JANUS-FACED PARADIGMS

ERIKA GÚTI – ATTILA T. HORVÁTH

1. Introduction

In our paper, we examine the parallel existence of the global paradigm 'linguistic imperialism' and the linguistic/cultural paradigm in the African language system, which in their own right can have positive or negative effects, too. The other question that we look at is the role of the great African lingua francas (e.g., Swahili) in this system.

2. Linguistic paradigms/language policy paradigms

There are two known language policy alternatives, paradigms: (a) 'linguistic imperialism' or the diffusion of English as an international language; and (b) the 'ecology of language'/cultural paradigm (see Table 1). Linguistic imperialism can be characterized by theoretical orientations like capitalism, science and technology, and modernity. Its goal is to reach monolingualism, ideological globalization (assimilation), the homogenization of world culture, and linguistic, cultural and media imperialism (Phillipson, 1992; Tsuda, 1994; Tsuda, 2013). It often leads to linguicism and in Africa it is often accompanied by ethnicism and racism. The language-based discrimination cannot only be found among the speakers of different languages but also among those who speak varieties of the same language (Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson, 1995; Skutnabb-Kangas, 1997: 20).

The global paradigm (linguistic imperialism) = The diffusion of English paradigm	The ecology of language/ cultural paradigm
Capitalism	Human rights perspective
Science and technology modernization	Equality in communication
Monolingualism	Multilingualism
Ideological globalization	Language and cultural maintenance
Homogenization	Protection of national sovereignty
Linguistic, cultural and media imperialism	Promotion of foreign language education

∧ *Table 1. The Global Paradigm (Linguistic Imperialism) – The Ecology of Language/Cultural Paradigm*
Source: Tsuda (1994: 58-59)

It creates an asymmetry between the speakers of standard languages and the users of nonstandard varieties, to the advantage of the former and to the disadvantage of the latter. The languages and their varieties (dominant – dominated) mirror social relations, structures, and hierarchy, they depict the social inequalities of the system in which they were established and where they function. In other words, language is not neutral; its function is to transfer power or the lack of power in a pragmatic and symbolic sense as well. Pragmatic means the functional use of language; while symbolic refers to the political and economic power of a community in a given social context (de Kadt, 1996).

But "the colonialism's most important area of domination was the mental universe of the colonized, the control, through culture, of how people perceived themselves and their relationship to the world [...]. Colonialism involved two aspects of the same process: (a) the destruction or the deliberate undervaluing of a people's culture, history, geography or education [...], and (b) the conscious elevation of the language of the colonizer." (Nguni, 1981: 160 underline by Tsuda, 2013)

Laws regulate the status, the privileges, and the use of languages, which means the economic protection of a dominant group, but at the same time, it also facilitates the participation in an international economic network.

Beyond this, the symbolic power of a language influences decisively the preservation of identity[1] (de Kadt, 1996; Eyassu, 2009). From an ideological point of view, languages can often become the weapon of nationalistic tendencies and can often be politicized. The "task" of language policy is to clarify and analyze these relations in a given historical, political, and legal context.

The goal of the 'ecology of language paradigm' is to overcome inequalities based on human rights (human language rights). It promotes equality in communication, multilingualism, the maintenance of languages and cultures, the protection of national sovereignty, and foreign language education (Tsuda, 1994; Tsuda, 2013).

The vernacular principle is in the center of the 'ecology of language' paradigm. The arguments of its followers against linguistic imperialism are the following: (a) human rights documents (e.g., the Universal Declaration of Human Rights) prescribe how to handle languages in a just and fair way; (b) the use of mother tongue is a basic human right; (c) mother tongue plays a crucial role in education thus in the cognitive development of children; (d) monolingualism has a negative effect on the economy and the development of a nation in a multicultural, multilingual state; (e) using small languages might be useful in international trade and tourism; and (f) the extension of the English paradigm assimilates world culture. Linguistic and cultural pluralism is a counterstrategy from this point of view because diversity is the most important index of a democratic society (Tsuda, 2013; Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson, 1995; Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson, 1996).

