Contributions to the Sociology of Language 5

Edited by

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Advances in Language Planning

Edited by

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1974 — MOUTON — THE HAGUE · PARIS

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS CATALOG CARD NUMBER: 73-85456

Printed in The Netherlands by Mouton, The Hague.

For Einar Haugen

who stimulated a new
generation to continue
and expand the study
of language planning

Preface

This volume represents another way-station in my efforts, begun in 1963, to provide the sociology of language with the basic teaching-learning tools needed in order to facilitate its academic growth and consolidation. Since that date when I first began to put together my *Readings in the Sociology of Language* (1968), I have regularly set aside some of the time that might otherwise have gone into research for the preparation of texts and readers that would be of greatest use to me, to my students, and hopefully also to a larger circle of colleagues and their students. The favorable reception that these have generally received has encouraged me to continue along these lines and, most recently, to assemble the present volume. Frankly, I would feel less sanguine about the entire enterprise of preparing teaching-learning materials were I not primarily engaged in research at the very same time. As it is, I have the definite impression that my immersion in the most current theoretical and empirical literature for the purposes of my own research enables me more appropriately to select those items that might also be of greatest interest and value for others.

More specifically, this volume is itself the third step in a series of steps that began in 1966. At that time the Committee on Sociolinguistics asked Charles A. Ferguson and me to organize a conference on language problems of developing nations. The proceedings of that conference, somewhat augmented, were subsequently published (Fishman, Ferguson and Das Gupta 1968) and represented the first step in my plan to help prepare a type of specialist that was then practically non-existent (particularly in American academic life), namely a specialist in language problems at the national level. The second step along this

route was taken when the Ford Foundation's International Division enabled me, Das Gupta, Rubin and Jernudd to spend a year (1968-1969) at the East-West Center in preparing for the International Research Project on Language Planning Processes which has consumed the lion's share of our efforts from that day to this. The outcome of that year's deliberations, those that transpired among ourselves as well as those between us and a small group of consultants, has now been published and represents, to the best of my knowledge, the first American collection of papers on language planning (Rubin and Jernudd). The current volume, about which a little more will be said below, represents the second such collective volume, and is the third step in the program that I set for myself in 1966. The fourth step will be the report of the International Research Project itself (Das Gupta et al., ms.). It is my hope that it can see the light of day within a year or so after the appearance of this volume (in which I have scrupulously avoided stealing any of its thunder).

All in all then, I have been privileged to attract to the language problems of developing nations (and to language planning as a means of solving such problems in nations of whatever stage of development) somewhat greater empirical and methodological expertise, conceptual integration and academic attention than they previously enjoyed. I am particularly pleased with the progress made in the field of language planning research per se, since here a few dedicated workers have been able to demonstrate in the course of a few years that not only was such planning *possible*, but that it had been done and was being done *repeatedly* and often quite *successfully*.

The present volume itself leans heavily on the brilliant series of volumes *Current Trends in Linguistics*, which Thomas A. Sebeok has initiated, inspired and edited. I have selected from the twelve volumes in that series, with his permission, most of the chapters dealing with language policy. To them I have added roughly an equal number of papers from other sources. My hope thereby has been to accomplish two things: to give the student and specialist in language planning the benefit of the monumental effort and talent invested in *Current Trends in Linguistics*, while, at the same time, also to go beyond the studies there represented to newer and quite different ones. I am grateful to *all* those who have cooperated with me in this undertaking, but particularly to those authors of *Current Trends in Linguistics*' chapters who revised and updated their earlier versions, as well as to several authors of the 'other papers' who assisted me in obtaining republication permissions from the publishers and prospective publishers to which their papers had originally been entrusted. I believe that as a result of our joint efforts 'language planning' will become an ever more

stable component in the training of sociologists of language.

