

The Interdisciplinary Linguistics Program (ILP) at the University of Winnipeg (UW)

Constructing National Identities Through Song

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Cultural cohesion is such that certain words or concepts are connected with other, previously related or unrelated words or concepts. These lexical inter-relations would then form the basis of national identity. For example, the major groupings of lexical items in "O Canada" included "protective action" and "Canada", while in "The Star-Spangled Banner" the major groupings consisted of "war" and "American Flag". Once these major groups are defined and analysed as a collective set, the major groups within the set become partly synonymous with each other, such that one can come to be directly associated with another. For example, in "O Canada", protection becomes an obligatory part of maintaining the set consisting of "Canada", while in "The Star-Spangled Banner", military action becomes obligatory in the protection of the set "American Flag", which itself consists of national symbolisms. This collective grouping of, and association between, major sets can also be used introspectively in that the major themes and connotations of this collection can be applied back to individual lexical items such as "free" which was found in both national anthems. The preservation of concepts such as freedom is cognizant of the cultural values illustrated in the texts' overall cohesion.

From the outset, the Canadian culture appears to promote symmetrical status relationships, which is demonstrated in the inclusive language utilized throughout the text such as first person, plural pronominal items and references to kinship and family. The only aspects of asymmetry appear in the continuous reference to the country, the entity which is Canada, which seems to hold a revered position. This position is shad-

owed only briefly by the mention of God, although this divine figure is being used for the protection of the country so perhaps this indicates a shift in status symmetry. Status in American culture is quite opposite to Canadian culture. There is no reference to kinship, and the lines between "us", the characters in the text, and "them", the decoders of the text, as indicated by the pronoun "you". These suggest a preference for highly asymmetrical, dichotic relationships. The definition of individual institutional roles within Canadian culture is blurred in "O Canada". However, it is clear that the role of "citizen of Canada" is affirmed by an individual's dedication to the country and to maintaining a sense of community within this national body. Similarly, the overarching institutional role expressed in the American anthem is duty to the country, but this duty is particularly defined in a military sense and also a rhetorical sense. It is the role of the citizen, the current, intended decoder of the text, to affirm the story portrayed in the anthem and maintain the values that it promotes.

Power is defined and attained quite differently in the Canadian anthem as opposed to the American anthem. In "O Canada", power is a position, indicated by upwards movements and stances of rising and standing, which allow for increased ability to protect a certain region in a non-hostile but still defensive and aggressive way. This form of power was not unbalanced, as it appeared, particularly through the graphology, accessible to even some of the most low-status individuals in a society, which are children. As a result, all participants across all planes of this analysis were held in equal standing in

Interdisciplinary Linguistic Program Faculty:

The ILP is anchored at the Department of Anthropology; the core of the Linguistic Faculty resides at that Department, as well as in English, Modern Languages and Classics:

ILP Faculty:

George Fulford (Program Coordinator) is an Anthropological linguist, specializing in Cree and Algonquian languages. He is especially interested in problems related to grammaticalization, language origins, and semiotics and structuralism.

Jane Cahill resides in the department of Classics. She teaches courses in Latin and Greek, as well as *Greek and Latin in Today's English* and *The Classical Roots of Medical Terminology*.

Amy Desroches (Psychology) uses cognitive and brain imaging methods to examine reading and language development. In particular, her work focuses on the role of phonology in learning to read, and the impact that reading development has on spoken language processing.

Zbigniew Izydorczyk teaches at the Department of English. His areas of special interest include Old and Middle English, history of English, history of Latin, and palaeography.

Kristin Lovrien-Meuwese (Modern Languages) is interested in language learning in general and second language acquisition in particular, but has most recently worked on a sociolinguistic study of German in Manitoba.

Jorge Machín-Lucas (Modern Languages) is a specialist in XXth and XXIst Century Spanish Literature, and teaches courses in Spanish Normative Grammar and History of the Spanish Language.

Karen Malcolm (English) has used Communication Linguistics (a development of Halliday's System Functional Grammar) and its descriptive framework, phasal analysis, to analyze and explore a great variety of texts: spoken and written, literary and non-literary.

Liliane Rodriguez (Modern Languages) teaches Linguistics, Comparative Stylistics and Translation. Her main research is in Lexicometry, Geolinguistics and Bilingualism. She is the author of several books and of many articles in Linguistics and Translation Studies.