Until the end of the 1980s and beginning of the 1990s, there were not even law-making efforts to dissolve inequality. Most of the constitutions legitimized social and linguistic prejudices. Legal documents, which were designed to react on linguistic imperialism on the continent, contained the paradigm of the 'ecology of language'

for the first time in the 1980s. The 'ecology of language' supports the idea of greater equality. In order to achieve this goal, the legal status of local languages has to be clarified.

3. Legal context at continental level

There is a need to support the 'ecology of language' paradigm in Africa. In 1976 the OAU (the Organisation of Africa Unity) adopted the Cultural Charter for Africa but has not executed it on a continental level till now. Article 6 (2b) of the Treaty states that the member states should promote "the introduction and intensification of the teaching in national languages in order to accelerate the economic, social, political and cultural development of Africa", and Article 18 encourages the implementation of the reforms necessary for the introduction of African languages into education (Cultural Charter for Africa, 1976: 7; 10).

After a year, in 1997, at the Intergovernmental Conference of Ministers on Language Policies in Africa, in Harare, Zimbabwe, from 17 to 19 of March (organized by the UNESCO), the participants agreed that each country should produce a precise and consistent language policy document within which every language spoken in the country can find its place. They defined tasks at 3 levels: (a) pan-Africa level; (b) regional; and (c) governmental.

The pan-Africa level emphasize (without the need for limitation) the "re-activation [of] the Language Plan for Africa and the implementation [of] the decision taken in 1986 to make Swahili one of the working languages of the OAU," i.e., to add Swahili to English, French, Portuguese, and Arabic also underline the "adaptation of the Pan-African Project for Training and Educational Materials Production in African Languages (PATPAL)." At the regional level, the participants called for "co-operation on matters of policy and resources for cross-border languages", drew attention to the development of regional and sub-regional languages, and called for the revitalization of the African language research institutions, such as the Pan-Africa Association of Linguists. At the government level, the participants called attention to the need for institutionalization, such as establishing a language bank at national and also at a regional level, a central language service or institute, etc. (Intergovernmental Conference of Ministers on Language Policies in Africa, 1997: 76).

The participants encouraged institutions – also institutionalization – and researchers/research departments "to intensify their activities in order to play a catalytic role in the effort to achieve the development of Africa," and also financial organizations to give their support to the efforts (Intergovernmental Conference of Ministers on Language Policies in Africa, 1997: 77)

In this sense, language policy development and the implementation of language policy have become part of the change process/democratization process. But till now only a few of African states have consistent and comprehensive language policy, and if one has a language policy, in the majority of the cases, these policies can be only implicitly seen from the requirements in such sectors as education (or justice, training, etc.)

The authors of the Asmara Declaration had the same intention: to support the African language ecology. From January 11 to 17, 2000, in Asmara, Eritrea, was the first conference titled: *Against All Odds: African Languages and Literatures into the 21th Century*, where the participants from Africa and from the diaspora, and writers and scholars from around the world declared: at the start of the new century/millennium Africa must return to its languages and heritage, and has to overcome the shadows of the colonialism, because "colonial obstacles still haunt independent Africa, and block the mind of African people." The participants declared that "African languages are essential for the decolonization of African minds and essential for the African renaissance. All African children have the unalienable rights to attend school and learn in their mother tongues, but it requires the development and use of African languages at all levels of education." The participants called for universal cooperation to preserve human dignity and values. They stressed that "the vitality and equality of African languages must be recognized as a basis for the future of African peoples. The diversity of African languages reflects the rich cultural heritage of Africa it must be used as an instrument of African unity." The dialogue between African languages is vital: "African languages must use the instrument of translation to advance communication among all people including disabled. Democracy is essential for the equal development of African languages and vice versa African languages are vital for the development of democracy based on equality and social justice." (The Asmara Declaration, 2000)[2]
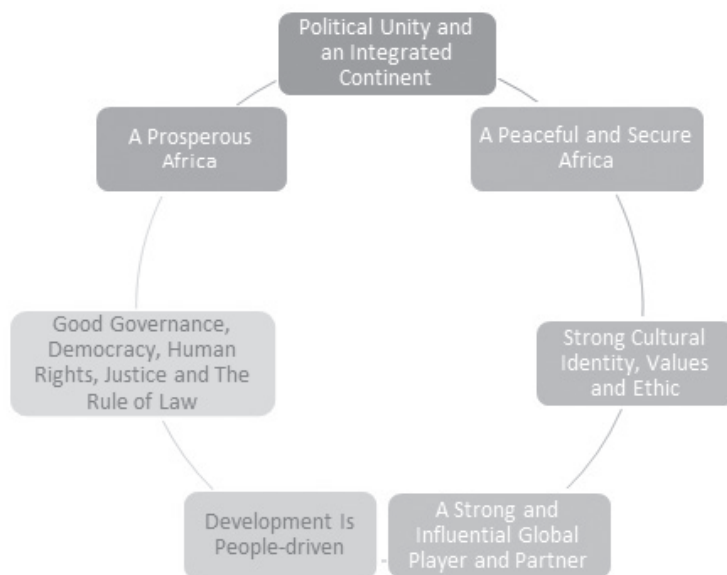
Figure 1. The Seven African Aspirations
Source: Agenda 2063 (2014: 53)

