

The village is located in a fertile agricultural area, which has
in recent years become one of the centers of Indian sugar-cane
production. Cane is the principal village crop. There are two
large sugar mills at a few miles distance, and between the
months of November and May, during the sugar-cane season,
cultivators make several trips a week to the mill to deliver
cane. The tahsil (sub-district) headquarters, a town with a
population of about 25,000, is located about six miles away
on the main railroad from Delhi to Saharanpur. Local roads
are quite good and rail and bus connections with Delhi to the
south and Ambala and the Punjab to the north and west are
excellent. Villagers have marriage relations as far away as

Ambala in the Punjab and Bulanshaher and Moradabad towards
the east. Many of them have had several occasions during
their lifetime of travel within this entire area in connection
with family or business affairs. The primary school in the
village dates back to the 1920's. An inter-college (equiva-
lent to a senior high school) has been in existence for seven
years. It is supported primarily by village funds and many of
the local boys attend. The C.D.P. (Community Development
Project) has been active in the village since 1953. All in all,
the village seems exceptionally well provided, as Indian
villages go, with educational facilities and opportunities for
contact with the outside world.

From the point of view of literacy, the adult population, i.e.
people between the ages of twenty-five and fifty who carry
the major responsibility of village life, can be divided into
three groups. The literates are those that can read well and
regularly read newspapers, novels, or other literature. The
majority of them have had five or more years of schooling.
Their first instruction was in Urdu, since until Independence
Urdu was taught in the primary schools of the area. They
have had to learn the Hindi script and literary idiom for them-
selves. There is another group of semi-literates which in-
cludes those who at one time or other have had some school-
ing but read with difficulty, or those who have taught them-
selves to recognize the letters of the alphabet. Many people
in this group have had up to five years of schooling; some of
them say that at one time they read well but have forgotten
now. This group is numerically much larger than the first.
It is constantly growing since many people have begun to
learn to read, either on their own or with the help of neigh-
bors. The last group, that of the illiterates, includes those
that do not have a knowledge of the alphabet and is approxi-
mately equal in numbers to the other two groups combined.

The intelligibility tests were conducted with a pamphlet, dis-
tributed by the C.D.P., announcing a development fair. This
pamphlet contains forty-five lines of text announcing the
various features of the fair. It was tested with a panel of
informants drawn from the three above-mentioned groups of
literates, semi-literates, and illiterates. The methods used
for testing were patterned on the traditional way in which
written materials are made known to illiterate villagers. This
is usually done by reading the pamphlet out loud to the audi-
ence, paraphrasing the text in the village dialect and com-
menting on it. In the present tests the text was read to the

illiterates; semi-literates and literates read the text them-
selves; all informants were asked to explain the meaning as
if they were telling somebody else about the pamphlet.

The illiterates were able to obtain only the vaguest notion of
the contents of the material read to them. They made mis-
takes in understanding in ten to fifteen of the forty-five lines
of text. The semi-literates did slightly better; they averaged
about ten mistakes. The literates understood the main part
of the message; however, even they did not know some of the
terms used. In passages which dealt with something familiar,
such as those features that are usually associated with a
fair in the experience of villagers (e.g. wrestling contests,
shows, cinema), the informants were able to guess at the
contents of a passage from a few words. The purpose of the
fair, however, was to stimulate interest in new ideas, such
as crop competitions, public health, domestic industries,
the participation of women in community life. The greatest
number of misunderstandings occurred in the passages relat-
ing to these last features.

From a linguistic point of view the difficulties encountered
were largely in the realm of vocabulary. Here are some
examples. The announcement referring to a baby show read:
tīn sāl tak kī āyu kē choṭe bālkõ kē svasty kī pratiyōgitā
hōgī, 'there will be a show of healthy babies up to the age of
three.' This was interpreted by several people as: 'There
will be a wrestling match of three-year-old children.' The
difficulty lies in the use of the terms pratiyōgitā 'show' and
svasty 'health' instead of the common words numāysh and
hālat. Another example of the type of misunderstanding that
occurred is the following: mahilāõ kē līyē ēk din vishēs
prakār sē rakkhā jāyēgā 'a special day will be set aside for
women.' The word for women mahilā is somewhat similar in
phonetic shape to the local form mahōllā 'neighborhood,' and
the words vishēs 'special' and prakār 'manner' were not
understood. The common interpretation of the passage was,
'people from every neighborhood are invited.' Only the liter-
ates understood the passage. Examples of other words that
were not understood are: virāṭ 'big', ev 'and,' avsar 'occas-
ion,' unnatī 'improved,' krsi 'agriculture,' grh udyōg 'domes-
tic industry,' lōk gīt 'folk song,' sammēlan 'assembly.'
Many of these indicate exactly those concepts that the C.D.P.
has been attempting to introduce. It was rather surprising to
see that the official name of the C.D.P. center, samudāyik
vikās yōjnā kēndr, which was placed above the title of the

pamphlet, was known to only one among all the informants interviewed. The common word in the village is the word parōjak 'project.' The village-level worker is usually referred to by the term dabalū 'double u' (from V.L.W.) or naspattar 'inspector' (the name given to agricultural officials during the British regime), instead of the official term grām sēvak.

Some of the other difficulties in understanding were due to the use of words in a meaning different from the meaning they commonly have in the village; e.g. the use of the word dhangal to mean 'contest' in one case caused great difficulty for several informants who knew only the village meaning 'wrestling match.' Difficulties in syntax were rare; a few informants had some trouble with word order, but they were able to make it out after going over the pertinent passages a few times. It should be expected that syntactic difficulties would be greater with speakers of languages more different from Hindi such as Rajastani or Maithili.

Difficulties in comprehension similar to those mentioned above were found to a greater or lesser degree in most of the literature that reaches the village, such as in farm magazines, newspapers, and the few extension leaflets that are passed out. In one leaflet, which was distributed by the local school authorities on the occasion of a visit to the village by the President of India to lay the foundation stone of a hospital, the words for hospital and foundation stone were not known to any of the informants. Illiterate and semi-literate informants also had great difficulty in understanding an article on better methods of cotton cultivation in an agricultural magazine which regularly reaches the village.

Lectures on technical subjects by outside officials are also likely to present difficulty. The village level worker and the officials from the local development center who have been in the area for awhile have no trouble in making themselves understood. There have been some lectures, however, by outside technical experts, notably one on artificial insemination, which were understood by only a few of the literate villagers. There are five or six radios in the village, but people do not ordinarily listen to the All India Radio News broadcasts because they say the language is too difficult for them.

In the relations of villagers with traders from the bazaar towns and with the courts, another type of difficulty arises. Urdu is

still used by many businessmen for keeping accounts and for
posting written notices. The account sheets issued by the
sugar mills, listing the deliveries of cane, are printed in
Hindi, but the local clerks often write in the figures in Urdu.
Urdu is also still used in some of the land records. There
are, furthermore, a few cases where instructions in English
have been issued to the sarpanch, the head of the village
tribunal, by the superior court official. The person in ques-
tion happens to be literate in both Urdu and Hindi, but since
he knows little or no English, the instructions have so far
been disregarded. In some cases persons involved in a trial
are furnished only English transcripts of the judgment in their
case. There are two railroad crossings near the village, on
dirt roads travelled primarily by bullock carts, where the
only warning signs are in English.

If a villager therefore wants to be able to read the sort of
literature that reaches him in the village and thus remain in
direct touch with the outside community, it is not enough
that he know the Devanagari alphabet. In order to read Hindi
he has to learn a great deal of new terminology and new syn-
tactic constructions. In order to transact business he has to
master the Urdu script and Urdu literary style and it would
also be useful if he knew at least some English. In the ab-
sence of this knowledge he is forced to depend on middlemen,
whose reliability he has no way of judging.

From the point of view of rural development, the local lan-
guage situation imposes severe limitations on the methods
that may be used for spreading new ideas. The only reliable
means of communicating with villagers is personal contact
by the village level worker or a local project officer. Written
communications at best reach only the relatively small group
of literate villagers, and the probability of misinterpretation
by readers who are unable to comprehend the contents and
pass on their misapprehensions to their illiterate neighbors
are quite high. The present language situation further serves
to preserve the traditional barrier between the villager and
the outside world, a barrier which the C.D.P. is trying to
remove.

The effectiveness of development might be greatly increased
if the diversity in style and language used by local govern-
ment agencies could be eliminated and all persons concerned
could be trained to use a style intelligible to villagers, at
least in those writings that are destined for village

consumption. It would then be possible to reach the ever in-
creasing group of semi-literates, many of whom might other-
wise revert back to illiteracy. There have been some attempts
made to train writers in the production of literature for new
literates, but the writings produced have so far not reached
the village in which this study was made.[9] In any case,
what is needed is a co-ordinated effort on the part of all
agencies concerned, not just the distribution of a few booklets.

The data presented in the foregoing is based on only one vil-
lage, but the impressions gained have been confirmed by
other researchers with experience in Indian villages.[10] Fur-
thermore, the linguistic diversity described in the first part
of the paper seems to indicate that similar conditions exist
also in other areas. The problem seems real enough to sug-
gest further study, based on a more detailed regional survey
of language problems at the village level.

REFERENCES

1. The field observations resulting in this study were made
under a fellowship granted by The Ford Foundation. The con-
clusions, opinions, and other statements in this publication,
however, are those of the author and not necessarily those of
The Ford Foundation. The author is indebted to Professor
Morris Opler and the staff of the Cornell University India Pro-
ject for furnishing living quarters in the village and providing
much helpful background information for the study. Special
thanks are due to D. S. C. Dube for his help in formulating
the problem.

2. India is of course not unique in this respect. Similar
differences existed throughout medieval Europe and still
exist, for example, in Greece, where they have become the
subject of a great deal of political controversy.

3. Sir George Abraham Grierson, Linguistic Survey of India
(Calcutta: 1927). For an account of the rise of spoken and
literary Hindi see Vol. I. Another account of the develop-
ment of modern Indo-Aryan vernaculars, which also discusses
the gap between spoken language and literary idiom, is given
in S. K. Chatterji, Indo-Aryan and Hindi (Ahmedabad:
Gujerat Vernacular Society, 1942).

4. The Library of Congress transcription of Devanagari as adapted to Hindi is used throughout.

5. John J. Gumperz, "Dialect Difference and Social Stratification in a North Indian Village", American Anthropologist 60.668-82 (1958).

6. Grierson does not draw this distinction explicitly; however, it is implicit in his comments.

7. See Grierson, IX, Pt. 2, p. 1 for Rajastani, V, Pt. 2, p. 13 for Maithili.

8. Some excellent examples of studies of this type are: Baburan Saxena, Evolution of Avadhi (Allahabad: 1937); Chirendra Varma, La langue Braj (Paris: Librairie d'Amérique et d'Orient, 1935).

