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Présentation de la Revue LTML

La Revue du LTML est l'organe de diffusion du résultat des travaux réalisés dans le cadre des activités du LTML. La revue se fixe pour objectif de faire la promotion académique des enseignants-chercheurs et de soutenir et former faire acquérir de l'expérience aux doctorants en linguistique.

Les travaux du LTML sont de plusieurs ordres : il peut s'agir de communications présentées lors des colloques ordinaires du LTML puis retravaillées sous forme d'articles ; les articles provenant d'une telle activité sont publiés sous la forme de parution thématique. Il peut également s'agir d'articles « libres », soumis pour publication au Comité scientifique du LTML ; ce type de parution constitue des numéros à varia.

Le présent N° 17 de la Revue LTML est la compilation de productions provenant de deux sources : une bonne partie des articles provient du lot de communications reçues par le Comité scientifique du Colloque de novembre 2019. Ces communications éditées en articles ont été, comme les textes issus des productions à thématiques ouvertes, instruites par le Comité de lecture. Le tout est « un mélange » pluridisciplinaire avec des travaux en linguistique pure, en didactique des langues et en littérature.

Le Directeur de Publication

Pr SILUE S. Jacques

Le contenu de la Revue n° 17 du LTML

Le présent numéro comporte dix (10) articles qui couvrent, comme indiqué, des thématiques fort variées.

Kpli Yao Kouadio J-F et Gogbeu, ouvrent la série avec l'étude des « Valeurs systémiques différentielles de "*sometimes*" et "*occasionally* » dans la pure tradition méta-opérationnelle. Les auteurs montrent que l'apparente proximité sémantique de ces deux opérateurs égare souvent certains chercheurs et pédagogues et les amène à présenter les opérateurs à l'étude comme interchangeables, ce qui n'est pas le cas

Quant à **Amenan M. N'Guessan Adou**, elle nous ramène sur la question de l'acquisition de la langue maternelle. Selon la chercheure, l'exposition linguistique précoce représente un atout pour l'enfant dans le processus d'acquisition du langage. Celle-ci accélère le modelage linguistique par le biais des aspects formels de la langue comme la phonologie, la morphologie, la syntaxe et les tons, etc. Le travail se focalise plus spécifiquement sur le cas des enfants baoulés âgés de 6 mois à 7 ans.

Aminata Sessouma, nous présente le système éducatif burkinabé et sa gestion dans un contexte multilingue et pluriculturel. Sur la base d'enquêtes conduites auprès des acteurs principaux du système scolaire (enseignants, encadreurs et parents d'élèves, l'auteure rappelle que les langues maternelles influent sur les résultats scolaires et fait des suggestions à même d'optimiser le recours aux langues maternelles.

Kpli Yao Kouadio J-F revient cette fois avec **Kondro Kouakou Yannick** sur le fonctionnement d'un autre microsystème de la langue anglaise « *that is »* et « *that is to say »*. Ce sont également des opérateurs que les raccourcis théoriques finissent par poser comme identiques. Pourtant, à l'aide des outils d'analyse « chirurgicales » qu'offre la grammaire méta-opérationnelle de H. Adamczewski les deux chercheurs parviennent à montrer comment ces deux suites codent différents types de fonctionnement qui relèvent du statut posé et du statut repris.

Silué N. Djibril remet au goût du jour la question de l'aménagement linguistique, une thématique qui peut sembler récente alors que les réflexions sur la gestion sociopolitique des langues est une question séculaire, en tout cas en ce qui concerne la langue anglaise. L'auteur suggère que les anciennes colonies africaines s'inspirent de l'expérience de l'Angleterre pour asseoir des politiques linguistiques solides.

Bony Yao Charles nous ramène dans un paradigme complètement différent à travers une réflexion à la fois linguistique et littéraire sur l'ordre des mots dans le texte littéraire. Selon lui, dans les langues où cet ordre n'est pas rigide, les écrivains se voient offrir de nombreuses possibilités énonciatives surtout en ce qui concerne l'organisation générale de l'information, de la phrase au discours. Dans les créations littéraires, la manipulation ou l'agencement des mots permet

l'inversion syntaxique à l'aide des constructions participiales, comme on peut en noter la récurrence chez Aimé Césaire dans *Cahier d'un retour au pays natal.*

Koné Kiyofon Antoine ouvre un paradigme nouveau avec son étude exploitant la théorie grammaticale conceptuelle. Selon cette approche, les structures conceptuelles ne sont pas déterminées par des structures et règles de syntaxiques. Partageant le point de vue de W. Croft et de A. Cruse (2004), l'auteur estime que l'appréhension des faits linguistiques est principalement d'essence conceptuelle. L'auteur soutient ses thèses à partir de l'analyse des morphèmes -s et du - ø du système nominal de l'anglais et morphème de la classe des noms -m en Tagbana

Avec « La transversalidad del personaje Preciosa : de *La gitanilla* de Miguel de Cervantes a *Preciosa y el aire* de Federico García Lorca », **Ehou Sicko Martinien** nous transporte dans la littérature espagnole du XVIème siècle. Il rappelle d'abord qu'à chaque époque correspond une réalité sociale déterminée et propose ensuite une étude comparative des relations antagoniques entre un personnage dédoublé dans les deux œuvres - *La gitanilla* de Miguel De Cervantes Saavedra et *Preciosa y el aire* de Federico García Lorca.

