1 A Contextual and Terminological Basis for Planning

Introduction

Language issues have some of the characteristics of sex – everyone does it, and consequently everyone is an expert. However, it is not teachers nor even parents who teach most adolescents about sex; rather it is a cadre of other adolescents, mostly characterised by knowing little about the matter. From there on, it is largely a matter of on-the-job training. It is not until one reaches maturity that one even discovers that there are real experts who might teach one something about the subject. So it is with language issues. Every segment of society has language and individuals competently use language for a variety of purposes. However, when users engage in talking about language, which they frequently do, that talk is largely marked by profound ignorance.

A Definition

What is language planning and how is it accomplished? Language planning is a body of ideas, laws and regulations (language policy), change rules, beliefs, and practices intended to achieve a planned change (or to stop change from happening) in the language use in one or more communities. To put it differently, language planning involves *deliberate*, although not always overt, *future oriented* change in systems of language code and/or speaking in a societal context (Rubin & Jernudd, 1971b). The language planning that one hears most about is that undertaken by government and it is intended to solve complex social problems, but there is a great deal of language planning that occurs in other societal contexts at more modest levels for other purposes.[1]

In the simplest sense, language planning is an attempt by someone to modify the linguistic behaviour of some community for some reason. The reasons are complex, ranging from the trivial notion that one doesn't like the way a group talks, to the sophisticated idea that a community can be

assisted in preserving its culture by preserving its language. The actors are many, though at the macro level some element of government is usually involved. The language modifications are also complex, ranging from a desire to 'modernise' a language so that it can deal with the vast technological changes that are occurring, to a desire to 'standardise' a language, often with the underlying political motivation – to achieve 'unification', so that it can be understood by various sub-groups within a population who may speak different varieties of that language, or perhaps to provide a way of writing a language which has not previously been written. While micro language policy and planning may focus on quite specific and limited language issues – e.g. should the local library stock foreign language newspapers, what language(s) will be taught at a local school, in what language will the signs be in a local shop window to attract customers, how can I use language effectively to market my product overseas – formal language planning is rarely so modest and uncomplicated.

The reality is that complex motives and approaches, and large populations, are involved in modern states, and language policy makers and planners have to date most often worked in such macro situations. Increasingly, however, micro language planning is gaining attention, and applied linguists are beginning to be hired to work in these areas.

The Context of Language Planning

In the complex, interdependent and increasingly crowded world in which we live, planning is a critical feature of human existence. Language planning in its larger or macro sense is an aspect of national resource development planning. Such planning normally falls into two broad categories: the development, and increasingly the conservation, of natural resources – mineral resources, water power, fisheries, forest policies and the like – and the development, and increasingly the conservation, of human resources. These areas are not merely different because of the object of development; they are significantly different in terms of planning time and in terms of the type of outcomes that can be expected.

When a government becomes involved in natural resource development planning and decides to develop, for example, water resources, it may undertake to build a dam. The planning and building of such an edifice is, relatively speaking, short in duration. While it may take eight or 10 years to accomplish the project, it can often be completed within the life of a single political administration. At the end of the project, there is a palpable dam, and its output in kilowatt hours, in irrigation flows, in urban water supplies, can be measured in finite numbers and reported. The benefits are verifiable. Everyone can see the actual dam; tourists can visit it and marvel at its huge generators, fishermen can approach it in their boats, naturalists

can measure the effect on wildlife. One can take a picture of politicians opening it and print the picture in the newspapers. Any problems are also identifiable – e.g. increased erosion downstream from irregular water flows, lack of access to water supplies downstream, valuable areas being flooded and so forth – although planners have been less ready to identify these types of problems or to find solutions, and politicians don't like to be reminded that projects with major benefits can have their down sides.

On the other hand, human resource development planning and the resultant changes in human behaviour are rather different. It may take several generations to alter behaviour. The life of such a project usually goes well beyond the life of any political administration. At the termination of the project, there is no palpable outcome to see. There is no easy or agreed way to measure the benefits derived from the project; indeed, it may be difficult to see that there are outcomes because there is no way to guess what might have happened if no plan (or some different plan) had been put into operation. It is difficult to assess costs, and it is virtually impossible to correlate benefits to attendant costs.

It is not our purpose to discuss natural resource development planning, nor indeed, other areas of human resources development planning in this volume. The attention here will be on language planning exclusively. However, it is both important and necessary to see language policy, language planning and language planners in their larger sociopolitical context, particularly as resources for language planning must compete with the demands made by other planning areas for funds. Figure 1.1 suggests how language planning fits into the larger scheme of national resource development planning.

Those involved in language planning (the *who* or the *actors*) as noted in Figure 1.1, can be seen as working within four basic areas: (1) governmental agencies involved at the highest level; (2) education agencies, sometimes acting under the impetus of higher level structure or acting in lieu of higher level structure; (3) other quasi-governmental or non-governmental organisations acting according to their own beliefs, and (4) all sorts of other groups or in some cases influential individuals creating language policy as an accidental (or sometimes purposeful) part of their normal activity. Each of these planning areas is now briefly described in turn.

Governmental agencies

In the late twentieth century most governments have became involved in the language planning business, either because they wanted to or because they have stumbled into it. Such governmental planning may be presumed to have the broadest scope, since government generally has the power to legislate and the ability to foster incentive structures (and disincentive structures) to enforce planning decisions.