9. Workshops on writing for new literates were held in Delhi in 1953 and in Mysore, Poona, and West Bengal. The Indian Council of Agricultural Research publishes a journal, Dharti ke lal, intended for new literates, which has a circulation of about 8,000; cf. The Ford Foundation and Foundation Supported Activities in India (New York: The Ford Foundation, 1955). The Uttar Pradesh Development Commissioner at Lucknow has also published a series of pamphlets on agricultural topics for new literates.

10. Mr. Philip Barker, a linguist who has spent about eighteen months in rural areas of Sarguja, Madya Pradesh, tells me that villagers in his area were not able to understand the terminology of official announcements posted in the village. See also Chatterji, pp. 140f.

LANGUAGE STANDARDIZATION

by Punya Sloka Ray

Introduction
We ordinarily speak of standardization in relation to tools.
We expect of a standardized tool that it will be cheaper to
acquire and maintain, that individual specimens will be very
much alike and of relatively uniform dependability. When a
tool is rarely used or used by only a few people, standardi-
zation is relatively unimportant. But if it comes to be used
frequently and by a large number of people, standardization
is often an advantage.

When we apply the concept of standardization to languages,
we stress their tool-like character. From this point of view
a language is only an instrument of communication; a means,
not an end. In the following discussion we consider ques-
tions of efficiency and uniformity of linguistic practices, as
well as questions of policy in furthering standardization,
especially insofar as it can be a deliberate and conscious
operation.

In this discussion we confine our attention primarily to a
single aspect of language: lexical forms, i.e. the vocabulary
(as distinguished from the grammar).

Questions of efficiency
The first thing is to dispel the notion that all linguistic prac-
tices are equal, that there are no real choices available on
grounds of relative efficiency. However, a preliminary point
is that we cannot simply set up an abstract scale of efficiency
and grade each word or phrase of the language upon it. The
expression which may be less efficient for certain purposes
may be more efficient for others. We need to have therefore
both an assessment of identifiable purposes and a canon for
choice when an identified purpose and a small set of alterna-
tive forms are given. In brief, we do not require a method
for measuring efficiency, but only for comparing it.

Let us consider what happens when the expression "vege-
tables" is replaced by "veg". This is often justified on the
ground that the former is a mouthful compared to the latter.
Yet it is also clear that "veg" requires more explanation than
"vegetables". If and when the unabbreviated form is known
and is not too rare, and the general technique of the abbrevi-
ation, such as 'pronounce only the stressed syllable', is
even better known, then the explanation required for the
longer form may not counterbalance the advantages gained by
the shorter form. Only in such a case may the shorter form
be said to be more efficient. We shall call this type of
efficiency 'concision'.

But there is another aspect to efficiency. Suppose that I am
talking to a friend over the phone and he is being distracted
by other things. In such a case, he may easily miss "veg"
and ask me to repeat. "Vegetables" would not be so easy to
miss. For example, if he misses "v.g...b...", but catches
".e.eta.les", there are not many alternative expressions that
would fit, given the general context of the conversation.
This quality has been called 'redundancy' but may be also
called self-confirmation of the utterance.

We shall also need to distinguish between two different con-
cepts of frequency. 'Text frequency' compares two lexical
forms in their repetitions with a body of discourse. For exam-
ple, in a text of 5000 words we may find that the word "set"
has been used 45 times while the word "form" has been used
63 times. 'List frequency' compares two lexical forms in
their repetitions of pairing with other lexical forms. For ex-
ample, we may find that within the same text the word "set"
has been used immediately before 35 different words while
the word "form" has been used before 39 different words.

A lexical form may also be identified as either relatively
'familiar' or relatively 'learned'. It is more familiar when it
has a higher list frequency and more learned when it does
not. The more familiar a lexical form is, the more efficient
it is to have it name a relatively fluid concept; the more
learned, the more efficient it is to have it name a relatively
precise concept.

Let us consider the role of associations. The higher the list
frequency of a lexical form, the more diverse associations it
has and if we use a more familiar word to designate a precise
concept, we run the risk of being led off in irrelevant

directions. But because the learned form has a lesser burden
of associations, it can be used more arbitrarily and precisely
than the more familiar form.

Questions of uniformity
There are two different ways in which uniformity may be
sought for a language. First, we may have a set of people
who as a group identify themselves as users of the language,
and yet who do not use the same forms for the same meanings.
This situation is usually described as existence of dialects.
All languages are fragmented into dialects, but not to an
equal degree. For instance,German may be said to be more
fragmented into dialects than French. That the causality of
such a phenomenon might be found in another dimension, that
dialects might correlate with socio-economic disparities in
the population, is not relevant for the point of view adopted
here. What matters here is only the ability to contrast lan-
guages. If the forms and meanings vary relatively little be-
tween smaller groups within the larger group of the speakers
of the language then the language is relatively 'closed'.

We may have a set of people who as a group identify them-
selves as users of the language, and yet who do not use it
for all purposes of life. For instance, up to about the second
world war, many of the chemistry textbooks in use in Ameri-
can universities were in German, and researchers in that sub-
ject were expected to be able to conduct discussion in that
language. Indeed, not being required to use a language
other than one's vernacular for some urgent purpose or other
is a rather exceptional situation in history. This phenomenon
leads to the question how far the forms and meanings of the
first language match with those of the other languages also
needed. This we shall describe as the relative 'opening' of
the language. We might speak, instead of 'closure' and
'opening', of intra-linguistic and inter-linguistic uniformity.

in summary, lack of uniformity may be shown in various ways
in particular cases. [Portions of the following treatment
through the end have been published as part of an article in
QUEST, October 1961, the courtesy of the editor of which is
hereby acknowledged.] Firstly, there may be no common,
uniform, standard linguistic practice at all within a society.
Secondly, there may be one common, uniform but functionally
restricted standard. Thirdly, there may be several function-
ally restricted standards.

Source of borrowing: 'Borrowing' is a traditional term for a
phenomenon we might better describe as 'inheritance': no
contract for repayment is involved. By a source of borrowing
is meant here a source which is currently utilized, and not
sources that may have been utilized in the past. English did
borrow heavily from Danish at one time. But Danish is not a
source of borrowing for English now, at least not a major
source.

These sources may form a serial order functioning almost as
one single whole. This is the case with English, for which
the major sources are French, Latin and Greek. The point to
note here is that French borrows heavily from Latin and Greek,
and that Latin used to borrow heavily from Greek.

Or the sources may be ordered parallel to one another. This
kind of an order is exhibited for Indonesian, which borrows
mostly from Dutch, French, and English. Similar is the case
for German, for when it borrows it usually does it from either
French or English.

Or the sources may be ordered in two unrelated and divergent
groups. This is the case with Japanese, which borrows from
classical Chinese as well as from modern European languages.
The situation is similar for any modern Indian language, with
Sanskrit (or classical Tamil or Arabic-Persian) and English as
the sources. The tension which exists in the last type of
relationship may be alleviated in various ways. First, one
of the sources may be abandoned. This has been done in
Turkey. Many words traceable to Arabic or Persian are still
used, but fresh borrowing from Arabic or Persian has stopped.
Second, elements from one of the sources may be used in
ways which harmonize with the practice of another source
rather better than they do with the original usage. Many of
the new formations which German produces by recombining
native elements, or Japanese by recombining elements borrow-
ed from classical Chinese, are more or less mechanical trans-
lations of the Latin-Greek terms current in the modern Euro-
pean languages. Third, elements and combinations from both
directions may be accommodated as stylistic variants. Japan-
ese practices this method to the extent of matching Chinese-
derived script-forms and European-derived sound forms for
the same Japanese-assimilated words. One might reproduce
a sample in a hypothetical English by spelling "artificial-
satellite" but pronouncing "sputnik".

<u>Dialect</u>: There may be within a single language no one dom-
inant dialect which can serve as the base for a common stand-
ard. This was the case in Germany before Luther, with about
five major dialects. However, Luther's choice, combined
with the otherwise admitted advantages of the relatively most
unified dialect, did tip the scales towards a clear decision.
Frequently, there is no clear awareness of the situation in
this regard. This was the case in Southern Rhodesia, where
Clement Duke had to research for a year before being able to
recommend in favor of the very closely related Karanga and
Zezuru dialects for building a written, unified Shona.

Or there may be a common, uniform but functionally restricted
standard dialect, limited to formal oratory and literature.
This phenomenon has been termed 'diglossia' and is well
illustrated by Arabic. Formal Arabic differs little from the
classical language and is used all over the Arab world. But
ordinary conversation even among the highly educated is
carried out in several distinct dialects in Iraq, Syria, Egypt,
and the Maghreb. The long range outlook, given present
political disunity, seems to favor the rise of several daughter
languages on the model of the rise of French, Spanish, Italian
etc. from Latin. A second possibility is the eventual domin-
ance of one of the spoken varieties over the rest. This seems
to be the drift in mainland China, where the Peking dialect is
being pushed to replace all others. A third possibility is the
indefinite persistence of the situation. This is the case in
Switzerland's German-speaking areas, where High German
and the Swiss German dialect supplement each other.

Or there may be more than one common and inadequate formal
standard within the same language. One example is the situ-
ation for some decades and in some areas of Bengal. There
were two formal standards, one without a spoken base in the
present and the other with a spoken base in another region,
(besides several fairly stabilized spoken dialects structurally
intermediate to the two). The situation has now been resolved
by a rapid obsolescence of the first of the literary dialects.

<u>Language</u>: There may not be a single common language. This
is rarer these days than might be supposed. Two examples
are Finland and Switzerland. In Finland, Finnish is spoken
by over 90 per cent and Swedish by less than 9 per cent. But
Swedish was until late last century the official language, and
still is the nearest equivalent to a lingua franca in the Scan-
dinavian region. In consequence, Swedish is the official

second language and the urban population is also actually
more or less bilingual. In Switzerland, German is spoken by
about 72 per cent, French by a little over 20 per cent, and
Italian by slightly less than 6 per cent. But except for formal
purposes the German speakers use a rather pronounced dia-
lect, while French and Italian are spoken much as in France
and Italy, which are powerful and often admired neighbors.
Moreover, Switzerland was for a long and crucial period of
her history under the influence of France. The net result is
that the language most often utilized as a second language
within the country is not German, but French.

Or there may be one common but not quite adequate language.
In the Philippines, English is the common language and, from
the third grade onwards, the only medium of instruction. The
official census declares with perhaps some exaggeration that
38 per cent of the people are actually able to use it. English
is clearly in the process of being transformed from an originally
foreign, then upper crust second language to a mass language,
although the native languages are still indispensable at the
lowest levels. In Indonesia, Malay was initially used by
only a small part of the population, though this small part
was also the major constituent in the total urbanized and
mobile section of the people.

