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American Indian Culture and Research Journal

Title

Language Policies in English Dominant Countries. Edited by Michael Herriman and Barbara Burnaby.

Permalink

<https://escholarship.org/uc/item/7s08v67d>

Journal

American Indian Culture and Research Journal , 24(4)

ISSN

0161-6463

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Publication Date

2000-09-01

DOI

10.17953

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By not taking a stand on what this dual status means for tribal governments, Mason leaves the reader to come to his or her own conclusions. And as he points out in Indian affairs, that is not usually in the best interest of Indian nations.

Mason's book represents a first step in addressing the dual role of tribal governments in the American political system. His thick description of contemporary Indian gaming conflicts in New Mexico and Oklahoma provides an ambitious starting point by raising many interesting questions. Future work should build upon Mason's descriptive material and push the inquiry further by interpreting the meaning of these dual roles and, more importantly, their implications for tribal communities and Indian people.

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Language Policies in English Dominant Countries. Edited by Michael Herriman and Barbara Burnaby. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, 1996. 244 pages. \$99.00 cloth; \$39.95 paper.

In this book, Michael Herriman and Barbara Burnaby provide a very important and useful collection of language policies in Australia, Canada, Britain, New Zealand, South Africa, and the United States. The collection is unique in that it contains information compiled for the sake of comparison and the results indicate various linguistic ideologies and ethnocentricities. Perhaps the question concerning this review is, Why is this book under review for the *American Indian Culture and Research Journal*? There are important historical aspects of linguistic ideologies and language policies that affected the indigenous populations in Canada and the United States. Perhaps the greatest interest and importance pertain to the status of current ancestral indigenous language situations in both Canada and the United States. Furthermore, the information about South Africa, Australia, and New Zealand offers insight to their language circumstances and how they deal with language loss and revitalization. Such information can be very valuable for language revitalization efforts in North America.

In their introduction, the editors explain that they gathered this material to "provide contemporary data on language policies in some of the world's largest and powerful countries" (p. 2). They immediately describe the difficulty in understanding the term *policy* because of its many definitions. They then include conduct, practice, plans, and actions within the scope of the definition, remarking that these could include implicit or explicit governmental sanction and/or execution. Of course, this also includes the nature of spoken and unspoken policies as well. Herriman and Burnaby mention the sociolinguistic problems encountered, such as official languages, language standards, and language retention in the different countries, and the complexities involved in solving these problems. They end their introduction by stressing the importance of policies that enhance the language(s) in question and do not hinder other languages as a result.

Reading through the collection, commonalities appear that outnumber the uniqueness of various languages, save South Africa. Five important similarities emerge among the countries under discussion: English foreignness; political dominance; English dominance; language death; and language education. In each country English was a foreign language. The language arrived in the British Isles in the fifth century and soon began a social pattern that would follow the subsequent English speakers' explorations and migrations to the five other countries. The languages originally spoken in the British Isles and the people themselves were quickly marginalized by English and the original inhabitants were deemed foreigners by newcomers. In fact, the term *Welsh* comes from *wealas*, meaning foreigners, the term used to classify the invaded Britons. The editors only slightly acknowledge this foreignness in their introduction and swiftly continue to discuss subsequent political domination.

The political domination in most cases was based on the Westminster governing system exported from the British Isles. Land acquisition and the set-up of political rule to the exclusion of the original inhabitants is peculiarly redundant in discussions of the United States, Canada, and Australia. Australian Aborigines, seen as mere worthless obstacles in the quest for land ownership and superiority, suffered the worst exclusion. Canada and the United States both treated the original inhabitants severely, seeing them as barriers. As the political dominance expanded in Canada and the United States, the official interactions moved from the use of translators with various levels of linguistic skill, to the use of English only. New Zealand fared much better initially concerning the political domination, but as numbers favored newcomers, Maoris were less powerful, even if they spoke English. Political dominance in South Africa initially favored Dutch then South Afrikaans. But English has been and continues to be one of the favored European languages dominating politics and governance.

The effects on policy as a result of political dominance stem from a variety of reasons, including xenophobia. In Canada governmental decrees tried to obliterate indigenous languages, resulting in activities to assimilate First Nations people into the current Canadian culture. Similarly, in the United States, it was important to assimilate into the dominant culture and learn a "civilized" language. In Australia, it was not just the languages in danger, but the Aborigines themselves suffered, as newcomers deemed their lives worthless. Marginalization provided periodic safety only until further advancements required the land in which they were marginalized. As time passed, the barbarism and genocidal tactics ceased. The Maoris in New Zealand had an important treaty that provided a base for their indigenous voice and cultural continuity. As English became the language of wider communication and its speakers outnumbered the Maoris, challenges to the original treaty would surface. Many of the policies resulting from political dominance were eventually manifest in the course of national education.