Koua Kouamenan Ernest, dans le cadre de la pédagogie des langues, une « Analyse des interactions verbales enseignants/stagiaires lors des cours de français dans l'enseignement professionnel ivoirien ». On retient que les variétés locales du français comme le nouchi sont bien présentes dans l'expression orale des stagiaires, langage jugé peu académique qui réapparait dans les messages pédagogiques de ces stagiaires dans la salle de classe, en présence des apprenants.

Dans leur article, **Krouwa Stéphanie Tanoa** et **Kouakou N'guessan Gwladys** proposent une approche typologique du Progressif dans les langues Kwa à travers une « étude transversale » en Baoulé, Mɔ dʒúkrù, Akyé, Ewegbé et Bɛ̀rɛ̀. En inscrivant cette étude dans le Programme Minimaliste, elles analysent les différentes constructions du Progressif et proposent une structure sous-jacente, minimale susceptible d'en rendre compte. Elles concluent ainsi que les variations du Progressif observables dans les langues Kwa dérivent de la structure SOV.

Enfin, **Adama Bamba** envisage étudier les six types de variation langagière dans *Their Eyes were watching God* par Z. Hurston (1937) et *Of Mice and Men* par J. Steinbeck (1937). Partant du principe que la langue est une représentation de la réalité, il s'interroge sur le degré d'iconicité entre la variation linguistique observable dans la réalité et celle observée dans ces œuvres de fiction. A cet effet, il s'inscrit dans le cadre de la théorie variationniste sous-tendue par des principes sociolinguistiques articulés autour des termes pouvoir/ solidarité et politesse.

Le Comité de lecture

SOMMAIRE

From the coloniser's language to national language: the English experience

SILUÉ Nanourgo Djibril

Department of English- University Félix Houphouet-Boigny (Abidjan)

djibrilsilue@gmail.com

ABSTRACT:

This paper aims to study language planning in the History of English in the light of recent development in the field. For theories about language planning are recent though implementing language policy has been an issue for early rural societies. It also purports to reveal how the experience of former colonised states can feed in the practice of newly-independent countries in their attempt to implement a national language policy. England and English represent an outstanding example of how the language of a colonised people can become an instrument of colonisation in the hands of the same people.

KEY WORDS: historical sociolinguistic, language planning, macro planning, micro planning, history of English.

RÉSUMÉ :

Cet article vise à élucider le processus de planification linguistique dans l'histoire de langue anglaise à l'aune des récents développements dans la discipline. Les théories sur la planification linguistique sont récentes mais la question a de tout temps préoccupé les sociétés depuis l'antiquité. Cette étude ambitionne également de s'enrichir de l'expérience des pays anciennement colonisés au profit des pays nouvellement indépendants dans leur volonté de mettre en place une politique linguistique nationale. L'Angleterre et la langue anglaise représentent un exemple patent de comment une langue de pays colonisés peut devenir un instrument de colonisation aux mains de ce même pays.

MOTS CLÉS : sociolinguistique historique, planification linguistique, macro planification, micro planification, histoire de la langue anglaise.

INTRODUCTION

The issue of national language planning[40] and policy, for a longstanding period, has proved a skein hard to disentangle for many African countries which have experienced colonial rule. Many widely-held reasons have been set forth to advocate the status quo among which the multidialectal landscape of most countries, the lack of writing system or the poor description of African languages. One step back in time will reveal that this is not so new an issue. Almost all European countries have, at a certain moment of their history, pondered over which national language policy to implement nationwide. The problem is unique but the solutions are varied. We will, throughout this paper, discuss the English experience. For English has not always been the national language in England and the British Isles. Under the French colonial rule (more than 300 years), English was downgraded as a language for rural population (peasants, shepherds, etc.). How did French become the national language in England? How did the British struggle to upgrade English as the official language throughout the British Isles? And how can the British experience serve African countries today? This paper will mainly focus on the historical and sociolinguistic factors that contributed in working out the problem of national language in Britain. It therefore falls under the scope of Historical Sociolinguistics, a comprehensive discipline concerns with "*the reconstruction of the history of a given language in its sociocultural context*" (J. M. Hernández-Campoy & J. C. Conde-Silvestre, 2012: 1). It also addresses issues on language planning policies and its new development.

The methodology followed in this paper will consist in presenting the sociolinguistic environment basing on the historical division of the English language into Old, Middle and Modern. We will first of all recall what the social and linguistic landscapes of Britain were before the arrival of the French colons; thereafter we will explore England under French colonial rule from a social and linguistic perspective. The last part will be devoted to the transition from colonial language to local national language. Each stage will have to reveal the steps towards national language planning in light of the recent development in the field. The overall objective of this paper is to give food for thought to all the stakeholders of national language policies in Africa in their attempt to find a way out of that seemingly daunting task. More specifically, it advocates the implementation of a language policy taking into account the historical background as well as the social strata in a multidialectal environment. The socio-historical conditions may not be identical still, but the solutions implemented by ones can stand as a thread to unfold by others.

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[40]J. Nekvapil (2011: 871) opines that " The point of language planning is to bring about changes in language or in linguistic activities. These changes include, for example, the establishment of new terms, the standardization of thus far non-standard grammatical forms, the nomination of a certain variety of language as the official language, or the determination of which languages will be taught in schools".

1. ENGLAND AND ENGLISH: RISE AND DEMISE OF A NATION AND OF A LANGUAGE

The history of England and English, as it stands, is archetypal of the predicaments in the birth of a nation. Paradoxically, colonisations, invasions and conquests have on the one hand weakened the social structure of the "country" throughout its history and have on the other hand been instrumental in strengthening the position of English all over the world today. These social and societal upheavals date back from early 55 BC when Julius Caesar invaded Britain. But the Roman invasion was said to be more military than cultural though many traces of their over300-year domination can still be felt at various levels of the British society and mainly on the English language.