Jerusalem, June 1972 Joshua A. Fishman

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JOSHUA A. FISHMAN*

LANGUAGE PLANNING AND LANGUAGE PLANNING RESEARCH: THE STATE OF THE ART

If we apply to language planning Kurt Lewin's adage that "nothing is as practical as a good theory" then, indeed, the time may not be far off when language planning *practice* will begin to benefit from theoretically oriented language planning *research*. Thus far, however, the two fields of endeavor, the practical and the theoretical, have been but loosely joined and unidirectionally at that. Language planning research has, increasingly, been studying language planning practice, i.e. decision making in connection with language problems. However, the practitioners of language planning (legislators, implementors of policy, government agency and language academy personnel, language specialists in private industry, etc.) have not yet turned to or utilized language planning research to any major degree as a guide to their own procedures. There are signs, nevertheless, that the two are destined to meet and that the relevance of the one group for the other will not only be great but mutually recognized. However, until that happy day comes to pass a review of this type will be forced to concentrate on language planning research per se, rather than on the lessons learned or goals attained from utilizing such.

THEORETICAL DIMENSIONS

The major dimensions of language planning, as currently defined, are

Published for the first time in this volume.

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still most commonly those posited by Haugen (1966, 1969) and subsequently slightly revised and refined by Neustupny (1970). Thus, whereas Haugen discusses policy formulation, codification, elaboration and implementation, Neustupny adds to this quartet a fifth consideration, namely cultivation. Neustupny views cultivation as being a sequentially later and more advanced stage of language planning, dealing primarily with stylistic varieties of the national standard focused upon during previous stages of language planning. Neustupny's examples, largely drawn from Czech and Japanese, illustrate his contention that he is concerned with later and perhaps more subtle stages of language planning than those following immediately from the initial designation of a code not heretofore much utilized for modern written, technical purposes. For such a code more basic planning actions are initially necessary, viz. to functionally allocate it authoritatively for such purposes (policy decision), to establish its basic *langue* patterns relative to these purposes (codification), to achieve intertranslatability with one or more preferred and previously modernized languages of world wide currency (in accord with the stipulated *langue* patterns) and, finally, to enforce or encourage acceptance of all of the above by specified target or user population (implementation). Cultivation, then, involves the *iteration* of each of the above processes first spelled out by Haugen, but for more specific or additional functions (e.g., popular non-fiction, belles-lettres, bible translation, informal-polite conversation, etc.).

The above basic quartet or quintet has been illuminated in the past few years by exposure to several additional considerations. Ferguson (1968) has stressed the *intertranslatability* goal as basic to language modernization and "development". In this connection both codification and elaboration are guided so as to attain the ease and precision assumed already to exist in one or another Language of Wider Communication. At the same time, however, anti-modelling must also be recognized, particularly in *ausbau* codes relative to each other or in anti-Western or anti-imperialist/colonialist junctures. A particular difficulty is faced, of course, by those languages whose model and anti-model are one and the same language (German vis-a-vis Yiddish, Russian vis-a-vis White Russian, etc.). Since *both* modernization and indigenization are part and parcel of most nationalist ideologies underlying language planning the dialectic between these two opposing forces is often felt in language planning per se and in the reactions to it by various groups in the speech-and-writing community.

Another dimension of considerable importance is that of *evaluation* stressed by Rubin (1971). Here we are reminded that various criteria of language planning success are possible (knowledge, attitude, use, etc.) and that these need to be specified and attended to as part of the

planning process itself rather than as an afterthought of outsiders. If Rubin may be considered as appropriately expanding the definition of language planning, by implying that evaluation should always be a part of it, then Jernudd and Das Gupta (1971) may be considered as appropriately restricting the definition by insisting that we attend only to governmentally authorized activity with respect to language problems. Finally, Tauli has further refined and expanded his distinctive approach (1973) stressing, without visible agreement from others, that language planning theory must not merely be descriptive and predictive but prescriptive or directional as well.

All in all, the theoretical dimensions recognized at this time are not crucially different from what they were a decade ago. Indeed, Garvin convincingly demonstrates that the Prague school made many of the distinctions indicated above as long ago as the thirties (1973a, 1973b). While the Czech stress on cultivation, which both Neustupny and Garvin have urgently called to our attention, did not receive its due in American writings of the sixties, it is very likely to receive more such attention in the future. Certainly, language planning research can only gain by also attending more advanced language settings as well as by attending to *other kinds of planning* (Fishman 1973). In each of these comparisons there will undoubtedly be more attention to cultivation than has hitherto been the case.