Ivan Roksandic (Anthropology) teaches *Languages of the World*, *Morphology* and *Indo-European Linguistics*. His main research interests are language typology and indigenous languages of South America. His current project focuses on the indigenous toponymy in the Caribbean.

In addition, several courses included in the ILP curriculum are taught at other Departments: Developmental Studies (**Janet Simpson**); Rhetoric (**Tracy Whalen**). Other UW faculty members associated with the ILP include **Linda Dietrick** (Modern Languages), **Jeffrey Newmark** (Religion and Culture), and **Glenn Moulaison**, the Dean of Arts, who teaches *History of the French Language*.

Students

Admissions: Students interested in majoring in Linguistics should contact the Coordinator of the ILP.

Award: The Angela Mattiaci Memorial Scholarship in Interdisciplinary Linguistics is awarded every October to a student majoring in linguistics with a distinguished performance in ILP courses. For more information visit our website at: <http://www.uwinnipeg.ca/index/interdisciplinary-linguistics>

Colloquium: Every year in April, after the exam period, the Annual Student Colloquium is held, offering to students an opportunity to present the results of their research to the audience of their colleagues.

In 2016/17, the XVIII Annual Student Colloquium in Linguistics will take place on Friday, April 21st, from 10:00 AM - 3:00 PM, in room 3D04, on main campus.



<u>Spring 2016</u>		
LING 2003 / ANTH 2403 / ENGL 2802 Syntax	Tu-Th (May) 10-02 PM	K. Malcolm
<u>Fall/Winter 2016/2017</u>		
LING 1001 Introduction to Linguistics	MWF 01:30-01:20 PM	S. Tulloch
<u>Fall 2016</u>		
LING 2002 /ANTH 2402 /ENGL 2805 Morphology	MWF 01:30-02:20 PM	I. Roksandic
LING 2004 /ANTH 2405 /ENGL 2806 Semantics	Tu-Th 02:30-03:45 PM	G. Fulford
CLAS 2850 The Classical Roots of Medical Terminology	MW 02:30-03:45 PM	T. Sukava
CRS 2252 Conflict and Communication	W 06-09 PM	C. H. Morris
LING 3102 / 4102 / ANTH 3406 / 4406 Indo-European Linguistics and Mythology	MWF 11:30-12:20	I. Roksandic
LING 3103 /ANTH 3408 Sociolinguistics	MWH 10:30-11:20 AM	S. Tulloch
LING 3105 /DEV 3300 Speech and Language Disorders in Children	Th 05:30-08:30 PM	J. Simpson
LING 3302 /FREN 3204 French Morphology and Syntax	MW 04:00-05:15 PM	L. Rodriguez
LING 3303 /FREN 3202 Géolinguistique Française	F 02:30-05:15 PM	L. Rodriguez
LING 3505 /SPAN 3301 History of the Spanish Language	MW 04:00-05:15 PM	J. Machín-Lucas
<u>Winter 2017</u>		
LING 2001 /ANTH 2401 /ENGL 2803 Phonetics and Phonology	Tu-Th 02:30-03:45 PM	S. Tulloch
LING 2101 /ANTH 2406 /ENGL 2804 Language and Culture	W 06-09 PM	K. Malcolm
LING 2103 /ANTH 2400 Method and Theory in Linguistic Anthropology	Tu-Th 10:00-11:15AM	G. Fulford
LING 2103 /ANTH 2404 Languages of the World	MWF 01:30-02:20 PM	I. Roksandic
CRS 2252 Conflict and Communication	Th 06-09 PM PM	J. Hyde
PSYC 2620 Psycholinguistics	Tu-Th 11 :30-12 :45	A. Desroches
LING 3001 /ANTH 3405 /ENGL 3800 Textual Analysis	Tu-Th 10:00-11:15 AM	K. Malcolm
LING 3104 /4104 Indigenous Languages of South America	MWF 11:30-12:20	I. Roksandic
LING 3301 /FREN 3301 History of the French Language	MWF 01:30-02:20 PM	G. Moulaison
RHET 3139 Rhetorics of Visual Representations	Tu-Th 02:30-03:45 PM	T. Whalen
PSYC 3480 Interpersonal Communication	M 06-09 PM	W. Josephson
LING 4002 Contemporary Linguistic Theory	Tu-Th 01:00-02:15 PM	K. Malcolm
LING 4302 /FREN 4112 Syntax of Modern French	MW 04:00-05:15 PM	L. Rodriguez

terms of responsibility to the country. However, the lexical analysis and even aspects of the phonology and syntax indicated that this was still a formal text. For example, polysyllabic lexical items and items which came from much earlier time periods still were being used, as opposed to their more modern-day variants.