The transition from political dominance paved the way for English dominance that took on different forms in each of the countries, still with striking similarities. In Canada a large French-speaking population challenged the

dominance. Eventually, Canada proclaimed these languages the two national languages. In the United States, English was the primary language and no challenges from the immigrants ensued, no matter how great their numbers. In Australia and New Zealand, as in the British Isles in the fourth and fifth centuries C.E., the language of wider communication dominated because of sheer numbers along with the marginalization of the indigenous languages.

The effects of assimilative policies reveal the nature of phobic reaction to newcomers or strangers that is strikingly prevalent in every English-dominant country—countries in which, ironically, the English were once newcomers and strangers themselves. Efforts to keep English dominant and viable required newcomers to aspire to learn English and, in some cases, not to speak their mother tongues anymore. Current policies reflect a very interesting picture of indigenous languages as a valuable aspect of the original inhabitants' histories and cultures. Governments now implement measures and money in Canada, the United States, Australia, and New Zealand to secure the ancestral and indigenous languages from immersion programs to university courses. But these programs are granted, initiated, and implemented from an English power base that fluctuates depending on subjective criteria such as "needs assessments," in which the government ultimately decides if the language in question is worth their efforts and money.

As a result of English dominance, language death occurred in every country. South Africa is the exception because much of the language death resulted from the Dutch, Afrikaans, and French. Reasons for language death are complicated, but there are consistent patterns that set in motion the process in each country. The political power base, the sheer volume of English speakers, and ensuing English-dominant interaction eventually led to political and educational mandates to assimilate the indigenous population to the English language and culture within each country. Complete assimilation required rejection of the indigenous languages because it was unnecessary at best—unfit for a "civilized" person to speak—and simply unwanted by the dominant English speakers at worst. In Canada and the United States, for instance, assimilation included resident schools in which children were forcibly taken from their parents, often hundreds or thousands of miles from their homes, and taught English and civility. Severe punishments for speaking their language included verbal reprimands, beatings, whippings, and isolation. The psychological impact was so pernicious that when the students returned home, they refused to speak their language. In each country, continual contact accounts for the greater interaction in English and results in diminished indigenous interaction, even at home.

Some policies initiated the onset of language death, but recent trends seem favorable to indigenous languages. In all the former colonies, efforts to secure endangered languages receive political and educational attention. There are some difficulties still to face, however. For example, since First Nations languages are not university-accredited—recognized or approved like French, German, Italian, or other European language—many parents opt to have their children study an approved language. In Britain, the education system champions efforts to preserve the indigenous languages of

Ireland, Wales, and Scotland. Australia and New Zealand are paying great attention to their languages as well, mostly out of a fear of loss, with New Zealand officially embracing the Maori language and culture.

Revitalization efforts receive their share of criticisms in this book. Benton comments that most of the loudest voices in the language-renewal effort have little if any skill in the language they want to save (p. 97). This is a disturbing statement. First, as a result of historical policies and mandates implemented against the languages in Canada, New Zealand, Australia, and the United States, the linguistic skill of many who want to save their language is not as fluent as Benton expected or even as fluent as the people themselves would like. Benton's comment insinuates that because the person is not fluent, this somehow invalidates the need to save the language. Second, language education currently sees "newcomer" languages as important and, if their numbers dictate, worthy of maintenance. Such is the case in Canada, New Zealand, Australia, and Britain where the influx of people groups has forced the educational system to integrate a multilingual approach and allow English to remain a second language at the discretion of the people group. It is unfortunate that such an attitude took so long to adopt, because many original inhabitants no longer speak their own language.

With the greater propensity for diglossia, interaction in English meets with challenges in each country. One point that has interesting connotations concerns the right of the nondominant peoples to speak their language in legal situations even if they do speak English. In Africa, this is a key issue for their political governance. In Canada, the First Nations citizens of the Northwest Territories could possibly opt for their language in court since there are eleven official languages in this area. New Zealand has enacted Maori into official status as well, thus allowing symbolic governance and gestures in both English and Maori. In each of the countries mentioned, the stage is currently favorable for diglossia, but it remains to be seen how long that will last.

I expected at least one chapter in this book to synthesize the policies in the six countries, but there was none. It is up to the reader to see patterns and peculiarities. Despite this lack, I heartily recommend this book since it has valuable information concerning past and present language policies for each of the countries mentioned. What remains are some fascinating future implications concerning language policies: the authors ponder the impact of English on the land, the indigenous people, and the "newcomers."

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Lushootseed Culture and the Shamanic Odyssey: An Anchored Radiance. By Jay Miller. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1999. 185 pages. \$45.00 cloth.

Upon first reading the title of this book, I hoped it would be interesting. I always find the orthography of interest and importance when reading books on other cultures. In this book, Miller explains only five of the phonemes. While this is not necessarily bad, I was rather taken aback by his description