The preservation of the national culture and cultural identity, values, and ethic as one of the seven African aspirations also appeared in the Agenda 2063 adopted by the AU in Addis Ababa, in January 2015 (see below). The Agenda uses a bottom-up approach, is of a result-oriented nature, and for the first time, it was politically coherent as all continental and regional initiatives have been brought under one umbrella. Although it provides an overarching framework, its implementation requires nation- and/or country-specific activities as countries are at different stages and levels of development. The Agenda 2063 is comprised of 18 goals based on the Seven Aspirations:

ASPIRATION	GOAL
Political Unity and an Integrated Continent	• Politically united Africa • Economic integration • Free movement of people, goods, and services
A Peaceful and Secure Africa	• Security and stability • A capable nation at peace with herself and its neighbors
Strong Cultural Identity, Values and Ethic	• National culture is recognised and respected • Pan-Africanism
A Strong and Influential Global Player and Partner	• Speaks with one voice in global affairs • A major partner in global affairs and the promotion of global economic prosperity
Development Is People-driven	• Equal opportunities and encouraging the participation of women and the youth • Local governance for sustainable development • The civil society's contribution to development
Good Governance, Democracy, Human Rights, Justice and the Rule of Law	• Universal principles of human rights, justice and the rule of law observed • Capable development state
A Prosperous Africa	• Environmental sustainability and climate resilience • Inclusive economic growth • High standard of living (income, jobs, health, education) • Transformed economies and jobs

Table 2. Aspirations and Goals
Source: Agenda 2063 (2014: 52-66)

Some of the aspirations are based on regional and sub-regional integration that is the key for African revival. Politically it goes back to the concepts of pan-Africanism: (a) the Casablanca school, which wanted to transfer power from national governments to a pan-African authority, and (b) the other is the Monrovia school, which believes that each nation should take its own decisions: this latter is protected by the AU.

Good governance, democracy, human rights, and the rule of law are the aspirations that are crucial for the continent. In a multilingual context, the appearance and recognition of human language rights is important. The African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights and its recommendations have been ratified since 1986 by the majority of African states under the patronage of the UN. A number of articles – e.g., No. 20 and 29 – mention the importance of preserving indigenous cultural values. The same is true for Agenda 2063: but they do not refer to the preservation of the African linguistic heritage. It means that these documents, from a linguistic perspective, are rather more assimilation-oriented than tolerant (Buergenthal, 2001: 190-204; Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson 1995: 345).

Preserving African cultures and languages has become an integral part of development processes and policies, which brought (a) the development of education embedded into the paradigm of modernization called "for the development of education", a prerequisite for economic growth; and (b) it is closely connected to nation-building policies. (c) The dimension of identity is that the construction of the African identity can be realized primarily through the appreciation of their own language and culture and through education. One of the conditions to achieve this goal is native language literacy and education, the other: these languages should – if possible – receive national or official status.

However, despite all noble intention, implementation is limited not only in structural and ideological but also in a legal and linguistic sense.

(a) On the one hand, the majority of African languages are not able to mediate the curriculum at a higher level of the education system, because the standardization of some languages is not desired. Although many initiatives are known, such as the Zulu or Xhosa Language Board, the Zulu or Xhosa Languages Advisory Board, the Setswana Language Council, or such initiatives as ALLEX, i.e., the African Languages Lexical Project in Zimbabwe, these aspirations are not typical for all communities.

