ARTICLES:

CONRAD MAX BENEDICT BRANN: THE TERMINOLOGY OF MULTILINGUALISM

In the recent "summa sociolinguistica" - the international handbook on sociolinguistics by Ammon/Dittmar/Mattheier (1987), the definition of concept takes pride of place in the 1st volume, whilst the descriptive applications are in the 2nd. Among leading concepts are those expressing the use of more than one language by the same individual or the same society, which are discussed in two separate articles by Georg Kreemnitz on "Diglosie/Polyglossie" (in German) representing article 33, and by the doyen of bi-linguistics, William F. Mackey, on "Bilingualism and Multilingualism" (in English) as article 82 of the monumental collection. The sequence is interesting in itself, inasmuch as the more recent, Greek-based term is felt to be of wider application than the older Latin-based diad: the former being predominantly on societal use, the latter on the individual use of more than one language - though there is necessarily a certain amount of overlap in the two presentations. It is interesting to note that the article on individual use comes from the new world (one would have expected it to have come from Europe), whereas the one on societal use comes from the old world (one would have expected an exponent of the American school to have written it), resulting possibly in a wider coverage of the components of the concepts than would have been the case, if the "natural" order had been followed. To these two voices, it is proposed to add that of the multilingual "Third World", without, however, going into the complexities of concept formation - which has been done in such masterly fashion by the two above-named scholars. To sociolinguists working in the multilingual developing countries of Africa and Asia, the many country profiles offered and typologies of situations elaborated, render it necessary to add to the terminological framework of bilingualism/multilingualism and diglossia/polyglossia, with a "tertium gaud. This is here attempted by placing the terms for the "forked tongue" into three series: the first denoting individual, the second societal/institutional and the third political/official language use, corresponding to the historical development of these concepts in the Old World (Europe), the New World (America) and the Third World (Asia/Africa). For the first series, the customary Latin-derived "-lingualism" and compounds has been maintained; for the second, the Greek-derived "-glossia" series has been defined and expanded; and for the third, the Latin-derived, truncated "-linguism" series has been adopted and amplified.

A. Terms for individual bilingualism

Deriving from 19th century philology and 20th century psycholinguistics, the term has been used to denote the habitual use by individuals of one or more languages, which has been gradually expanded in to the series: uni-lingualism, bi-lingualism, tri-lingualism, quadri-lingualism, quin-lingualism... multi-lingualism, with the usual adjectival forms in -al, e.g. unilingual, bilingual, trilingual. To these correspond romanised series in
the Romance languages, i.e. French unilinguisme, bilinguisme, trilinguisme ... multilinguisme, whereas the Germanic and Slavonic languages generally nativise the forms e.g. the German "Ein- sprachigkeit, Zweisprachigkeit ... Mehrsprachigkeit". In order to distinguish between "habitual" and "balanced" individual use of two codes, the term "ambilingualism" has been accepted by psycho- linguists, whilst "semi-lingualism" has been used to describe the imperfect use of both (or more) codes. We suggest the addition of "mixilingualism" to cover both "code-switching" and "code-mixing", as individual habits. On the other hand, it has been found necessary to transfer the term "schizoglossia" to the Greek, or societal series, infra, for the sake of order and clarity (pace Haugen 1962).

B. Terms for societal/institutional diglossia

It has frequently been pointed out that whereas the Fergusonian term "diglossia" (Ferguson 1959) and its 19th century antecedents referred to the concurrent use of an acrolect and a basilect of the same language (i.e. high and low forms) within the same society, Joshua Fishman (Fishman 1967) extended the meaning to the concurrent use of different languages for separate domains of incidence in the same society - so common in the multilingual countries of Africa. Taking, therefore, the Greek "glossa" (language), we propose a series for the exclusive description of societal/institutional use in "monoglossia", "diglossia", "triglossia", "tetraglossia", "pentaglossia"..."polyglossia", with the adjective in "-ot/tic" (in English, i.e. "monoglot/tic" "dil- glot/tic"... "polyglot/tic" societies or institutions. For instance, the writer has for some years worked on the Nigerian, or African, "triglottic configuration", in which societies habitually use an official (mostly exogenous) language, a lingua franca for wider public (mainly oral) communication, and an ethnic or familiar language (=mother tongue, other tongue and further tongue, Brann 1980).(4). This series would be identical in the Romance, Germanic and the Slavonic languages, with appropriately modified endings.