The governments of most of the newly independent states of Sub-Saharan

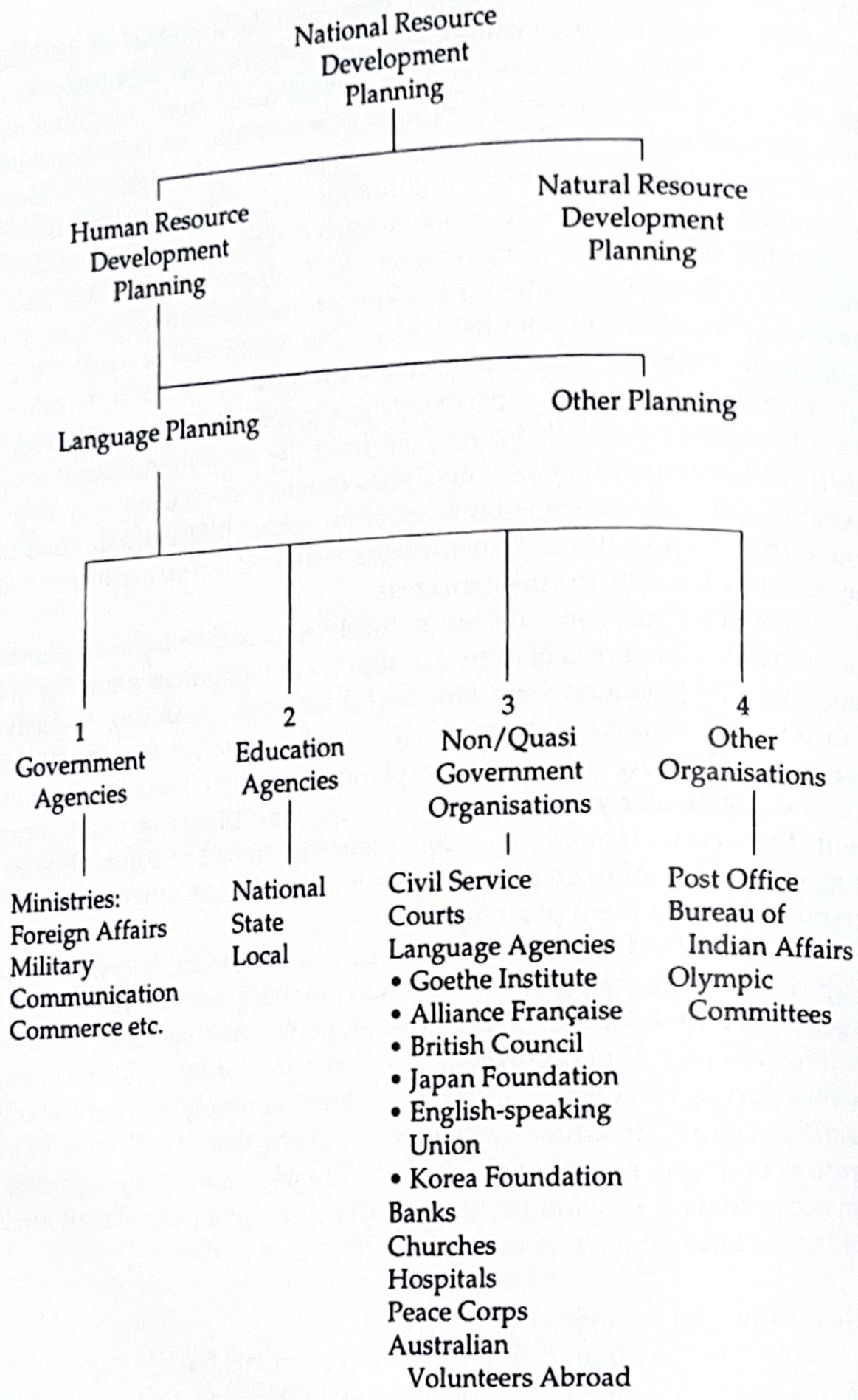


Figure 1.1 Context and elements of the language planning process

Africa, for example, got involved in language planning almost at the moment of independence (post-1960) (e.g. Akinnaso, 1989; Bokamba, 1991; Breton, 1991; Djité, 1991; Greenberg, 1963; A.M. Mazrui, 1996; Tucker & Bryan, 1966). 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.

In every case, a range of governmental agencies became involved. The commerce ministry was, for example, concerned to develop the ability of the state to trade internationally; the military ministry was concerned with the acquisition of sophisticated weaponry and with the necessity of maintaining that weaponry despite the fact that the hardware tended to come with manuals not written in the indigenous languages; the foreign affairs ministry was concerned with the rapid training and posting of foreign service officers to virtually every country in the world; the communications ministry was concerned with accessing the global communications networks; the labour ministry was concerned with developing a multilingual workforce designed to attract foreign business into the state.

Although the tertiary educational academy is in some cases not a government agency, the academy is concerned with achieving access to the world's great scientific and technical information storage and retrieval networks. (The education ministry has, for the moment, been left out because it has an entirely internally driven set of concerns while the majority of the other ministries have externally driven concerns.) Frequently, these various ministries went about their business isolated from all the other ministries and either in the absence of a general plan or in the context of a general plan that was so vaguely written as to be of relatively little use.

This descriptive overview has been drawn from decolonising Sub-Saharan Africa, but similar planning activities have been undertaken elsewhere in the world – indeed, literally in every region of the globe – for example,

in Malaysia, in Indonesia, in Singapore, in the Philippines, in Mexico, in Australia, in New Zealand, in Belgium, in Israel, in Canada, and in a whole range of smaller states in the South Pacific (Papua New Guinea, the Polynesian island-states, etc.) and elsewhere even in long-established states in the context of a whole range of 'little' languages – for example, Basque, Catalan, Frisian, Sami, and the indigenous languages of Latin America and of North America. Even in the United States, the legislatures of some individual states have in the past blithely declared the territory under their jurisdiction to be bilingual, without much understanding of the implications of their actions.[2] These language policy and planning decisions have occurred not only at a policy level, but have been taken within the bureaucracy as well (e.g. Cloonan & Strine, 1991; Sommer, 1991).

Education Agencies

In every case in which any sort of official language policy activity has been undertaken, the education sector has been involved to some degree, often extensively. Indeed, in some cases, the entire burden of planning language change has been allocated to the education ministry without reference to the fact that the education ministry does not have the scope, the resources or the authority to influence language use to any extent beyond the education sector.

The education sector has an influence, largely on children, roughly between the ages of 5 or 6 and the ages of 15 or 16. It may also have an influence through such specialised segments of the education structure as technical education, adult education, distance education, and 'special' education for other groups of individuals, including those who are emotionally or psychologically constrained and therefore separated from the mainstream population. It may also have to deal with immigrant populations deriving from different educational systems, having different preparation and different linguistic backgrounds, and varying in age from pre-school children to elderly adults. In this context, it must be kept in mind that not everybody goes to school, that certainly not everybody goes to school for the same length of time, and that not everybody goes to school at the same time – that is, it takes generations to educate an entire population through the education sector.

The education sector has to make a number of language policy and planning decisions. Six of these are introduced here:

First, it has to determine which language(s) will be taught within the curriculum (recognising that the curriculum is not endlessly permeable – that is, that new areas can only be introduced through the reduction of other areas because the curriculum is absolutely constrained to a specified number of hours/day, days/week, and weeks/academic year), to determine when in the curriculum the onset of instruction will occur and what the duration of instruction will be, and to determine what sort of

proficiency is deemed to meet the needs of the society by the end of whatever instruction can be provided.

