

# **Language and Language-in-Education Planning in the Pacific Basin**

by

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## PREFACE

I was speaking recently with a neighbour about the nature of data in our respective scholarly fields. He is an archaeologist who carefully excavates sites, noting the location of every potsherd that he finds. He next carries out chemical analysis of the items, and uses statistical techniques to determine the original source of the clay. He then compares these empirical data with information recorded in the Talmud about Galilean villages and is then ready to make generalizations about the probable trade relations between contemporary Jewish and non-Jewish villages. I tried to explain the problems we face in language policy. Some countries record their language policy in their constitutions or in law; others don't. Some follow their written policies; others clearly don't. Some countries can provide data about the number of people who speak various languages. Others don't ask that question in their national census. When the question is asked, it is asked differently: in the United States, for instance, they ask how many people grew up in a home where a language other than English was spoken; in Canada, they ask how many people are proficient in English. How, given all this uncertainty about basic data, can we attempt to derive generalisations of the reliability that my archaeologist friend expects?

The first sociolinguists who tackled questions concerning language policy and language planning were troubled somewhat by these questions, but were more concerned with solving what had been identified as language problems of developing nations. Some of their work, such as the pioneering studies of the language situation in East Africa, made major efforts to start building valid and reliable databases. A second wave of scholars in the field became more concerned with developing models of linguistic human rights on the basis of which they could encourage international groups to adopt specific policies. What was missing, however, was a systematic attempt to gather usable data on language policies at the national level. This was essentially the task that Robert Kaplan and Richard Baldauf took on when they started their journal, *Current Issues in Language Planning*, and a related book series in 2000. They believed, and this book series that Elana Shohamy

and I edit, with its related journal, *Language Policy*, attests to a similar belief, that it is impossible to develop wise and effective methods of implementing language policy without a clear notion of the variation that occurs and of the solid generalizations that can be derived from a careful study of actual cases.

This background explains my pleasure at the inclusion of this volume by Kaplan and Baldauf in the Kluwer series, a pleasure increased by the fact that Kaplan and I have been in regular academic and professional contact for nearly 40 years, during which time our interest moved from teaching English as a foreign language through applied linguistics to language policy.

The present volume is an important contribution to the rapidly growing body of documentation and exploration of the nature of language policy and management. It concentrates on a region of the world loosely defined as the Pacific Basin. They are wisely selective in their choice of cases, for even the fourteen polities that they choose show considerable political and linguistic diversity. On the basis of their careful and well-documented analysis of these cases, an over-arching theme emerges. Effective language management is possible, but rare. Governments seldom have the time or the inclination or the resources or the wisdom to take into account the nature, potential, and difficulties of language policy and of the complex social, economic, political, religious, demographic, and ethnic context in which it occurs. As a result, partial and unanticipated results are frequent. Strong central governments (such as Singapore and North Korea in this volume) can concentrate efforts on a particular policy with relative success. Just as Mussolini is said to have made the trains run on time, so Stalin was able to produce a revolution in the level of literacy and in the status of the Russian language in the Soviet Union. So too did Singapore succeed in encouraging major changes in the language situation, raising the status, knowledge, and use of English, suppressing the various Chinese languages and dialects and replacing them with Mandarin, reducing linguistic complexity and variation, and producing a linguistically more homogeneous society. For many, the success of this language policy was assumed to have helped bring about economic expansion. So too did North Korea, like the Stalinist Soviet Union it emulated, succeed in remaking its language to fit its ideology.

Of course we may want to ask whether these results are desirable and likely to be permanent. And at the same time we may wonder whether the difficulties more democratic societies face in managing language and planning its use are ultimately a good or bad thing.

But these more general questions cannot be tackled until we have built up a solid and accepted body of analyses of language policy as it actually occurs in the many different polities of the modern world. The importance of Kaplan and Baldauf's work is that through their editing, and here, through their own scholarship and writing, we are now firmly on the way to having a body of good data on which to work.

*Bernard Spolsky*

*September 2002*

## CHAPTER 12

### LANGUAGE PLANNING IN PERSPECTIVE

#### *Trends from Diversity*

#### 1. INTRODUCTION

One of the early questions that language planners (Rubin and Jernudd 1971) asked was—Can language be planned? Having looked in some detail at the development of language policy and planning initiatives in the Pacific Basin, we think it can be said that these studies vividly demonstrate not only that language can be planned, but that planning occurs to meet in a number of different goals. This chapter draws together and describes the disparate threads of language planning that has occurred in the Pacific Basin by examining of some of the underlying language policy-planning and cultivation-planning goals that the polities in this volume illustrate.

#### 2. A LANGUAGE PLANNING FRAMEWORK

In the preceding ten chapters, fourteen polities bringing a variety of backgrounds, needs, cultural assumptions, political ideologies and language policy and planning (i.e., language policy planning and language cultivation planning) strategies have been examined. In this chapter common goals illustrated by these historical-cultural sociolinguistic descriptions are examined through a framework that sets out the goals of the language planning processes. This framework (and the terminology used therein) is the result, as one might expect, of the work of a number of language planners who have put forward their ideas about what might constitute a model for language policy and planning (e.g., Ferguson 1968, Neustupný 1974, Fishman 1974, Haugen 1983, Haarmann 1990), while others (e.g., Annamalai and Rubin 1980; Nahir 1984, Bentahila and Davies 1983) have contributed by concentrating on the goals involved in language planning. Kaplan and Baldauf (1997) have provided an ecological model drawing on these ideas while Hornberger (1994) explicitly brought the model and goals strands together in a single framework. A revised version of this expanded<sup>1</sup> framework can be found in Table 18.

As the polity studies in this volume demonstrate, language planning and policy can be overt (explicit, planned) or covert (implicit, 'unplanned') (Baldauf 1994). Planning may also occur at a number of different levels (macro or polity level, meso or community / organisational level or at the micro or individual level). While the polity or macro level issues have been highlighted in this volume, the impact that language planning and policy has depends heavily on meso and micro level

involvement and support (Kaplan and Baldauf 1997, see Williams (1994) for a meso example relating to the anglicisation of Wales).

*Table 18. A Framework for Language Planning Goals*

Approaches	1. Policy Planning (on form)	2. Cultivation Planning (on function)
<i>Types (overt – covert)</i>	Goals	Goals
1. Status Planning (about society)	Status Standardisation <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Officialisation</li> <li>▪ Nationalisation</li> <li>▪ Proscription</li> </ul>	Revival <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Restoration</li> <li>▪ Revitalisation</li> <li>▪ Reversal</li> </ul> Maintenance Interlingual Communication <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ International</li> <li>▪ Intra-national</li> </ul> Spread
2. Corpus Planning (about language)	Corpus Standardisation <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Graphisation</li> <li>▪ Grammatication</li> <li>▪ Lexication</li> </ul> Auxiliary Code Standard. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Graphisation</li> <li>▪ Grammatication</li> <li>▪ Lexication</li> </ul>	Lexical Modernisation Stylistic Modernisation Renovation <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Purification</li> <li>▪ Reform</li> <li>▪ Stylistic simplification</li> <li>▪ Terminological unification</li> </ul> Internationalisation
3. Language-in-Education (Acquisition) Planning (about learning)	Access Policy Personnel Policy Curriculum Policy Methods & Materials Pol. Resourcing Policy Community Policy Evaluation Policy	Reacquisition Maintenance Foreign Language / Second Language Shift
4. Prestige Planning (about image)	Language Promotion <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Official/Government</li> <li>▪ Institutional</li> <li>▪ Pressure group</li> <li>▪ Individual</li> </ul>	Intellectualisation <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Language of Science</li> <li>▪ Lang. of Professions</li> <li>▪ Lang. of High Culture</li> </ul>

Finally, most of the goals in this framework are not independent of each other, e.g., policy-planning goals normally need cultivation-planning support. A particular language planning matter may also have several different goals, nor are goals normally implemented in isolation, but as part of a broader (even if covert or



unstated) set of objectives. In the examples that follow we will see that the language planning strategies adopted in the polities in the Pacific Basin are complex and overlapping across the four planning types from a goal perspective.