However, in sub-Saharan African states a dichotomy between the written/recoded, official exogenous language and the oral, rarely written indigenous languages is quite common. There is thus a complementary distribution between the H and L functions common to diglossia (sensu Ferguson), but here extended to types of language modes/functions, for which we propose the term "schizoglossia". This schizoglossia was, of course, common in Europe until the Renaissance, as between "ancient and modern", between Latin and the European vernaculars, until the standardisation and development of "national" languages. It can be extended to the dichotomous language use by social classes (cf. Saxons + Nomans in mediaeval England) or sexes (as in some African + Asian societies). Here we also place the regretted Heinz KLOSS’ diad - exoglossia/endoglossia, however restricted to its societal connotation. For the frequent condition of language contact in multilingual societies, we propose the term "mixoglossia" (mixo being both La-
tin and Greek in usage), whilst "isoglossia" can be used for balanced social language use, in situations of language contact.

C. Terms for political/official Linguism

With the spate of independencies of post WW2 years, the ensuing national language question called for new ways of language treatment variously called "language planning", "language engineering" and "language management" - all dealing with the public, political and official function of language, for which even a new branch of socio-linguistics has been formed in "politocolinguistics" (by some scholars termed "politicolinguistics"). For the description of the political use of language in polyglottic societies, a new set of terms is proposed with the ending in "-linguism."

The term "linguism" by itself has been used in India, for the doctrine that every constituent state of the Union should have its own official language, which generally includes a distinctive script as well. Hence the term "linguistic states", with the overall policy denoted (not always positively) as "linguism" (by one scholar called "linguicism", Skutnabb-Kangas ....). This can be seen as a development of the 19th century European doctrine of the language-nation-state, according to which each polity is identified with one national language, often enshrined in the constitution.(5).

However, recently, the term co-linguism ("colinguisme", in French) was coined by Renée BALIBAR (1988), meaning that one "official" or "national" language was either tacitly accepted, or constitutionally recognised alongside another, or others.(6). For such balanced usage, we have equilinguism, whereas for the in/out diad, we have endolinguisum and exolinguisum.

Deriving from these concepts, we propose the series "unilinguism" (rather than the frequent hybrid "monolinguism"), "bilinguism", "trilinguism", "quadrilinguism", "quinlinguism" ... "multilinguism" etc., to denote the official acceptance of one or more languages in a given polity, with the adjective ending in "i-stic". Canada would thus be a bilingualistic state, in which the doctrine of federal bilinguism on a paritarian basis for English and French is watched over by a Commissioner for Official Languages, with ministerial status. Similarly, Switzerland has for a long time practised official trilinguism with German, French and Italian, whilst admitting of co-linguism for an additional national language - Rhoeto-Romance. Nigeria has recently paved the way for quadrilinguism, by designating three "national" languages - Hausa, Igbo and Yoruba - in addition to the official language - English. All four languages are scheduled to be used equally in the forthcoming federal legislature in 1992.

By taking existing terms for individual, societal and statal multiple language use, placing them into discrete categories and by filling gaps and extending the series, we have tried to put a certain order into the terminological Babel. The proof of the offering lies in its acceptability and subsequent usage by fellow scholars in the expanding field of Sociolinguistics.
Notes

3. André Martinet gave a detailed discussion of the terms in his 1982 article.
4. The "triglottic configuration" has been noted by Pierre Alexandre 1977 and by Moh. H. Abdulaziz in his 1972 article on "triglossia and Swahili-English bilingualism in Tanzania, which was preceded by the work of W.H. Whiteley in various essays and books of the 1960's and 70's - under various terms: the present term is the writer's.
5. The terms of "linguism" and "linguicism" give us the opportunity to differentiate between the English and French (Romance language) usage, using the truncated form for the former, and the expanded one for the latter. With usage, it would, of course, be necessary to take away its present derogatory connotation.
6. it is remarkable that the idea of "colinguism" stems from a French historical socio-linguist, who has written extensively on the role of the French Revolution in creating the idea of the modern european "national language", leading to the 19th century language-nation-state. Now, at the bicentenary of the French Revolution, it is seen that the idea has been declining in Europe, and that we are heading for federal or confederal structures, to which corresponds precisely the idea of "colinguism". Though some African states have tried to emulate the European language-nation-state (e.g. Somalia), it has proved illusory in most societies. Thus in Ethiopia, the use of Amharic as sole official and "national" language had to be revised at the 1974 revolution, to include all territorial languages under the term "national". In the United States also, and some other countries of Latin America, the reality of "colinguism" is interpreted through various legal instruments.

References