Certainly, cultivation-oriented research would merely stress the distinction, long recognized in orthographic studies, that preparing a writing system *de novo* where none has previously existed, *revising* a preexisting writing system and *replacing* a previously existing writing system are quite different undertakings in societal perspective (Sjoberg 1966). Similarly, language planning where no long established *langue* model exists, language planning that seeks to *expand* previous codification/elaboration, and language planning that seeks to *replace* previous codification/elaboration are all quite different kinds of enterprises and engender quite different societal responses. Future language planning research will need to be more comparative (across times as well as across polities) in order to adequately study such differences empirically.

POLICY DECISIONS

Turning to each of the above dimensions seriatim, it is obvious that most attention during the past half-decade or so has been devoted to the policy deliberation and policy decision stage or dimension of language planning. Three major volumes have been devoted largely to this topic (Haugen 1966b, Noss 1967, Das Gupta 1970), and significant

papers have been contributed by Abdulaziz (1971), Armstrong (1968), Barnes (1973), Das Gupta (1968, 1969, 1971), Fellman (1973), Fisherman and Fishman (1973), Fishman (1971a), Gallagher (1968, 1971), Macnamara (1971), Mazrui (1967), Paden (1968), Polome (1968), Pool (1969, 1973), Sibayan (1971a, 1971b), Spencer 1971), Van den Berghe (1968), and Whiteley (1968, 1969, 1971a, 1971b). Other papers substantially touching upon policy decisions, though stressing other aspects of language planning, are those by Bowers (1968), Burns (1968), De Francis (1967), Fishman (1968, 1971b), Hazai (1970), Jernudd (1968), Lavondés (1971), Le Page (1968), Rabin (1971), Rubin (1968), Rustow (1968), and Welmers (1971). The full series of the Survey of Language Use and Language Teaching in East Africa (of which only Ladefoged et al. 1971 has thus far appeared) will also contribute several papers to this area of discourse.

The above list could easily be further extended but its characterization would remain unchanged. Although covering a welcome variety of social, economic and political factors related to language policy formation and its consequences all too little attention is devoted to the *process* of policy decision making. Only Das Gupta and Haugen tell us much about how policies *get to be formulated*, how compromises are *reached* between opposing views and interests, in short about the formal and informal pressures and processes of arriving at policy decision. However, even in these last two instances we have no theory to match the data, no generalizable point of view nor conceptual approach. Perhaps if authorities arriving at language policies were viewed as constituent parts of organizations (and pressure groups were also so viewed) a more generalizable (or at least testable) approach might be forthcoming from organization theory. At any rate this most frequently observed aspect of language planning is much in need of systematization and conceptual integration if it is to escape from anecdotalism, historicism or local dimensionalism pure and simple. There are beginnings along such more systematic lines in the work of Garvin (1954), Das Gupta (1971), Sibayan (1971) and Pool (1972). More such work will doubtlessly be stimulated by the International Research Project on Language Planning Processses (Das Gupta et al., ms.).

CODIFICATION AND ELABORATION

Once the policy making stage has come and gone, at least for the time being or at least insofar as a particular target population or group of potential users is concerned, the technical linguistic aspects of language planning (which might well be referred to as "corpus planning", follow-

ing Kloss's felicitous distinction between *corpus planning* and *status planning* within language planning as a whole) tend to come to the fore. However, such technical expertise alone never seems to be sufficient since there are always habits and attitudes and values and loyalties and preferences, not only in the target populations, but among the planners themselves. Thus, the truly sociolinguistic study of codification and elaboration must be no more socially innocent than is the study of language policy decision making. Obviously neither of these may be linguistically innocent lest the nuances of language per se be lost to analysis.

How do members of language academies (or other authorized codifiers and elaborators) actually work? What do they recognize as their goals? How do they choose between alternatives? How do they know if they have made the right choice? Only recently have such questions been raised and preliminary answers to them proposed. Previously, major students of codification and elaboration were wont to analyze the products of such efforts (the actual nomenclatures, dictionaries, stylistic guides, etc. produced) rather than the processes by which they were produced. Heyd's classic study is of this type (1954), as is Hamzaoui's (1965) and to a large extent Haugen's (1966b). So are the studies by Al-Toma (1973), Guitarte and Quintero (1968), Hazai (1970) and Ansre (1971). If we compare all of the foregoing with Garvin (1954), Fellman (1973a, 1973b), Alisjahbana (1960), Fellman and Fishman (1973) and a very few others we must be struck by a difference akin to that between content alone vs. structure-plus-content. We are beginning to get a picture of who the technical planners are, what they know, how they organize their work, what channels of communication (upward and laterally) they activate, their aspirations and aggravations, etc. This work, too, is still theoretically anemic but, in view of its infancy, we first must give thanks that it has come into being at all. Once it has sufficiently increased in frequency of appearance we can then begin to press it more firmly toward conceptual integration.