### 3. STATUS PLANNING—ABOUT SOCIETY

Status planning consists of the external social goals for language(s) and their use that must be made in a society about the language environment or language ecology that is to be created. Status planning is about what languages are to be used for what societal, institutional or individual purposes to reach particular language goals, either at a policy level, or in terms of cultivation planning.

#### 3.1 *Status policy planning*

The primary status policy goal is standardisation, that is, defining in some manner the particular status language(s) hold in a society. While this may be done overtly through legislation or constitutions as in the Philippines, Malaysia or Indonesia, it may also occur implicitly, as with the status of English in Australia or New Zealand, or of Japanese in Japan. Although English / Japanese have no formal official status in these countries, there is no doubt that these languages are seen as the cultural adhesive and the primary means of communication in those countries respectively. Overt status standardisation may take the form of officialisation, nationalisation and/or proscription.

##### 3.1.1 *Officialisation*

In the Philippines, the various versions of the national constitution have attempted to officialise language. In the earliest constitution, Spanish was given primacy, while in later constitutions English and Tagalog (Pilipino/Filipino) have achieved official status, Spanish losing its position. While languages have ebbed and flowed through the various official documents, these policy statements of official intent consistently have failed to be put into practice. As was also the case with Indonesia, the Japanese occupation played a significant role in officialisation in the Philippines; not that Japanese language was ever terribly important in the Philippines, but Japanese language policy gave a strong impetus to the development of Filipino as the national language. A continuing problem for officialisation lies in the fact that Filipino has not yet been 'modernised' to the extent that the teaching of science and technology is conducted in that language, making it necessary to use English for a number of official purposes where Filipino by its constitutional status ought to be used.

In New Zealand, on the other hand, English was simply assumed (by the English settlers of the country) to be the language of official function; quite recently, Māori was given official status through the enactment of the Māori Language Act (1987). The latter action was, at least in part, intended to rescue the Māori language from extinction, but serious problems remain with respect to the standardisation of Māori. Since officialisation of a language(s) like Māori gives priority and status to that

language(s) and its problems, it may be detrimental to other languages spoken that polity. In New Zealand, the Polynesian languages (i.e., Cook Island Māori, Nuiean, Samoan, Tokelauan, Tongan) have been largely ignored; the European community languages (i.e., Dutch, French, German, Greek, etc.) have received some attention, but the Asian community languages (i.e., Chinese, Lao, Vietnamese, etc.) have not. Further, New Zealand Sign Language (NZSL) has been substantially ignored.

Statements of officialisation policy are statements of policy intent, meant to indicate societal goals and aspirations for particular languages. However, in most cases, such goals need to be linked to more specific cultivation planning goals if statements are not to be merely symbolic gestures<sup>2</sup>. It is also the case that giving some language(s) official status gives them priority and may mean that others get less attention and/or support.

### 3.1.2 *Nationalisation*

Nationalisation of a language may be directly planned, as in the case of Filipino or Indonesian, or may occur through differentiation, as is the case with Australian English. As indicated in Chapter 5, it was important for political acceptance, especially in the early period of the debate, that Filipino (or Pilipino) was seen to be distinct from Tagalog, regardless of the linguistic reality. This meant that a linguistic fiction, Filipino (Tagalog plus some lexical items from other Philippine languages), was mandated in the constitution, created and is now by and large accepted.

For Indonesia, it was important to break with the classical Malay tradition—as Malay was a small minority language within the polity—creating a more vibrant version of the language representative of the new nation. In contrast, Malaysia has been more conservative as the classical Malay tradition is more strongly representative of the language spoken by the indigenous population. While Bahasa Malaysia and Bahasa Indonesia have accepted a common spelling system and work to develop common technical terminology, they have agreed it is not possible (nor politically desirable) to bring everyday usage of the languages together.

The linguistic work that has gone on over the last 50 years to define Australian English as a separate variety and then to document these differences with dictionaries, style manuals and grammars specific to Australian English is part of that country's gradual breaking of the residual British colonial identity, so prevalent before World War II. While the Australian Head of State still may be the British (and Australian) monarch, Australian identity is at least in part established by its own national version of English that is used as the standard in schooling.

### 3.1.3 *Proscription*

Language proscription is more easily reinforced at the macro level. To take the case of proscription in Taiwan, over the past century, various actions were taken at governmental level to promote or prohibit the use of various forms of Chinese. Initially, over historical time, Chinese varieties simply pushed out the aboriginal languages. Japanese occupation, beginning in 1895 and ending in 1945, had as a major objective turning Taiwan into a dependency of Japan through language

planning. Working in three phases—each more proscriptive, Japan undertook to eliminate all varieties of Chinese from the polity and to replace them with Japanese. Since the restoration of Chinese rule in 1946, the government has striven to institutionalise Mandarin universally across the polity. The National Language Movement that was set up to do this was so successful that it seriously jeopardised the continuing existence of the aboriginal languages, other varieties of Chinese like Hakka and even the majority variety, Southern Min, was reduced to minority status. In the past two years, there has been a powerful revival of interest in the varieties of Chinese as well as in the aboriginal languages. Setting proscriptive goals, while negative, may therefore be an effective way of shaping language use, as in the case of Chinese in Taiwan, or Dutch in Indonesia by the Japanese during World War II.

### 3.2 *Status cultivation planning*

The primary status planning goals are language revival, language maintenance, inter-lingual communication and language spread. Cultivation planning examines how these particular status goals for languages may be met.

#### 3.2.1 *Language revival*

Language revival can be seen as having three sub categories, restoration, revitalisation and reversal, depending on the status of the language needing to be revived. The goal of each of these forms of language revival, starting from differing degrees of language loss, is to restore the social status and functions of the language.

##### 3.2.1.1 *Restoration*

Language restoration implies that the language is being restored to use, as in the case of the South Australian Aboriginal language of Adelaide, Kurna, whose last known speaker died in 1928. Working from historical documents and usage in cognate Aboriginal languages that are still extant, Kurna has been reconstructed by a linguist and the Kurna community and is now used in formal speeches (i.e., welcoming and funerals), is taught in primary schools and has begun to appear on local Adelaide signage (i.e., auxiliary code lexication). It is also being used by some speakers in less formal contexts. A number of Aboriginal languages in New South Wales—which have only a few speakers—and an Aboriginal language for Tasmania—based on vocabulary lists, are being restored. While these languages may only resemble the 'original' language—modern English resembles medieval English—spoken at the time of European settlement to some extent, they fulfil important identity and linguistic functions. These are recent developments (in the last decade) so the strength and extent of language restorations still remains to be seen. Other possible candidates for language restoration in the Pacific Basin are some of the aboriginal languages of Taiwan or Ainu in Japan.

### 3.2.1.2 Revitalisation

The decline of Māori has been substantial, but less dramatic than that of Aboriginal languages in Australia, and important steps have been taken over the past twenty or so years to revitalise the language. The initial steps originated with the grassroots movement among the Māori people through the development of 'language nests'. Because the natural intergenerational transmission of Māori essentially had been disrupted, the Department of Māori Affairs had supported (since 1982 when the first *Kōhanga Reo* was established) the additional development of 'language nests', ' *Te Kōhanga Reo*, (Māori pre-schools) where children are exposed to a Māori linguistic and cultural environment. There are at present more than 700 such schools scattered across the country and serving some 13,000 children. In 1985, the first *Kura Kaupapa Māori*—primary schools teaching the entire required curriculum through the medium of Māori and in a Māori context—was established to deal with the inability of government schools to manage the new population of school-aged youngsters from pre-schools. The initiative attracted Government approval and funding; by the beginning of 1997 there were 54 such schools serving some 3,700 pupils. Some *Kura Kaupapa Māori* extended the curriculum as far as the final year of high school education. As a consequence, some students who have had their entire pre-school, primary and secondary education through the medium of Māori have begun arriving at the tertiary level where it is possible to gain an undergraduate degree through the medium of Māori at some universities. Unfortunately, the other Polynesian languages spoken in New Zealand have not enjoyed this level of revitalisation, though efforts in the Samoan community have had some success in the very recent past. Other examples of revitalisation include language work in Iban (Sarawak) and Kadazandusun (Sabah) which allow those languages to be used as pupils' own languages (POLs) in Malaysian Primary Schools.