(b) The paradigm of 'linguistic imperialism' continues to be very strongly opposed to the linguistic 'ecological paradigm' in Africa, which implies that the dominant languages of the former colonists continue to be a decisive means of communica-

tion both in politics and economics and outwardly towards international markets. At the same time, 'linguistic imperialism' has also led to the fact that the vast majority of indigenous/Bantu languages have still not gone through the process of development that many languages do like in the European region. Which means that nation-building should be realized through the development of education. Although the internal cohesion of "imported" European languages is weak (Búr, 2002: 303), it is unlikely that the majority of African states will change their language policy since the colonial languages have greater vitality than the indigenous languages (Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson, 1995: 336).

(c) It raises the problem of the legal status of languages. The development of languages is best served if the local languages are (legally) equal (have official status) with the language of the former colonizers. Although in some countries like South Africa, e.g., this condition is set, monolingualism is supported in the banking and economic sectors. On the one hand, the lack of corpus planning, on the other hand, the lack of institutionalization limit the implementation of multilingualism – that is to say, the local, indigenous languages cannot appear in the sphere of politics, economy, and international communication.

4. Swahili

In order to create national unity, finding a common language used in broad circles seems to be necessary. This either leads to the consensus of learning the official colonizing language – thus, local languages remain in the background – or it is a neutral language such as Swahili, which often becomes a symbol of national unity, self-reliance, independence, and solidarity, as in Tanzania, where, after the declaration of independence, Swahili became the official language in addition to English. Swahili was not bound to any ethnic group, it was ethnically neutral, and according to anti-(linguistic)imperialism, free of nationalism; therefore, Swahili was considered to be suitable for unifying the local ethnic language groups (Blommaert, 2001: 138). Swahili, as a unifying national language, has become the lingua franca in Tanzania, where there are more than 100 languages in use, and it took the wind out of the nationalistic movement's sails since there were no ethnic associations attached to it. Today, 95% of the population speak Swahili. It was only 10% when Tanzania became independent (de Swaan, 2004: 130).

In the Tanzanian three-language constellation (local language, Swahili, English), Swahili has to face its rivals: (a) English at higher levels of education and (b) local or regional languages at a lower level. In a multilingual environment, the existence of a trilingual model is more a rule than an exception, like in Tanzania. The three-language formula can be modeled as follows:

• nation → further tongue
• community, region → other tongue, lingua franca
• immediate community, local → mother tongue, vernacular language (Brann, 1981: 6)

This configuration can be used to maintain multilingualism at a satisfactory level.[3]

The number of Swahili speakers is variable, between 60 and 130 million people use it as lingua franca, with approximately 4 million people speaking it as a first language (Fodor, 2007: 137). It is the lingua franca of a huge area of East Africa. In many respects, Swahili is a special African language: for example, there are lots of sources written in Swahili – which are very useful for historians – from different geographical areas. Not only the number of users is high, but it is also a highly appreciated language. Its written and audio sources – accessible on the internet – can be easily studied. In many countries in East Africa, researchers learning Swahili can communicate with a wide range of local people without language barriers. Swahili today – maybe it is not an exaggeration – has become the best-known language of sub-Saharan Africa in the world. Many universities in the world teach this language as the "black African" foreign language. In 1966 Swahili was taught at 13 universities in the United States (Stevick, 1967: 19). Nowadays, as Swahili tops the charts of the popular African languages in the US, it is featured in more than 100 institutions, both government and private (Maganda and Moshi, 2014: 202).

As a symbol of the spiritual creativity of African spirituality, Swahili emanates from the use of the modern African-American syncretic Kwanzaa celebration. This is an interesting example of the language's prestige because the majority of the former slave workers in North American plantations came from West Africa, so at that time probably nobody could speak this language.

Particularly rich literature deals with Swahili from a political perspective (e g., Whiteley, 1969; Fabian, 1986; Mazrui and Mazrui, 1995). The history of the language policy of Swahili stretches over a long time, so it is well-studied in the historical context, conveniently relying on the pillars of the pre-colonial, colonial, and post-colonial periods, into which one can divide its history. In the last few years, the post-colonial period has greatly contributed to the period of accelerated globalization.