Or there may be several common languages, each functionally
inadequate in different ways. To an extent this is the case in
the Philippines, where Tagalog is the dominant language of
Manila and its surroundings, and Spanish too is taught in the
schools, though not more than a few thousands habitually use
Spanish. The best example is of course India. English is
used for higher education, business and administration,
though less than 2 per cent can use it. Hindi is traditionally
used in the lower echelons of the armed forces, the majority
of the larger market places all over the country, and a large
block in the north amounting to about a third of the people,
and containing the major share of the common places of
religious pilgrimage. Sanskrit is used for ceremonial pur-
poses by all Hindus, with intelligibility by a few thousands.
Tamil and Bengali are to some extent used beyond their base
territories, the former in the south and the latter in the east,
and both have large bodies of speakers outside India, Tamil
in Ceylon and Bengali in East Pakistan. If Urdu is considered
to be a separate language, which it is only for formal oratory
and literature, then we have to say that it is used by about a
tenth of the population, almost all of which is fluent in some

other Indian language. It too has an important body of users
outside the country, namely in West Pakistan. Thus six
languages, of which two differ only on formal occasions,
qualify as common in different ways. Since eight more lan-
guages have official status in regions with considerable
political autonomy, a slight change in the point of view
would allow us to speak of altogether fourteen common lan-
guages (in eleven common scripts).

This kind of a situation may be resolved by several different
ways. First, one of the languages may win over the rest.
This seems to be the hope in the Philippines. Second, the
political unit may be broken up. This happened in the case
of the Hapsburg Empire, giving rise to different states,
Austria, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, etc. Third, there may be
a stabilized bilingualism. This is the case in Finland and
Switzerland.

The question of a common language for the sciences is only
slightly different. They have become a single tradition,
however vaguely and imcompletely defined. But even recent-
ly, relatively isolated yet highly creative schools are not
uncommon. The logicians of Poland and the linguists of
Czechoslovakia between the two world wars made valuable
contributions in less widely accessible languages. Undoubt-
edly, some potential scientific talent is wasted through the
dilemma of easier acquisition of science through an individ-
ual's first language versus easier acquisition of his results
by other scientists through a world language.

There are just two ways of remedying such a situation. One
is to step up research in both quantity and quality published
in the language concerned, so that scientists elsewhere will
soon simply have to learn the language in order to keep up
with the field. This is the solution now being attempted in
Russia. The other is early and plentiful training in any one
of the leading languages of science, so that anyone who has
a minimally adequate training in any science is also fluent
in such a world language. This solution is slowly coming to
prevail in Northern Europe. After a period in which some
remarkable work was initially brought out in Dutch and Dan-
ish, it is today increasingly less likely that top quality work
by Dutch or Danish scientists will be first published in those
languages.

The structure of alternatives in the question of scripts,
sources of borrowing, etc. is entirely analogous. The altern-
ative that matches most closely the practice of the most
accessible of the leading languages of science will always
have the entire community of the scientists urging its adop-
tion. This is only limited by the fact that cultivation of
science is not the only preoccupation of any social group and
that the humanistic sciences exhibit a much less uniform
pattern of solidarity. There are also other considerations,
such as uniformity between different classes or regions with-
in the nation, neighbors or allies within the commonwealth,
generations or traditions within the same history.

A more subtle question arises in relation to the unity of sci-
ence. Is science a single enterprise at all? The answer is
no, if a precisely and enduringly definite body of statements
or techniques or points of view is meant. But in a vaguer,
more fluid, but nevertheless real sense, the answer may be
a differentiated yes. The affirmation is least ambiguous for
mathematics, and most for theologies. Yet even for Hindu
theology, no one language will be held sufficient today for
the purposes of an authoritative scholar. One will need to
operate with Sanskrit, Hindi, English and a few other lan-
guages. Hence the problems of closure and opening, of the
presence or absence of common standards are all there for
the languages of even this most marginally scientific of all
sciences.

Questions of policy

The operation of standardization consists basically of two
steps, first, the creation of a model for imitation, and second,
promotion of this model over rival models.

A model for imitation means a body of discourse capable of
attracting the interest and the loyalty of its intended listen-
ers or readers. If we are concerned with the spoken forms,
this means the availability of people who habitually use
those forms. If we are concerned with the written forms,
this means the availability of literature in prose. For either,
a model for imitation may be created by unorganized, multiple,
obscure decisions, that is, by unplanned decisions. Or it
may be done in a relatively planned way. Further, a planned
model may be set up on a purely private basis, relying on
nothing but persuasion. Or it may be set up on a commission-
ed basis, relying on more tangible rewards and punishments.

For all practical purposes, the preferred instrument of stand-
ardization is officially commissioned publications, with
specific conditions as to the choice of the writing system,
the source of borrowing, the dialect, etc. The administrative
techniques by which literature of the desired kind can be
helped into existence are variegated and complex, and need a
detailed study.

A few of these administrative techniques may be barely men-
tioned here. Each has severe limitations in general and for
some societies in particular.

1. _Approved terminologies_. This has its only use in
vaguely indicating the general direction of lexical
innovation, since particular recommendations can be
authoritatively recommended only by those who have
assumed responsibility for exhibiting them in consist-
ent and scientifically valid use through an extended
body of text.

2. _Merit awards_. Without attention to specific jobs,
persistent and successful work in the desired direction
may be acknowledged by public honors or cash grants.

3. _Prize contests_. A specific job may be chosen and
then competition invited for its execution, with mater-
ially significant and well-publicized awards for the
winners.

4. _Nominated authorship_. Specific individual writers
or translators may be chosen through various means for
certain specific pre-chosen jobs. Their work may be
supervised and revised by appointed experts.

5. _Subsidized self-help_. The gap between those who
would like to read the book and those who can afford to
buy it is never either very small or very large. In the
case of books which fulfill the desired conditions it
may be bridged by means of a subsidy, the best proven
method for which seems to be low-interest loans plus
technical advice to private publishers.

6. _State enterprise_. If a published book is not read,
this does not help standardization. It is rather invit-
ingly easy to disguise such waste in State or indeed
any non-profit agency enterprise, which tends to be
efficient only when publication is mainly for record,
as for official or historical or cultural documents.

But the problem is not only to create a model literature in prose
but also to promote its acceptance over rival models. Now
there is no quick way of making the horse drink the water, if
it does not want to. Only the satisfaction of genuinely felt
needs can enable a literature to win the allegiance needed.
If the information or exposition given is of a kind wanted and
is also put in a way that does not deceive or confuse; if for
all the insistence on new habits the presentation meets the
intended readers more than half way, it may be successful.

Of course, needs may be created or intensified by State
efforts. For example, industrialization will certainly intensi-
fy the need to have information on all kinds of technology.
Or the establishment of a working democracy will create the
need for a mass literature on political and economic questions.
On the other hand, the decision to withdraw the subsidy for
the teaching of Arabic and Persian in Turkey contributed to
creation of a need for a more turkified Turkish, just as the
decision to penalize any public use of the Arabic-Persian
script helped the drive towards general adoption of the
Roman script

Need-creating is both relatively useless and relatively harm-
ful without simultaneous model-creating. The stick alone
without the carrot may drive the donkey into erratic ways.
The argument that once the medium of administration or in-
struction in India is changed from English to Hindi, satis-
factory literature will begin to come out in the language, is
not very convincing. Productions that satisfy the best stand-
ards are expensive in terms of talent, leisure and money.
Productions that satisfy the widest standards of expectation
usually do not need subsidies. The essence of the problem
is the disparity between the best and the widest standards.

An erratic direction of change may affect the mutual relation-
ships of languages within a multilingual context, with the
changes of linguistic habits being either convergent or diver-
gent. Consider for example the question of technical terms
in the modern Indian languages. The innovations which are
pouring into these languages from English are the same for
all and in this respect the change is toward's greater con-
vergence. But the technical terms which are being taken
from Sanskrit into these languages are rather less convergent.
It does not help much if both "sūcanā" and "ghosanā" can be
met with in original Sanskrit, if one is selected by Hindi and
the other by Bengali for the same English-derived concept

"a notice". Even when they are mutually intelligible, and
this is not always true, the Sanskrit loanwords in the differ-
ent languages may be felt as mutually grotesque and barbar-
ous. And to the extent that innovation from non-Sanskrit and
non-English sources is preferred, as in Thet for Hindi and
Urdu, Arabic and Persian for Urdu, Classical Tamil for Tamil
etc., the change is towards even greater divergence.

It is of course not necessary for a government to do any kind
of planning. It may be just as well done by a church, as was
done by Luther and others for German, or by a school of liter-
ary artists, as was done by Pramatha Chaudhury and others
for Bengali, or by a communion of scientists, as was done by
Linnaeus and others for botanical terminology. Even one who
prefers to write "phonemic" rather than "phonematic" is do-
ing a bit of prescriptive intervention.

Planning by the State is no guarantee that planning will
succeed. One of the clearest examples is in Norway, where
the long-ruling Socialists have steadily decried the actual
spoken and written standard in favor of more non-Danish
forms, but with less and less success. Another example is
shown by Papua, where the governor thought that Neo-
Melanesian, then known as Melanesian Pidgin, was a dis-
graceful language and ought to be abolished. The only result
of his strenuous efforts has been that the language continues
to flourish everywhere except Port Moresby, where it has
given way, neither to English nor to any "authentic" (sic)
tribal speech, but to Motu, which the governor would consid-
er equally unpedigreed. But perhaps the most celebrated
failure has been that of the Irish Republic to reinstate Gaelic.

Success in language planning depends on the already existing
network of social communication, that is, on the established
channels of commerce in material and intellectual goods. It
matters less with whom one is free to communicate than with
whom one constantly needs to communicate. Such a need may
arise because the other fellow is able to supply a convenience
or because association with him gives one self-respect.
Prestige derives from both utility and honor. The individuals
who participate in relatively more intense communication
constitute what Karl Deutsch calls the 'mobilized' part of the
population. He has shown how changes in the status of a
language no less than in its inventory of forms spread along
the lines of social mobilization.

Perhaps a less misleading term for the phenomenon would be
'civilization'. For social mobilization in his sense does not
entail anything like official control over newspapers, the
radio, the publishing houses etc., or even a bringing together
of people in a common task with the roles narrowly and rigid-
ly alloted. What is of concern here are spontaneously formed
habits of talking and listening to one another, increasing
readiness to explain oneself to or to ask explanation from
one another in unrestricted interchange of proposals and
comments.

Let us consider some concrete examples. Motu prevailed
over other candidates, first because it was based on the
speech of the police-boys, who formed the larger part of the
total 'mobilized' population, and second because these
police-boys were much more frequently and easily accessible
to the ordinary Papuans than the English-speaking rulers.
Malay prevailed over Javanese and others and was adopted
as the Bahasa Indonesia because of its long-standing and
wide-ranging circulation by preponderantly Malay-speaking
traders, soldiers and priests. Prestige makes people want to
adopt a practice, but only access enables them to do it. If
different groups of linguistic forms are ordered in a scale of
prestige and in one of access, the group which has the high-
est joint score will have the best chance for general adoption.