### 3.2.1.3 Reversal

Reversal refers to the phenomenon where a dominant language loses status, and then regains (at least some of) that status as has occurred with Chinese in Taiwan or English in Singapore and Malaysia. From 1895 to 1945, all varieties of Chinese spoken in Taiwan were gradually eliminated in various registers in favour of Japanese. With the migration of the Kuomintang from the mainland to Taiwan in the mid-1940s, the reversal of the status of Chinese began. The mainlanders brought with them Mandarin, supported by the National Language Movement, which originated in mainland China at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The promotion of Mandarin has been a significant success as evaluated against the status policy objectives; and the teaching of Mandarin, both as subject and as a medium of instruction, has contributed a great deal to that success. The status of Mandarin as the high language in Taiwan has thus been established—i.e., the position of Chinese has been re-established. By way of contrast, the colonial language of Malaysia and Singapore, English, lost its position as the dominant language (politically and socially, not numerically) in those countries in the 1950s in favour of Bahasa Malaysia and Mandarin respectively. However, the growth of English as an international language and the requirements that have been introduced to prescribe

the study English in Malaysia as a first foreign language and in Singapore as part of their policy of creating an English-knowing bilingualism have reversed the decline and reinstated English as an important language with a broader speaker base.

### 3.2.2 *Language maintenance*

Community languages programs in Australia, Malaysia and Singapore provide examples of different strategies put in place to meet language maintenance goals. In Australia, support by the Commonwealth and the States is primarily indirect—money and expertise are provided to facilitate work by community groups and schools who provide the initiative to organise language learning for children. While these programs in many cases feed into language-in-education outcomes and support a wide variety of languages, they are essentially community based. In Malaysia, community language primary schools in Mandarin and Tamil along with the ability for pupils' to study their own language (for some local languages) as a third language (after Malay and English—and possibly Mandarin or Tamil) provide community language support. The community is still essentially involved in getting programs set up, but government support for the languages' place in school programs is much more direct. In Singapore, government involvement is very direct through bilingual programs where students are required to study English plus their ethnicity-linked language (Mandarin, Malay or Tamil). In the case of Chinese in particular, Mandarin, rather than the Chinese dialects, is nominated as the community language. In other parts of the Pacific Basin, language cultivation planning has shown little concern with language maintenance whether through a lack of interest, lack of funding or a concentration on national language development. However in Taiwan and Vanuatu there are signs of interest in the maintenance of indigenous languages. It also needs to be acknowledged that status planning maintenance through communities, and language-in-education maintenance efforts through schools often overlaps as communities' cultural and language efforts often lead to the founding of schools (e.g., the Māori language nests, the first Chinese schools in Singapore).

### 3.2.3 *Interlingual communication*

#### 3.2.3.1 *International*

Despite significant political, economic and social differences among the polities in the Pacific Basin, English, the international language of the region (also see Baldauf and Djité 2002, Siegel 1996), occupies an important place in the educational fabric of the region. English is the required foreign language in Japan, South Korea and Taiwan; it is one of the official languages of the Philippines (indeed, the Constitution states that the English version of the Constitution shall prevail in all matters of question). In Indonesia and Malaysia it is the first foreign language, while in Brunei and Singapore it is taught bilingually. It is the de facto official language of Australia and New Zealand, and has official status in Papua New Guinea, the Solomon Islands and Vanuatu. Only in North Korea is English merely one of a number of foreign

languages. In Japan, there has been discussion of making English the official second language. English is taught through the educational sectors of all the polities discussed, except North Korea. In Japan, Singapore, South Korea and Taiwan, it constitutes a significant part of the college entrance examination. In the Philippines, it has been, and continues to be, the language in which science and technology is taught. In all of the polities (except North Korea) it serves as the language of business and banking, of air and sea communication and of tourism. Even in the English-speaking polities (i.e., Australia and New Zealand), no distinction is made between the local variety of English and international English, though, of course, in Japan, Malaysia, Singapore, South Korea and Taiwan local varieties have developed (e.g., Singlish, Manglish, Japlish, although none of these designations has any official status). In many of the polities, there remains a question of which variety of English—American or British—should be the primary one; at the moment, American English has a slight edge over British English, though Australian English is gradually becoming a strong competitor.

In the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Japan strove to make Japanese the language of interlingual communication for the East Asian Co-Prosperity Sphere, but since the end of WWII the status of Japanese in the former Japanese colonial empire has diminished significantly. It is certainly available as a foreign language in Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, South Korea and Taiwan. Political history makes it unlikely that many students will elect to study Japanese in either of the Koreas (though that impression may be contradicted by the realities in South Korea). In North Korea, Russian occupied a position of importance through the years following the end of the Korean war, though its place in the North Korean system has diminished since Kim Il Sung became disillusioned with Soviet communism.

### 3.2.3.2 *Intranational*

A number of polities in the Pacific Basin have not had a single language they could use for intranational communication and have developed policies to create such a language. Filipino, Bahasa Indonesia, Bahasa Malaysia and Bislama provide examples of the development of an indigenous language to fulfil that role, while English is used for intranational communication in Singapore, Tok Pisin, Pijin and Bislama are used in Melanesia, and Mandarin has been assigned that role in Taiwan. While not mandated in law, the ESL migrant programs and literacy work in Australia and New Zealand indicate that English is the common language for communication within those countries.

### 3.2.4 *Language spread*

In the years during which the Japanese colonial empire was expanding—roughly the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century—the Japanese military enforced the spread of Japanese. Since the end of World War II, while Japanese military expansion has disappeared, the Japanese government has continued a policy supporting the spread of Japanese, now largely through the efforts of the Japan Foundation (though those efforts

constitute a highly sensitive issue due to the history of the Japanese expansion and colonisation in East Asia).

With regard to English, much of the language spread policy has been generated from outside the Pacific Basin. The British Council, together with the BBC and the Overseas Development Agency, has been concerned with the spread of English. Over the past twenty years, the efforts of the British Council have been augmented by local organisations such as the Australian Agency for International Development [AusAID] or Australian Overseas Service Bureau. In addition, the export of education has become a major industry. Academic institutions in Australia, Britain, New Zealand, and the U.S. have blanketed the region with English-based programs, both as part of international aid efforts and in more purely economic contexts, to generate income by providing educational programs in the region and by recruiting students to the domestic educational institutions, particularly at the tertiary level. In 2001 full fee paying students were a major 'export' earner for Australia accounting for A\$1 billion or 10 per cent of universities' revenue. These efforts have been reinforced by the considerable efforts of publishers of teaching materials and the manufacturers of educational software and hardware. The Canadian International Development Agency [CIDA], the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) and the (former) United States Information Agency (USIA) have also been active in the region, though the mission of USIA is far more modest (and less effective) than that of the British Council. In addition, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank have regularly attached English-language features to their activities, as have the aid agencies of non-English speaking countries (e.g., the Swedish International Development Co-operation Agency [SIDA]). All of these activities have provided an important mechanism for language spread and help to account for the status of English in the region (Kenny and Savage 1997).

#### 4. CORPUS PLANNING—ABOUT LANGUAGE

Corpus planning consists of the internal linguistic goals that need to be set to codify, standardise, modify or elaborate a language(s) so that the language is capable of developing and sustaining the language environment or—in which it exists. Corpus planning is about developing both policy for, and the specific language forms and tools to support language development for the variety of uses that a language has. Although the application of technical linguistic skills is central to meeting corpus planning goals, corpus planning also involves selecting choices or alternatives which have a social aspect and which must be resolved for such planning to be successful.

##### 4.1 *Corpus policy planning*

Corpus policy planning goals relate to policy planning about the linguistic form of the language(s), i.e., corpus standardisation and auxiliary code standardisation—initial graphisation, grammatication, lexication. These practices are strongly linked to on-going cultivation planning where the initial standardisation is reviewed and corpus planning is expanded to meet a broader range of needs.