IMPLEMENTATION AND EVALUATION

Given the variety of studies that exist comparing different methods of implementation in other areas of planned behavioral change (e.g. family planning campaigns, literacy campaigns, political participation campaigns, not to mention agricultural and industrial planning), it is surprising that studies of alternative implementational approaches to language planning are well nigh completely absent. There are hypotheses concerning the circumstances under which language planning efforts

tend to succeed or fail (Fishman 1971b), but even as hypotheses their validity is suspect. All in all, little of a definite sort is known about how to implement language planning, particularly about how to implement it differentially in relation to a variety of target populations and given a variety of social settings. Certainly, centralized Soviet or Chinese language planning has available to it implementational alternatives not available in Indonesia, India, Israel or East Africa. Nevertheless it is not clear to what extent extremes of totalitarian control, in the context of total cultural planning, are either necessary or effective in relation to the types of sanctions and influence processes available in less totalitarian settings. Certainly even totalitarian language planning has been less than fully successful with all target population, and, equally certainly, there is no lack of at least partial success under non-totalitarian conditions. While all agree that the co-occurrence of other mobilizing and mobility-providing opportunities are important (viz. Heyd's picture of planning effectiveness in Ataturkian times vs. Garvin's picture of ineffectiveness in more peaceful and consensual Ponape), it does not seem to be at all clear whether such opportunities are really crucial or merely facilitating and whether they are equally so for all segments of societies at different levels of development.

Before any of the above questions will be answerable (let alone answered) a great deal of more micro-level evaluation must take place. However, even such studies are few and far between. Their absence represents the primary stumbling block to the advancement of language planning at either the theoretical or the practical levels. Of course, optimal evaluation must take into consideration more than implementation alone. As Rubin correctly points out (1971), implementation itself must be viewed in the context of the type of decision making that preceded it and the type of codification/elaboration that was engaged in. Nevertheless, even more piecemeal evaluation would be welcome at this time, if only because it would tackle the problem of appropriate criteria of success. The International Research Project on Language Planning Processes (Das Gupta et al., ms.) was a pioneering venture not so much because of its comparative aspects (concentrating as it did upon India, Indonesia, Israel and Sweden) but because it differentiated between attitudinal/informational and language usage criteria as well as between sub-areas of each. Furthermore, very much like Fainberg's more focused investigation (1973), the IRPLPP was able to compare different *populations* with respect to their relative standing on these criteria and, thereafter, to ask what other *characteristics of respondents* (demographic, language repertoire and attitudinal/informational) were useful predictors of differential criterion performance.

The size of the final cumulative multiple correlations obtained by the

IRPLPP in conjunction with the six criteria of 'language planning success' that it recognized (in the 80's and 90's) indicates that such large-scale studies are not without considerable groundbreaking value. However, only Fainberg's more pinpointed approach (1973) could study the acceptance of *particular words* (selected in accord with word length, homonymity, prior existence of non-standard lexical equivalents, etc.) as well as the relative importance of *various implementational means* in the different populations sampled. The Irish Marketing Survey study of the effectiveness of a radio series in stimulating Irish language learning and interest is another focused evaluation effort (1969), although one that is less concerned with the particular Irish *usage* being employed and its detailed acceptability or unacceptability to the listening public. The language attitude research currently being conducted in Ireland under Ministry of Finance auspices (Comhaier Na Gaelige 1971) is policy oriented evaluation, but, to the extent that it seeks to determine what factors are responsible for *use and non-use* of Irish in a population in which study and admiration of Irish is ever so much more widespread than its use, it is evaluation research nonetheless and of a far too infrequent sort.