In other words, any formal organized action by an acknow-
ledged authority, such as a State or a Church or a learned
society or an author, can be successful in its intention to
encourage or discourage linguistic habits only if it correlates
maximally to informal unorganized action on the part of num-
erous locally more accessible lesser authorities. Artificial
solutions like the IPA script or Esperanto have so little chance
of success only because their teachers and texts are so few,
indeed initially only one, namely the inventor and his sample
composition. In contrast, any native speaker of a natural
language functions as some kind of a teacher during the
moments of social encounter.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Blanc, Haim. "The Growth of Israeli Hebrew." Middle
    Eastern Affairs (Dec. 1954).

-----. "Hebrew in Israel: Trends and Problems." The
Middle East Journal (Autumn 1957).

Deutsch, Karl W. Nationalism and Social Communication.
Cambridge, Mass., 1953.

Doke, Clement M. Report on the Unification of the Shona
Languages. Hertford, England, 1931.

Fairbanks, Gordon W. "Frequency and Phonemics." Indian
Linguistics 17 (1957).

Ferguson, Charles A. "Diglossia." Word 15:2.325-340
(1959).

Ferguson, Charles A. and J. J. Gumperz (eds.) Linguistic
Diversity in South Asia. Bloomington, Ind., 1960.

Garvin, Paul L. and M. Mathiot. "The Urbanization of the
Guarani Language." In Wallace, Anthony F. C. (ed),
International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological
Sciences, 5th., Selected Papers. Philadelphia, 1960.

Gerr, Stanley. Scientific and Technical Japanese. New
York, 1944.

Grove, Victor. The Language Bar. New York, 1950.

Gumperz, John J. "Language Problems in the Rural Develop-
ment of North India." Journal of Asian Studies 16.251-59
(1957)

Harrison, Selig S. The Most Dangerous Decades. New
York, 1957.

Haugen, Einar. Bilingualism in the Americas. Alabama, 1956.

Heyd, Uriel. Language Reform in Modern Turkey. Jerusalem,
1954.

Hoijer, Harry A. (ed) Language in Culture. Chicago, 1954.

Joos, Martin. "Semology". Studies in Linguistics 13.53-72
(1958).

Lunt, Horace G. "The Creation of Standard Macedonian."
    Anthropological Linguistics 1:5 (1959).

Miller, George A. Language and Communication. New York,
    1951.

Mills, Harriet C. "Language Reform in China." The Far
    Eastern Quarterly 15:4.517-540 (1956).

Morag, Shelomo. "Planned and Unplanned Development in
    Modern Hebrew." Lingua 8:3 (1959).

Prator, Clifford J. Language Teaching in the Philippines.
    Manila, 1950.

Ray, Punya Sloka. "A Single Script for India." Seminar
    (July 1960).

-----. "The Definition of a Language." Indian Journal of
    Philosophy (August 1960).

-----. "The Value of a Language." Lingua 10.220-233
    (1961).

-----. "The Formation of Prose." (forthcoming).

-----. "Formal Procedures of Standardization." (forthcoming).

Salzmann, Z. "The Analysis of Lexical Acculturation."
    International Journal of American Linguistics. 20.137-139
    (1954).

Stone, Howard. "Cushioned Loanwords." Word 9:1.1-11
    (1953).

UNESCO. The Use of Vernacular Languages in Education.
    Paris, 1953.

-----. Report on Scientific and Technical Translation.
    Paris, 1957.

Weinreich, Uriel. Languages in Contact. New York, 1953.

Yngve, Victor H. "A Model and a Hypothesis of Language
    Structure." Proceedings of the American Philosophical
    Society 104:5.444-466 (1960).

SOCIOCULTURAL CHANGE AND COMMUNICATION PROBLEMS

by Janet Roberts

General Introduction

Rapid social change such as that created by technological innovation disrupts the social structures in those societies in which it occurs and processes of social reorganization must act to bring the various institutional aspects into some functional unity. Prior to change a societal institution ideally manifests a great deal of functional unity and the roles of the members of the group are defined largely by tradition at their birth. However, with change, traditional operations often prove inadequate and special individual talents are required. In general, the social status system shifts from one of role ascription to one of role achievement for effective problem solutions.

Those who have experienced the effects of the industrial revolution are familiar with situations where special occupational talents are required to deal with new problems. But industrialization has only recently begun to affect many areas of the world, and basically stable social groups are encountering situations where the new demands cannot be handled by the existing social order. The most dramatic attempt to cope with this change for many areas in Africa, Asia and Latin America is in the rapid development of educational systems where people can be trained to new occupations. Yet these very areas can be characterized by language complexity and varying degrees of internal, international and scientific/ technical communication problems. Here, in the achievement of specific roles, the solution of the language problem becomes one of the first obstacles to be overcome.

The situation in India provides us with an example of language/ communication complexity. Three languages are often required for internal communication: the language of birth, the regional language, and Hindi, the official national language. If the individual aspires to higher status in the group he studies a language of technical communication, usually English. For political, business or commercial life it is usually important

to learn an Asian language of wider communication, such as
Mandarin Chinese or Indonesian, in addition to English.
Finally, the university usually requires some Sanskrit.

Internal, International, and Scientific Communication

It is important to define "internal", "international", and
"scientific/technical" communication, with a general state-
ment about the presence or absence of a communication prob-
lem in these areas for Africa, Asia and Latin America, before
presenting more specific language information for particular
countries.[1]

Internal communication is possible for any nation when one
language is known by the vast majority of the population.
This can occur in any of three ways. First, the country may
have a national language which is known by the majority of
the people. Second, where several languages are spoken,
one of these is dominant and is learned by many of the minor-
ity language speakers. Third, if several languages are spo-
ken, and for political or other reasons one of these fails to
achieve superordinate status, another language is adopted
and learned by most people. Most countries of Asia, Latin
America and North Africa have languages which serve the
needs of internal communication; however, for Sub-Saharan
Africa this is not always the case.

For international communication only a few languages are used
extensively. The United Nations officially recognize Mandarin
Chinese, English, French, Spanish, and Russian. The fact
that the majority of these are European languages can probab-
ly be traced to the dominance of Europe over the rest of the
world at a time when procedures in trade, business and gov-
ernment were established. A communication problem is cre-
ated if a people speak a language other than one of the inter-
national languages, and of our three areas only Latin America
does not have such a problem.

Scientific/technical communication is currently a major prob-
lem. UNESCO figures[2] indicate that approximately 71% of all
scientific writing is in French, German and English with Eng-
lish accounting for 62% of this output. (One might question
the UNESCO figures for scientific materials produced in
Russia; the figures may actually be much higher than reported.)
At any rate, the scientific and technical material needed to
convert basically agricultural states to industrial nations is
largely restricted to material in three (or four) languages,

and these are languages not known as second languages by
enough people in the developing areas to satisfy the need.

The following chart illustrates the previous discussion. Here,
the communication problem for Sub-Saharan Africa is the most
complicated and the Latin American situation least serious.
In the chart a minus sign (-) indicates a problem area.

	Sub-Saharan Africa	No. Africa and Asia	Latin America
Internal Communication	-	+	+
International Communication	-	-	+
Scientific/Technical Comm.	-	-	-

Since English is such an important language of internal, inter-
national, and scientific/technical communication, a special
statement of the role of English is necessary. English is
spoken as a native language, i.e. as the first language learn-
ed, by more people than speak any other language natively,
with the exception of Chinese. It is the predominating native
language of nine nations or territories of more than a million
inhabitants: Australia, Canada (67%), England and Wales,
Ireland, Jamaica, New Zealand, Northern Ireland, Scotland,
United States of America.

For comparative purposes it is useful to list the speakers of
those languages spoken natively by the largest numbers of
people. The data for this presentation have been taken from
the United Nations Demographic Yearbook--1960, Appendix I,
except where noted, but no country was included where the
population was less than one million. The populations of
countries used to arrive at the totals, corrected when neces-
sary, are listed below the table.

Language	Estimated Number of Native Speakers
Chinese	679,200,000
English	258,500,000
Hindi-Urdu	191,000,000
Spanish	141,600,000
Russian	124,000,000
Japanese	92,700,000
German	83,100,000
Arabic	76,600,000
Bengali	75,000,000
Portuguese	73,300,000
French	53,600,000
Total	1,848,600,000
Total World Population	2,901,834,000

Chinese. The figure includes the total populations of main-
land China (669,000,000) and Taiwan (10,232,000). It
should be noted that varieties of Mandarin are probably spo-
ken by some two-thirds of the total and the dialect groups of
Wu, Cantonese, Min, and Hakka make up the rest of the
figure. This total does not include native speakers of Chinese
living in Southeast Asia.

English. Australia (10,061,000); Canada (11,686,140)
(= 67%); England and Wales (45,504,000); Ireland (2,846,000);
Jamaica (1,671,000); New Zealand (2,331,000); Northern
Ireland (1,412,000); Scotland (5,241,000); United States
(177,700,000). Correction factor for Canada is from UNESCO,
Scientific and Technical Translating and Other Aspects of the
Language Problem, UNESCO, 1958, pp.20-21.

Hindi-Urdu. India (185,196,000, = 46% of the population);
Pakistan (6,000,000). Hindi and Urdu are sometimes consid-
ered to be separate languages: the two differ on formal occa-
sions, e.g. formal oratory and literature; Hindi is written
with the Devanagari alphabet, while Urdu is written with a
modified form of the Arabic alphabet; for technical, literary,
and religious terms, Hindi draws on Sanskrit sources, Urdu
on Arabic and Persian sources; Hindi is spoken principally by
Hindus, Urdu by Muslims.

Spanish. Argentina (20,614,000); Bolivia (1,229,760)
(=60%); Chile (7,465,000); Colombia (13,824,000); Costa
Rica (1,126,000); Cuba (6,599,000); Dominican Republic
(2,894,000); Ecuador (3,585,340) (= 86%); El Salvador
(2,016,000) (= 80%); Guatemala (2,191,200) (= 60%);
Honduras (1,754,910) (= 93%); Mexico (29,307,520) (= 88%);
Nicaragua (1,367,040) (= 96%); Panama (942,080) (= 92%);
Paraguay (103,080) (= 6%); Peru (5,682,960) (= 54%); Puerto
Rico (1,736,780) (= 74%); Spain (29,894,000); Uruguay
(2,700,000); Venezuela (6,512,000). The correction factors
are taken from Statistical Abstract of Latin America - 1961,
Los Angeles; Center of Latin American Studies, University of
California, 1961, p. 11.

No accurate per cent for 'Linguistic Composition' is given for
El Salvador, Honduras and Peru; the per cent of Indian under
'Ethnic Composition' was used.

Russian. The Russian figure is based on the estimate in

Гиляревский, Р. С. и В. С. Гривнин, *Опредитель языков мира по письменностям*,
Москва, 1961. Page 11.

German. Austria (7,049,000); East Berlin (1,085,000); East
Germany (16,213,000); Federal Republic of Germany (52,785,000);
Switzerland (3,772,800) (= 72%); West Berlin (2,211,000).
Correction factor for Switzerland is from UNESCO, op. cit.,
pp. 20-21.