### 4.1.1 *Corpus standardisation*

#### 4.1.1.1 *Graphisation*

Normally standard languages are written in a uniform manner for easier mutual intelligibility. As we have seen, a number of graphisation examples have emerged from the language planning and policy work in the Pacific Basin. The standardised graphization of Malay (using the Roman alphabet, rather than the Arabic Jawi script) for Indonesia and Malaysia was done during the colonial period by van Ophuysen in 1896 and Wilkinson in 1904 respectively, and was referenced to the Dutch and English spelling systems. There has also been the development of *Pinyin* (and its Taiwanese equivalents)—the alphabetic writing system used to help beginning learners learn the tonal sound system of Chinese. In the field of Aboriginal languages in Australia, as languages have been studied, it has been necessary to devise writing systems (since historically these languages were not graphised) that not only represent the languages, but where possible to take into account those systems used by neighbouring Aboriginal languages and previous writing systems so that each community has a unique system appropriate to its identity.

#### 4.1.1.2 *Grammatication*

For many of the languages in the region (e.g., Filipino, Bahasa Indonesia, Bahasa Malaysia and Korean), it has been necessary after the colonial period to develop grammars to allow these languages to be formally used in language-in-education programs. In North Korea, since public education was perceived as a primary means to promote the socialist system and to support the revolution of the proletariat, the official grammar has been in fairly constant revision since the early 1950s. This activity has overlapped with graphisation and lexication. In Both Koreas and Japan, processes of simplification have been under way since the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century or earlier; in each of these cases, dependence on Chinese characters in the written language had meant the existence of a literate elite and an illiterate population mass. In the interests of spreading literacy, essential to modernisation, simplification has played an important role. Simplification was initially conceived as relating only to the orthographic system, but in all of these cases it has come to implicate the grammar as well. While of less status planning consequence, this has also been necessary in Melanesia and in Aboriginal Australia.

#### 4.1.1.3 *Lexication*

Lexication can be seen as the development of the basic vocabulary necessary for a language to be used as a general medium of communication in the modern world. In each of the several iterations of the Philippine Constitution, a language agency was mandated with the charge of developing the national language. The most recent (1992) such body was the Commission on the *Filipino* Language [*Komisyon sa Wikang Filipino*], charged specifically to develop the national language and to maintain and preserve other indigenous languages. This new Commission superseded the Institute of National Language, which, in 1987, had been renamed Institute of Philippine Languages [*Linangan ng mga Wika sa Pilipinas*]. The charge



to this new Commission was sociolinguistic—i.e., to provide a workable definition of *Filipino* as the Manila-based lingua franca spoken in other urban areas and in the process of doing so to enrich its vocabulary from other Philippine languages and other sources and to supervise the propagation of the language and its use particularly in tertiary-level teaching. Lexication has been occurring over many years in the national effort to create the national language by incorporating into it lexicon from other Philippine languages and thus to fuse together the new national language. While the most recent charge spoke to making the language useful particularly in tertiary-level teaching, not much work has actually been done to 'modernise' Filipino in the context of science and technology (see lexical modernisation).

Some examples of lexication taken from *Bahasa Indonesia* may help to illustrate this process (see e.g., Alisjahbana 1976: 72 ff., 1984a).

- Meaning redistribution: There were two words for 'root', *urat* and *akar*, but *urut* was also used for 'vein', 'muscle' and 'tendon'. The following terms were developed: *akar* [root], *urat* [tendon], *otot* (muscle, Javanese) and *pembuluh* [vein, *pem*—to + *buluh*—bamboo].
- Archaisms: The use of—*man* or—*wan* from Sanskrit was used in words like *sastera-wan* [a person of the holy literature, now meaning a 'person of letters'], *budi-man* [a person with enlightenment, now meaning 'intellectual'], but is now used productively in words like: *warta-wan* [journalist], *seni-man* [artist], *negara-wan* [statesman].
- Compounding: *anak daun* [child of a leaf, small leaf], *anak kalimat* [child of a sentence, phrase], *anak uang* [child of money, interest]
- Borrowing directly from other languages: *anu* [whatchumacallit, Japanese], *cincai* [not important; Chinese], *dwiwarna* [two colours—the Indonesian flag, Sanskrit] *istilah* [technical term, Arabic]; many religious terms are borrowed from Arabic.
- Borrowing from other languages (particularly European) with orthographic / phonological standardisation: *menit* [minute], *taksi* [taxi], *organik* [organic], *universitas* [university]
- Creating new words from historical roots: *serbaroh* [spiritualism, from Sanskrit *sarwa* meaning 'all', and spirit or soul from Arabic, *roh*]
- Creating compound words from initial syllables or the initials of words used to make up a title or designation consisting of several words: *Depkeh* (*Departemen Kehakiman*) [Department of Justice], *Golkar* (*Golongan Kayra*) [Group of Functionaries, the party for technocrats and civil servants], *Siskamling* (*Sistem Keamanan Lingkungan*) [neighbourhood security system], 'TNI' (*Tentara Nasional Indonesia*) [the Indonesian national armed forces],

#### 4.1.2 Auxiliary code standardisation.

##### 4.1.2.1 Graphisation.

The development and use of standard symbols (also called wayfaring in some parts of the literature) is important in modern societies. Standard sets of internationally

recognised symbols have been agreed upon for use (e.g., a red hexagonal sign means stop, a picture of an airplane [→] means airport, a circle with a back slash through it [• } means don't), but the local terminology to go with these needs to be developed. Local signs may also need to be developed to meet particular needs, for instance spitting is considered a health problem in Malaysia—possibly exacerbated during Ramadan when strict Muslims are not allowed to eat or drink between dawn and dusk—and accurate translations are needed in several languages (for example see Figure 3 for a sign from Malaysia taken from the internet).

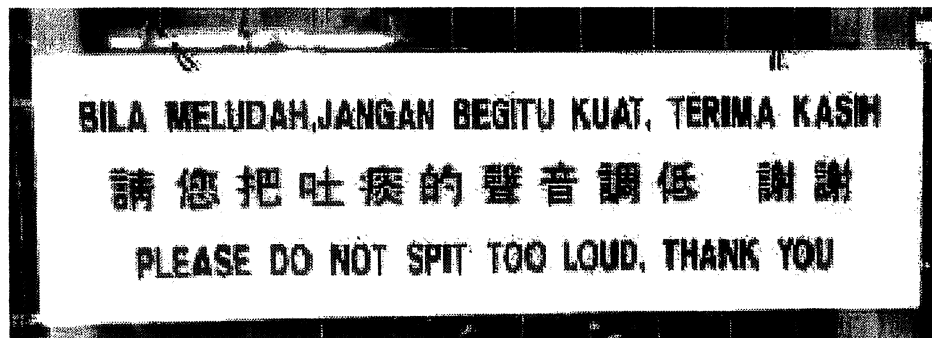


Figure 3. Example of the need for standard signage from Malaysia

#### 4.1.2.2 Grammatication

In 1980, a project was established, by the Department of Industry of the UK government in co-operation with Pergamon Press, to develop *Seaspeak*; i.e., a variety of essential English for international maritime use. The central principle of *Seaspeak* was that the receiver of a VHF radio message should, at the very beginning of a message, be alerted to the type of message that was to follow. That aim was achieved by using 'message markers'—*Question, Instruction, Advice, Request, Information, Warning and Intention*. The system contains recommendations for initiating, maintaining and terminating 'conversations.' It contains recommended language (i. e., *relevant portions of English grammar and vocabulary*) as well as recommendations for the structure of messages, covering the great majority of maritime subjects. It is within the control of the United Nations International Maritime Organization (IMO) and accords with the rules promulgated by the body. It is:

- in the internationally agreed maritime language—English;
- within the practical requirements of bridge officers and shore authorities;
- intended to reduce confusion and ambiguity in speech communication;
- intended to follow existing regulations and incorporate existing maritime usage;
- intended to make it possible to express in a simple and precise manner any and all of the communication needs of professional mariners;
- intended to be simple to learn, both for native speakers and non-native speakers of English.

A number of volumes were published by Pergamon Press during the 1980s including: *The language of seafaring, Seaspeak reference manual, Seaspeak*

*training manual, Seaspeak teacher's guide and workbook, Seaspeak self-study course.* *Seaspeak* is important to the extensive maritime trade in the Pacific Basin; that is, ship movements across the length and breadth of the vast Pacific Ocean implicate *Seaspeak* and thus implicate the teaching and learning of it in maritime academies throughout the Pacific Basin and among professional mariners.