Second, it must define the teacher supply, taking into consideration who will teach the language(s) included in the curriculum, where in the population pool available to the education sector those individuals will be drawn from, the nature of pre-service training that will be required to produce proficient teachers, the nature of in-service training that will be required to maintain proficiency, and the distribution of that segment of teachers through the system as well as equity in the reward structure.

Third, it will need to determine what segment of the student population will be exposed to language(s) education and how that segment will be identified, provided with readiness training, and induced to undertake the available instruction, and it will need to devise strategies to garner parental and community support for any plan put in place.

Fourth, it will need to determine what methodology(ies) will be employed in the system, what materials will be used to support those methodologies, how and by whom those materials will be prepared, and how they will be disseminated through the system.

Fifth, it will need to define assessment processes that can be used for initial placement, for in-course testing, and for output (summative) testing, and at the same time it will need to develop an assessment system that can measure teacher performance and system performance so that language instruction fits with societal need.

Finally, it will need to determine how to support all of this activity fiscally and physically, where the resources will come from, and how the language education system can be maintained across the contexts served by the system and over time.

Quasi/Non-governmental organisations

There are a variety of other, generally quasi- or non-governmental sectors which are also heavily involved in language policy development. Such quasi-governmental organisations as the British Council (Phillipson, 1994), the English-Speaking Union, the Alliance Française (Kleineidam, 1992), the Goethe Institute (Ammon, 1992), the Japan Foundation (Hirataka, 1992) and the Korea Foundation are each, respectively, engaged in the dissemination of English, French, German, Japanese, and Korean beyond their native-speaker communities and with some level of governmental support. There are other such organisations concerned with the dissemination of other languages, e.g. Spanish (Sánchez, 1992), Portuguese (Lopes, 1997, Silva & Gunnewiek, 1992) and Hindi (Dua, 1994).

Still another quasi-governmental sector is represented by national language academies and language planning boards (Joseph, 1987: 110 ff.). Beginning in the seventeenth century, a number of European states put in place national language academies whose function was to preserve the

purity of what was intended to become the national language; Italy (Accademia della Crusca 1582), France (Académie Français 1635), Spain (Real Academia Española 1713), Portugal (Instituto de Alta Cultura), for example, all have national language academies of long standing and great prestige. These academies have been instrumental in the preparation of definitive dictionaries and have in some instances pronounced policies regarding the standard grammar of the language in question, as well as policies concerning the sorts of foreign borrowing that would be permitted as well as the rate of inflow of foreign terms. They have been responsible for lexical development as new technologies have demanded new terminologies, and they have helped to define the international participation in lexical standardisation.

In the more recent past, new language academies have come into existence, in Bangladesh, Japan, Israel, Ireland, Indonesia and Malaysia, Mexico, Brazil, Mozambique, Egypt and in a great many other states. The Real Academia Española has engendered offshoot 'affiliate' academies in every country in Latin America (Joseph, 1987). These academies have, to a significant degree, been involved in lexical development for purposes of modernisation. In the quite recent past, disciplinary academies have sprung up – in medicine, for example, but in a variety of scientific fields and endeavours, so that there are attempts, for example, to standardise terminologies in international fisheries (Jernudd & Thuan, 1984). Still other attempts have sprung from the development of international functions like international aviation, high-seas transportation (Strevens & Weeks, 1985) and police communication (E. Johnson, 1994). Professional Associations through their editorial policies are also involved in language planning not only through their dictation of the use of style, but also of what languages are acceptable for publication and for use at conferences and in their journals (Jernudd & Baldauf, 1987).

It is interesting in light of this discussion that Britain did not develop a language academy, though the question was discussed but rejected in the Royal Academy in the seventeenth century. It is also the case that, at the time of its founding, the leaders in the United States consciously rejected the notion of a language academy. Joseph (1987: 112) suggests that 'in the creator-hero tradition . . . the appearance of Samuel Johnson's *Dictionary of English Language* in 1755 made the founding of an Academy unnecessary; the same is said of Noah Webster and the failed attempts at founding an American Academy (see Baron, 1982).' The importance of such individuals on style, standards and usage continues today (e.g. Fowler, 1965; Follet, 1966; Safire, 1984).

However, since the late 1980s, a movement has arisen in the United States to make English the official language of that nation, and a number of the states have enacted local 'English-only' legislation, but as of the writing of this volume, no national language policy has been adopted. In

the 1992 Session of Congress, a bill known as the 'Language in Government Bill' was introduced, requiring the use of English in all actions of government, and in the 1995 session of Congress four bills were introduced, but no bill has yet been enacted. These bills, though they seek to designate English as the sole official language of the nation, do not create a national language academy. The most influential organisation spearheading the movement toward an 'English-only' policy, is known as *U.S. English*. The debate has generated a large literature (e.g. Adams & Brink, 1990; Amorose, 1989; Bikales, 1986; Crawford, 1992a, 1992b; Daniels, 1990; Fishman, 1988a; Marshall, 1986; Peña, 1991) both for and against.

Language planning is also important in the religious sector. For example, because Protestant churches take as a matter of faith the belief that personal access to the gospels is an important element in the achievement of personal salvation, they have both facilitated the spread of languages like English through the dissemination of the gospels and accelerated the orthographic development of indigenous languages through the translation of the gospels into a wide variety of languages. The Protestant population of the early settlements in northeast North America were among the most literate communities in history and, on the basis of their Protestant theology, they established schools virtually as their earliest acts after basic survival was assured. Organisations such as the Summer Institute of Linguistics – the Wycliff Bible Translators – or the Language Teaching Mission of the Church of the Latter-Day Saints are heavily engaged both in the dissemination of the English gospels and in the translation of the gospels into other languages.

The Catholic and Orthodox churches have played a somewhat different role, because they did not require literate participation in clergy-managed ritual; they have, however, played a key role in the preservation of various languages (e.g. Church Latin, Church Greek, etc.). Islamic religious bodies have played a central role in the spread of Arabic and in the preservation of Classical Arabic, as they believe the word of God should be read and spoken in the language in which it was given to the prophet. Other examples could be cited. In addition to this important language policy sector, religious bodies, particularly in colonial times, were virtually the sole dispensers of education. Schools were often the exclusive domain of religious groups, and church domination of education has continued well into the twentieth century in Sub-Saharan Africa, Latin America and Asia.

In the latter part of the twentieth century, multinational corporations have taken up some of the roles traditionally held by religious organisations. Multinational corporations establish clear language policies dictating what languages are necessary for success both within the multinational structure and at the local level. They have promoted and rewarded bilingualism, and they often provide in-house language education for their employees (see Holden, 1990 for a discussion of the reasons

for such funding in Japan). For example, one of the oldest and most successful language teaching facilities in Japan is operated by the Nippon Electric Corporation, but other examples can be found in such multinationals as IBM, Royal Dutch Petroleum, the Arabian-American Oil Company (ARAMCO), or Union Oil.