Arabic. Algeria (7,400,000) (= 68%); Chad (1,400,000) (= 54%);
Egypt (25,300,000); Iraq (5,300,000) (= 76%); Jordan
(1,600,000); Lebanon (1,450,000); Libya (1,100,000); Morocco
(6,300,000) (= 60%); Saudi Arabia (6,000,000); Sudan
(8,000,000) (= 70%); Syria (4,500,000); Tunisia (3,800,000);
Yemen (4,400,000).

Bengali. India (32,000,000); Pakistan (43,000,000).

Portuguese. Brazil (64,216,000); Portugal (9,053,000).

French. Belgium (4,096,800) (= 45%); Canada (3,313,980)
(= 19%); France (45,097,100); Switzerland (1,048,000) (= 20%).
Correction factors are from UNESCO, op. cit., pp. 20-21.

Problems in Language Communication Research
Research into communication problems may be approached from
many different points of view. Basic descriptive data on the
languages of a given area according to some typology should
be one first step. This is not always easy. First, census
data are lacking for many important areas of the world and
where data do exist they are often subject to error, do not
include information on language speakers, or do not corre-
spond enough to questions of other censuses to permit com-
parison. Second, certain general information on languages
spoken in a given country often is not available from official
sources of the country or is completely unknown. Third, in-
formation on languages and speakers collected by missionary
and other groups has been synthesized to a limited degree
only. Fourth, for many languages historical data on the func-
tion and number of speakers is lacking altogether. Fifth, the
genetic relationship of certain languages of Africa and Latin
America is not totally clear. Finally, work on language typol-
ogy, which is important for descriptive work, has only recent-
ly stressed the importance of language function.

In summary, even basic descriptive data on the language
situation in a given country or area must be read with caution;
it is only recently that enough work has been done to make
any such presentation meaningful. The value of any early,
general descriptive work must rest not on its reliability but
rather on its development of the general problems of communi-
cation, its attempt to continue to define significant socio-
linguistic concepts, and its function as a base point for
future refinement and expansion of both data and concepts.

Country and Language Data
The purpose of the following section is to illustrate in more
detail the communication problem for specific countries of
Asia, Africa, and Latin America. For Asia and Africa, where
the communication problem is most serious, the data are pre-
sented in charts. For Latin America, where the problem is
less complex, the information is given in a summary state-
ment.

The data on the charts are set forth under a series of headings:
Country and Population. Only countries with a population of
over one million are included. Population figures are taken
from the United Nations Demographic Yearbook 1960, Appendix
I (pp. 10-12), except for the figure for Liberia.

<u>Languages</u>. In general, only languages with at least 100,000 speakers are listed. This requirement was relaxed for certain important official languages, technical languages, and languages of wider communicaticn. For countries with vast populations, e.g. India, the requirement was raised to one million.

For Africa, the language information is incomplete, but most of the important languages may be assumed to be present. There is great variety in the spelling of the language names, especially for Bantu languages where convention has not yet standardized the treatment of the prefixes <u>ki-</u>, <u>chi-</u>, etc. Also, a language may have different names in different areas.

In a linguistic sense, <u>language</u> and <u>dialect</u> have not been differentiated in this survey. Again for Africa, there is some lack of scholarly agreement about the matter.

<u>Genetic Relationship</u>. The classification is based principally on Henry A. Gleason, Jr., <u>An Introduction to Descriptive Linguistics</u> (Rev. ed., New York, 1961) pp.440-479, supplemented by William E. Welmers' unpublished work sheets on African languages. Genetic relationships for the pidgins and creoles are based on vccabulary.

<u>Estimated Number of Native Speakers</u>. In general, no estimates are given for international languages, certain widely known second languages, classical languages, and certain creoles, pidgins, and vernaculars. It should be kept in mind that the figures are estimates only.

<u>Type and Function</u>. The material is based on Stewart's typology in this volume (pp.15-25). For convenience, the symbols are repeated here. Language <u>type</u> (designated by capital letters): <u>S</u>, standard; <u>C</u>, classical; <u>V</u>, vernacular; <u>K</u>, creole; <u>P</u>, pidgin. Language <u>function</u> (designated by lower case letters): <u>o</u>, official; <u>g</u>, group; <u>w</u>, wider communication; <u>e</u>, educational; <u>l</u>, literary; <u>r</u>, religious; <u>t</u>, technical.

<u>Notes</u>: The designation "international language" indicates an official language of the U.N.: Chinese, English, French, Russian, Spanish. Diglossia relationships between two languages are symbolized by the notation used in Stewart's typology in this volume (see especially pp. 22-23): language 1 ~ language 2, with the language of higher prestige listed first. The data here are incomplete.

Janet Roberts

CHART I: ASIA

Country, Population, Languages	Genetic Relationship (Family-Branch)	Est. No. Speakers (thousands)	Type and Function	Notes
AFGHANISTAN (13,150,000)				
1. Arabic	Afro-Asiatic (Semitic)		Clr	
2. English	Indo-European (Germanic)		Sct	Prim. Internat. Lang.
3. Pashto	Indo-European (Iranian)	6,600	So	
4. Persian	Indo-European (Iranian)	3,300	So	
5. Russian	Indo-European (Slavic)		St	Internat. Lang.
6. Uzbek	Altaic (Turkic)	800	Vg	
BURMA (20,457,000)				
1. Burmese	Sino-Tibetan (Tibeto-Burman)	13,500	So	
2. English	Indo-European (Germanic)		Set	Internat. Lang.
3. Indian Languages		1,000	Vg/Sg	
4. Karen Languages	Sino-Tibetan (Tibeto-Burman)	3,000	Vg	
5. Shan	Kadai	1,500	Vg	
CAMBODIA (4,845,000)				
1. Cambodian (Khmer)	Austro-Asiatic	4,200	So	
2. Chinese	Sino-Tibeten	215	Sg	Internat. Lang.
3. English	Indo-European (Germanic)		St	Internat. Lang.
4. French	Indo-European (Romance)		Sot	Prim. Internat. Lang.
5. Pāli	Indo-European (Indic)		Clr	
6. Vietnamese	Austro-Asiatic	250	Sg	
CEYLON (9,612,000)				
1. English	Indo-European (Germanic)		Set	Internat. Lang.
2. Sinhalese	Indo-European (Indic)	7.000	So	
3. Tamil (common)	Dravidian	2,200	S:o	4 ~ 3
4. Tamil (high)	Dravidian		Cl	4 ~ 3
CHINA* (Mainland) (669,000,000)				
1. Cantonese	Sino-Tibetan (Chinese)	46,000	Sg	Kwang-tung area
2. Hakka	Sino-Tibetan (Chinese)	17,000	Vg	South China
3. Lolo	Sino-Tibetan (Chinese)	3,000	Vg	
4. Maio	Sino-Tibetan (Chinese)	3,000	Vg	South China
5. Mandarin	Sino-Tibetan (Chinese)	460,000	So	Internat. Lang.
6. Russian	Indo-European (Slavic)		St	Internat. Lang.
7. Uighur	Sino-Tibetan	4,000	Vg	
8. Wu	Sino-Tibetan (Chinese)	50,000	Vg	Yang-tze Delta (Shanghai and Soochow)
EGYPT (25,365,000)				
1. Arabic	Afro-Asiatic (Semitic)	25,300	V	2 ~ 1
2. Arabic	Afro-Asiatic (Semitic)		Cor	2 ~ 1
3. English	Indo-European (Germanic)		St	Internat. Lang.
4. French	Indo-European (Romance)		St	Prim. Internat. Lang.
HONG KONG (2,857,000)				
1. Chinese Dialects	Sino-Tibetan	2,800	Swe/Vge	
2. English	Indo-European (Germanic)		Sot	Internat. Lang.
INDIA (402,600,000)				
1. Assamese	Indo-European (Indic)	5,000	Se	Assam State
2. Bengali	Indo-European (Indic)	32,000	Se	W. Bengal & Assam 3 ~ 2
3. Bengali	Indo-European (Indic)		Cl	3 ~ 2
4. English	Indo-European (Germanic)		Sot	Internat. Lang.

* It is estimated that there are about 11,700,000 Chinese living abroad and another 8,000,000 in the border regions.

INDIA (continued)				
5. Gujerati	Indo-European (Indic)	20,000	Se	Gujerati State
6. Hindi-Urdu	Indo-European (Indic)	185,000	So	Fig. incl. Bihari, Hindustani, and Punjabi
7. Kannada	Dravidian	18,000	Sge	Mysore State
8. Kashmiri	Indo-European (Indic)	1,500	Sge	Jammu and Kashmir States
9. Malayalam	Dravidian	16,000	Sge	Kerala State
10. Marathi	Indo-European (Indic)	32,000	Sge	Bombay Region
11. Oriya	Indo-European (Indic)	15,000	Sge	Orissa State
12. Prakrits	Indo-European (Indic)		Cl	
13. Sanskrit	Indo-European (Indic)		Clwr	
14. Tamil (common)	Dravidian	32,000	Se	15 ~ 14 Madras State
15. Tamil (high)	Dravidian		Cl	15 ~ 14
16. Telugu	Dravidian	40,000	Sge	Andhra Pradesh State
INDONESIA (90,300,000)				
1. Balinese	Malayo-Polynesian (Western)		Cl	1 ~ 2
2. Balinese	Malayo-Polynesian (Western)	2,000	Vg	1 ~ 2
3. Batak	Malayo-Polynesian (Western)	2,000	Vg	N. Cent. Reg. Sumatra
4. Bugi	Malayo-Polynesian (Western)	2,000	Vg	
5. Chinese Dialects	Sino-Tibetan	1,600	Vg	
6. English	Indo-European (Germanic)		St	Internat. Lang.
7. Indonesian**	Malayo-Polynesian (Western)	6,700	So	
8. Javanese	Malayo-Polynesian (Western)	45,000	Sg	Cent. and East Java
9. Madurese	Malayo-Polynesian (Western)	7,000	Vg	Island of Madura and East Java
10. Minangkabau	Malayo-Polynesian (Western)	3,000	Vg	Cent. Sumatra
11. Sundanese	Malayo-Polynesian (Western)	13,000	Sg	West. Java
IRAN (20,149,000)				
1. Arabic	Afro-Asiatic (Semitic)		Clr	
2. Azeri	Altaic	2,500	Vg	
3. Kurdish	Indo-European (Iranian)	500	Vg	
4. Persian	Indo-European (Iranian)	14,000	So	
IRAQ (6,952,000)				
1. Arabic	Afro-Asiatic (Semitic)		Cor	1 ~ 2
2. Arabic	Afro-Asiatic (Semitic)	5,300	V	1 ~ 2
3. English	Indo-European (Germanic)		St	Internat. Lang.
4. Kurdish	Indo-European (Iranian)	1,000	Ve	
ISRAEL (2,061,000)				
1. Arabic	Afro-Asiatic (Semitic)		Clr	1 ~ 2
2. Arabic	Afro-Asiatic (Semitic)	200	Vg	1 ~ 2
3. Aramaic	Afro-Asiatic (Semitic)		Clr	
4. English	Indo-European (Germanic)		Swt	Prim. Internat. Lang.
5. French	Indo-European (Romance)		St	Internat. Lang.
6. Hebrew	Afro-Asiatic (Semitic)	1,800	So	
7. Judeo-Spanish (Ladino)	Indo-European (Romance)		V	Speakers incl. under Hebrew
8. Yiddish	Indo-European (Germanic)		S	Speakers incl. under Hebrew
JAPAN (92,740,000)				
1. English	Indo-European (Germanic)		St	Internat. Lang.
2. Japanese	Japanese	92,700	So	3 ~ 2
3. Japanese	Japanese		Clr	3 ~ 2
4. Korean	Korean	600	Sg	Registered Foreigners
JORDAN (1,636,000)				
1. Arabic	Afro-Asiatic (Semitic)		Co	1 ~ 2

** The figure for Indonesian is expected to remain unreliable for some time. Once a minor language, it was selected through compromise as the official language, and its use in the school system together with its general acceptance by the population should result in a great increase both in native speakers and those who learn it early in life as a second language.