Obviously, the harvest of implementation and/or evaluation research is still slim. However, the IRPLPP has pointed the way both to the need and to the possibility of such research, and of even more focused investigations yet to come. Certainly, the prescriptive school, whether of Taulian or more local normativist inclinations, must be concerned with evaluation; otherwise its precise 'dos' and 'don'ts' remain detached from reality and appear to be ad hoc rationalizations rather than the hard headed instrumentalisms corresponding to its self-view. However, in the final analysis, implementational/evaluational research on language planning is necessary for its own self-respect, for the self-respect of the authorities and speech communities that support language planning, for the self-respect of those personally engaged in language planning. Without concern for criteria of success, without examination of alternatives, without cost-benefit concerns (Thorburn 1971, Jernudd 1971), without self-correction in methods on the basis of demonstrated experience, language planning is trivial, self-indulgent and self-righteous, but it is also *needlessly* ignorant and trivial. Although the time is still far off when language planning can be as informed and as effective as, say, agricultural planning (if, indeed, any cultural planning, value immersed as it is, can ever be as effective as more technologically based planning), the time of language planning in an implementational/evaluational vacuum is drawing to a close. The next decade should witness substantial gains in this connection, and, as a result, in the sophistication of the field as a whole.

RESEARCH ON CREATION AND REVISION OF WRITING-SYSTEMS

If policy determination is the most commonly studied stage of language planning then the creation and revision of writing systems is the most commonly noted aspect of technical language planning activity per se. The reasons for this are not hard to find. The creation and revision of writing systems is not only of interest to language planners but also to educationists (literacy specialists), missionaries (bible translators), anthropologists, political scientists, historians, etc. Such is the intensity of work in this area that it deserves and will be given separate treatment (Fishman, in press). Here, indeed, there is American, Soviet and Chinese experience of note. Here also there are a number of evaluational efforts, although, once again, these are far fewer in number and in impact than one would hope might be the case. Some reflection of recent work in this area is contained in papers by Welmers (1971), Ansre (1971) and Kun Chang (1967). The most recent extensive overview of the field is that of Fishman (1971b), although it is clear that he approaches this topic as a means of examining applied language planning research as a whole rather than the creation and revision of writing systems per se. Obviously, this is a field in which linguistic scholars, social science scholars, and practitioners from a variety of applied fields have all been at work – but, thus far, without much interaction or cross-fertilization. The beginning of just such interaction may be seen in Rabin and Schlesinger's inquiry into the classroom-learning consequences of variant orthographies (1973).

RESEARCH ON CODIFICATION

The specification and systematization of preferred phonological grammatical and/or lexical *models* is referred to in many language planning studies. Certainly Haugen does this for the major written varieties of modern Norwegian (1966b), Alisjahbana for Indonesian (1960), Omar for Malay (1971), Morag (1959), Blanc (1968), and Fellman (1973) for Modern Hebrew, Chi Li for Chinese (1962), Hall for Italian (1942), Heyd for Turkish (1954), etc. Of this company, Haugen, Alisjahbana, Fellman and, in part, Heyd are outstanding in that they provide us not only with a sketch of the structures finally arrived at but also with a tour through the social trouble and travail that accompanied the process of codification. All in all, these accounts, although they usually lack generalizable concepts, hypotheses or conclusions, are impressive indeed as indications of what language planning can attain. Can language planning successfully foster a phonology not native to or even utilized by the majority of speakers? Yes (Morag, Fellman). Can it develop

grammatical features only residually or marginally present and repress others of wider currency? Yes (Heyd, Haugen, Alisjahbana). Can it change something as patterned and as tightly interlocked as the number or terms of address system? Yes (Haugen 1966, Wittermans 1967). Is language planning then without limits? Are the purely instrumental considerations of Tauli (and, before him, of Ray 1963) also attainable? Personally, I would be skeptical of the latter, for reasons closely akin to those advanced by Haugen (1971). Every one of the system-building or revising triumphs of language planning has been carefully cloaked in sentiment, has appealed to authenticity rationales, has claimed indigenousness. Obviously, a modern speech community wants its language to be more than neat and trim and handy. It also wants it to be *theirs*, i.e. *like* them in some way, reflective of their individuality in some way, protective of their history in some way. Of course, as the 'Great Sun Theory' in Turkey revealed, these rationales are amazingly pliable. They very easily become mere masks, to be put over whatever it is that elites have decided. The new and strange *are* often justified as being old and authentic. Nevertheless there are limits here too, particularly given the continued existence of proto counter-elites. Thus, in sum, all we can conclude at this juncture is that the limits of language planning are more distant and expansive than had at first been thought. When (and with whom) they are wider and when (and with whom) narrower – this still remains very much a matter of impression and personal conviction rather than an issue that lends itself to empirical examinations. Clearly, however, the limits depend more on the social than on the linguistic facts of any case.