Power in the American anthem was not equally balanced, as it was clear that those associated with warfare were able to be icons of America, held in higher standing than those not involved, without a sense of equal participant relationships. Children did not appear as key players in this text, much less of equal standing to the other participants in the text, despite the fact that this text is used as an educational resource for this demographic. Thus, power was continuously achieved through military strength and violence. Yet, these sources of power were only expressed on the surface level in the lexical analysis, not more covertly in the phonology as it had been in the Canadian anthem. Additionally, the overall situation of this text was quite formal, primarily expressed through the presence of numerous polysyllabic lexical items but also through the sheer length and complexity noted in the syntax of this text.

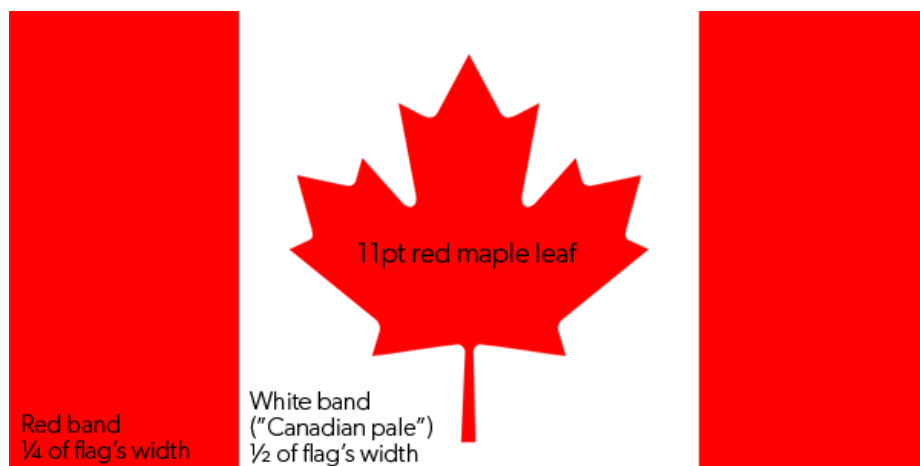
The realisatory codes for both of these texts evidence the temporal, social and geographical beliefs and values of their respective countries. Both anthems are self-[reflexive] in terms of their geography, as both texts reference the countries in which they were created and the dialect of the “average” or “standard” citizen from each country. The Canadian anthem reflects the values of an almost spiritual re-

lationship with and dedication to the land and the country, a belief which is intended to be shared amongst Canada’s diverse population. The American anthem promotes the value of military might and perhaps even egoism as a result of its exaggerated promotion of its country’s benefits and national symbol, the Star-Spangled Banner. In addition, there was emphasis, noted in the graphology of the American anthem, on images of gold and stars, suggesting a great interest in material wealth. However, it is important to recall that the beliefs and values associated with these anthems and images are being taught to younger generations still today, as illustrated by the fact that both of these texts were created for the purpose of education of elementary-aged children, and so the collective identities that are promoted through texts such as these will continue to be internalized and reproduced by young citizens of Canada and the United States. The inundation of individuals with these sets of national symbols encourages national loyalty and promotes a sense of national community with its own definitive worldviews, which are then transmitted to the rest of the world through a diverse range of communicative events. Therefore, symbols

such as national anthems and flags are not only used to create national identity, but also to maintain national identity within the country and representations of that identity globally.