JORDAN (continued)

2. Arabic	Afro-Asiatic (Semitic)	1,600	V	1 ~ 2
3. English	Indo-European (Germanic)		St	Internat. Lang.

KOREA, NORTH (8,100,000)

1. Japanese	Japanese		S	Widely known
2. Korean	Korean	8,100	So	
3. Russian	Indo-European (Slavic)		St	Internat. Lang.

KOREA, SOUTH (23,848,000)

1. English	Indo-European (Germanic)		St	Internat. Lang.
2. Japanese	Japanese		S	Widely known
3. Korean	Korean	23,848	So	

LAOS (1,760,000)

1. English	Indo-European (Germanic)		St	Internat. Lang.
2. French	Indo-European (Romance)		Swet	Prim. Internat. Lang.
3. Lao	Kadai	1,162	So	

LEBANON (1,550,000)

1. Arabic	Afro-Asiatic (Semitic)		Co	1 ~ 2
2. Arabic	Afro-Asiatic (Semitic)	1,450	V	1 ~ 2
3. Armenian	Indo-European (Armenian)	100	Sg	
4. English	Indo-European (Germanic)		Swt	Internat. Lang.
5. French	Indo-European (Romance)		Sw	Prim. Internat. Lang.

MALAYA (6,698,000)

1. Chinese Dialects	Sino-Tibetan	2,478	Seg/Vge	
2. English	Indo-European (Germanic)		Sot	Internat. Lang.
3. Indian Lang. (Tamil)		804	Sg/Vg	
4. Malay	Malayo-Polynesian (Western)	3,349	So	

MONGOLIAN PEOPLE'S
REPUBLIC (1,057,000)

1. Mandarin	Sino-Tibetan (Chinese)		Sg	Internat. Lang.
2. Mongolian	Altaic (Mongol)	1,050	So	
3. Russian	Indo-European (Slavic)		St	Prim. Internat. Lang.

NEPAL (9,044,000)

1. English	Indo-European (Germanic)		St	Internat. Lang.
2. Hindi	Indo-European (Indic)		S	
3. Nepali	Indo-European (Indic)	4,500	So	
4. Newari	Sino-Tibetan		V	

PAKISTAN (86,823,000)

1. Baluchi	Indo-European	1,000	V	
2. Bengali	Indo-European (Indic)	43,000	S	Regional official 3 ~ 2
3. Bengali	Indo-European (Indic)		Cl	3 ~ 2
4. English	Indo-European (Germanic)		Sot	Internat. Lang.
5. Kashmiri	Indo-European (Indic)	1,500	V	
6. Pashto	Indo-European (Iranian)	6,400	V	
7. Punjabi	Indo-European (Indic)	12,000	S	
8. Sindhi	Indo-European (Indic)	5,000	S	
9. Urdu	Indo-European (Indic)	20,000	S	Regional official

PHILIPPINES (24,718,000)

1. Bicol	Malayo-Polynesian (Western)	2,000	Vg	
2. Chinese Dialects	Sino-Tibetan	200	S/Vg	
3. English	Indo-European (Germanic)		Sot	Internat. Lang.
4. Ilocano	Malayo-Polynesian (Western)	2,400	Vg	
5. Nat'l. Tagalog	Malayo-Polynesian (Western)	5,000	So	
6. Pampango	Malayo-Polynesian (Western)	800	Vg	
7. Pangasinan	Malayo-Polynesian (Western)	800	Vg	
8. Spanish	Indo-European (Romance)		So	Diminishing use
9. Visayan Group	Malayo-Polynesian (Western)	10,000	Vg	

SAUDI ARABIA (6,036,000)
1. Arabic	Afro-Asiatic (Semitic)		Cor	1 ~ 2
2. Arabic	Afro-Asiatic (Semitic)	6,000	V	1 ~ 2
3. English	Indo-European (Germanic)		St	Internat. Lang.

SINGAPORE (1,580,000)
1. Chinese	Sino-Tibetan (Chinese)	1,185	Sge	
2. English	Indo-European (Germanic)		Sot	Internat. Lang.
3. Malay	Malayo-Polynesian (Western)	221	Sge	
4. Tamil (common)	Dravidian	142	Sge	5 ~ 4
5. Tamil (high)	Dravidian		Cl	5 ~ 4

SYRIA (4,539,000)
1. Arabic	Afro-Asiatic (Semitic)		Cor	1 ~ 2
2. Arabic	Afro-Asiatic (Semitic)	4,500	V	1 ~ 2

TAIWAN (10,232,000)
1. Chinese (Mandarin)	Sino-Tibetan (Chinese)	2,000	So	Prim. Internat. Lang.
2. Chinese (Amoy, Swatow, Hakka)	Sino-Tibetan (Chinese)	8,000	Vg	(original Taiwanese)
3. English	Indo-European (Germanic)		St	Internat. Lang.
4. Japanese	Japanese		St	Widely known 2nd Lang.
5. Malay	Malayo-Polynesian (Western)	100	Vg	

THAILAND (21,881,000)
1. Chinese Dialects	Sino-Tibetan (Chinese)	3,000	Sg	
2. English	Indo-European (Germanic)		St	Internat. Lang.
3. Malay	Malayo-Polynesian (Western)	200	Vg	
4. Thai	Kadai	18,000	So	

TURKEY (26,881,000)
1. Arabic	Afro-Asiatic (Semitic)		Cr	1 ~ 2
2. Arabic	Afro-Asiatic (Semitic)	350	Vg	1 ~ 2
3. English	Indo-European (Germanic)		St	Prim. Internat. Lang.
4. French	Indo-European (Romance)		Sw	Internat. Lang.
5. Kurdish	Indo-European (Iranian)	1,600	Vg	Eastern Prov.
6. Turkish	Altaic (Turkic)	24,600	So	

VIET-NAM, NORTH (15,170,000)
1. Chinese (Mandarin)	Sino-Tibetan		St	Internat. Lang.
2. Muong	Sino-Tibetan	300	Vg	
3. Thai	Kadai	500	Vg	
4. Vietnamese	Austro-Asiatic	12,900	So	

VIET-NAM, SOUTH (13,790,000)
1. Chinese	Sino-Tibetan (Chinese)	126	S/Vg	No. excludes those with Vietnamese citizenship
2. English	Indo-European (Germanic)		St	Internat. Lang.
3. French	Indo-European (Romance)		St	Prim. Internat. Lang.
4. Khmer (Cambodian)	Austro-Asiatic	300	Sg	
5. Vietnamese	Austro-Asiatic	12,400	So	

YEMEN (4,500,000)
1. Arabic	Afro-Asiatic (Semitic)		Cor	1 ~ 2
2. Arabic	Afro-Asiatic (Semitic)	4,400	V	1 ~ 2

CHART II: AFRICA

Country, Population, Languages	Genetic Relationship (Family-Branch)	Est. No. Speakers (thousands)	Type and Function	Notes
ALGERIA (10,930,000)				
1. Arabic	Afro-Asiatic (Semitic)	7,400	V	2 ~ 1
2. Arabic	Afro-Asiatic (Semitic)		Cor	2 ~ 1
3. Berber	Afro-Asiatic (Berber)	2,500	Vg	
4. French	Indo-European (Romance)	1,000	Sot	Internat. Lang.
ANGOLA (4,550,000)				
1. Chokwe (Kioko)	Niger-Congo (Bantu)	600	Vg	
2. French	Indo-European (Romance)		St	Internat. Lang.
3. Kimbundu (Ndongo)	Niger-Congo (Bantu)	1,000	Vg	
4. Kongo Dialects	Niger-Congo (Bantu)	500	Vg	
5. Portuguese	Indo-European (Romance)		So	
6. Umbundu	Niger-Congo (Bantu)	1,700	Vg	
CAMEROUN (4,092,000) (incl. S. British Cameroon)				
1. Bamileke	Niger-Congo (Bantu?)	500	Vg	SW
2. Cameroun Pidgin Eng.	Indo-European (Germanic)		Pw	4 ~ 2 Coast
3. Duala	Niger-Congo (Bantu)	300	Vge	
4. English	Indo-European (Germanic)		Sot	4 ~ 2 Internat. Lang.
5. Fang-Bulu	Niger-Congo (W. Atlantic)	1,700	Vge	South
6. French	Indo-European (Romance)		Sot	Internat. Lang.
7. Fulani	Niger-Congo (W. Atlantic)	1,000	Vg	Plateau Reg.
8. Hausa	Afro-Asiatic (Chad)	250	Sw	
9. Sango-Ngbandi	Niger-Congo	700	Vg	
CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC (Ubangi-Shari) (1,185,000)				
1. French	Indo-European (Romance)		Sot	Internat. Lang.
2. Pidgin Sango	Niger-Congo		Pw	3 ~ 2
3. Sango-Ngbandi	Niger-Congo	700	Vgw	3 ~ 2
4. Zande	Niger-Congo	100	Vg	
CHAD (2,600,000 (Tchad)				
1. Arabic	Afro-Asiatic (Semitic)	1,400	Vg	No. Cent. Reg. 2 ~ 1
2. Arabic	Afro-Asiatic (Semitic)		Clr	2 ~ 1
3. French	Indo-European (Romance)		Sot	Internat. Lang.
4. Kanuri (Kanembu)	Central Saharan	330	Vg	
5. Sara (Sarwa)	Afro-Asiatic (Chad)	500	Vg	
CONGO (13,821,000)				
1. Banda	Niger-Congo	150	Vg	
2. French	Indo-European (Romance)		Sot	Internat. Lang.
3. Kongo Dialects	Niger-Congo (Bantu)	800	Vgwe	SW to Leopoldville
4. Lingala	Niger-Congo (Bantu)	1,200	Vgw	Leopoldville North
5. Luba Katanga	Niger-Congo (Bantu)	800	Vge	South Cent.
6. Luba Lulua	Niger-Congo (Bantu)	3,000	Vgwe	South
7. Mongo Nkundu	Niger-Congo (Bantu)	500	Vge	
8. Ruanda	Niger-Congo (Bantu)	2,400	Vg	
9. Rundi	Niger-Congo (Bantu)	1,175	Vg	
10. Sango-Ngbandi	Niger-Congo	200	V	
11. Swahili	Niger-Congo (Bantu)	2,000	Swe	South and East 11 ~ 12,13
12. Swahili	Niger-Congo (Bantu)		Pw	11 ~ 12,13
13. Swahili	Niger-Congo (Bantu)	2,000	Vge	South and East 11 ~ 12,13
14. Zande	Niger-Congo	650	Vge	
DAHOMEY (2,000,000)				
1. Bariba (Mossi)	Niger-Congo (Gur)	300	Vg	NW
2. Ewe-Fon	Niger-Congo (Kwa)	1,100	Vg	South
3. French	Indo-European (Romance)		Sot	Internat. Lang.
4. Fulani	Niger-Congo (W. Atlantic)	100	Vg	North
5. Hausa	Afro-Asiatic (Chad)	115	Sw	
6. Yoruba	Niger-Congo (Kwa)	150	Vg	South