RESEARCH ON LEXICAL ELABORATION

Certainly the lion's share of popular awareness of language planning is in conjunction with lexical elaboration as conducted by language academies or other official and semi-official agencies. It is equally clear that whereas the creation and revision of writing systems, on the one hand, and the codification of *langue* models, on the other hand, are normally either one-time or some-time pursuits of language planning bodies, the work of lexical elaboration goes on forever (or so it seems). This latter fact is reflected by the size of the literature dealing with the principles of elaboration for modernization or with examples of such elaboration (or its absence) in various technological and cultural fields. The past half-decade or so has yielded interesting work in this connection, not only by several of the major figures referred to so frequently above, but also by Chandola (1963), Demoz (1963), Fellman (1973), Gallagher (1971), Glunk (1966), Issawi (1967), Jazayery (1966), Kirk-

Greene (1964), Minn-Latt (1966), Von Pelenz (1967), Weston (1965), etc.

Nevertheless, as is true of so many other aspects of language planning research, process oriented research and theoretically guided research, particularly as related to the differential success of planned neologisms among various target populations, is almost entirely lacking. With the exception of Fainberg's (1973) inquiry into knowing and not knowing, using and not using, liking and disliking selected modern Hebrew terms for automobile parts (among civilian drivers, vocational high school students and army drivers) and the various ILPLPP inquiries into attitudes toward indigenousness of vocabulary (Das Gupta et al., ms.) very little is known with respect to who accepts and who rejects 'academese' (see, however, Seckbach 1973, for such data as well as data on dictionaries, grammars, model writers, etc.). Nor do we have studies of what words are regarded as neologisms by various target populations and the sources from which they suppose these words to have come. Studies of foreign markedness, that is what words strike various target populations as foreign (or as indigenous) and why, are also lacking. Above all, we lack usage studies which are sensitive to the basic sociolinguistic reality of contextual variation. Some members of some target populations doubtlessly adopt academy-produced and academy-sponsored neologisms and use them exclusively thereafter for particular referents; others reject all such creations with particular glee and steadfastness. However, the behavior in question is not only of an all-or-none sort. For many, perhaps for most, it is a 'sometimething', the same neologism being activated *or* suppressed in accord with person, place and purpose co-occurrences. This, indeed, is an area of much needed empirical and theoretical attention because it is basic to any efforts to expand the appropriateness definitions that, consciously or not, underly the usage readiness or opposition of speech-network members vis-a-vis 'academese' at the lexical level.

RESEARCH ON INTERTRANSLATABILITY

Modernization is commonly characterized by a desire to attain technical and cultural features, believed to be already present in reference-communities considered to be already modern. In the language field, as Ferguson has stressed (1968), this takes the form of striving to render as adequately and as effortlessly in one's own language that which is already accurately and easily expressible in one or another crucial language of wider communication. However, intertranslatability goes beyond lexical and grammatical features alone to conversational and

written styles as a whole, as well as to entire literary genres. Bible translation itself involves the differentiation and cultivation of a variety of prose and poetry styles (Asad 1964; Nida 1964, 1968; Wonderly 1968). However, even as seemingly common a variety as that needed for newspaper reporting may be lacking (Passin 1968), not to mention those needed for governmental reports or legal briefs, textbooks, advertisements, informal or light fictional prose, etc. In order to foster the development of such styles, registers or varieties, some academies or language planning/language advocating agencies sponsor entire translation series from various kinds of world literature, encourage local writers to create in particular genres via prizes and publication subventions, and become major publishers of reading material for old and young. Intertranslatability thus tends to represent a compositing of codification and elaboration activity in accord with specific literary and oral models borrowed from more modern love-hate referents. What these referents are, why they are considered to be necessary models, what characteristics are taken to denote the genres that are targeted, these are all complex topics that have not yet been fully or frequently recognized outside of the bible translation field. To a considerable extent, this topic coincides with Neustupny's concern with cultivation. Obviously, a great deal of prior, more atomistic research may be needed before the large number of co-occurrences that constitute a particular register can be pieced together and traced through with respect to differential acceptance or rejection. Nevertheless, this is the level of integration at which language planning research must, ultimately, arrive, precisely because language planning behavior is the more meaningful the more it can be viewed in terms of behavior toward complete varieties (rather than in terms of separate phonological, grammatical or lexical dimensions).