Indeed, business in general and government at the local level often also play key roles in language policy formulation. For example, in the greater Los Angeles area, a large hospital recently got itself into serious trouble by prohibiting Tagalog-speaking nurses from speaking Tagalog among themselves during break-time; a large bank has developed a system of encouraging Spanish and Chinese bilinguals in its employ to function bilingually, without compensation, to promote business outreach into those ethnic communities, but it has not encouraged Armenian, Korean, Chamorro, or Samoan bilinguals because it is not concerned with serving those ethnic communities; the City of Pasadena has a programme for promoting and rewarding bilingualism among its civil servants, while the County of Los Angeles does not contemplate such a programme. Although United States Federal Courts require the availability of an interpreter for defendants who are not fluent in English, lower courts leave the determination of whether or not to provide an interpreter to the discretion of the presiding justice. The law requires that arrested persons have their Miranda rights explained to them in whatever language they can understand, but local police jurisdictions are free to conduct prisoner interrogation exclusively in English. This list of examples illustrates the range of levels involved in language policy making. Note that policy may be directed toward multilingual or monolingual objectives. Indeed, virtually every organisation, from the multinational corporation to the local 'mom-and-pop' corner convenience store, engages in some form of language policy formulation.

Other organisations/individuals

The final category of organisations and agencies involved in language policy formulation includes those in which language planning is an accidental outcome of the primary function of the body. For example, the United States Postal Service is a participant in the International Postal Union. The primary activity of the Postal Service is getting the mail delivered, but to simplify mail delivery the International Postal Union and the United States Postal Service are agreed that envelopes must be addressed in Roman script. They will, in general, not accept for delivery envelopes addressed in Japanese or Chinese characters, or Arabic script, or other orthographic systems. The United States Bureau of Indian Affairs does not have a primary concern with language, but over the past 200 years it has used language policy to accomplish its primary objectives – objectives which have witnessed a gradual change from viewing Native

Americans as an enemy to be exterminated, to seeing them as property roughly equivalent in importance to the land in the Federal Park system, and finally – and only quite recently – to the view which recognises that Native Americans are sentient human beings.

The United States Immigration and Naturalization Service, whose primary concern is the management of non-US citizens entering, passing through, or attempting to settle in the United States, has regularly published all of its innumerable and inordinately complex forms exclusively in English and has required basic literacy in English as a condition of entry. The International Olympic Commission, clearly not a language agency, determines the languages that may be used in international athletic competition. These are just a few examples of the bodies which generate language policy despite the fact that their primary missions are not in any sense language-related. Indeed, anyone who posts a sign anywhere for any purpose can be said to make language policy without meaning to.

Implications of language planning contexts

Planning language has to take place in the context of this reticulated structure of language policy formulation activity. In this section we have looked at a number of language planning contexts, i.e. government agencies, education agencies, non/quasi government organisations and other organisations as well as individuals, who in Cooper's (1989) terms are some of the *actors* in policy formulation, or as Haarmann (1990) would define it, are related to 'language prestige', the efficiency in terms of organisational impact on the planning process. In Chapter 2 we will see how these contexts, *actors*, or aspects of 'language prestige' fit into some broader conceptual frameworks for language planning.

However, it is not merely a matter of declaring politically that it is for some reason desirable to preserve or promote or obstruct some language; it is not merely a question of charging the education sector to teach or not to teach some language. As Schiffman (1992) points out, indigenous language planning often fails because the basic structural work is not done. Rather, it is a question of trying to manage the language ecology of a particular language to support it within the vast cultural, educational, historical, demographic, political, social structure in which language policy formulation occurs every day.

It appears to be the case that languages which serve important societal functions for their speakers survive, regardless of the ministrations of government. But it is also the case that, if languages come to serve fewer functions outside the home, as the speakers of those languages are drawn away from their home communities by the siren call of urbanisation, by the need for increased economic mobility, and by other powerful societal forces, as majority languages or languages of wider communication replace smaller languages in important registers, small languages die, larger

languages struggle and no amount of educationist intervention is likely to save them. In sum, language policy formulation is everybody's business, and without the help of the communities involved, as well as of the larger community, a stable language ecology will not develop and no amount of planning is likely to bring sustained language change.

In this volume we consider in much greater detail the various issues raised in a preliminary way in the first part of this chapter while trying to understand the interaction among the various forces which have an influence on language change, whether such change is planned or whether it occurs as the result of circumstances beyond the control of governmental and societal structures. We also examine macro and micro instances of language planning. However, in order to do this, we need to be familiar with the language used and the perspectives taken to discuss language, the *meta-language* used to discuss language planning.

Terminological Difficulties

A multiplicity of terms and usage of terms have appeared in language planning studies, perhaps reflecting the impact that a variety of disciplines have had on the language planning literature and the different usage perspectives from which the terminology is borrowed (see e.g. Gupta, 1985 for status planning issues). As we noted in the Foreword, the literature normally employs the terms 'language policy' and/or 'language planning' synonymously, though they refer to different processes. This is typical of the terminological problems that beset the field. The basic problem is that in this area, as in other areas of popular concern, words mean exactly what a given speaker wants them to mean – much like Tweedle Dee and Tweedle Dum in *Alice in Wonderland*. To illustrate this terminological maze, a number of common terms are set out in Table 1.1 under four headings: political definitions; social definitions; educational definitions; popular definitions; and each of these headings is now considered briefly in turn.

Political Definitions

These are terms largely to be found in government documents, and they are characteristically defined by legislation and not by linguists. Because they are defined by governments, usually as part of actual legislation, they are often without reference to the functions they may or may not serve in a community.

A. Thus, English and French are generally recognised in official documents as *languages of wider communication* largely because they are widely used for official purposes across communities which speak primarily some other language(s). Swahili is recognised as a *pan*-African *language*, though it is not spoken across all of Africa, because it is a language held in common among a number of east African states and because it

Table 1.1 Terminological usage and problems

Political Definitions	*Social Definitions*	*Educational Definitions*	*Popular Definitions*
A. language of wider communication	A. educational languages	A. foreign languages	A. foreign languages
pan-regional languages	(1) majority language	B. second languages	
B. national languages	(2) as a 1st language	C. mother tongue	B. native language
C. official language(s)	(3) as a 2nd language	(1) non-standard varieties	C. foreigner languages
D. literary language	(4) as a creole/ pidgin		D. pidgin
E. regional languages	(5) foreign languages		
	B. vernacular community heritage	D. community languages	
F. religious languages	C. classical/ historical	E. heritage languages	

serves to link communities which otherwise speak mutually unintelligible languages. Melanesian pidgin is another example of a *pan*-regional *language* (Mühlhäusler, 1995).