ETHIOPIA (21,800,000)

1. Amharic	Afro-Asiatic (Semitic)	7,000	So	
2. Arabic	Afro-Asiatic (Semitic)	200	Vg	3 ~ 2
3. Arabic	Afro-Asiatic (Semitic)		Clr	3.~ 2
4. English	Indo-European (Germanic)		Sewt	Prim. Internat. Lang.
5. French	Indo-European (Romance)		St	Internat. Lang.
6. Galla	Afro-Asiatic (Cushitic)	9,500	Vg	
7. Gurage	Afro-Asiatic (Semitic)	350	Vg	
8. Italian	Indo-European (Romance)		S	
9. Sidamo	Afro-Asiatic (Semitic)	1,000	Vg	
10. Tigre	Afro-Asiatic (Semitic)	500	Vg	
11. Tigrinya	Afro-Asiatic (Semitic)	1,500	Vg	

GHANA (4,911,000)

1. Akan (Twi, Fante)	Niger-Congo (Kwa)	2,850	Vgwe	Coastal Reg.
2. Dagari	Niger-Congo (Gur)	120	Vg	
3. English	Indo-European (Germanic)		Sot	Internat. Lang.
4. Ewe-Fon	Niger-Congo (Kwa)	150	Vge	South
5. Ga	Niger-Congo (Kwa)	250	Vgwe	Lang. of Capital
6. Moshi-Dagbane	Niger-Congo (Gur)	180	Vgwe	North
7. Nzema (Nzima)	Niger-Congo (Kwa)		Vgwe	West

GUINEA (2,727,000)

1. English	Indo-European (Germanic)		St	Internat. Lang.
2. French	Indo-European (Romance)		Sot	Prim. Internat. Lang.
3. Fulani	Niger-Congo (W. Atlantic)	900	Vge	Dominant in NW
4. Kissi	Niger-Congo (W. Atlantic)	250	Vge	
5. Kpelle (Guerzé)	Niger-Congo (Mande)	150	Vg	
6. Malinké	Niger-Congo (Mande)	600	Vg	NE
7. Susu	Niger-Congo (Mande)	312	Vg	Lang. of Capital and SW

IVORY COAST (3,103,000)

1. Anyi-Baulé (Agni)	Niger-Congo (Kwa)	975	Vge	SE
2. Bete (Beti)	Niger-Congo (Kwa)	250	Vg	West
3. Dioula (Mandingo Dialect)	Niger-Congo (Mande)	1,000	Vge	
4. English	Indo-European (Germanic)		St	Internat. Lang.
5. French	Indo-Duropean (Romance)		Sot	Prim. Internat. Lang.
6. Lobi	Niger-Congo (Gur)	100	Vg	East
7. Mossi	Niger-Congo (Gur)		Vg	
8. Senufo	Niger-Congo	400	Vg	North

KENYA (6,450,000)

1. English	Indo-European (Germanic)		Sot	Internat. Lang.
2. Kamba	Niger-Congo (Bantu)	600	Vge	
3. Kikuyu	Niger-Congo (Bantu)	1,300	Vge	
4. Luo	Chari-Nile (Nilotic)	800	Vge	
5. Nandi	Chari-Nile (Nilotic)	430	Vge	
6. Swahili	Niger-Congo (Bantu)	(700)	Swe	6 ~ 7
7. Swahili	Niger-Congo (Bantu)	(700)	Vg	6 ~ 7
8. Teso (Tesoit)	Chari-Nile	250	Vge	

LIBERIA (1,250,000 - 2,500,000)

1. English	Indo-European (Germanic)		Sot	Internat. Lang. 1 ~ 7
2. Gio	Niger-Congo (Mande)	100	Vg	
3. Kissi	Niger-Congo (W. Atlantic)	300	Vg	
4. Kpelle	Niger-Congo (Mande)	500	Vg	Central and NW
5. Kru-Bassa	Niger-Congo (Kwa)	600	Vge	Coastal
6. Mandingo (Maninka)	Niger-Congo (Mande)	300	Vg	
7. Pidgin English	Indo-European (Germanic)		Pw	1 ~ 7
8. Vai	Niger-Congo (Mande)	300	Vge	SW

LIBYA (1,172,000)

1. Arabic	Afro-Asiatic (Semitic)	1,100	V	
2. Arabic	Afro-Asiatic (Semitic)		Cor	
3. English	Indo-European (Germanic)		St	Internat. Lang.
4. Italian	Indo-European (Romance)		Swe	Widely spoken - older generation.

MALAGASY (5,239,000) (Madagascar)

1. French	Indo-European (Romance)		Sot	Widely spoken; Internat. Lang.
2. Malagasy	Malayo-Polynesian	5,000	So	

MALI (4,300,000)

1. Arabic	Afro-Asiatic (Semitic)	180	Vgw	2 ~.1 North
2. Arabic	Afro-Asiatic (Semitic)		Cer	2 ~ 1
3. French	Indo-European (Romance)		Sot	Internat. Lang.
4. Fulani	Niger-Congo (W. Atlantic)	600	Vg	
5. Mandingo Dialects (Bambara & Malinké)	Niger-Congo (Mande)	1,400	Vg	
6. Mossi	Niger-Congo (Gur)	450	Vg	
7. Senufo	Niger-Congo	375	Vg	
8. Zarma (Songhai)	Niger-Congo	250	Vg	

MOROCCO (10,550,000)

1. Arabic	Afro-Asiatic (Semitic)	6,300	V	2 ~ 1
2. Arabic	Afro-Asiatic (Semitic)		Cor	2 ~ 1
3. Berber Group	Afro-Asiatic (Berber)	4,000	Vg	
4. English	Indo-European (Germanic)		St	Internat. Lang.
5. French	Indo-European (Romance)		Set	Prim. Internat. Lang.
6. Spanish	Indo-European (Romance)		Se	

MOZAMBIQUE (6,310,000)

1. Makua	Niger-Congo	1,300	Vg	
2. Nyungwe	Niger-Congo (Bantu)	700	Vg	
3. Portuguese	Indo-European (Romance)		So	
4. Shona Dialects	Niger-Congo (Bantu)	300	Vg	
5. Thonga	Niger-Congo (Bantu)	1,000	Vg	
6. Tshwa	Niger-Congo	650	Vg	

NIGER (2,555,000)

1. Arabic	Afro-Asiatic (Semitic)	125	Vg	2 ~ 1
2. Arabic	Afro-Asiatic (Semitic)		Cr	2 ~ 1
3. Berber (Tuareg)	Afro-Asiatic (Berber)	250	Vg	
4. French	Indo-European (Romance)		Sot	Internat. Lang.
5. Fulani	Niger-Congo (W. Atlantic)	270	Vg	
6. Hausa	Afro-Asiatic (Chad)	900	Sw	
7. Kanuri	Central Saharan	100	Vg	
8. Songhai (Zarma)	Afro-Asiatic (Cushitic)	200	Vg	

NIGERIA (34,458,000)

1. Bini	Niger-Congo (Kwa)	500	Vg	
2. Efik	Niger-Congo (Central)	1,300	Vge	
3. English	Indo-European (Germanic)		Sot	Prim. Internat. Lang.
4. French	Indo-European (Romance)		Sl	Internat. Lang.
5. Fulani	Niger-Congo (W. Atlantic)	3,300	Vge	North
6. Gbari	Niger-Congo (Kwa)	160	Vg	
7. Hausa	Afro-Asiatic (Chad)	12,000	Swe	Reg. off. Lang.-North
8. Ibo (Igbo)	Niger-Congo (Kwa)	4,500	Swe	Reg. off. Lang.-East
9. Igbira	Niger-Congo (Kwa)	150	Vg	
10. Ijo	Niger-Congo	160	Vge	
11. Kanuri	Central Saharan	2,000	Vge	
12. Margi	Afro-Asiatic (Chad)	150	Vg	
13. Nupe	Niger-Congo (Kwa)	326	Vg	
14. Sobo	Niger-Congo	110	Vg	
15. Tiv	Niger-Congo (Central)	700	Vg	
16. Yoruba	Niger-Congo (Kwa)	5,300	Swe	Reg. off. Lang.-West

FEDERATION OF RHODESIA AND NYASALAND (Nyasaland) (2,770,000)

1. English	Indo-European (Germanic)		Sot	Internat. Lang.
2. Ngoni	Niger-Congo (Bantu)	300	Vg	
3. Nguru	Niger-Congo	400	Vg	
4. Nyanja	Niger-Congo (Bantu)	1,000	Vgwe	Used for off. purposes
5. Tumbuka	Niger-Congo (Bantu)	180	Vge	
6. Yao	Niger-Congo (Bantu)	400	Vge	

RHODESIA, NORTHERN (2,360,000)

1.	Bemba	Niger-Congo (Bantu)	800	Vge	Used for off. purposes
2.	English	Indo-European (Germanic)		Sot	Prim. Internat. Lang.
3.	French	Indo-European (Romance)		Slt	Internat. Lang.
4.	Ila	Niger-Congo (Bantu)	250	Vge	Used for off. purposes
5.	Kololo	Niger-Congo	300	Vge	Used for off. purposes
6.	Nyanja	Niger-Congo (Bantu)	300	Vgwe	Used for off. purposes
7.	Tonga (Thonga)	Niger-Congo (Bantu)	300	Vg	Used for off. purposes

RHODESIA, SOUTHERN (3,000,000)

1.	English	Indo-European (Germanic)		Sot	Internat. Lang.
2.	Shona Dialects	Niger-Congo (Bantu)	1,800	Vge	Karanga used for off. purposes
3.	Tabele (Zulu)	Niger-Congo (Bantu)	250	Vge	Used for off. purposes