CAN LANGUAGE BE PLANNED?

By the time the above question came to be incorporated in the title of a book (Rubin and Jernudd 1971) it was already a rhetorical question. The major contribution of a question such as the above at this time is to officially recognize that many members of the language-sciences community have passed beyond wondering whether language *should* be planned. Obviously, language *has been planned*, in one way or another, for a good long time, and in the Das Gupta and Jernudd sense of central governmental planning at that. Obviously, too, it has at times been planned with considerable success. Finally, it will clearly continue to be planned in the future, both in connection with the further cultiva-

tion of previously modernized languages, as well as in connection with the modernization of languages thus far utilized for traditional pursuits alone. Thus, the problem to be faced in the future is *not* whether language *should* or *can* be planned (since it obviously *will* be planned by those inclined to do so because of larger societal developments with which such planning is *always* interrelated), but, rather, how to do so most effectively in connection with pre-specified criteria of success.

The criteria of 'successful' language-planning are multiple and perhaps they should be even more so. The anti-mechanistic fear that language planning leads to the death of poetry, of intuition, of spontaneity, of originality, when translated into sociolinguistic terms merely leads to protecting the desirability of a contextualized repertoire. There are language contexts, and they are more frequently spoken than written, that may well be desirably less governed by language planning than others. Just as the acquisition of communicative competence is not complete until one knows what language (or variety) to speak (or write) to whom and when, so it is not complete until one knows where and when 'academese' is and is not appropriate. That there are forces in most modernizing speech communities attempting to change or influence the commonly accepted or enacted view of appropriateness vis-a-vis 'academese' is true enough. But even without centrally sponsored and conducted language planning such forces operate and are, on occasion, opposed by counter-forces. The mass-media, the writer, the popular hero, the itinerant, the occupant, the clergy, the elite – these have always influenced usage and often consciously so. Language planning is merely an attempt to influence usage more rapidly, more systematically, and more massively. As such it is no more threatening than the other types of planned socio-cultural change and just as amenable to delimitation. It is far from being so monolithic and so compelling as to be justifiably feared as a levelling and dehumanizing force. Like educational planning, agricultural planning, industrial planning and population planning, it is engaged in by means fully consonant with the other means of planned behavioral change acceptable to populations and their leaders. Like other types of planning it is value-laden and value-directed. Like other types of planning it often runs into unexpected system linkages related to traditional usages whose modernization is vehemently rejected by particular networks within the larger society. Like other types of planning it requires evaluation and feedback in order to proceed more successfully (according to locally pre-specified criteria) in the future than it has in the past. The recently concluded Survey of Language Usage and Language Teaching in East Africa (see, e.g. Ladefoged et al. 1971) and International Research Project on Language Planning Processes (Das Gupta et al., ms), and the

large number of provocative studies mentioned in this review as well as those by Desherijev (1973) and Lencek (1971), all indicate that we are beginning to accumulate the data, the theories and the methods necessary in order to slowly but surely make language planning more nearly like the rational and responsible pursuit that its adherents and practitioners have claimed it to be and that some other types of *social planning* have actually begun to be (Hyman 1970).

Jerusalem, June, 1972

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SECTION ONE

Theoretical Studies

J. V. NEUSTUPNÝ

BASIC TYPES OF TREATMENT OF LANGUAGE PROBLEMS

1. TREATMENT OF LANGUAGE PROBLEMS

The linguist's concern with language problems represents only an extreme case of a more general phenomenon which may be called *treatment of language problems*. Language problems, at least some of them, receive attention and are discussed in any community by linguists as well as by non-linguists. Patterns of thinking and talking about language problems are easily established and frequently strict constraints are imposed in this manner on the identification and understanding of the relevant issues.