1.1. Linguistic landscape of England under the colonial rules

Years later, in the footsteps of Julius Caesar, Emperor Claudius successfully invaded Britain in 43 AD. But the Romans had to face fierce resistance from the native Celts or Britons. Claudius and his legions eventually defeated the local army and settled on the Island, subjugating the inhabitants to Roman rule. The Romans then became the ruling power and brought with them their arts, culture, architecture and naturally their language: Latin. For D. Leith (2005: 10): "[A]t first, the imposition of Roman rule over areas of ethnic, cultural, and linguistic heterogeneity would have led to the kind of bilingualism we have described as diglossic. Latin was the official language of high domains, while diverse local vernaculars served the everyday needs of many different subject populations." The term "Romanised-Celts" have even been used to name the conquered population of the British Isles, meaning that they have completely adopted Roman culture and style. But knowing that the subjugated Celts have not abandoned their native language, it is quite hard to assess how Romanised they had been. There is no doubt that the colons did not force the native into adopting their official language as Latin coexisted with local dialects of Celtic. This entails that the Romans did not engage into a large language planning and policy on the conquered land. Latin already had an undisputed prestige and importance at that time as D. Leith (Idem) puts it:

> Latin was a developed, omnifunctional, autonomous, urbanized, highly standardized language. It had a classical variety which was codified by grammarians, and a writing system that could provide a model for other languages when it was their turn to require orthographies. This imperial language of a vast empire also became the language of an international religion, Christianity.

Celtic elites aspiring to high social positions in the Roman administration would learn to speak and write in Latin besides their native language. This bilingualism was not widespread since the majority of the population will use their own native language. This diglossic landscape which lasted throughout the Roman colonial rule will be wiped away by the invasions of the Anglo-Saxons followed centuries after by the Vikings. The first succeeded in conquering the whole land and imposing their dialects but the latter invaded almost one third of England. However, the dialects brought by the two successive invaders were similar in many points; from (socio)linguistic standpoint, D. Leith (Ibid.: 18) argues that:

> The language that the Scandinavians spoke was an undeveloped, oral vernacular. Similar in sociolinguistic profile to the language of the Anglo-Saxons four centuries earlier, it was also similar in its linguistic structure. It is not improbable that the Anglo-Saxon smallholders were able to follow the speech of their Scandinavian neighbours.

And he added that:

> [c]ontact between the languages occurred at the oral level, in those areas where ordinary English people encountered, in face-to-face interaction, their Danish counterparts. In situations such as this, where the communication of basic information is at a premium, we are likely to find a process similar to pidginisation. Language is reduced to bare essentials, as it is when we send a telegram; and one of the clearest means of achieving this is to delete, or simplify, some of the patterns in our grammar. (D. Leith, Ibid.: 19)

We can therefore admit that the Anglo-Saxons dialects co-existed with the Danish language with neither one getting the upperhand. Many examples of borrowing are attested during that period of invasion; words like *angry*, *awkward*, *get*, and *take* even the pronouns *they* and *she* are of Danish origin. On the territory under their control, the Vikings ruled politically but not culturally nor linguistically. A massive national language policy was not to take place until the accession King Alfred the Great to throne of England in886.

1.2- The rise of a nation and the birth of English

Thomas E. Toon (R. M. Hogg & al., 1992: 420) gives us an idea of the population of England after the Anglo-Saxon invasion:

> Importantly, three major classifications of peoples emerge: the very large - the Mercians (30,000), the East Anglian (30,000), the Kentish (15,000), the West Saxons (100,000); the medium sized - the Hwicca (7,000), the Lindesfarona (7,000), the East Saxons

> (7,000), the South Saxons (7,000), the Nox gaga (5,000), the
> Chilterns (4,000), the Hendrica (3,500), the Oht gaga (2,000); the
> small - about 20 units with hidages from 300 to 1,200, in multiples
> of 300. The largest are easily identifiable as the major groups who
> vied for control of southern England, groups whose kings were
> powerful enough to grant land and privilege in their own right.

As the West Saxons outnumbered the other tribes, it is not surprising that they were the ones to resist against the invasions of the Vikings to eventually defeat them. On the territory under the control of the Vikings, a lingua franca emerged out of the Anglo-Saxon and Danish dialects. The language brought by the invaders lacked the prestige and sophistication of a language like Latin brought earlier by the Roman colonisers. It was not therefore to be adopted by the local population. On the other side, Wessex, which resisted against the invaders, kept its local dialect, West Saxon, relatively unadulterated. It was that dialect, after the crowning of Alfred as the first King of England (886), which was expectedly promoted as national language through a nationwide language planning and policy.

1.3. Issues on language planning and policy

Promoting a national language is of paramount importance for newly independent states because language is the ideal instrument to foster identity and the feeling of belonging to one nation. The task gets much harder when it comes to selecting one language out of many into a multidialectal landscape. The issue of language planning has been extensively discussed by scholars in an attempt to frame out ways to achieve goals. Haugen gives us his own understanding of what is at stake:

> By language planning I understand the activity of preparing a
> normative orthography, grammar, and dictionary for the guidance
> of writers and speakers in a non-homogeneous speech community.
> In this practical application of linguistic knowledge we are
> proceeding beyond descriptive linguistics into an area where
> judgment must be exercised in the form of choices among available
> linguistic forms. Planning implies an attempt to guide the
> development of a language in a direction desired by the planners.
> It means not only predicting the future on the basis of available
> knowledge concerning the past, but a deliberate effort to influence
> it. (J. Nekvapil, 2011: 875)

Planning a language entails an overt desire by state-leaders to promote one language as official means of communication not only for the ruling class, but for the entire population. As a positivist attitude towards language change, language planning is far from being a one-step

process. A twofold model of the language planning process has been devised by Haugen in recent years which consists of what he calls "**status planning**" and "**corpus planning**"; the first one is society-oriented while the latter is language-oriented.