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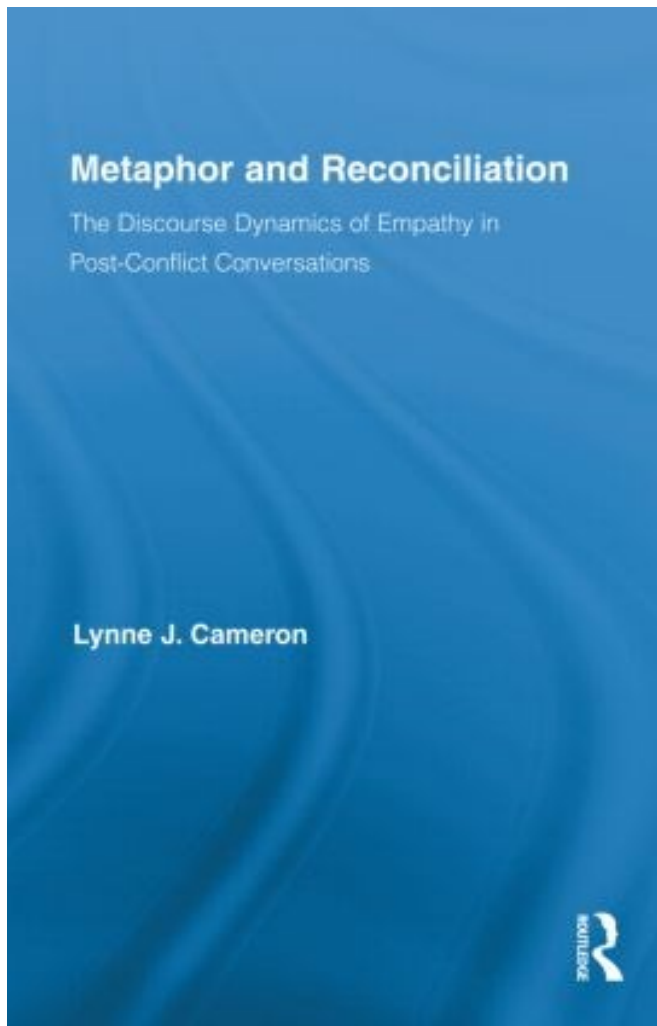
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Metaphorical Discourse and Conflict Transformation, Book Review #2

Ashley L. Hayward, Major in Conflict Resolution Studies



Lynne J. Cameron's *Metaphor and Reconciliation: The Discourse Dynamics of Empathy in Post-Conflict Conversations* followed the interactions between Jo Berry and Pat Magee over the course of two and a half years as they work towards reconciliation after a critical life changing event. Berry and Magee's lives intertwined under unusual circumstances, Magee was responsible for the death of Berry's father. Using a linguistic lens to analyse the conversations between the two parties, the importance of language, metaphor and empathy are presented throughout the book.

In 1984, a politically motivated bombing occurred in a Brighton hotel during the Conservative Party's conference that led to the death of Hon. Sir Anthony George Berry. Berry was a member of the British gov-

ernment who was at the conference when the Irish Republican Army (IRA) set the bombs off intending to kill Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher (Glanfield, 2015). Jo Berry lost her father that day which led to her searching for answers and the desire to receive them directly from Magee, the man held responsible for the bombing. In 1999, Magee and Berry met for the first time. Their conversation transcripts from all meetings and media interviews had been analysed by Cameron and the findings revealed in the book. The book is detailed and systematic in the examination. Each chapter uses a linguistics lens to reveal a new aspect regarding the techniques present within the conversations. Various theories are applied to the transcript text to showcase the patterns and the evolving relationship between Berry and Magee. Lines are placed from the transcript to provide the reader examples. Although these were helpful, the reader may feel like they were entering a conversation midway. Without full context and with the examples from various points in time from multiple conversations over the two and a half years, the twenty lines (the equivalent to one or two sentences), was difficult to fully understand without formal linguistic training even with Cameron's detail. Respectfully, although the purpose of this book is the focus on linguistic lens, the non-verbal cues such as tone of voice and eye contact may also highlight some of the changes that occur within the discourse which is missing from this text.

The beginning of the textbook is extremely detailed and explains the framework for future analysis. In the first chapters, Cameron provides background information and basic definitional information that will be used in subsequent chapters. Cameron (2011) uses Kenneth Burke's definition of metaphor, "seeing one thing in terms of something else" (p. 3) and expands that metaphor "brings together two different ideas and, through some interaction of their meanings, produces a further sense" (p. 3). This definition is central to further analysis when Cameron outlines the use of and the absence of metaphor.

Cameron (2011) emphasize the importance of metaphor for Berry and Magee to "explain their histories, their beliefs, and feelings, and to find out more about each other" (p. 14). For Berry this was the motivation

for the meeting. Further, Cameron revealed various approaches, including dynamic systems theory, -and Lakoff and Johnson's Cognitive Metaphor Theory (1980) where metaphor is viewed as "a matter of the mind, not of language" (Cameron, 2011, p. 25). These approaches demonstrate how important metaphor can be to the reconciliation process and how the human brain responds during those conversations. Since empathy is a major theme for the conciliation process or "journey" of Magee and Berry meeting, this is central in understanding prominent metaphors.