#### 4.1.2.3 *Lexication*

New Zealand provides an example of auxiliary code standardisation where there have been efforts to use Māori place names in map making. There are several problems: On the one hand, the process has required double names in some cases—e.g., an English and a Māori place name; in some instances the two names are not exactly geographically coincident; in still other cases, there may be several Māori place names, depending upon naming practices in differing Iwi (tribal) linguistic communities, and finally, there are geographic places that were named exclusively in English, there being no Māori name for the place—e.g., large cities that have developed in the recent past are likely to bear an English place name, but such sites may actually overlap with a number of Māori-named localities. The process has involved lexical expansion, since some localities are known to have an underlying Māori mapping which has been lost or modified over historical time, thereby requiring the creation of new names which attempt to capture reconstructed Māori naming practices. In contemporary practice, many government structures, particularly in Wellington (the capital city), are currently identified bilingually. Thus, Māori names need to be created for functions and structures that have no Māori equivalent.

## 4.2 *Corpus cultivation planning*

Corpus cultivation planning goals are about enhancing and refining the linguistic functions of a language through lexical modernisation, stylistic modernisation, renovation (purification, reform, stylistic simplification, terminological unification), and internationalisation.

### 4.2.1 *Lexical modernisation*

Lexical modernisation has as its focus the development of new terms to meet the needs of a modernised language. For example, in the Philippines the government wishes to re-create Filipino as a 'modern' language capable of dealing with science and technology. In 1980, at a conference sponsored by the USIS Office in Manila in co-operation with several Philippine organisations, there was serious discussion of translating all of modern science into (then) Pilipino. It was noted that two problems essentially precluded such a plan: On the one hand, the bulk of science was already so great, and the rate of growth in science information was so rapid, that it would take vast manpower and long time to accomplish the task, with a strong probability that the growth rate in science and technology was so rapid as to outstrip the capabilities of any group set to accomplish the task; on the other hand, it became

quite clear that the existing lexicon of Pilipino was insufficiently developed to permit the achievement of the objective. It would probably be necessary to create a language agency, and devote significant resources long term to develop an appropriate technical lexicon in Filipino. Co-ordinated efforts for more than a quarter of a century between the *Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka* in Malaysia and the *Pusat Bahasa* in Indonesia have created a technical lexicon in Bahasa Indonesia / Malaysia, i.e., lexical modernisation has occurred in Bahasa. Yet, in Malaysia at least, more programs in science and technology are now being taught at tertiary-level in English as most of the resources are in English. Given the international nature of science and technology, a lexicon modernised for this purpose may not be a sufficient condition for work in those areas.

#### 4.2.2 *Stylistic modernisation*

The making of modern Indonesian—taking the decision to move the language from its conservative Sumatran Malay roots to one which could be adopted and modified according to the needs of contemporary society—occurred at the *Kongres Bahasa Indonesia* held in Medan in October 1954. From this point on,

literary writers who had always used new varieties of linguistic style felt more free to introduce new turns of phrase, and language users on the whole began to experiment more and more with the creation of neologisms of all kinds. People who knew the spirit of Malay grammar exploited the structural and morphological devices of the language in order to express entirely new ideas and concepts which in traditional Indonesian had often been expressed in a different way which was now regarded as not up-to date. (Anwar 1980: 117)

Journalists and politicians, particularly Sukarno, also used the more liberated style and contributed to the development of new forms. These stylistic changes provided an important break for Indonesia from the regional roots of Malay that emphasised its distinctive character as a national language for all Indonesians that could unite the linguistic diversity found in Indonesia. In North Korea, stylistic modernisation constituted the basis for much language planning in The *Munhwae* [Cultured Language] Period (1964-the present).

#### 4.2.3 *Renovation*

##### 4.2.3.1 *Purification*

Language renovation may involve language purification, i.e., the removal of foreign (lexical) influences or the adherence to the classical forms and lexicon of a language (see e.g., Jernudd and Shapiro 1989). In the Pacific Basin, North Korea has striven to purify Korean spoken language as well as the writing system (Hang\* ㅏ). The process has involved the elimination of Chinese characters from the language as well as the creation of Korean terms to replace Sino-Korean terms. A major part in this linguistic revolution was played by vocabulary management; loan words were to be replaced with indigenous Korean words, words that did not reflect the views of the North Korean regime (i.e., words which carried feudalistic and bourgeois

ideology) were to be purged, and words that reflected North Korean socialist ideology were to be added to the lexicon in order to achieve linguistic self-reliance and to press South Korea to recognise its linguistic sins and reform its language as well. The first step in this process involved the elimination of Chinese words which were perceived as the major source of lexical hierarchy (i.e., the notion that Korean words were perceived to be less cultured and polite than their Chinese counterparts—in sum, the elimination of an H variety in favour of an L variety). Such Chinese words were seen as preventing common people from controlling their own language and depriving them of national pride in the use of their own language. (Additionally, Chinese words that were difficult to understand because they were rarely used were also purged.) Some Chinese words had no Korean equivalents; these were to be purged depending on their 'degree of nativisation,' for which there was no standard measure, and considerable confusion ensued, since the decision about which words lacked an appropriate degree of nativisation appeared to be fairly arbitrary.

Loan words of non-Chinese origin were seen to fall into three groups: Words needed for science and technology and for communication with other countries were retained; words introduced by bourgeois intelligentsia (who admired imperialist countries) or by Japanese colonialists (in an effort to diminish the use of the Korean language) were to be purged and replaced by native or nativised words which would help to establish linguistic self-reliance (*juche*). The criteria in this context were also not terribly clear, and the preservation or elimination of these words was fairly arbitrary.

Words not in accord with socialist ideology were also purged; this category included all personal titles (previously used in feudalistic or capitalistic societies) which were eliminated in favour of socialist and democratic terms representing harmonious social relations. Also words expressing sexist ideology, in conflict with the socialist spirit which saw women as revolutionary comrades of men, were purged in favour of words reflecting the enhanced status of women. The term *comrade*, not marked for gender, replaced personal titles, sexist words, and words implying a hierarchical social order. Personal names were also modified. The involvement of the state in the designation of personal names has significant implications (see, e.g., Jernudd 1994; Kaplan and Baldauf 2001, Neustupný 1983).

These changes were not only lexical; the revolution implicated the phonological system (several new phonemes were invented, though most of these were subsequently abandoned). The way in which Hang•ǀ symbols were presented orthographically was also modified. Such changes implicated changes in the syntax as well.

#### 4.2.3.2 Reform

Corpus planning language reform may be related to earlier corpus standardisation measures. For example, the original graphisation of Malay in Indonesia and Malaysia, done by van Ophuysen in 1896 and Wilkinson in 1904 respectively, was reformed in Indonesia by the 1947 Suwandi changes and in 1972 by the joint spelling reforms. These reforms brought together the Dutch and English colonial

systems for spelling Malay into a more linguistically coherent system. In Japan there has been an attempt to define a list of the 2000 critical kanji that people need to know. In North Korea there was some tinkering with the Hang•† and also attempts to eliminate many of the Chinese characters in common use. Reform of Chinese Characters has been a major issue in China with the Peoples' Republic adopting a number of simplified characters and Taiwan retaining the traditional more complex forms. In the field of Aboriginal languages in Australia, there has been a re-graphisation of the spelling of Guugu Yimithirr (Hopevale, North Queensland) to create better sound-symbol correspondence as the original linguistic work was done by a German missionary with little or no linguistic training.

Reform in the area of grammar can be illustrated by pluralisation in traditional Malay/Indonesian that is accomplished by reduplication. While this is a strategy that works well orally, it can create some very clumsy written texts, the existence of which has an impact on printing costs, the size and the storage of manuscripts. In the 1970s the *Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka* devised a strategy to deal with the problem of pluralisation, using a '2' as the marker of reduplication. However, this reform was not accepted in practice. A check of issues of the *Sabah Times* from 1985 indicated that the reduplication '2' was sometimes used in newspaper headlines where space was critical, but in the text full reduplication was still used. A check of a sample of 1996 newspapers could find no evidence of this usage. In Indonesian this 'reform' was never adopted. This example illustrates that not all attempts at language planning reforms are successful, as to some extent long term adoption depend on the willingness of users to change.