B. *National languages* are so recognised in official political constitutions; for example, the 1976 Constitution of the Philippines (perpetuated in the 1987 Constitution) actually established politically a national language that

did not exist. The language situation in the Philippines is very complex, and the state is linguistically extremely heterogeneous. In recent years, a substantial effort has been made to promulgate a dialect of Tagalog (called Pilipino) for nation-wide communication, but the writers of the 1976 constitution envisioned a time in the indefinite future when all of the various languages of the Philippines might assimilate into one language which, when it came into existence, would be called *Filipino*. This non-existent language was designated the official national language. Until such time as it came into existence, the state would recognise Pilipino and English as its national languages. The 1987 Constitution actually mandates Filipino in a variety of settings, and Presidential Executive Order 335 of 25 August 1988, replaces English with Filipino as the official mode of government communication, but this post-1987 Filipino is actually Pilipino/Tagalog under a new name.

Many polities have designated national languages (see Appendix). That is true across sub-Saharan Africa and Asia. However, 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 authorised to be taught through the educational system. For example, Indonesian/Malay is the national language in Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore and Brunei, but has quite different roles, relationships and functions for the populations in each of the states.

C. *Official languages* occur in extremely linguistically heterogeneous polities – states which include within their borders speakers of a large number of languages (e.g. Cameroon, India, Indonesia, South Africa, the Philippines, each with something on the order of 250 or more languages). The United Nations and the European Union provide other examples of bodies with official language policies. In such conditions, the designation of a set of official languages is a political response to the reality that no one language will be acceptable to the entire population and no one language can practically be disseminated throughout the population. Official languages are also specified in the constitution and frequently mandated to be taught through the educational system. It is a complex question whether all official documents must be available in the official languages as well as in the national language; producing documents in many languages is very expensive, and some poorer polities forgo the luxury of

creating documents in all the official languages. The list of official languages can be substantial. It is important to understand that languages receive official status for political reasons, not for reasons of their usage, viability, or practicality.

D. *Literary languages* are not usually officially designated, but rather tend to be accepted in practice. They occur in situations where several varieties of a given language have wide acceptability; for example, varieties of Arabic are used throughout the Arabian Peninsula and across much of North Africa, but the spoken varieties differ significantly across the region, approaching mutual unintelligibility at the extremes. While Classical Arabic occurs throughout the region, its use is essentially restricted to the religious sector, and its lexicon is not readily adaptable to the needs of 'modern' societies. As a result of this linguistic phenomenon, 'Modern Newspaper Arabic' has come into wide use across the region as a literary language. It is not a language spoken by anyone, but it is a variety that can be read by most educated people across the region without reference to the spoken variety they normally employ. Although it is called 'Modern *Newspaper* Arabic', its actual use now extends into a large variety of written genres in addition to those employed in newspapers. A somewhat similar situation occurs with respect to English; written educated English is not actually spoken by anyone and does not reflect the range of dialect variation across English, but it is generally accepted – indeed, insisted upon – across the entire English-speaking world. The core of standard Chinese is a common character-based written form, along with some facility in one variety or another of the spoken language, of which there are six or seven mutually unintelligable dialect groups (Harrell, 1993).

E. *Regional languages* also occur in extremely linguistically heterogeneous societies; they are often dominant languages in geographic sub-areas of a polity. In India, for example, such languages as Tamil, Bengali, Marathi, etc., have regional status. It is not uncommon for regional languages to be designated as members of the set of official languages, though that is not always the case. Regional languages receive official sanction through the educational system in some polities which employ three- or four-language educational systems; e.g. in countries like India, South Africa and Cameroon, a child may begin education in the village language, may be required to acquire a regional language in late primary school, an official language and/or the national language in secondary school, and a language of wider communication in tertiary education. Thus, an Indian child may be expected to speak a village language, Tamil, Hindi, and English by the time s/he enters tertiary education.

F. *Religious languages* may be given official political status in polities in which there is no viable separation between church and state; e.g. in countries like Brunei and Saudi Arabia, which are 'Islamic Monarchies', the

religious language – in both of these cases, Classical Arabic – is officially designated as one of the languages of the State.

Summary. It is important to note that in all of the cases discussed in this category, the designation of a language is politically achieved, constitutes part of the legal structure of a polity, and receives official recognition and sanction through the institutional educational system. These designations may have little reference to linguistic reality – to the basic issues of who speaks the language, for what purpose, under what circumstances, to which interlocutor, or to such other issues as the natural frequency and distribution of the language through the polity. There are cases, particularly in Africa, where, for example, a European language has been designated the 'national' (or an 'official') language, even though that language is actually spoken by only a small proportion of the population, and only a small number of whom may be native speakers (Robinson, 1993; Greenberg, 1963). Such has also been the case in Hong Kong where 95% of the population speaks Cantonese, but where the law and government has largely been conducted in English.

Social Definitions

Social definitions have little relationship to official political designation, but rather tend to reflect the broader value system of the community. Most communities recognise several broad categories of language, but most communities believe that language is primarily a function of the educational system and that the educational system ought to deal with these issues.

A. *Educational languages* are those that are the responsibility of the educational system and somehow ought to be included in the curriculum, though not necessarily for all students.

(1) Obviously, the most important consideration for the educational system should be the *majority language* (which is sometimes designated the *mother tongue*). This is the language that is assumed to be the one spoken by 'everybody who counts'. In the United States at the present time, English is considered the majority language. Because it is so perceived, it is taught throughout the educational system; children learn basic literacy in English and have at least one language course in English from first grade through the first university year, and in addition they study the canonical literature in English throughout the educational system from primary through tertiary education.[3] Thus, being literate in English is perceived as being 'in a state of grace'. English is seen as the language of power; it is through English that one can exercise one's rights as a citizen – thus, literacy in English is a requirement for naturalisation. The notion *majority language* is clearly presumed to be representative of the greatest bulk of the population, and, no doubt, in a statistical sense it is, but there are areas in the United States where it clearly is not.