Further, a technical analysis of metaphor is presented. Cameron reveals not only the metaphors used, the patterns or changes of metaphors but also the importance of the choices in language. This is a pivotal concept as it reveals the process towards reconciliation during the conversations between Berry and Magee. Cameron is clear that metaphor identification is not always subjective and outlines the requirements used in the criteria identification. These requirements became important as words were presented as metaphors traditionally not easily identified, for example "[t]he pronouns *here* and *there* sometimes act metaphorically by bringing a sense of a location to non-physical entities..." (Cameron, 2011, p. 37). Cameron explains the importance of metaphor in particular when discussing difficult topics to reveal emotions towards the experience. If the metaphor becomes shared, it can create a base to negotiate identity and understand "the other". One important theory was how metaphor can allow the open discussion of a difficult topic, even while condemning the actions. Cameron states "... using a metaphor that was previously used by the other can create some temporary solidarity... [or] to summarise the main point while also summarizing the speaker's attitudes and values in respect to the content" (Cameron, 2011, p. 41). This is particularly important in building understanding and empathy in the dialogue, in other words "understanding the other" (Cameron, 2011, p. 51). The process of understanding the other transforms the conversation. "Since to have a story is to be human, in a post-conflict conciliation context merely allowing that the Other **has** a story is in itself an act of rehumanisation... Being prepared to listen to that story initiates connecting processes that can build empathy" (Cameron, 2011, p. 73). Using empathy is important in resolving conflict more broadly than just after a traumatic event. By acknowledging the other party in conflict, actively listening and building empathy from their story, the possibilities are endless. Healing is possible and alternatives to revenge become imaginable.

One final concept of importance Cameron (2011) explains is the absence of metaphor within the dialogue. Cameron identified "bare narratives" (p. 92) or the lack of metaphors present in the conversations. The avoidance of metaphor use created an intensity surrounding the topic. For Berry this centered on the narrative of events following the bombing and impacts on the family unit, where for Magee this was centered on his narrative of joining the IRA. These areas of conversation without metaphor "create a direct narrative, short and to the point, and likely to have a strong impact on [either of the listeners]" (Cameron, 2011, p. 114). The book *Metaphor and Reconciliation: The Discourse Dynamics of Empathy in Post-Conflict Conversations* by Lynne J. Cameron followed the conversation development between Jo Berry and Pat Magee. It highlighted the importance of metaphor towards building empathy and analyzed the discourse as the pair worked towards reconciliation, healing and understanding. Although strongly linguistically based, the beginning chapters laid a solid foundation for understanding the analysis work done in subsequent chapters. The book was brought forward universal themes in conflict resolution through a linguistically focused lens. By applying these concepts broadly, the path towards reconciliation and healing are possible.

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Literacy and Identity

Miriam Strobe Reimer and Chloe Ainsley Korade

Major in Linguistics

The implementation of literacy into the village of Chimbu has had profound effects on various aspects of their identity, especially when regarding notions such as status, gender, and cultural traditions. Beginning with their identity of status and prestige, these perceptions once revolved around traditional norms of polygamy and polygyny. After the introduction of literacy, however, the idea of prestige was modified to one surrounding literacy and education specifically in the English language. This ability not only became a symbol of nobility, but also of modernity and success. Due to this, public reading and writing began to take place to convey the message of power and importance. Newfound transformations even began to extend into the norms of gender within this community as well. Regarding male norms, the expectations of war and political leaders were what defined a "proper" male figure before literacy's arrival. Women, on the other hand, were expected to attend to the duties of child rearing and attending to their marriage partners. With the arrival of education and literacy, these norms began to reverse: Women were now given the opportunities to pursue education in the larger towns and cities, which led to them now financially providing for themselves and not having to rely on a male. Thus, women now were beginning to obtain the power that was once exclusive to males. With an increase in educational opportunities though, came an increase in expectations from the male demographic. A hierarchical class-system began to arise, distinguishing between basic and higher academic (university-level) literacies. Due to this, most of Chimbu's male population, being mostly illiterate, began to be seen as second-rate males. Consequently, their once assumed position of power was lost. Looking beyond the norms of gender, the foundations of cultural traditions were also redesigned by reason of literacy's new presence. One of the most well-known across all of Papua New Guinea is the tradition of reciprocity: households with kinship ties often exchange wealth and goods, in order to maintain functioning units and close relationships. These routes of exchange began to take on greater distances once the literate members began moving to bigger cities. Not only were these members expected to send money and other goods, the members still living in Chimbu now expected larger sums due to the wealth that the literate members were perceived to