#### 4.2.3.3 Stylistic simplification

The *Seaspeak* example discussed under Auxiliary code simplification (grammatication) also provides an example of stylistic simplification as the use of key words makes the style simple and predictable so that it should be easy to learn and understand. As it needs only to deal with a limited range of circumstances, most of which can be anticipated, it has been relatively successful. Another example is the requirement that 'plain English' be used in a range of documentation in Australia (and in other countries) to improve comprehensibility. However, it can be argued that there is no such thing as 'plain English', and that simplifying material may make it less intelligible due to a lack of precision. In this case the possible uses are much broader, and documents written in plain English need to be tested for comprehensibility on a sample of the target population (See Lautamatti 1987).

#### 4.2.3.4 Terminological unification

There is no body comparable to Euroterm in the Pacific basin to co-ordinate and standardise the meaning of technical terminology as there is in Europe. However, the Majalis Bahasa Brunei Darussalam-Indonesia-Malaysia (MABBIM) does act to co-ordinate and unify the technical terminology for 'Malay', ensuring a common set of terms are developed for scientific communication within the member countries.

#### 4.2.4 *Internationalisation*

The use of English as an international language of wider communication for the Pacific Basin has been discussed in its social context under a previous topic, interlingual communication. However, when English (or other languages like Japanese or Bahasa Indonesia) is used for international communication purposes, changes to the corpus of the language may need to be made, either formally or informally. A language may be simplified, both structurally and lexically to make it easier for second language speakers to use and understand. Furthermore some of the pragmatic information may be missing and may need to be dealt with in other ways. In the case of English this is particularly complex, because there are a number of native versions of English in the region and these Englishes each bring with them their own set of pragmatics and usages.

### 5. LANGUAGE-IN-EDUCATION PLANNING—ABOUT LEARNING

Language-in-education planning, sometimes called language education planning or acquisition planning (Cooper 1989), consists of user related learning goals that need to be achieved, usually through the educational (formal, and extrinsic) system, although individuals develop their own language learning programs (informal and intrinsic). Language-in-education planning is about those education measures needed to develop and sustain language proficiency of individuals or communities as part of a language environment or language ecology. Language-in-education planning is about developing both policy for and the specific methods and materials to support individual and community language development for the variety of uses to which the language is to be put. These goals may meet societal, institutional or individual needs.

#### 5.1 *Language-in-education policy planning*

The primary language-in-education policy goals are to set criteria for those processes in the educational system that determine what languages will be taught to whom, for what latency, in what manner, using what material as well as how success will be assessed.

##### 5.1.1 *Access policy*

Access policy provides a statement of who must study what languages. English is a universally required foreign language in Indonesia, Japan, South Korea, Malaysia, the Philippines, and Taiwan. In most cases, it is taught through upper elementary school and high school, and in some cases (i.e., Taiwan) into the first year of tertiary studies. In Japan, South Korea, Singapore and Taiwan, a mandatory English test is included in the college entrance examination, though in most cases that test measures receptive rather than productive skills; however, in Japan and South Korea in the very recent past an English essay has been added to the examination and that element is given substantial weight in the evaluation of the test scores for tertiary

admission. Other examples include the requirement that ethnic Chinese students study in Chinese bilingual programs in Singapore schools and that all pupils in Australia do a certain amount of foreign language study, usually in upper primary and junior secondary school (depending upon the State).

### 5.1.2 *Personnel policy*

Personnel policy examines the requirements for teacher selection. In Japan, South Korea and Taiwan, admission into the teacher pool is achieved by formal studies either in the national normal schools or in the universities. In other words, 'English majors' are candidates for admission to the teacher pool. The criteria are, in all cases, fairly loose, and indeed many 'English majors' have read and studied English literature rather than English language. Many accredited teachers have quite limited productive English language skill and have had little (if any) training in teaching spoken language and written language. In all these cases, as the result of recent curricular changes, there is a significant shortage of English teachers.

In Japan, in 1987, the MOE, in co-operation with other agencies, instituted the Japan Exchange and Teaching (JET) program which brings young people with native (or near native) proficiency in English to Japan for short stays to act as assistant English teachers in Japanese secondary schools. These young native English speakers are characteristically untrained, stay only for about two years, and are subject to the inclinations of the Japanese teacher in the classroom. Furthermore, they encounter the cultural and political difficulties that face all foreigners in monocultural Japan, ranging from personal isolation to long delays created by government bureaucracy. Given such constraints, the system may not be as successful (or as useful) as some might have claimed.

In Australia, several of the States have realised that studying a foreign language at University may not be an adequate language preparation for teaching, as all four macro skills (listening, speaking, reading, writing) must be given roughly equal treatment in school programs, and some university programs are still literature oriented. Teachers therefore must pass a language interview as part of their accreditation process. There is also a recognition that beginning teachers are unlikely to have studied enough language at University and there is an expectation that teachers will do further in-service (sometimes funded by the State Departments of Education) to improve their language skills.

### 5.1.3 *Curriculum and community policy*

In general all curriculum policy is centrally defined, but in Indonesia, Japan, South Korea, and Taiwan, curriculum is centrally developed and mandated. In each case, the Ministry of Education controls what will be taught and, to a significant extent, how it will be taught. The Ministry of Education also controls the production and distribution of pedagogical materials. Although curriculum policy is well intentioned, it is developed largely by bureaucrats rather than by language specialists and teachers; indeed, teachers have virtually no input into the process, except in Indonesia where it has been necessary to turn to experienced teachers for expertise.



Curriculum policy in each case is constrained by the inflexibility of the duration of instruction; the academic year cannot be expanded, and the allocation of instructional time is determined by a set of value judgements about national need. Similarly, curriculum policy is, in each case, constrained by budget. The education sector is not invariably high on the priority list for funding, and in many polities the education sector runs as hard as it can just to maintain the status quo. Additionally, curriculum policy is constrained by frequent shifts in direction within the education sector, and those shifts are largely politically motivated. Where curriculum policy is defined centrally, there is little opportunity to develop a consultative *Community policy*. However, in some situations communities may be consulted about what languages they believe are the most appropriate to be taught in their schools.

#### 5.1.4 *Methods and materials policy*

Methods and materials policies are often closely tied to curriculum policy. In polities like Indonesia, Japan or South Korea where the curriculum is tightly controlled, methodology is often prescribed, and some specific training in it given; textbooks are often centrally produced and approved (see, e.g., the National Bureau of Compilation and Translation in Taiwan). For example, English teachers in Indonesia are required to teach communicatively, but large class sizes, a lack of communicative competence and training and inadequate texts make the job virtually impossible. As a result, most students who matriculate do not have adequate English for tertiary study, despite the fact that up to 80 per cent of the library material is in English. Even in countries like Australia, where there is more room for individual teacher initiative, methodology is prescribed (i.e., it must be communicative) and school developed work programs set out the range of materials to be used. As most States except Queensland follow a state-wide examination system for matriculation, there is a requirement that students study work from a narrow range of materials.

#### 5.1.5 *Resourcing policy*

Resourcing is critical to whether language-in-education programs are able to make an impact and has often been used to drive particular agendas. For example, in British colonial Singapore after World War II the 1947 education policy extended free education to all children and this was supposed to begin in one of the students' first languages (Mandarin, Malay or Tamil). However, a limited budget and the allocation of most of the funding to English free schools meant that Chinese students in particular began to study in English, undermining Chinese-medium Primary programs. As these schools were the power base of Chinese-educated Singaporeans, who were among the most strongly anti-colonial and anti-imperial, it appeared that language and resourcing policy was being used for political ends and this led to unrest in 1954 and a new more equitable education policy.

In Australia under an agreement between the Commonwealth and the States, funding was provided between 1994 and 2002 for the National Asian Languages and Studies in Australian Schools (NALSAS) to boost the teaching of Asian languages. Australia had not had a strong program in Asian languages and given its location in

the Pacific Basin the Commonwealth decided to provide earmarked funding to boost the number of high school graduates having studied an Asian language to Year 12 to 15 per cent. However, as students are not required to study a language beyond Year 9 in most States, and with the cessation of Commonwealth funding from 2003, it is likely that the goal will be difficult to attain on a voluntary basis unless there are substantially greater incentives to continue with language study than now exist.