	Form (policy planning)	Function (language cultivation)
Society (status planning)	1. Selection (decision procedures) a. problem identification b. allocation of norms	3. Implementation (educational spread) a. correction procedures b. evaluation
Language (corpus planning)	2. Codification (standardisation procedures) a. graphisation b. grammatication c. lexication	4. Elaboration (functional development) a. terminological modernisation b. stylistic development c. internationalisation

**Table 1**: Haugen's revised language planning model with additions
(R. B. Kaplan & R. B. Baldauf, 1997: 29)

Status planning is defined as "_those aspects of language planning which reflect primarily social issues and concerns and hence are external to the language(s) being planned._" (R. B. Kaplan & R. B. Baldauf, Ibid, :30); it consists of _language selection_ and _language implementation_. In a multidialectal environment, selecting one language, among others, as the official one has to reckon with social constrains, which, when not carefully thought, may have the opposite effect of rejection by the population. It is as difficult to achieve unity with an exogenous language as it is to use endogenous language for international affairs[41]. The implementation phase will be determined by the criteria for selection. R. B. Kaplan & R. B. Baldauf (Ibid: 38), quoting Bamgbose (1989), define c**orpus planning** as:

> […] those aspects of language planning which are primarily linguistic and hence internal to language. Some of these aspects related to language are: (1) orthographic innovation, including design, harmonization, change of script and spelling reform; (2) pronunciation; (3) changes in language structure; (4) vocabulary expansion; (5) simplification of registers; (6) style; and (7) the preparation of language material.

Status planning and corpus planning are complementary processes in language planning inasmuch as the latter represent practical solutions of implementing the first. Corpus planning

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[41]Though English was the national language in pre-Norman and post-Norman Conquest Britain, Latin has remained, for a long time, the language for science and diplomacy.

is the gateway towards standardising the selected language. Standardisation is a prior step in an attempt to use a language in education and to increase literacy nationwide. Status planning and corpus planning are decisions taken at the governmental and institutional levels with the view to unifying social strata linguistically and eventually politically. They are major but not exclusive steps in any language policy and planning.

The literature on language planning reveals that the process is to be achieved at various level of the society. The global or large-scale planning policy is to be coupled with locally-achieved planning projects. The first is referred to as "**macro language planning**" and the latter as "**micro language planning**", both of which should contribute to an effective implementation of the linguistic policy. C. S. K. Chua & R. B. Baldauf (2011: 940) warns that:

> any top-down approaches that are the result of large-scale planning processes need to be complemented with bottom-up processes. This is particularly important as the situational realities of the broader language ecology play a critical role in the success of language planning because they take into consideration the socio-political and educational contexts of the local communities where the policy is going to take place.

The figure below gives a picture of the complementarity between macro planning and micro planning:

Supra Macro Planning
Level 1: Country
Level 2: Government Ministries
Level 3: International Institutions/bodies

Inter-changeable

Macro Planning
Level 4: Regional States/Provinces
Level 5: Provinces

Micro Planning
Level 6: Local Institutions (eg. Schools)
Level 7: Large communities
(eg. Religious groups; Dominant ethnic groups)

Infra Micro Planning
Level 8: Small communities (e.g. Minor ethnic groups)
Level 9: Families
Level 10: Individual choice

Language planning can start at different levels and may not necessary occur in a sequential order

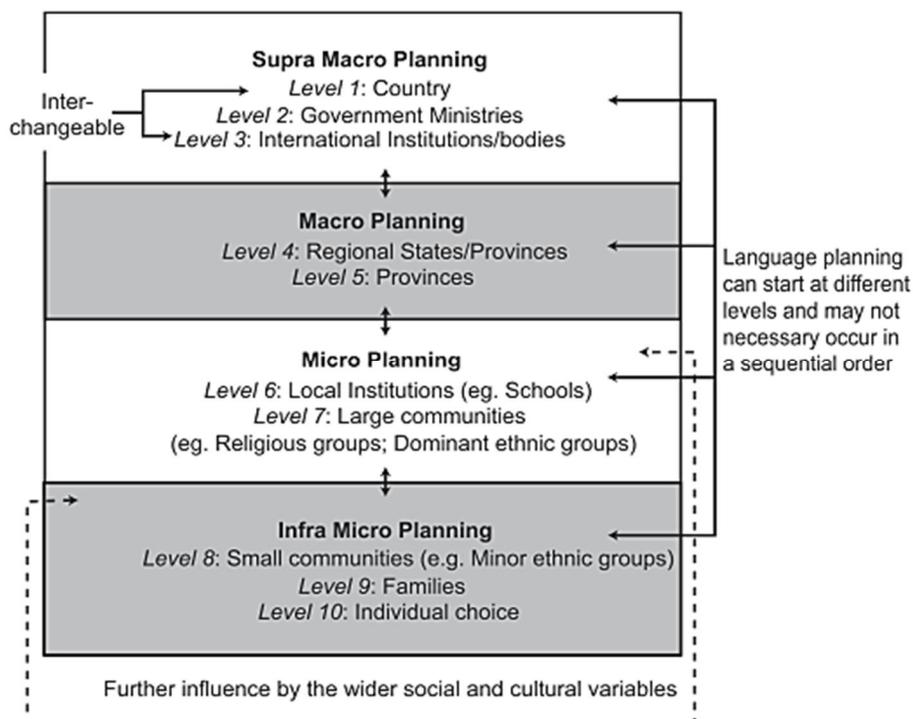Further influence by the wider social and cultural variables