be living in. Due to subsistence farming and a lack of electricity and plumbing though, it was actually the villagers who were better off. In the country of Nicaragua, the implementation of literacy programs also played a key role in shifting definitions of social and political identity. These national changes were largely brought about due to the introduction of the Nicaraguan Literacy Crusade in the 1980s, a major project of the Sandinista Government. The goal of the Crusade, aside from increased literacy rates, was to influence national interpretations of liberation and nationalism and as a result, unify the country under the new, revolutionary government. The Crusade was heavily based on the teachings of Paulo Freire and preached literacy as an agent of empowerment, where victims of oppression could be co-liberators in their quest for freedom. The Sandinista Government aimed to stimulate revolutionary, political thought through literacy and thus, build a political movement that was fueled on the shared value of the liberation of Nicaraguans. Not only was literacy necessary for the transformation of political thought but also in maintaining the nationalist momentum that was built during the Sandinista Revolution. Literacy tools such as newspapers, journals, and radio programs played a key role of unifying the country in this regard. A strong example of this was La Cruzada en Marcha (The Crusade in Progress), which was a distributed newsletter that shared personal stories of Nicaraguans working hard for literacy and empowerment. Through the use of these experiences and testimonials from literacy learners, the Crusade became a cause that was singular to Nicaragua and its people. Literacy was used to encourage citizens to see themselves as Nicaraguans by transcending ethnic identity through a shared, literacy identity. As a result of the Literacy Crusade, many Nicaraguans became to share in the sentiment that due to their increased literacy, they were moving forward together into modernity and liberation.

As shown throughout, the introduction of literacy into a nation has impacts that extend far beyond the educational setting. Literacy, in itself, transforms multiple dimensions of a culture's society. Reaching deep within the inhabitants' traditional notions of status and gender roles, it even drives further into the deeply rooted cultural traditions that have existed for centuries. The Papua New Guinea village of Simbu as well as the Nicara-

guan Literacy Crusade are, without a doubt, prototypes of these transformations. The results of these alterations present a wholly modernized nation, with a dramatically renewed identity. This identity is easily observed through the shared societal dynamics between civilians, which brings a sentiment of unity within their nation. This unity provides pride and strength, which directly correlates with the individual.

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The Importance of Heritage Languages in Manitoba

Kristin Lovrien-Meuwese

Language is intimately intertwined with self-identity. Both the language we speak and the country we call home influence our world view. But sometimes the language we speak is not the language of the majority of those around us and the country we live in is not the only place we feel is our home. This is the situation of many speakers of heritage languages within Canada. Heritage languages are those languages spoken in a country other than the official languages of that country. They have been and are still spoken by historically immigrant groups to a country. Heritage languages in Canada are maintained by governmental policy and by community groups, which attests to their historical and personal importance. Some heritage language speakers are quite proficient and others are considered learners. One way of defining heritage language learners is to think of them not as "...a homogenous cluster of learners, but a collection of different types of learners who share the characteristic of having identity and linguistic

needs that relate to their family background. These needs arise from having had insufficient exposure to their HL [heritage language] and HC [heritage culture] during their formative years" (Carreira, 2004, p. 21). This gets us thinking in the right direction, but another definition will take us closer to what we need for the situation in Manitoba, and it is from the Manitoba government's website for Heritage Language Instruction (Manitoba Education, n.d.): heritage languages are all languages other than English, French or Aboriginal. That is quite a broad definition, but purposefully so, as we shall see.

Before delving further into the situation of heritage languages in Manitoba, it is useful to examine how the concept of heritage languages came to be an important aspect of Canadian culture. Here in Canada we take for granted the freedom we have to speak -- and learn, and of course teach -- a variety of languages, including French, English and Aboriginal languages, and also Ger-

man, Ukrainian, Italian, Spanish, Hindi, Tagalog, and Chinese, among others. But this freedom to speak and learn heritage languages in Canada is not something we can take for granted. It is a thoughtfully created political policy made by Canadian politicians to honor the many cultures of those who settled here and made Canada their home.