### *5.1.6 Evaluation policy*

As a number of the previous examples have shown, many language-in-education programs are targeted to reach specific goals and have criteria by which policy impact can be measured; i.e., Australian NALSAS has, as a goal, 15 per cent of Year 12 school leavers studying an Asian language—currently there are about 5.5 per cent. English language programs in Indonesia set a target of 4,000 words on graduation, but most students seem to reach only about 1,000, making tertiary study using English very difficult. In Singapore, a pass in the student's first language (Chinese, Malay or Tamil) plus a pass in English is required to enter tertiary study. Having an evaluation policy can be important for judging the impact of a program, but it can also be used to set desired goals for language programs. For example, for the NALSAS program, a goal of 15 per cent of students studying an Asian language is probably unrealistic given the problems associated with subject choice in the final two years of schooling, but having that goal does make a statement about the importance of Asian languages and the kind of schooling Australia would ideally like to achieve.

## *5.2 Language-in-education cultivation planning*

The primary language-in-education cultivation-planning goals are to define how language learning programs are to be tailored to meet the needs of various groups learning languages for different reasons and with different backgrounds (i.e., language reacquisition, language maintenance, foreign/second language learning and language shift).

### *5.2.1 Language reacquisition*

Language-in-education reacquisition programs are fairly specialised and apply mostly to adults. Adult literacy programs can be of this type. For example, when a person leaves school with minimal literacy skills taking a manual job requiring very little literacy, the person may then become functionally illiterate over time. S/he may need new or specialised literacy training to enter literacy-based work. Women who have been out of the workforce for an extended period of time due to child rearing and who then wish to undertake tertiary studies, may also need to acquire or reacquire the specialist literacy skills needed to study successfully at that level (see, e.g., Baldauf 1997). Finally, there are adults who may have learned some language as small children who wish to reacquire that language. In the context of the Pacific Basin, there was of course large-scale planned language reacquisition of Korean and

Mandarin, in the two Koreas and Taiwan respectively, from 1945 (i.e., following the end of the Japanese occupation) onward, but reacquisition on that scale is unusual.

### 5.2.2 *Language maintenance*

Besides learning the first language and its literacy through education—which for many children is a maintenance activity and which occurs in every polity, community language-in-education programs are also in place in a number of polities to support language maintenance. In some places, like Singapore, language-in-education policy goals tightly define what a community language is—linking ethnicity and language—thereby committing extensive funding to the maintenance of some (i.e., Mandarin, Malay and Tamil), but closing off the maintenance of other languages (e.g., Chinese dialects other than Mandarin). In polities like Indonesia and Malaysia, a wider variety of languages is supported through Primary school language 'x' medium of instruction schools and through POLs, but many languages are still not supported. In New Zealand, language maintenance and revival activity has been invested in Māori, though much of the effort has come from the Māori people rather than from the government (i. e., Ministry of Education). In Australia, very limited government support is available to support and encourage language maintenance (and in some cases language reacquisition). In most cases any language is eligible for support, but funding is limited, and without a lot of volunteer work and community based fund-raising many programs would not survive. In general, language-in-education maintenance, if the language is not a national or official language, has not been a priority in the Pacific Basin, and many languages have not received much if any support. In these instances language maintenance becomes a social (or status planning) responsibility, depending on intergenerational transmission and community support.

### 5.2.3 *Foreign language / second language*

The status aspects of foreign and second language goals have already been discussed in general terms under international interlingual communication. However, once those goals have been established and are supported at the societal level, it is necessary to put more specific language-in-education goals in place to ensure that school based programs are developed to meet those societal goals. For example, to meet its perceived language needs in LOTEs, the Australian Commonwealth government has set a goal of 10 per cent of all year 12 matriculates having studied a European language while 15 per cent are meant to have studied an Asian language. In Singapore to ensure that an English-knowing bilingualism develops, students must be able to pass their matriculation exams in their first language (Chinese, Malay, Tamil) as well as in English to gain University entrance.

### 5.2.4 *Language shift*

Much of the language policy produced in the Pacific Basin has had as one of its goals getting individuals to shift to a national or educational language as at least one

of their languages. Schooling has been a prime tool for language shift. Japanese colonial policy from 1895 to 1945 had as a goal to make Japanese the lingua franca of the region, although it was only in Korea and Taiwan (and the Pacific Island Mandated Territories) that that policy could be extensively pursued. There has since been a shift back to Korean in Korea (though with differing emphasis in the North and the South) and to Mandarin in Taiwan. Since World War II in the Philippines, Malaysia and Indonesia, Filipino, Bahasa Malaysia and Bahasa Indonesia have become widely known—they have been developed as true national lingua franca. The 'speak Mandarin' campaigns in Singapore have contributed to considerable shift from the other Chinese dialects to Mandarin while in Australia, the emphasis on English literacy is meant to ensure the large migrant population can all speak the de facto national language, English. As has been noted elsewhere, schools in the Pacific Basin also promote a shift to English as a language of wider communication. These shift-related goals in these polities have had policy priority, changing the language ecology and putting pressure on the other indigenous and immigrant languages that lie outside education.

## 6. PRESTIGE PLANNING—ABOUT IMAGE

Prestige planning consists of those image or prestige-related goals that need to be met to promote and intellectualise a language effectively so that the language has the stature to develop and sustain a stable language environment or language ecology. Prestige planning is about developing both policy and the encouragement for the use of specialised language forms so that the full capabilities of the language are actually used in important or prestigious situations. Languages may gain prestige (or lose it) through use and promotion by societal, institutional or individual bodies or through the intellectualisation of the language through use in high status activities.

### 6.1 *Prestige policy planning*

The primary prestige policy goal is *language promotion*, that is, putting policies in place (overt) or acting in ways that signify policy-like stances that enhance the prestige and status of the language(s) in the polity. Language planning and policy is not complete once the sociolinguistic, linguistic and educational work is done. For much policy and planning to have an impact, extensive promotion often must be undertaken to ensure that those policies and that planning are taken up and used, and this can happen at a number of different levels (also see Haarmann 1989).

#### 6.1.1 *Official/Government*

There are a number of stunning examples of government language promotion that have occurred in the Pacific Basin. One that has already been discussed under the heading of *proscription* (section 2.1.1) lies in Taiwan's National Language Movement, which supported the spread of Mandarin throughout the population. The NLM was so successful that minority languages (aboriginal languages, Southern

Min and Hakka) have been powerfully negatively affected. The Singapore government's 'speak Mandarin' campaign, begun in 1979 and still continuing, has had a dramatic effect on Chinese dialect use in Singapore with dialect use in the home falling from 59.5 per cent in 1980 to 23.8 per cent in 2000. The government undoubtedly hopes that its 'speak good English movement', begun in 2000, will have a similar impact on Singlish. The lower key public awareness campaign for Malay in Malaysia using slogans like 'Love your language' or 'Language is the soul of the nation' has been going on since Malaysia was founded in 1963. Governments clearly realise that language change is not just a technical matter, but one in which language users must be persuaded of the efficacy of the language change.

### 6.1.2 *Institutions*

In some cases, government sponsored institutions are set up to support and help promote language issues. Examples can be found in Malaysia with the *Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka*, in Indonesia with the *Pusat Bahasa*, in The Philippines with a plethora of committees and commissions created between the early 1930s and the present time and in Australia with the National Languages and Literacy Institute of Australia (Language Australia) from 1989 – 1998. In other cases, private bodies like the Kadazandusun Language Foundation (KLF) (and its predecessors) in Sabah have worked to promote the standardisation and development of specific languages (see Lasimbang and Kinajil 2000). In the case of the KLF, this has involved the politics of bring together the different dialect groups as well as dictionary and materials development so that the language could be included as a pupils' own language (POLs) in the Malaysian school system. Thus, institutional prestige planning varies widely in scope and may include corpus planning work, research on language issues and providing advice to government as well as language promotional activities.