The notion *mother-tongue* is extremely difficult to define; in its simplest meaning it can be understood literally – 'the language of one's mother', or the language one speaks with one's mother. In reality, one may in fact be a native speaker of a language even though one's mother was not. For example, an individual born to a Tamil-speaking mother in Malaysia will probably learn Straits Malay and/or Straits Chinese on the playground, and Bahasa Melayu and English as a second language in the school system. Such an individual may then go abroad to undertake tertiary study in English. She or he may be a 'native speaker' of various languages depending on the registers in which the languages are used: for example, for matters of the home and of childhood, Tamil; for matters relating to school subjects or general communication in the community, Bahasa Melayu; and for matters of academic specialisation, English. It is impossible to designate that individual's 'mother-tongue' except in the literal sense, and it is not useful to do so (Ferguson, 1992: xiii). It is not a useful term, but it is, nonetheless, one that is widely used.

(2/3) Society recognises some differentiation of the language designated as 'mother-tongue'; that is, one may speak it as a *first language* or as a *second language*. To a large extent, this terminology implies in a societal sense language acquisition order; that is, one learns English first, and then a second language, or one may learn English second if one has had the 'bad fortune' to learn some other language first. There is no implication in this usage that English may be second in importance; on the contrary, it may be deemed primary depending on the societal setting. It should be noted that this terminology has a quite different meaning in the education sector.

(4) Society recognises that some individuals speak a language 'irregularly', and such irregular speech is usually defined as a 'pidgin' (although it may be recognised as a 'creole'). In the United States, the local English variety spoken in Hawaii is called 'Hawaiian Pidgin', while the variety of French spoken in New Orleans is designated 'Creole' and that designation has been extended to the French spoken by refugees entering the United States from Haiti. While these varieties may be very important markers of community identity, they are perceived as 'non-standard' and in need of correction by the wider community, and it is generally deemed to be the role of the education system to fix the inappropriate speech of such individuals. In these cases pidgins and creoles are perfectly appropriate linguistic systems and are not in any absolute sense 'bad', but they are socially proscribed.

(5) Because of the existence of such entities as the United States Peace Corps and because of the compaction permitted by modern global communication systems, speakers of any language recognise that a particular language may be a foreign language for some people. For instance, there is not only a legitimacy but a political desirability in arranging for the teaching of English (or French or Japanese) as a foreign

language in remote places in the world where the residents are sufficiently disadvantaged not to know that language. Again, this is not the designation made among professional members of the education sector, as will be discussed later.

In addition to the majority language, the educational system is expected to deal with foreign languages. In this broad category, many special sub-branches are recognised. Foreign languages are, typically, that set of languages of which most people are aware; the United States educational system has, for decades, taught French, German and Spanish as foreign languages. Up until World War II, German was the most important foreign language in the US; indeed, the initial language debate in colonial times was about German/English bilingualism vs. English monolingualism. In recent years, a small additional number of languages have achieved some popularity; e.g. Chinese, Japanese and Russian among them. In addition to European languages, Australia has demonstrated a political awareness of the need to teach such foreign languages as Indonesian, Japanese, Korean and Chinese (when Chinese is mentioned without modification it is usually intended to imply Mandarin). However, because the economics of education limit the number of languages that can be taught, and because language education is in the popular mind, inextricably tied with the culture of speakers of those languages, the primary purpose of foreign language study typically remains to access the canonical literature of those cultures, although there is a growing recognition that oral language must be taught for tourism and trade.

B. In nations like the United States, Canada or Australia, there is a substantial population of speakers of vernacular (or indigenous or aboriginal) languages – Native American Languages (e.g. Navajo, Hopi, Sioux), Australian Aboriginal languages (e.g. Miriwoong, Yorta Yorta, Guugu Yimithirr). In more recent times, these languages have been recognised as having legitimacy and may be taught in the educational system to individuals who are participants in those cultures, though it would not be common to teach those languages to speakers of the 'majority language'. In New Zealand, on the other hand, there is great interest in the Maori language, and extensive efforts are being made to disseminate Maori to all New Zealanders through the educational system – indeed, under the Maori Language Act of 1987, Maori is the only 'official' language in New Zealand. Sometimes vernacular languages are dealt with as oral languages, partially because some may not have developed written forms, partially because the canonical literature – which is almost always the objective – is oral.

In the United States, Canada and Australia, where, in the relatively recent past, there has been significant immigration from non-English-speaking areas, a number of other languages have been imported. These languages, perceived as a sub-set of vernacular languages, are variously

designated as community languages, minority languages, ethnic languages, heritage languages – all euphemisms intended to recognise that they are not the majority language, yet they represent populations of citizens. In Australia, for example, Melbourne now has the largest Greek-speaking population of any city in the world except Athens. These languages are recognised as having a certain legitimacy, and are sometimes taught through the educational system (if the economics of the situation permit), but the teaching of these languages is most often systematically relegated to 'ethnic' or 'Saturday schools', outside the formal educational system and supported largely by the local community rather than by the official educational establishment.

A special sub-set of vernacular languages are the religious languages (e.g. Hebrew, Koranic Arabic, Church Greek, etc.), most commonly treated like community languages – that is, taught in special circumstances outside the official educational system.

C. Finally, the existence of a set of classical/historical languages is recognised and sanctioned for inclusion in the educational system. This set includes languages like Classical Latin and Classical Greek on the one hand, but in English-speaking countries it also includes languages like Anglo Saxon, Middle English and Sanskrit.

Summary. Thus, a number of language categories are recognised as social designations for languages. To a large extent, these languages are sanctioned through the educational system if they are sanctioned at all, the clear emphasis being on the so-called 'majority language(s)'. It is important to notice that these definitions are not politically sanctioned as the first set of definitions is; rather, these are socially sanctioned but have little to do with the kinds of definitions employed within the educational system.

Educational Definitions

Given that the education sector is charged with teaching these various languages, it has developed a set of professional definitions that govern language pedagogy. The education sector sees itself as dealing with basically four categories of language.

A. First, it deals with foreign languages. When language teaching was first introduced into the academic sector in the medieval university, it was concerned exclusively with the teaching of the classical (non-spoken) languages – namely, Latin. Greek, Hebrew and Sanskrit. Given that there were no native speakers of these languages, and given that the vestiges of these languages which were available for teaching were written, largely literary, and limited in scope (since no new texts were being generated), the methodology for teaching which was devised was quite appropriate to the circumstances. The objective of language teaching was to provide access to the thought and art of dead civilisations. Therefore, spoken proficiency was not entirely relevant, and a grammar-translation approach

was a perfectly viable teaching method. Since the objective of language learning was to access the thought and art of former civilisations, the activity was highly intellectual, and admittance was reserved only to the brightest students.