Table 2: *The four stages and ten levels of macro and micro policy planning*
C. S. K. Chua & R. B. Baldauf (2011 : 940)

A successful and efficient language planning is the one which encompasses all these aspects, overtly or covertly. The following chapters will be devoted to evaluating the steps which were taken into account in national language planning throughout the history of the English language. We will focus on the two, but not exclusive[42], processes in language planning mentioned above: macro planning (status planning and corpus planning) and micro planning.

2. PLANNING WEST SAXON AS THE NATIONAL LANGUAGE IN BRITAIN

We will, in this section, assess the level to which Alfred had kept attuned to the above-mentioned steps in planning West Saxon as the national language. As mentioned earlier, Alfred became King of England in 886 after re-unifying England. As a visionary leader, he understood the importance of a linguistic policy into unifying the different kingdoms of England. He took to undertaking series of steps toward achieving the linguistic unification of England. We will, in light of the above-mentioned stages of language planning, explore those steps.

2.1. Old English macro planning

Macro language planning is concerned with the state-level decision-making as regard the language to be used nationwide. It is a top-down oriented process wherein leaders and governmental institutions will promote the selected language at all levels of the society. The process branches out into status planning and corpus planning.

2.1.1. Status planning of West Saxon

Status planning deals with those steps in language planning external to the language itself and geared towards the selection and the implementation of language. As far as West Saxon is concerned, the socio-political conditions naturally favoured its selection as the national language. For it was the dialect of the King of Wessex who succeeded in re-unifying England. It therefore had the dominance and the prestige required for such a language (R. B. Kaplan & R. B. Baldauf, 1997). Most of the other dialects have been mixed with Scandinavian dialects and lacked the relative homogeneity of West Saxon. The second stage of macro planning, the implementation, is defined as "[…] *the adoption and spread of the language form that has been selected and codified. This is often done through the educational system and through other laws or regulations which encourage and/or require the use of the standard and perhaps*

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[42]Macro planning can also include prestige planning (the image of the language) and language-in-education planning (about learning) (R. B. Kaplan & R. B. Baldauf, 1997).

discourage the use of other languages or dialects." (R. B. Kaplan & R. B. Baldauf, 1997: 36). An important achievement of King Alfred was to set a circle of translators in his court with the view to translating major Latin writings into West Saxon, now referred to as Old English (OE). Outstanding writings such as Pope Gregory's *Cura Pastoralis*, Boethius' *Consolation of Philosophy*, the *Soliloquies* of St Augustine and Bede's Latin *Ecclesisastical History* were available in OE (I. Singh, 2005).Excerpts of the Old and New Testaments were also translated into OE, knowing the importance of the Church in England at that time. Beside religion, West Saxon was also used as language for science, law and medicine. King Alfred's policy about education in England is clearly set in the preface of the translation of Pope Gregory's *Cura Pastoralis* in those terms (S. Irvine, 2006: 45):

> Therefore it seems better to me, if it seems so to you, that we also translate certain books, those which are most necessary for all men to know, into the language which we can all understand, and bring to pass, as we very easily can with God's help, if we have peace, that all the free-born young people now in England, among those who have the means to apply themselves to it, are set to learning, whilst they are not competent for any other employment, until the time when they know how to read English writing well. Those whom one wishes to teach further and bring to a higher office may then be taught further in the Latin language.

Education was therefore a key issue in King Alfred's language policy. Even though West Saxon had to compete with other Anglo-Saxon dialects such as Mercian which had developed its own literary standard, the strategic position of Wessex coupled with the relative stability of its dialect contributed to the imposition of West Saxon as standard language for literature, science (*Bald's Leechbook*), law and religion.

2.1.2. Corpus planning of West Saxon

Corpus planning focusses on the language itself insofar as its concerns are primarily orthographic, phonetic, syntactic, lexical and stylistic. A corpus planning should above all seek to iron out orthographic, phonetic and grammatical differences from various dialects and come up with acceptable common norms in spelling, pronunciation and writing. Haugen distinguishes two processes in corpus planning: codification "*related to the establishment of norms*" and elaboration "*related to the extension of the linguistic functions of language*" (R. B. Kaplan & R. B. Baldauf, 1997)*.* He thereby divides codification into *graphisation*, *grammatication* and *lexication*; the first has to do writing systems, the second with prescriptive grammatical rules and the latter with the appropriate selection of lexical words. Elaboration subdivides in *terminological modernisation* (the development of new lexical items or

terminology for a language) and *stylistic development* to which R. B. Kaplan & R. B. Baldauf (1997) add *internationalisation*.

The codification of West Saxon, mainly the graphisation stage, has been heavily influenced by Roman alphabet thanks to Christianity and Mercian whose scholars were among the circle of translators. The Anglo-Saxons had been used to different runic alphabets so far, and the Roman alphabet, through the introduction of Christianity in Britain, favoured the development of an Old English script. King Alfred's scripts and translators contributed in setting a relatively standard form of writing upon Roman spelling though differences remained on some aspects. For example, when Roman alphabet could not provide letters for various English sounds, the scripts would resort to different systems such as runic spellings (e.g. the letter þ known as 'thorn'), and even Irish writing system (e.g. the letter ð, known as 'eth') (S. Irvine, 2006).