RUANDA-URUNDI (4,780,000)

1.	French	Indo-European (Romance)		Sot	Internat. Lang.
2.	Ruanda	Niger-Congo (Bantu)	3,500	Vge	
3.	Rundi	Niger-Congo (Bantu)	600	Vge	
4.	Swahili	Niger-Congo (Bantu)	500	Vge	

SENEGAL (2,550,000)

1.	Dioula (Mandingo Dialect)	Niger-Congo (Mande)	300	Vg	
2.	French	Indo-European (Romance)		Sot	Internat. Lang.
3.	Fulani (Poular)	Niger-Congo (W. Atlantic)	600	Vg	
4.	Serer	Niger-Congo (W. Atlantic)	400	Vg	
5.	Wolof	Niger-Congo (W. Atlantic)	850	Vg	

SIERRA LEONE (2,400,000)

1.	Bulom	Niger-Congo (W. Atlantic)	212	Vg	
2.	English	Indo-European (Germanic)		Sot	2 ~ 5 Prim. Internat. Lang.
3.	French	Indo-European (Romance)		St	Internat. Lang.
4.	Kissi	Niger-Congo (W. Atlantic)	250	Vg	
5.	Krio	Indo-European (Germanic)		Kw	Widely known 2nd Lang. 2 ~ 5
6.	Limba	Niger-Congo (W. Atlantic)	175	Vg	
7.	Mende	Niger-Congo (Mande)	900	Sgwe	Reg. off. Lang.-South
8.	Temne	Niger-Congo (W. Atlantic)	600	Sgwe	Reg. off. Lang.-North

SOMALIA (1,990,000)

1.	Arabic	Afro-Asiatic (Semitic)		Cel	
2.	Italian	Indo-European (Romance)		Swe	
3.	Somali	Afro-Asiatic (Cushitic)	1,800	Vo	

SOUTH AFRICA (14,673,000)

1.	Afrikaans	Indo-European (Germanic)	1,800	So	
2.	English	Indo-European (Germanic)	1,200	Sot	Internat. Lang.
3.	N. Sotho	Niger-Congo (Bantu)	1,265	Vge	
4.	S. Sotho	Niger-Congo (Bantu)	1,150	Vge	
5.	Tsonga	Niger-Congo (Bantu)	575	Vge	
6.	Tswana	Niger-Congo (Bantu)	920	Vge	
7.	Venda	Niger-Congo (Bantu)	460	Vge	
8.	Xhosa	Niger-Congo (Bantu)	3,335	Vge	
9.	Zulu, Swazi, Ndebele	Niger-Congo (Bantu)	3,680	Vge	

SUDAN (11,459,000)

1.	Arabic	Afro-Asiatic (Semitic)	8,000	V	2 ~ 1
2.	Arabic	Afro-Asiatic (Semitic)		Cor	2 ~ 1
3.	Dinka	Chari-Nile (Nilotic)	600	Vge	
4.	English	Indo-European (Germanic)		Set	Internat. Lang.
5.	Nubian Group	Chari-Nile (Nilotic)	1,600	Vg	
6.	Nuer	Chari-Nile (Nilotic)	500	Vge	
7.	Shilluk	Chari-Nile (Nilotic)	100	Vge	
8.	Acooli-Luo	Chari-Nile (Nilotic)	500	Vge	

TANGANYIKA (9,076,000)

1. Chagga	Niger-Congo (Bantu)	270	Vge	
2. English	Indo-European (Germanic)		Sot	Internat. Lang.
3. Gogo	Niger-Congo (Bantu)	315	Vg	
4. Ha	Niger-Congo (Bantu)	300	Vg	
5. Iraqw	Afro-Asiatic (Cushitic)	110	Vg	
6. Masai	Chari-Nile (Nilotic)	100	Vg	
7. Nyamwezi-Sukuma	Niger-Congo (Bantu)	1,600	Vge	
8. Swahili	Niger-Congo (Bantu)	(4,500)	Swe	8 ~ 9, 10
9. Swahili	Niger-Congo (Bantu)		Pw	8 ~ 9, 10
10. Swahili	Niger-Congo (Bantu)	(4,500)	Vge	8 ~ 9, 10

TOGO (1,442,000)

1. Bassari	Niger-Congo (W. Atlantic)		Vg	
2. Ewe	Niger-Congo (Kwa)	720,000	Vg	South
3. French	Indo-European (Romance)		Sot	
4. Hausa	Afro-Asiatic (Chad)		Sw	
5. Kabre	Niger-Congo (Gur)		Vg	
6. Kotokoli	Afro-Asiatic (Chad)		Vg	Cent. Reg.
7. Moba	Niger-Congo (Gur)		Vg	

TUNISIA (3,935,000)

1. Arabic	Afro-Asiatic (Semitic)	3,800	V	2 ~ 1
2. Arabic	Afro-Asiatic (Semitic)		Cor	2 ~ 1
3. French	Indo-European (Romance)		St	Internat. Lang.

UGANDA (6,517,000)

1. Acooli-Luo	Chari-Nile (Nilotic)	250	Vg	
2. English	Indo-European (Germanic)		Sot	Internat. Lang.
3. Lango	Chari-Nile (Nilotic)	265	Vg	
4. Luganda	Niger-Congo (Bantu)	2,500	So	
5. Lugbara	Chari-Nile (Central Sudanic)	150	Vg	
6. Madi	Chari-Nile (Central Sudanic)	280	Vg	
7. Nyoro	Niger-Congo (Bantu)	700	Vge	
8. Swahili	Niger-Congo (Bantu)	215	Sw	
9. Teso	Chari-Nile	580	Vg	

UPPER VOLTA (3,537,000)

1. Bisa	Niger-Congo (Mande)	100	Vg	
2. Bobo	Niger-Congo (Gur)	275	Vg	West
3. French	Indo-European (Romance)		Sot	Internat. Lang.
4. Fulani	Niger-Congo (W. Atlantic)	250	Vg	
5. Gurma	Niger-Congo (Gur)	130	Vg	
6. Lobi	Niger-Congo (Gur)	200	Vg	
7. Moré (Mossi)	Niger-Congo (Gur)	2,000	Vg	Cent. Reg.
8. Soninke	Niger-Congo	100	Vg	

LATIN AMERICA
The following material on the language situation in Latin
America is presented in summary, since the communication
problem here is not as complex as that of Africa and Asia.
Only countries with over a million in population were used for
the analysis.

Official Language. Spanish is the official language of the
majority of the countries. Exceptions are Portuguese in Bra-
zil, French in Haiti, English in Jamaica, and English in addi-
tion to Spanish in Puerto Rico. The official language is the
native language of the vast majority of the population for all
countries except in Bolivia, Paraguay, and Haiti (where
French Creole is dominant). All except Portuguese and French
Creole are languages of formal international communication.

Where language problems exist between Indian tribes and the
dominant language groups, the communication problem is
eased in some cases by widespread bilingualism. A Spanish/
English language problem between North and Latin American
people exists. The Portuguese/Spanish language problem is
lessened by the near mutual intelligibility of the two languages.

Medium of Instruction. The medium of instruction in the
schools and the official language of the countries are the same.
In Puerto Rico, however, English is not the medium of instruc-
tion but is taught as a second language.

English is usually a required course for secondary school
children throughout Latin America although in some cases a
choice exists between French and English. English is usually
favored where it is offered as an elective. In Cuba, Russian
and Chinese are now offered to some students as well as
French and English.

Indian Languages. Quechua, Aymará, and Guaraní are the
important Indian language groups of South America, especi-
ally Guaraní which has some political importance in Paraguay.
In Mexico and Guatemala the following languages have over
100,000 speakers: Cakchiquel, Kekchi, Mam, Mixtec, the
Nahuatl group, Otomi, Quiche, Totonac, Yucatec and
Zapotec.

NOTES

1. For additional information see <u>Second Language Learning</u>
<u>as a Factor in National Development in Asia, Africa, and Latin</u>
<u>America</u>, Washington, D. C.: Center for Applied Linguistics,
1961.

2. UNESCO, <u>Scientific and Technical Translating and Other</u>
<u>Aspects of the Language Problem</u>, New York: UNESCO Publi-
cations Center, 1958, p. 15.

3. For further estimates on number of speakers of languages
see C. F. and F. M. Voegelin, "Languages Now Spoken by
Over a Million Speakers," <u>Anthropological Linguistics</u>,
Bloomington: Archives of Languages of the World, Vol. 3,
No. 8, 1961, pp. 13-22. This volume and the following
were used for language speakers data and language function
material. H. Baumann and D. Estermann, <u>Les peuples et les</u>
<u>civilisations de l'Afrique</u>, Paris: Payot, 1957; Center for
Applied Linguistics, <u>World Language Survey</u>, unpublished;
<u>Encyclopedia Britannica</u>, Chicago: William Benton, Publisher,
1958; <u>Encyclopedia Britannica Book of the Year 1961</u>, Chicago:
William Benton, Publisher, 1961; H. A. Gleason, Jr., <u>An</u>
<u>Introduction to Descriptive Linguistics</u>, rev. ed., New York:
Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1961, pp. 440-79; Joseph H.
Greenberg, <u>Studies in African Linguistic Classification</u>,
Branford, Conn.: Compass Publishing Company, 1955; <u>India</u>,
<u>a Reference Annual 1961</u>, Delhi: Government of India Press,
1961; International African Institute, <u>Handbook of African</u>
<u>Languages</u>, London, Oxford University Press, 1953-9; A.
Meillet et Marcel Cohen, eds., <u>Les langues du monde</u>,
Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1952;
Mario Pei, <u>One Language for the World</u>, New York: The
Devin-Adair Company, 1961; Mario Pei, <u>The World's Chief</u>
<u>Languages</u>, New York: S. F. Vanni, 1960; <u>The Statesman's</u>
<u>Yearbook...for the Year 1961-62</u>, New York: St. Martin's
Press; Elizabeth M. Thompson, <u>Other Lands, Other Peoples:</u>
<u>a Country by Country Fact Book</u>, Washington, D. C.: Nation-
al Education Association, 1961; UNESCO, <u>World Survey of</u>
<u>Education III</u>, New York: International Documents Service,
1961; William E. Welmers, "Note on the Classification of
African Languages", <u>The Linguistic Reporter</u>, Supplement No.
1, May 1959, Washington, D. C.: Center for Applied Lin-
guistics; William E. Welmers, "A Survey of the Major Lan-
guages of Africa," <u>The Linguistic Reporter</u>, Supplement No. 1,

May 1959, Washington, D. C.: Center for Applied Linguistics;
William E. Welmers, unpublished work-sheets on African
languages; The World Almanac and Book of Facts, 1960, New
York: New York World Telegram, 1960; The Worldmark Encyclo-
pedia of the Nations, New York: Worldmark Press, Inc.
(Harper and Bros.), 1960.

Most countries with embassies in Washington were contacted
for information of varying types.