The British North America Act (or the 1867 constitution of Canada) guaranteed that French and English would be the languages of government in Quebec, but did not do the same for Ontario or New Brunswick, also home to a considerable number of Francophones. And while there were some French/English language provisions made for Manitoba and the Territories, these areas remained essentially and illegally unilingual (English) for over a hundred years, until faced with legal challenges in the 1970s and 1980s (Yalden, 2009, pp. 27-28). Another force in shaping the unique linguistic character of Canada was the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, established in 1963. At first, the Commission was only concerned with French and English (having expressly left out Aboriginal languages), but they did also consider "other ethnic groups" of the time, such as Canadians of German, Dutch, Polish, Scandinavian and Ukrainian descent (Yalden, 2009, p. 33). During this Commission, the word "multicultural" first came to be associated with the fabric of Canada, and would become a cornerstone of Canadian identity. Decades later, the 1982 Charter of Rights and the 1988 Multiculturalism Act included provisions that would protect the multicultural aspects of Canadian society as essential to Canadians' heritage and identity. And so the groundwork was laid that allowed for heritage languages to be promoted and valued in Canada. But individual provinces had to pursue their own routes to multilingualism.

From the time Manitoba was established as a province in the 1870s to 1916, there were no or few restrictions on the languages used in the education system. The decision on which instructional language to use was based on the local situation for each particular school. However, in 1916 the provincial Department of Education was established, and English became the only authorized language of instruction. Outside of regular school hours other languages were allowed, but it wasn't until the 1950s that foreign languages as a course of study were allowed in junior and senior high schools. French was not allowed as an official language of instruction in schools until 1970. Around this same time there was an increased interest in heritage language study, following the conclusion of the aforementioned Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism

and its report emphasizing cultural heritage, cultural identity and the importance of studying languages other than English and French. Additionally, amendments to the Manitoba Public Schools Act in 1980, 1981, 1987 allowed for the establishment of heritage language programs in Manitoba.

The goals of heritage language instruction in Manitoba are to promote self-esteem; enhance personal and cultural identity; increase the ability to adjust to new environments and modes of thinking, and acting; expand cultural, economic, educational and professional opportunities; prepare for living and working in cross-cultural environments; and provide the opportunity for all Manitoba students to study other languages, in addition to English and French, regardless of their ethnocultural background (Manitoba Education, n.d.). This last point, that Heritage Language instruction is open to all and not just members of the heritage group, is especially interesting if we think back to the definition of a Heritage Language Learner as someone with a family connection to the language. In Manitoba, the definition is widened so that heritage languages are open to all. This follows from the 1992 Manitoba Multiculturalism Act (referred to as M223), in which the province states, in part: "... the Legislative Assembly of Manitoba believes that Manitoba's multicultural society is not a collection of many separate societies, divided by language and culture, but is a single society united by shared laws, values, aspirations and responsibilities within which persons of various backgrounds have: the freedom and opportunity to express and foster their cultural heritage.... The [Multiculturalism Secretariat] shall... encourage the use of languages that contribute to the multicultural heritage of Manitoba" (Manitoba Laws). So, as set out in the laws of the province, heritage languages are an essential factor of personal and collective identity and as such need to be protected and fostered, in order to maintain the multicultural and multilingual landscape of Manitoba.

Parent and educators are often concerned that the children of minority-language speakers will be better served in life by learning the majority language, that is, English and/or French in Canada, instead of their home language. However, many studies have shown that bilingualism or even multilingualism has long-term benefits for a person (Bialystock, 2011). Furthermore, minority-language students are able to transfer their literacy skills to their second or third language, as shown in research by Genesee, meaning that the learning of heritage languages in addition to the majority languages should be encouraged (Genesee, 2009). Additionally, the relationship between children and parents who do

not share the same language and cultural values tends to suffer "since they are not equally competent in the same language, it might be hard for parents and children to communicate and share familial values" (Babae, 2012, p. 5). Thus, in order to maintain Canada's multicultural identity, it is important for all of us to support the learning and teaching of heritage languages alongside the official languages of Canada and Manitoba. Manitoba.

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Home on the Range: Raw Material Acquisition Patterns and the Origins of Language

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Language is one of the most important differentiators between humans and all other living beings on the Earth. The complex syntactical language that is used by all cultures across the globe is simply the most recent stage in a series of communication developments that took place over the course of millions of years. Determining exactly when and how this development manifested is incredibly difficult and subject to constant debate. Recently new theories have been forwarded with the hope of narrowing the time frame. This involves combining knowledge about modern primates with archaeological finds regarding ancient hominids' raw material acquisitions and the transportation of such material.