### 6.1.3 *Pressure groups*

It is not only governments and formal organisations that are concerned in developing a profile for language issues. The initial decision to develop a national language policy in Australia was taken in the context of a political climate in the late 1970s where a number of language organisations (e.g., Applied Linguistics Association of Australia, Australian Federation of Modern Language Teacher Associations, Linguistic Society of Australia, Aboriginal bodies, ethnic bodies, etc.) lobbied the government to take action on this matter. Once a bipartisan Senate committee was set up to investigate the issues in the early 1980s, the pressure groups made submissions and many of the recommendations made by the PlanLangPol group (consisting of the above mentioned language associations) become part of the 1987 *National Policy on Languages*. These lobbying efforts have continued sporadically and the Australian Alliance for Languages lobbied in the 2001 election for more notice to be taken of language issues. In Singapore beginning with the *All Party Committee on Chinese Education* in 1956 the government has had to balance the interests of the Chinese- and English-educated Chinese elites in making language-in-education policy decisions.

#### 6.1.4 *Individuals*

While Baldauf and Kaplan (in press) have argued that it is difficult in general for individuals to influence language policy, these studies have demonstrated that high status individuals linked to government power have had an important impact on language policy development. Perhaps the most stunning example among the polities examined in this volume has been the influence of Kim Il Sung in North Korea. His thought essentially defined the direction of language policy activity from the establishment of the socialist state in 1945 to his death in July 1995 and the succession of his son, Kim Chong Il. In Indonesia it has also been claimed that Sukarno's creative use of language in speeches and other pronouncements contributed to an opening up of and use of more creative language styles. Less spectacular personal influence has been demonstrated by the work of key linguists like Asmah Haji Omar in Malaysia and Andrew Gonzalez in the Philippines. In Indonesia, the seminal early work by Takidir Alisjahbana helped to define the direction of lexical development of Bahasa Indonesia. While in most cases the individual playing a key role has been indigenous, there are examples of non-indigenous experts playing a significant role; e.g., Terry Crowley in Vanuatu and Richard Benton with respect to Māori in New Zealand.

### 6.2 *Prestige cultivation planning*

The primary prestige cultivation planning goal is the intellectualisation of the language, that is, working to see that the language is used in situations that raise its image or prestige, thereby making the language more important and desirable to learn and to use.

#### 6.2.1 *Intellectualisation*

Language planning and policy promotion not only requires promotion by 'agencies' at different levels, but also by individuals and groups to intellectualise the language by using it in areas of importance and status for the culture. This promotion through use is critical if a language, particularly a new national language like Bahasa Indonesia, Bahasa Malaysia (see Asmah Haji Omar 1998) or Filipino (see Gonzalez 2002) is to expand its range of functional registers to hold its own in the linguistic ecology against modernised languages like English. For third tier languages<sup>3</sup> like Javanese, the myriad of languages in Melanesia, or Iban in Sarawak or Kadazandusun in Sabah, intellectualisation through the development of dictionaries, literature, use in the schools and in the media helps to strengthen the language's position in the local language ecology and improve its chances of long term survival.

In many of the situations discussed in the Pacific Basin, language planning has tended to focus on developing the 'basic' language infrastructure and linguistic skills, materials and institutions needed for languages. However, in a world of mass communication, where 'modernised' languages like English seem to be omnipresent, intellectualisation may take on a more important role in developing a stable place for a language in the language ecology. As we have seen under lexication (Section

2.2.1) and lexical modernisation (Section 2.2.2) Filipino has been struggling with the problem of becoming the *language of science*. While these lexical problems have largely been overcome for Bahasa Malaysia and Bahasa Indonesia, getting Malaysians and Indonesians to use those languages for scientific work, may be another matter. Getting Malay used by the professions (*language of professions*) has been problematic in Malaysia as we saw in the legal area, given that Malaysian law is based on British common law and most of the cases and documentation is written in English<sup>4</sup>. Finally, it is important that languages be used for high culture (*language of high culture*) activities, including the development of indigenous literatures. While this has occurred in Indonesia, in Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore and the Pacific there is a tradition of writing in English and thus a tension between what language to use (see, e.g., Tinio 1990). In this case, intellectualisation goals conflict with language internationalisation goals (i.e., an altered English that will be able to carry the weight of my Singaporean / Filipino / Samoan, etc. experience) (see Kaplan and Baldauf 1997: 46 ff).

## 7. CONCLUDING REMARKS

Using the framework presented in Table 18, it is possible to see that the language policy and planning undertaken in the Pacific Basin has many different characteristics and goals and that some of these have been far more salient than others in the impact that various language planning initiatives have had. Despite the great diversity among the polities reviewed in this volume, some generalisations useful in building a language policy/planning paradigm can be identified. It seems clear that, although the impetus for language planning may occur at a grass-roots level (e.g., New Zealand, Taiwan) and individuals may on occasion play key roles, government (and/or large scale foundation) support is often necessary because the scope and duration of a language policy activity is so vast that nothing short of immense infusions of funding and human time will produce reasonable results. The difficulty, as is demonstrated in at least some of the cases examined herein, is to involve government but not to allow purely political motivations to capture the process (see, e.g., North Korea). But what is most clearly demonstrated by this set of case studies is that the communities of speakers (whose language(s) will be impacted) should be actively involved in the process. In short, while there is a powerful tendency to perceive the activity as top-down structured, it is essential to include bottom-up perspectives. It has been demonstrated that communities of speakers must be 'sold' whatever plan is conceptualised, but the cost and duration of the 'selling' process can be vastly reduced if there is wide-scale participation in the process.

Additionally, the various studies included herein demonstrate that initiating language policy activities without adequate understanding of the language ecology involved may be counterproductive. Given the predilection for top-down activity, the predilection of government to move ahead with a plan without reference to the linguistic realities of the environment, often results in sudden and abrupt changes in direction over time, and these combined influences often cause language policy

development to fail. Furthermore, there is inadequate information available with respect to the real costs of such planning and little awareness of how to go about determining the cost-benefit ratio; again, this phenomenon may implicate additional sudden and abrupt shifts in objectives and, consequently, in a failure to achieve any reasonable objectives. Language policy implementation requires constant evaluation. There is a tendency in government-run practice to assume that once a policy has been set in train, the job is done. Evaluation is often neglected. In the end, the diversity reported does not imply that language planning is a futile activity; rather, it suggests that there may be more than one way to 'skin a cat'.

## 8. NOTES

- 1 Although the framework used here appears in print initially in this chapter due to the nature of publication lead times, it was initially developed for the section on Language Planning (R. Baldauf) in the Fitzroy Dearborn *Encyclopedia of Linguistics* and forms the template for the six chapter section on language planning, policy and language rights (by R. Baldauf, T. van Els, A. Liddicoat, R. Kaplan, D. Ager and S. May) for the *Handbook of Research in Second Language Teaching and Learning* (Lawrence Erlbaum). Both volumes are likely to be published in 2003.
- 2 As Peddie (1991a) points out, policy statements tend to fall into two types—symbolic and substantive, where the first articulates good feelings toward change (or perhaps ends up being so nebulous that it is difficult to understand what language specific concepts may be involved), and the latter articulates specific steps to be taken. Policies statements related to Filipino, *Bahasa Melayu* (in Singapore) and Māori have a tendency to be symbolic, while statements about Bahasa Indonesia, Bahasa Malaysia or Mandarin in Taiwan or Singapore are much more substantive.
- 3 The national and official languages form the first tier languages and by definition receive language policy, planning (even if only covertly) and funding support. Except in North Korea, English is the second tier language, being a requirement for school study. In Australia and New Zealand where English is the first tier language, second tier languages are the priority foreign languages (in Australia) and Māori (in New Zealand). Third tier languages are the other indigenous languages in various polities and migrant and Aboriginal languages in Australia and migrant and Pacific Island languages in New Zealand.
- 4 An interesting case in point is Hong Kong, not covered in this volume, but a striking example wherein English common law and English-speaking courts held absolute authority right up to the point of reversion of the territory to the PRC—this in a population which was more than 90 per cent Cantonese speaking (see, e.g., Roebuck 1994, Sin and Roebuck 1996).