Unfortunately, when modern languages (i.e. French, German, Spanish) were introduced into the tertiary curriculum centuries later, this model, which was already well-established, was simply transferred from classical to modern languages. Thus, the teaching of modern languages has remained largely grammar focused, having as its objective access to the canonical literature, and not being much concerned about communicative competence. Foreign language teaching has come to be defined as teaching in an environment in which there is no vital speech community to support learning, in which even written sources are limited, and in which grammatical rather than communicative competence is central. These characteristics define the educational methodologies. In sum, students learning French as a foreign language in the United States are not really expected to be able to speak French for practical purposes but are expected to have an appreciation for French civilisation and to be able to read at least some of the literature in French. In Australia,

> universities considered their role to be that of encouraging the analysis of ideas; studying a language through literature was seen to be as effective a way as any other of increasing students' ability to operate in a language, since literature provided many examples of vocabulary and structures in action, and in a cultural context – if indeed the two can be separated; it was assumed most students would complete their linguistic education overseas. (Mann, 1992: 49)

While primary and secondary schools have had a somewhat greater interest in communicative language work, especially in recent years, they have not been seen as defining the competent foreign language speaker, and are only now beginning to influence teaching methodology at the tertiary level.

B. The educational system has, by virtue of significant immigration in the recent past, been forced to give attention to second language (e.g. English in Australia, Britain, New Zealand and the United States, Japanese in Japan) teaching. The methodology of second-language teaching is of necessity different because its objectives are different. Communicative competence is central to this activity. Although historically the teaching of second languages was also rooted in the grammar-translation methodology, in the recent past there has been a diminution of attention to grammar and an increased emphasis on spoken language. The study of literature is not critical in this approach. While learners are expected to learn to write to some extent, the focus of the writing is practical rather than belletristic. A student learning English as a second language in the United States is

expected to be able to converse fluently on any topic within his intellectual ability, to be able to read practical writing (rather than literary writing), and to be able to function in a very large community of speakers. Often the objective of second language learning is assimilation, although increasingly it may be for business or tourism.

C. The primary focus of the educational system remains on mother-tongue education. The system is expected to produce functional literates in the majority language without reference to their actual linguistic backgrounds. This objective has become increasingly difficult to attain for three reasons: (a) the educational base has broadened substantially (education for all for longer): (b) the meaning of literacy has changed (the range of skills has increased); and (c) the system persists in maintaining a disease metaphor with respect to literacy. In the context of this metaphor, it is assumed that *illiteracy* is an evil that must be stamped out (as smallpox was in the last 20 years), and that literacy will automatically politically empower those who have it. All three assumptions are incorrect, serve to obstruct the development of literacy, and ignore the realities of human behaviour – millions of human beings have lived full and happy lives without becoming literate. Illiteracy is the natural human condition, and literacy is the aberrant state (see the section on Literacy planning in language-in-education planning in Chapter 5).

(1) Within mother-tongue language teaching, the educational system recognises the existence of a population of speakers of non-standard varieties. The system recognises, in a rather imprecise way, that possession of only a non-standard variety is somehow limiting; individuals in this category have difficulty in accessing the goods and services provided by the society. The education system, therefore, tries to augment the competence of such individuals by adding to their repertoire an ability to function in a standard variety. In the United States, for example, this population at the present time is assumed to contain speakers of a variety of forms of Black English as well as speakers of a variety of forms of MANSE – Mexican-American non-standard English. This definition is largely dictated by economic considerations; i.e. these two populations are vast, while populations of speakers of other non-standard varieties are relatively small (e.g. speakers of some Native American languages).

D. The educational system also recognises a variety of community languages. In this context (in the United States) are included not only the languages of large recent immigrant populations – Armenians, Chinese, Germans, Greeks, Italians, Japanese, Koreans, etc. – but also the languages of Native Americans and the languages of other linguistic populations somehow politically subsumed within the political structure of the United States – e.g. Chamorros (Guamanians), Samoans, (Spanish-speaking) Puerto Ricans. Also subsumed within community languages are the languages of long-established immigrant groups such as those from

eastern and northern Europe speaking languages like Finnish, Norwegian, Polish, Swedish, Yiddish, etc. Religious languages (Hebrew, Church Greek) remain excluded from the list and relegated to subordinate community-supported parochial educational systems.

E. Finally, in this educational set of languages are two groups of languages designated heritage languages in the sense that they constitute part of the heritage of English speakers – languages like Classical Latin and Classical Greek on the one hand, and languages like Anglo-Saxon, Middle English, Welsh, Irish Gaelic, and Scots Gaelic (and possibly Sanskrit, Old Norse, Old High German, Old Church Slavonic, etc.) on the other. These languages, if they are taught at all, are usually offered at the tertiary level, have no great concern with spoken proficiency, and are studied as academic subjects.

Summary. It must be noted that, although the terminology in this category overlaps significantly with the terminology in the social definitions category, the meanings are really quite different. The definitions in this category are educationally based and subsume elements of pedagogical methodology.

Popular Definitions

Quite separate from all of these are the definitions that operate at the level of the popular imagination. In the popular view there are only four fairly simplistic categories.

A. Foreign languages are commonly defined as any language(s) not normally spoken within the polity. In the case of large polities, this normative definition may be regional. For example, in the northern mid-west in the United States, there is a substantial population speaking so-called 'Scandinavian' languages (e.g. Norwegian, Swedish, Finnish). In that region, these languages would not be considered foreign, though Spanish might be so considered. On the other hand, in the south-western United States where Spanish is spoken by a substantial segment of the population, the situation would be reversed; that is, Spanish would not be considered a foreign language, but Swedish would.

B. The native language is, normally, defined as the language of the majority population, often on historical grounds. Thus, in the United States, English is considered the native language of the entire population (though it clearly isn't), partially because the 'founding fathers' are perceived as English-speaking (though they actually weren't; Pennsylvania, for example, originally entered the union as a German-speaking community, and a number of wars were fought between the English-speaking, French-speaking, and Spanish-speaking areas), partially because the core political documents (the Declaration of Independence, the Bill of Rights, the remainder of the Constitution) are written in English, and partially because English has been the functional language of the polity for

more than 200 years. English has been the dominant language of education and religion as well as the dominant language of civic activity. Generations of children have learned the English canonical literature and through it an English-based sociology of knowledge and an English-based value system. But native language is not a notion peculiar to the English-speaking world; French is the native language of France, German the native language of Germany, and Japanese is the native language of Japan. The integration of the notion native language with the notion of the nation-state is a 'modern' idea, probably dating no further back than the seventeenth century.