The setting of grammar norms and lexical choice for OE is associated with the school of Winchester and namely with the works of the theological scholar Ælfric (S. Irvine, 2006; R. M. Hogg, 1992). He is renowned to have played a significant role in the standardisation of OE through his writings of treatise on syntax and morphology. His choice of grammatical forms and lexical words as well as his style exemplifies the language reforms and development which were undertaken following King Alfred's language policies.

2.2. West Saxon micro planning

Micro language planning is concerned with planning processes geared towards less large communities. It widely assumed that (R. B. Kaplan & R. R. B. Baldauf, 1997; C. S. K. Chua & R. B. Baldauf, 2011) an effective language planning policy is the one that takes into account larger groups and institutions as well as local communities and small organisations. Micro planning can therefore focus on schools, religious groups, ethnic groups, families and even individuals. These small-scale clusters are also stakeholders in a language planning process. Failing to reckon with them may hamper the whole process throughout the entire linguistic community as some of them might develop their own standard to counteract the global trend.

Given the social and political structures of England under King Alfred's rule, people were rather subjects and not citizens, small-scale organisations had not the power and freedom that they have today. The king's orders were to be implemented and abided by. Most local institutions and organisations were under the authority of the King and thus would work towards achieving the objectives set forth by the ruler. Besides, micro institutions like the Church, translators, writers, poets etc., who contributed in spreading the standard language, were strongly connected to the court. Furthermore, the linguistic ecosystem was also a major advantage in the promotion of West Saxon. As seen earlier, the West Saxons represented the

dominant population in England (about 100, 000 people) and the dialect which turned to be the national language was theirs. The other Anglo-Saxons who had for long been under Danish rule could not but welcome a language which had remained purely Anglo-Saxon, compared to those dialects which had been mixed with the language of the invaders. By and large, all these reasons favoured the promotion and prestige of West Saxon as Old English. We also must not overlook the fact the other dialects like Mercian, Kentish and Northumbrian brought a significant contribution in the process of standardisation of OE. Nevertheless, the hegemony of Wessex and West Saxon held sway till the arrival of the Norman conqueror in 1066 which marked the end of the first Anglo-Saxon dynasty.

3. THE NORMAN CONQUEST AND THE DEMISE OF STANDARD OLD ENGLISH

The Normans ('Northmen' in Old French) who invaded England in 1066 were akin to the Scandinavians who had invaded the Island centuries earlier. But unlike their English counterparts, they had rather settled in Normandy, a northern Dukedom of France. They came to be assimilated to local culture and language over generations. But the French they spoke was somehow influenced by their origin, which made it different in many aspects from the standard French. It is this scandinavianised French that the Normans brought to England after the Conquest.

3.1. Linguistic landscape of England under Norman colonial rule

The political and linguistic landscape of England after the Norman Conquest resembles much the situation of the Celts after the Roman invasion. The official language for government, administration and religion is the language of the colonisers; the language of the native population being downgraded to oral vernaculars. As it was, French became the official language in England for more than a hundred years, as pictured by D. Leith (Ibid: 22):

> [we] know that the first language of the English monarchs was French until the end of the fourteenth century—long after the Norman dynasty. It is also probable that the upper aristocracy were monolingual French-speakers for a considerable time after the Conquest. It seems too that the upper aristocracy continued to use French for a considerable time after 1066, although there is also evidence that some of them began to learn English quite soon after that date. At the other end of the social scale, there is no reason to believe that the ordinary people who worked the land spoke any language other than their local variety of English. In a society overwhelmingly agrarian, this class would constitute the vast

majority of the population. During the period of French dominance, then, the regional variation of the Anglo-Saxon era was intensified.

However, Latin, which had been introduced in England with the Roman Invasion, had not lost its prestige all the way long. It remained the international language for science, education and religion. No one would access top-rank position in the aristocracy without knowledge of Latin. We are in a triglossic situation with three languages competing on the same territory: French as the language of the Norman aristocracy, Latin as the language of scholarship and erudition, English as the language of the rural peasants. As a matter of fact, the Conquest contributed to the disruption of standard OE to such an extent that regional varieties began to emerge, putting English into the multidialectal state in which it was before the invasion of the Vikings. Most of the linguistic achievements of the Alfredian era came to collapse under the Norman Conquest. Native English speakers had to learn Norman French if they wanted anything than climbing the social ladder. These are instances of bilingualism even though D. Leith tries (Ibid: 22) to tune that down in these words:

> [s]ome have argued that French was very widely learned throughout English society; others, that its use was very limited. One thing that we can be sure about is that French did not displace English. Unlike Latin in the age of Empire, Norman French did not offer linguistic unity or a prestigious, literate language to linguistically diverse, uncentralised tribespeople. Neither is it apparent that the Normans took much trouble to encourage English people to learn their language, still less to offer them material advantages. Norman French was exclusive, the property of the major, and often absent, landowner.

Whatever may be the case, the consequences of the Conquest are tremendous on the social, political and linguistic landscape of England. Paradoxically, it is not the Norman French which had changed the shape of English but rather the French of Paris when the King of France gained control of the Dukedom of Normandy in 1204.

The hegemony of France on England would progressively end from the beginning of the thirteen century onwards. There are many causes (social, political, natural, etc.) accounting for the severing of ties between England and France. But one of the most striking was the Hundred Years War (1337–1453) under Edward III between England and France which increased the resentment against anything sounding French, particularly the language. A feeling of Englishness began to rise in England which favored the emergence of a new Standard English.