The pre-colonial period was characterized by the spontaneous spread of Swahili from the East African coast to the continental areas. The Swahili language and Muslim culture formed and developed in the coastal city-states spread to the continent in ever-increasing areas in the mid-to-late 19th century. Merchants from the coast were of great interest in this

The pre-colonial period was characterized by the spontaneous spread of Swahili from the East African coast to the continental areas. The Swahili language and Muslim culture formed and developed in the coastal city-states spread to the continent in ever-increasing areas in the mid-to-late 19th century.

process. At that time language helped the horizontal communication between different groups – tribes.

In colonial times colonial states already had needs for language planning and its associated apparatus: Germans and then the British colonizers made efforts to develop the legal and institutional basis for its education and implementation and urged the codification process. Swahili was destined to be the language of the lower-level public administration in East Africa. Language development was supported by long-lived institutions such as the Inter-Territorial Language Committee (later East African Swahili Committee) between 1930 and 1964.

Christian missions took a major part of the spread of the language: the users of Swahili were the practitioners of monotheistic Islam, and the language was suitable for transmitting the theological content of Christianity.

During the post-colonial period – and partly also in colonial times – Swahili was used to promote vertical communication, thus helping build the modern (Western) state.

By gaining independence in the sixties, the language planning policy in African countries became an important issue for newly emerging states. The most characteristic language policy was adopted by Tanzania. President Nyerere was a devout believer in the Swahili language being an important tool of nation-building. The Arusha Declaration in 1967, which is also a Swahili text, built the foundations for it. Swahili was an important means of spreading the specific African socialist ideology developed by the president. This political philosophy was not accidentally named in Swahili: *Ujamaa* (brotherhood or familyhood). But other Swahili expressions related to ideology became known throughout the world at that time.

There were remarkable institutions of language policy and research: the Institute of Kiswahili Research (*Taasisi ya Uchunguzi wa Kiswahili* – *TUKI*), was founded in 1964 in succession of the East African Inter-Territorial Language Committee and was integrated into the University of Dar es Salaam in 1970. The TUKI's advice would be submitted for approval and implementation to the National Swahili Council (*Baraza la Kiswahili la Taifa* – *BAKITA*), a political bureau in charge of official language policy (Blommaert, 2013: 47).

The history of post-independence attitudes towards Swahilization and other language planning measures can be divided into five periods (Blommaert, 2001: 52-54):
1. 1961-1967: The pre-Arusha period: English and Swahili coexist. Swahili is ideologically constructed as the language of African nationalism and pride.
2. 1967-1975: The heyday of Swahilization. English and Swahili has become more and more symbolized as antagonistic value complexes. This is the period of "the struggle for Swahili" against English.
3. 1975-1982: The period of confusion. Politics and linguistics set different goals. Nyerere – unlike the goals outlined earlier – did not want Swahili to be an exclusive language. The prestige of English language increased, mainly due to the renewed relationship with donor countries. Swahili was the national language and the medium of instruction in primary education, while English remained

the language of post-primary education. Political decisions effectively prevented further Swahilization; in the meantime, linguistic purism reached its peak with the publication of the *Kamusi ya Kiswahili Sanifu (Standard Swahili Dictionary)*.

4. 1982-1986: The period of decline. The government's decision to maintain English as the medium of higher education brings the prospect of Swahilization to an end. Efforts in that direction are stopped.

5. After 1986: The period of relaxation. The introduction of economic liberalization and the abolishment of the one-party state render the old oppositional schemes of English versus Swahili irrelevant, and new sociolinguistic patterns emerge.

Another important East African country is Kenya, where Swahili plays a significant role. Here there are some bigger other local-language communities – e.g., Kikuyu or Luo – who have their own language aspirations. Though after independence Kenya did not pursue a coherent language policy as Tanzania, the spread of Swahili nevertheless took on new impetus once independence was gained. The status of Swahili in Uganda was lower than in the two countries mentioned above, but many people speak it there too (Pawliková-Vilhanová, 1996).

The collapse of the bipolar system – in addition to many other dimensions – had an impact on the development of Swahili too. Globalization has created a whole new situation. On the one hand, the language of the former colonizers, English – for various practical reasons, such as employment and migration for study purposes – has been revalued.