C. Foreigner languages are those languages and varieties spoken by foreigners whom one encounters in the community; in recent years, for example, very large numbers of Japanese tourists have visited Hawaii and the west coast of the United States. Japanese is not widely taught through the United States educational system and not widely recognised as belonging to the formal category of 'foreign languages'. Anything spoken by a Japanese tourist is, by definition, a foreigner language, whether it is standard Japanese (as spoken in Japan), non-standard Japanese (as spoken by second- and third-generation Japanese Americans), non-standard English (English imperfectly learned in school in Japan or elsewhere), or Japanese accented standard English (see Clyne, 1981).

D. The term 'pidgin' is somewhat more complicated in the popular imagination as it designates a non-standard variety of an established language. For example, a variety widely spoken in Papua New Guinea is known as 'Tok Pisin' (the very name being literally, a 'pidgin' phonological representation of the English phrase 'talk pidgin'). The language was long stigmatised as a 'pidgin', and considered unsuitable to express important ideas, though in Vanuatu it has been (not without opposition) elevated to the status of a national language. A similar situation occurs through many of the island-states of the South Pacific region. However, in the popular sense, such a language is thought to be sub-standard, incapable of carrying serious thought, and spoken by individuals perceived to be uneducated – in sum, a stigmatised variety. In the United States, various minority groups – e.g. Blacks, Hispanics, etc. – are perceived to speak 'pidgins'.

Summary. The notions held in the popular imagination are limited, unsophisticated, and tend to overlook important distinctions. They are, largely, conceived in terms of groups of speakers – 'ins' and 'outs' – rather than in terms of broad understanding of linguistic issues. It is not the intent to stigmatise these perceptions, only to enumerate them as distinct from the other three identified categories of terms.

Outcomes

The result of this terminological abundance is, necessarily, a certain amount of confusion. Consider the case of an imaginary individual who resides in, for example, Israel, and who having recently immigrated there

from, for example, Russia, is learning Hebrew. That individual is learning a *second* language – both perhaps in a numerical sense and in an educational sense – which is politically both the national language and the majority language and practically the religious language. Because the individual's use of Hebrew would be likely to be imperfect, it would be considered a foreigner language. Educators might recognise his use of Hebrew as an interlanguage – a temporary 'pidgin'. This individual, possibly, speaks Yiddish and Russian. Russian would be considered the individual's mother tongue or first language (but not the first language of the community). Russian would be considered a foreign language in Israel – in the sense that it is taught in the educational system along with other foreign languages – but because there has been a substantial immigration of Russians to Israel, Russian may also be considered a vernacular/community/minority/ethnic/heritage language. Yiddish may also be considered an ethnic language (of the Jewish diaspora), and may be recognised by linguists as a dialect, a non-standard variety or perhaps as a creole (Wexler, 1991).

The point of this lengthy terminological discussion is illustrated through this example; any given language in a particular environment may be described using a wide variety of names, each such designation bearing on a different lexical set – political, social, educational, and/or popular. An individual working in the field of language planning needs to recognise all of these terminologies and understand that the same phenomenon is being variously described. More importantly, the society needs to recognise that this broad range of terminology is being applied to the same linguistic phenomenon – indeed, to this same single representative of the linguistic phenomenon – and the society needs to recognise that the various terms represent different realities, just as a given actual physical field may be differently described by a farmer, a real-estate agent, a military commander, and an irrigation engineer. David Crystal's (1989) *Encyclopedia of Language* and the Oxford *International Encyclopedia of Linguistics* (Bright, 1992) are good sources of basic terminology and concepts.

Summary

In this chapter we have laid out a general framework for language planning. After having defined the general nature of the field we have looked at how language planning is related to other types of planning and have examined government, education, non-government and other agencies' and organisations' roles in language planning. We have then discussed the problem with the usage of terms in the field, emphasising that one needs to examine carefully what is meant, as terms often have several possible meanings depending on their contextual usage. This terminological overview provides us with the basic meta-linguistic tools to look at how the language planning process can be said to work. In Chapter 2 we examine Haugen's (1983) model for language planning as one way of visualising the scope and sequence of the language planning process, Haarmann's (1990) ideal typology of language cultivation and language planning and Cooper's (1989) accounting scheme for the study of language planning as frameworks for understanding the discipline.

Notes

1. In this book we use 'language planning' as the generic term for the discipline and use it to encompass everything from government macro-level national planning to group or individual micro-level planning. While language planning initially referred to government planning for national situations (e.g. Fishman *et al.*, 1968 – *Language Problems of Developing Nations*), the term has been used for many years to reflect a much broader range of issues and approaches to language planning, as we believe this volume demonstrates. However, Jernudd (1993: 133) among others, has argued that as 'language planning . . . takes decision makers', for example governments', specification of language problems as their axiomatic point of departure' and therefore a new term, language management, is needed to describe 'bottom-up' and discourse based planning. Reflecting this argument, language management or *aménagement linguistique* has begun to appear to a limited extent in the literature (Jernudd & Neustupný, 1987; also see Chapter 7, Language Planning and Agency Power).
2. Every session of the US Congress, since the introduction of the first 'English Only' bill (Senate Joint Resolution 72–to amend the US constitution to declare English the official language) by Senator S.I. Hayakawa in 1981, has been faced with a number of similar bills. At the time this book was being written, the Congress (104th Congress, 1995–96) had at least four bills before it intended to make English the sole official language of the nation, *de jure*, or at least to make English the sole official language of government. Some of these proposed bills would end official support for bilingual education. Only fairly late in the discussion did it dawn on some legislators that such legislation would contravene legislation enacted in the very recent past to protect and preserve indigenous (Native American) languages. This left legislators scrambling to discover some means to exempt Native American languages from the effects of the proposed legislation, i.e. to find a compromise between those two essentially contradictory objectives.
3. 'English as a school subject had existed [in Britain] in some form as early as the late sixteenth century but its status was low and even in 1900 largely confined to elementary and girls' schools. It was aimed primarily at providing some basic literacy while the more prestigious boys' public and grammar schools studied classics as a more edifying alternative. The growing pressure that English should occupy a central role in the curriculum culminated in 1921 with the official Board of Education's publication *The teaching of English in England . . .* which declared that for English children, "no form of knowledge can take precedence of a knowledge of English, no form of literature can take precedence of English literature".' (Thompson *et al.*, 1996: 102)