3.2. Breaking from the French colonisers' language

As said earlier, the Norman Conquest had sunk English into its former multidialectal state with regional oral and written varieties. Now that the anti-French sentiment was dominant and the need for a local national language pressing, the question was which variety to promote.

As West Saxon, dialect of Wessex, then centre of power during the Old English period, was naturally selected to become national language, the East Midland dialect of London, now centre of power, was to be upgraded as the standard language. But this process did not occur overnight because the English language was disparaged by some native speakers for its lack of prestige compared with a language like French. The following section will focus on the steps undertaken towards promoting East Midland at the national level in light of the above-discussed language planning policies.

3.2.1. Status planning of Middle English

At the state and institutional levels, many actions were undertaken. King Edward III, the first King whose native language was English, opened a parliament session in English in 1362 and following in the same year, the State of Pleading recommended lawsuits to be conducted in English only even though written documents were produced in French. English came to be used in all areas of public administration, at the Court, in the Parliament, in education and for religious purposes. However, East Midland had variants even in London and it was not necessarily the one spoken by the majority which was upgraded. R. B. Kaplan & R. B. Baldauf (Ibid: 16) note that:

> […] it is important to understand that a national language is not necessarily one spoken by everyone in a nation, although it is sometimes assumed to be spoken by a numerical majority of the population. Rather, it is one granted special political status within the state. It is often argued that a national language is one spoken by a clear numerical majority of the population of a given polity, but in reality it is more likely to be a language associated with a power-group—e.g. the people living in and around the capital city, the tribal groups which traditionally make up the army, the group with the highest level of education, or the group which controls the greatest part of the wealth. In many cases, the national language is the only language authorized to be taught through the educational system.

Middle English sprung from the variant spoken by 'the merchant class based in London' who had become a dominant social group. It had also become a lingua franca for students attending

prestigious universities like Oxford and Cambridge (D. Leith, Ibid.). All in all, a new standard language had emerged since the demise of West Saxon and steps had to be undertaken at all levels to standardise it.

3.2.2. Corpus planning of ME

Corpus planning consisted at first in ironing regional differences out as regard spelling and writing (*graphisation*). Each of the five regional dialects, Northern, Midland (East and West), South-Eastern and South-Western, had developed a kind of writing system during the Norman Conquest. Unification, nationwide education and literacy could not afford such divergences. The introduction of printing press in 1476 by William Caxton played an important role in the standardization of writing throughout the country. Steps toward *grammatication* and *lexication* were undertaken by famous scholars like Dr. Samuel Johnson who made significant contribution in upgrading the English language through his *Dictionary*. Fowler also made a significant contribution through his *Modern English Usage.* There was a great controversy as to *lexication* because some writers (Thomas Elyot and George Pettie)were opposed to the invasion of foreign lexical words into English while others (Thomas Wilson and John Cheke) claimed them and thanks to the latter, many inkhorn(*inkwell* made out of *horn*) terms were introduced into English mainly from Latin. This took place from the mid-16th to the mid-17th century during the transition from Middle English to Modern English. The inkhorn terms filled lexical gap in English with regard to scientific and technical domains but many of them already had their English equivalents (*anniversary* vs *birthday*, *conclusion* vs *endsay*).

The variation in pronunciation was also a key issue though more difficult to standardise even in England today. But major works from scholars like Dr Samuel Johnson and the phonetician Hart (1551, 1569, 1570) endeavored to spread the Chancery Standard from Westminster. Pronunciation of English was the area where dialectal and social differences persisted up to the present time. Reaching standard pronunciation is to be considered as an ideal rather than a fact. Moreover, the introduction into English of thousands of words from French and Latin gave it an aptitude to serve many sociopolitical functions which were hitherto reserved for French and Latin; this *terminological modernisation* needs to be coupled with the *stylistic development* brought by writers like Chaucer and later Shakespeare who gave English the prestige that it lacked.

3.2.3. Micro planning of ME

Various small-size clusters, which had emerged thanks to the development of life in towns, contributed to the promotion and spreading of the selected standard. D. Leith (Ibid: 33) notes that *"[t]here is some evidence to suggest that a popular East Midland norm existed as a*

medium for folk-song. From the printed broadsheets of the sixteenth century to the song-collections of contemporary singers, the linguistic medium for folksong is one that does not, on the whole, reflect regional differences." The East Midland had become a kind of lingua franca used by speakers of different dialects in education places like Oxford and Cambridge. It is that variety which was therefore the dominant spoken language and it had even developed sociolects for profession like lawyer, writers of religious text, advertisers and journalists, as this would be the case for most standard languages.

Schools, universities and churches also brought a significant contribution in the micro planning of Middle English and subsequently Modern English. The emergence of Anglican Church and the introduction of Protestantism had been beneficial to the rooting of a standard language in England, as D. Leith (Ibid.: 39) explains:

> Protestantism gave the English monarchy a further chance to assert political autonomy by appropriating the Church, which was re-constructed as a specifically 'English' institution with English, appropriately enough, its language. The sixteenth century witnessed a flurry of Biblical translation, and the preparation of prayer books and other Christian texts. While people had been used to hearing sermons spoken in English, these printed texts seemed to the most devout to bring to them the word of God itself, in their own language. This process of vernacularisation culminated in the publication of the Authorized Version of the Bible in 1611, a text often regarded as a landmark in the history of English. It furnished English with a dignified and elevated language of worship, what might even be called a classical variety of its own to match the Latin of Catholicism.