Summarizing the Swahili language policy, we can say the following:

(a) The language policy aspirations were clearly monolingual: they wanted to build a nation that used one language. So, the question was reduced to an either/or formula: either Swahili would become the language of the country, or English would. This was a monist, monolingual concept in which linguistic and cultural pluralism had little or no place. (Blommaert, 2013: 48)

(b) In debates on the English versus Swahili issue, language varieties were not taken into account. Swahili have had many dialects, but officially the standardized Swahili was the norm, the "true" dialect.

(c) Language planners ascribe the struggle between Swahili and English to the assumption of Swahili being an underdeveloped language (Blommaert, 2013: 55).

(d) Swahili is considered to be a language created by the Arabs, mainly in the context of slave trade, and not regarded as a "pure" Bantu language but rather a foreign, almost colonial language like English.

But these language planners also believed that the users of Swahili would simultaneously become a representative of the socialist ideology, the values and principles of Ujamaa. Swahilization is thus a means of desirable linguistic-national-ideological homogenization. But they could not count on the fact that the coming of globalization would lead to completely new linguistic dynamics. The most spectacular phenomenon was the emergence of two metropolitan language variations: the Sheng

(Swahili-English), which is a mixed language used in the big cities in Kenya, especially in Nairobi; while in Dar es Salaam, in Tanzania, the "*lugha ya mitaani*" or "*the language of the suburbs, of the slums*" are in use. Both language variations are used by people of very similar socio-economic backgrounds: young people of the globalizing world, and consumers, who often use these variations as a kind of "counterculture".

Swahili language planning is paradoxical. Politicians and planners wanted Tanzania to be entirely dominated by Swahili. They also believed that Swahili would at once turn every speaker into a citizen with Ujamaa socialist values. However, in this respect, they have failed, because in the 21st century Swahili has become not only the vehicle for but also the emblem of enthusiastic consumerism and a self-confident expression of the globalized world view. (Blommaert, 2013: 13)

Politicians and linguists also have a number of plans for this new system. Many (e.g., Ojwang, 2008; Kishe, 2003) would like to see the Swahili as a regional and international language of communication. In the long run, the East African Community (EAC) wants to develop the Swahili, which is used by all citizens of the member states. As the Committee on the subject says: "the Commission is charged with the responsibility of ensuring the development of Kiswahili as a lingua franca for regional and international interaction for political, economic, social, cultural, educational, scientific and technical development." (kiswacom.org)

But these language planners also believed that the users of Swahili would simultaneously become a representative of the socialist ideology, the values and principles of Ujamaa. Swahilization is thus a means of desirable linguistic–national–ideological homogenization. But they could not count on the fact that the coming of globalization would lead to completely new linguistic dynamics.

The legislation of the Community has taken several steps in recent years to promote the status planning of the language. In 2016 August, the East African Legislative Assembly (EALA) passed a resolution to make Kiswahili an official language of the East African Community alongside English. The East African Kiswahili Commission (EACK), the Community's special board, at the 1st International Conference launched the Commission's Strategic Plan 2017–2022, which was developed in line with the aspirations of the EAC's Vision 2050 and the African Union Agenda 2063 (EAC, 2017).

Thus, the political will for the spread of the language and to follow the codification process has not disappeared. The main question is what its impact is on its material-intellectual resources and on the global world in the dynamics of languages, what Swahili will bring about?

5. Pro and contra

All the languages in Africa have connotative meaning as well: the languages of the former colonizers have high prestige; meanwhile, local languages have low value in the economy. African languages are in an asymmetric relationship: the former colonizers' languages are at the one end of the axis and the local indigenous languages are at the other.

Functionally, the languages of the former colonizers are the most effective in a state. They are mainly used not only in formal contexts but also at workplaces, simultaneously with local languages. The use of these local languages are functionally restricted and are used only in informal contexts (e.g., in family communication, religious practice). Though by the number of their speakers, local languages are "big languages", in a linguistic-political sense, they are minor ones. These languages are spoken by black Africans, who are effectively multilingual, but their multilingualism is based on the inadequate knowledge of these languages.