Most examinations of language origins have relied on either biological factors or examples of higher cognitive functions in physical artifacts when attempting to assign dates to the development of language. Biology shows us that most aspects needed for speech, such as an elongated larynx or finely developed ear ossicles, have been present in hominids for at least 400,000 years (Johansson 47 – 48) – and likely many millennia earlier – but most artifacts showing advanced cognitive functions date from less than 100,000 years ago (Adam, Shennan and Thomas 1298). Both are helpful but do not provide any conclusive information about

when or how language itself originated.

Because language does not fossilize it is up to scientist and scholars to infer from other material what early hominids were capable of and what they actually did. One of the ways this can be done is to look at the home-range of hominids and their raw material acquisition patterns. Home-ranges are based on how far a group can go to acquire raw material and examining raw material acquisition means seeing just how often they went that far to do so. Using these techniques, it has been suggested that a very basic form of communication was used up until around 1.9 million years ago, a protolanguage began to be employed about a million years ago and a simple, but syntactic, language was in existence at least 100,000 years ago.

Some of the earliest hominid sites date to 2.5 million years ago in Africa (Marwick 68). These sites show that the raw materials came from less than 1 km away. Around 1.9mya that begins to increase when *Homo habilis* appears in Africa and a full comparison can be made to modern apes. Both modern chimpanzees and late Pliocene hominids have the same approximate home-range size of 13km (68). A single individual can have a home-range of around 5 km, so in order to procure materials from outside of this range, members of the group must be able to transfer vital environmental

information in order to expand this range and exploit its resources. Therefore, the communication techniques of the modern chimpanzee can be used as the basis to understand how those early hominids communicated (Marwick 68).

Monkeys and apes both use vocalizations and facial expressions for communication. These are fairly universal and studies do show that they are understood beyond their social group and species. Cries of joy or anger, fear or pain are readily understood across human cultures and between primate species (Pollick and de Waal 8186). After apes split from monkeys, gestures were developed to further allow a more precise transmission of information. Apes also have the same capabilities as humans for displaced reference and so early hominids, an offshoot of the earlier ape line, would have it as well (8185). Modern chimps and early hominids have the same home range and therefore they pooled and transferred information using these basic means of communication.

However, while the home ranges are the same the actual raw material acquisitions rates are quite different. Chimpanzees in a similar environment tend to maximize their home-range in less than 17% of the time, whereas early hominids used their full home-range virtually all of the time (Marwick 69). Some scholars suggest that there simply was not a social reason to develop more precise means of communication (Kendon 212), that modern chimpanzees rarely actually work together to achieve a goal and often when they are observed working together it is actually a case of "different animals each taking advantage of the outcomes of the actions of others, and acting, each for himself, accordingly" (212).

Studies show that the home-range size expands drastically after 1.2mya and it reaches upwards of 100 km and this suggests that a protolanguage would have been employed (Marwick 71). More sophisticated than grunts and gestures, it still would not have been a fully syntactical language, but would have involved the pooling of more information in order to dominate a larger environmental area (71). While some computer models have shown that population size and migrations may have led to the next stage the same problems discussed earlier arise: the lack of any fossilized evidence.

What home-range size tells us is that the next major step in communication took place approximately 100,000 years. At that time the home-range radius exploded to over 300km (Marwick 74). Comparing ape species as well as modern hunter-gatherer groups, it has been determined that in order to procure material from this size of an environment trade networks must be established. When primates encounter another pri-

mate from outside their group there is a high chance of danger occurring. An entire meeting ritual is performed and there is no guarantee that it will work, so it is impossible for apes to develop exchange networks (74).

A formalized language would allow for exchange networks. Within a region, even if dialects were different, enough commonalities would exist that safe and reliable exchanges could take place. Trust can be established and understanding the benefits of this trust would be apparent.

We may never know precisely how or when language developed. Additional information and new ways of considering communication will always occur. However, what we do know about language indicates that it must have been present long before obvious indicators appear in the archaeological record. The capability for, and evidence of, a proto-language dates as far back as 400,000 years ago and likely far earlier. Evidence shows that apes have this capability but never developed due to a lack of social need. The catalyst for early hominids maximizing this ability is the key to unlocking the mystery of language. While it may be the case that population size and migration were the main reason, it could also be other that factors, including environment, predators or sexual dimorphism, may be the cause. The development of language as a communication tool is something that distinguishes humans from other animals definitively and should continue to be explored.

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