By and large, it is worthy to note that it took centuries for English to be anchored as a national prestigious language in England and later beyond. Conquests and colonization have completely changed the shape of the language as it had to open up to words coming from other language. Paradoxically, the language of the former colonised English people would later become an instrument of colonisation in many parts of the world and many countries are still struggling to upgrade a national language to face English.

3.3. The African context

The African context, mainly sub-Saharan Africa, though recent, is similar in many points to the British experience. First of all, they (both Africa and England) have experienced colonial rule from a powerful state and have consequently been sunk into a multidialectal environment

and then, the language of the coloniser had become the official language used for administrative and educational purposes. However, the colonial powers in Africa had different languages and political systems. As a consequence, the colonial systems were different as witnessed by the Indirect Rule by the English in colonies like Ghana and Nigeria and the Direct Rule by the French in colonies like Sudan (Mali), Côte d'Ivoire etc. Before the independence, the attitude towards local languages were somehow different under both rules. In the Indirect Rule, indigenous languages were tolerated whereas in the Direct Rule, those using their mother tongue in public areas were subject to mocking if not bullying. After the independence, the linguistic policies therefore diverged insofar as colonies under the Indirect Rule had less trouble in promoting a national language beside the official colonial one, which was not the case in colonies stemming from the Direct Rule. Nonetheless, the challenges to face were almost the same for all African countries as R. B. Kaplan & R. B. Baldauf (1997: 5-7) put it:

> The governments of most of the newly independent states of Sub-Saharan Africa, for example, got involved in language planning almost at the moment of independence [...]. Colonial boundaries and practices had left them with a legacy of a linguistically heterogeneous population, a population with a limited literacy base which was in general also under-educated, and the widespread use of a foreign language—the language of the former colonial power— for administrative purposes. They needed to select a language or languages that could serve the needs of national unification, that could be used to enhance the myth of historical identity, that was spoken by some significant segment of the population and was acceptable to other population segments. Having selected a language, they needed to standardise its orthography, its lexicon, and its syntax, and in many instances they needed to undertake a lexical elaboration and enrichment programme so that the language could be used in a wide variety of sectors characteristic of the modern world. Then they were faced with the dissemination of that language through the population. In virtually every case they had to undertake this enormous range of activities with extremely limited resources and in the face of a plethora of other problems all demanding instant attention.

However, the economic reasons cannot be solely waved about to account for the failure of African states to upgrade a local language to the detriment of the colonial language. Most African leaders who came to power after the independence had been intellectually and politically spoon-fed by the former colonial institutions and as such many of them had to stand in favor on the interests the colonial power. They had little will to question to the linguistically

established order because of the high esteem that they had for the colonial institutions and language, the latter keeping the prestige it had before and after independence. The English experience is there to show that it takes a strong political will to stand against long-established political and linguistic institutions. That will was not so obvious in the African context.

Besides, the status planning of any local language had become difficult because of the multidialectal landscape brought forth by the artificial borders set by the colonisers. The issue of which national language to promote nationwide had encouraged African leaders to maintain the status quo thinking that it was the least bad solution. Yet, countries in which a local language is spoken by a very large proportion of the population found it quite easy to promote a national language beside the official foreign one. This is the case in Senegal (Wolof), Mali (Bambara), Guinea (Malinke) and Nigeria were many local languages are used officially in different regions.

By and large, the colonial legacy has been preserved and even reinforced throughout the years because it became obvious that the leaders and even the population were looking up to the language of the colonisers, failing to give theirs the prestige and status required for a language to be upgraded. N. M. Kamwangamalu (2011: 892), quoting P. G. Djite (1985: 76)[43], makes a similar analysis with regard to the Ivorian's feelings about the language of the colonisers:

> The dream of being able to speak Standard French one day and finally achieve higher social status is coupled with the suspicion that the officials are trying to rob them of that opportunity. They [i.e., the population] argue that while the officials are making promises about the new language policy, they are sending their own children abroad so that they do not have to suffer from the change. Thus, the national language is seen only as a lure to self-destruction. All these cases [according to Kamwangamalu] attest to hegemonic practices in language planning, practices that favor an exoglossic over an endoglossic approach to language planning especially in post-colonial settings.

Taking all these into account, we cannot but be pessimistic about the actual will of state leaders, though they pretend to do so, to implement a linguistic policy making room for our local languages.

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[43] [Djite, P. G. (1985). *Language attitudes in Abidjan: Implications for language planning in the Ivory Coast.* Doctoral dissertation, Georgetown University.]

CONCLUSION

The history of the English language is there to exemplify that colonization is not a fatality as such. Most African countries have been blaming the colonisers to account for their inability to develop a national language policy. No country in Africa has experienced the predicament faced by the English and their language throughout history. It took strong political will and social acceptance to anchor English in the mind of the British people. This also required steps and actions to standardise and promote a language which was on the brink of dying out because of conquests and colonisation.

Those steps and actions carried out by many states throughout history have given food for language planning specialists to set theories and stages for countries which are confronted with such a daunting task. All in all, an effective and sustainable language planning policy cannot afford to disregard all the layers of the society. While macro planning should be concerned with policies at the state and institutional level, micro planning will focus on less larger social strata in an attempt to disseminate the standard language in every nook and cranny of the society. All this should be preceded by a careful-thought selection of the variety which will meet the objectives of the government as well as the needs of the population. Failing to reckon with linguistic ecosystem cannot but jeopardise the whole process of language planning.

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