In the last century, official policy realized the 'divide and rule' approach: black languages were devaluated, and most of the states treated multilingualism as a problem. Today we are witnessing the beginning of a completely different politics.

Current continental aspirations seek to increase democracy and try to improve the situation of Africans. These goals promote mutual tolerance between different cultural, religious, social, and political groups and increase linguistic tolerance, preserve ethnolinguistic diversity, and respect human rights, i.e., human language rights. There are trends which understand that the language of the local inhabitants proves to be a useful investment from the point of view of national interest. Also, the negative attitude towards local languages has been changing which means the promotion of the status and prestige of the local languages in some countries, their standardization, and their norm codification by developing literacy and reading skills in local languages, as well as increasing the number of non-blacks who are learning local, indigenous languages as second languages or would like to learn indigenous languages. But one thing is sure, in order to get into the economic and political life of Africa, Africans are supposed to master the languages of the former "colonizers", too, on a high level.

Language policy can generate effective and successful changes if it is embedded into a national strategy or the larger decision-making process of social policy. Thus, language planning is nothing else but a device for human resource management. It is subordinated to that kind of policies which aim at achieving the national ideals of the state (Webb, 2002). A firm structure and internal-external interests can prevent the change of a previous status or situation. The recognition of linguistic human rights is very important in a multilingual context. The educational, social, and economic dimensions of language policy can reinforce language and cultural competence, which can lead to a higher degree of social justice. Language policy decisions should be based only on the results of sociolinguistic research. ☀

Notes

1   This was the situation in the South African Republic as well, where the symbolic power of the Afrikaans language was polarized after the events of Soweto in 1976: this led to (a) a stronger identification with the language (in the case of the Afrikaner nationalists, for instance); or resulted in (b) the negation of the language – since Afrikaans was closely connected to the Afrikaner regime, which did not mean questioning its important role in the future, but restricting its special status.

2   These are the elements that were formulated by the UNESCO in the Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity (2001) as well, and were ratified by the member states of the EU and the UN. The preservation of African cultures and languages also appeared in the EU Strategy for Africa: Towards a Euro-African pact to accelerate Africa's development (2005) as part of the community's development strategy (see also Fodor, 2006).

3   This language configuration spread across sub-Saharan Africa, North Nigeria (local language, Hausa, English), and Kenya (local language, Swahili, English). This model is also known in other sub-continents like India (vernacular language, Hindi for non-Hindi native speakers, and a major Indian language for native speakers of Hindi, English) (Brann, 1981: 5-8).

Bibliography

- Agenda 2063. (2014). *The Africa we want. Draft Document.* The African Union Commission. www.iri.edu.ar/publicaciones_iri/anuario/anuario_2015/Africa/30-NEPAD.pdf [07.10.2017]
- African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights. (1979). Adopted in Nairobi, 1981. https://au.int/en/treaties/african-charter-human-and-peoples-rights [07.10.2017]
- The Asmara Declaration on African Languages and Literatures. (2000). https://www.culturalsurvival.org/publications/cultural-survival-quarterly/asmara-declaration-african-languages-and-literatures [07.30.2017]
- Blommaert, J. (2001). The Asmara Declaration as a sociolinguistic problem: Reflections on scholarship and linguistic rights. *Journal of Sociolinguistics* **5 (1)**, 131-155.
- Blommaert, J. (2013). State Ideology and Language in Tanzania. *Tilburg Papers in Culture Studies* **80**.
- Brann, C. M. B. (1981). *Trilingualism in language planning for education in Sub-Saharan Africa. Division of structures, content, methods and techniques of education.* UNESCO, Paris.
- Buergenthal, T. (2001). *Nemzetközi emberi jogok.* [International Human Rights] Helikon Kiadó, Budapest.
- Búr, G. (2002). Nemzeti eszmék és folyamatok Afrikában. [National Ideas and Processes in Africa] In: Balogh, A., Rostoványi, Zs., Búr, G. and Anderle, Á. *Nemzet és nacionalizmus.* Korona Kiadó, Budapest, 287-405.
- Cultural Charter for Africa. (1976). https://au.int/en/treaties/cultural-charter-africa [07.09.2018]
- East African Kiswahili Commission. (2018). www.kiswacom.org [07.01.2018]
- East African Community Secretariat. (2017). *EAC Partner States urged to embrace Kiswahili as the Lingua Franca for the region.* https://www.eac.int/press-releases/138-education,-science-technology-news/832-eac-partner-states-urged-to-embrace-kiswahili-as-the-lingua-franca-for-the-region [07.20.2018]
- European Union Strategy for Africa: Towards a Euro–African Pact to accelerate Africa's Development. (2005). Brussels. http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/ro/TXT/?uri=
- CELEX:52005DC0489 [05.02.2017]

- Eyassu, T. (2009). Politikai hatalom és nemzeti identitás Afrika Szarván. [Political Power and National Identity on the Horn of Africa] In: Csizmadia, S. and Tarrósy, I. (Eds). *Afrika ma. Tradíció,* átalakulás*, fejlődés*. [Africa Today. Tradition, Transformation, Development] Publikon Kiadó, Pécs, 139-154.
- Fabian, J. (1991). *Language and Colonial Power: The Appropriation of Swahili in the Former Belgian Congo 1880−1938*. University of California Press, Berkeley.
- Fodor, E. (2006). Kultúra és fejlesztés – az Európai Unió fejlesztéspolitikájában és az új Afrika Stratégiában. [Culture and Development – in the Development Policy of the European Union and in the New Africa Strategy] In: Sebestyén, É., Szombathy, Z. and Tarrósy, I. (Eds). *Harambee*. Publikon Kiadó, Pécs, 134-141.
- Fodor, I. (2007). *A bantu nyelvek*. [The Bantu Languages] L'Harmattan, Budapest.
- Harare Declaration. Intergovernmental Conference of Ministers on Language Policies in Africa. (1997). www.unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0014/001457/145746e.pdf [05.02.2017]
- de Kadt, E. (1996). Language and Apartheid: The Power and Minorities. *Alternation* **3 (2)**, 184-194.
- Maganda, D. M. and Moshi, L. M. (2014). *The Swahili People and Their Language: A Teaching Handbook*. Adonis & Abbey Publishers, London.
- Mazrui, A. A. and Mazrui, A. M. (2011). *Swahili, State and Society: The Political Economy of an African Language*. James Currey, London.
- Nguni wa, T. (1981). *Decolonizing the Mind: The politics of language in African Literature.* James Currey, London.
- Pawliková-Vilhanová, V. (1996). Swahili and the Dilemma of Ugandan Language Policy. *Asian and African Studies* **5**, 158-170.
- Phillipson, R. (1992). *Linguistic Imperialism*. Oxford University Press, London.
- Skutnabb-Kangas, T. and Phillipson, R. (Eds) (1995). *Linguistic Human Rights, Overcoming Linguistic Discrimination*. Mouton de Gruyter, Berlin–New York.
- Skutnabb-Kangas, T. and Phillipson, R. (1996). English only worldwide or language ecology? *TESOL Quarterly* **30**, 429-452.
- Skutnabb-Kangas, T. and Phillipson, R. (1997). Nyelvi jogok és jogsértések. [Language Rights and Violations] *Valóság* **1**, 12-30.
- Stevick, E. V. (1967). The Teaching of African Languages in the United States since 1961. *African Studies Bulletin* **10**, 16-21.
- De Swaan, A. (2004). *A nyelvek társadalma. A globális nyelvrendszer.* [The Society of Languages. The Global Language System] Typotex Kiadó, Budapest.
- Tsuda, Y. (1994). The diffusion of English: Its impact on culture and communication. *Keio Communication Review* **16**, 48-64.
- Tsuda, Y. (2013). The Hegemony of English and Strategies for Linguistic Pluralism: Proposing the Ecology of Language Paradigm. In: Molefi, K. A., Yoshitake, M. and Jing, Y. (Eds): *The Global Intercultural Communication Reader.* Routledge, New York, 445-456.
- Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity. (2001). http://portal unesco.org/culture/en/ev.php [02.06.2017]
- Webb, V. (2002). *Language policy development in South Africa*. World Congress on Language Policies. Linguapax Institute, Barcelona.
- Whiteley, W. H. (1969). *Swahili: The Rise of a National Language*. Methuen, London.