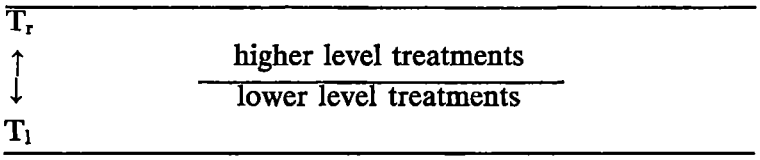
Treatment patterns display various degrees of *systematicity*. Problems may be exposed either in an ad hoc way as they historically emerge, or as an ordered system of items. Independently from this, some treatment patterns are more *theoretical* in the sense of being meaningfully based on sociological and/or linguistic models, while others reveal no similar background. Treatment patterns may further either relate to problems as they are reflected in folk taxonomies and naive attitudes toward language, or try to treat the linguistic situation responsible for these taxonomies and attitudes. This important difference in *depth* of treatment has so far received little attention (cf. however a similar notion in Daneš 1968: 122-123). In order to account for, for instance, the Japanese situation a 'surface' treatment will accept the

From *Linguistic Communications* 1 (1970), 77-98. Reprinted with permission. I wish to thank Björn Jernudd for useful comments on many problems discussed in this paper.

belief that all language problems in Japan are problems of script; on a 'deeper' level problems ranging from stylistic and lexical (e.g., limits on pre-modern vocabulary) to phonological issues (e.g., borrowed phonological elements) may emerge from behind the 'surface' slogan of script reform. Daneš (1968) has suggested another dimension which he calls *rationality*. Rational treatments are characterized by affective neutrality, specificity of goals and solutions, universalism, emphasis on effectiveness, and by long-term objectives. On the other hand, lack of rationality is marked by affectiveness, diffuseness, particularism, emphasis on quality instead of effectiveness, and preoccupation with short-term goals.

Systematicity, theoretical elaborateness, depth, and rationality (perhaps with additional features such as various kinds and degrees of adequacy) may be thought as contributing to the *rigour* of a theory or a treatment system (the term has been suggested to me by B. Jernudd).[1] With regard to rigour the historically observable patterns in each community may be expected to fall within a range the extremes of which are

(1) a considerably rigorous treatment (T_r), and
(2) a treatment with no legitimate claim on rigorousness (T_l):



An attempt to divorce completely the higher level treatment patterns (linguistic, etc.) from the lower ones is of necessity futile. Linguists, if involved at all, have continually claimed a high degree of systematicity and theoreticity for their approaches to language problems. Their intention has been to attain T_r but mostly with little success. Manifold reasons for this may be quoted: the lack of a socio-linguistic theory, personal political involvement (because of which often also social scientists have been kept distant from T_r), and to a significant degree the limited extent of the problems treated.[2] Lower level treatment pat-

[1] 'Rigorousness' differs of course from 'objectivity'. I fully agree with G. Myrdal's remark that recommendations cannot be made without commitment to value judgements (1968: 1941-1942). Principles applied in language treatment are accepted differently by different social groups (Neustupný 1968: 292) and as long as social stratification exists no 'objectivity' in language treatment is possible. Treatment patterns show various degrees of 'rigour' independently from the question of 'objectivity'.

[2] Too often the word language in the phrase 'language problems' is accepted to mean only the linguistic code (grammar-code variety). What is obviously needed

terns still play a role far exceeding what linguists working outside and inside language policy and planning agencies would readily accept.

2. BASIC TYPES OF LINGUISTIC TREATMENT OF LANGUAGE PROBLEMS

2.1 Policy and Cultivation

In present day linguistics two basically different and extreme approaches to language problems seem to coexist. I shall call the first *policy approach.*[3] This approach covers problems like selection of the national language, standardization, literacy, orthographies, problems of stratification of language (repertoire of code varieties) etc. The emphasis is on linguistic varieties and their distribution. This approach is combined with notions of language policy and planning. It might also be called a sociological or macroscopic approach. Ferguson (1962), Rice (1962), Bright (1966), Fishman-Ferguson-Das Gupta (1968), Fishman (1970), and perhaps the majority of other studies connected with modern sociolinguistics supply representative examples of this approach.

The second set of treatment patterns may be described as the *cultivation approach.* It is characterized by interest in questions of correctness, efficiency, linguistic levels fulfilling specialized functions, problems of style, constraints on communicative capacity etc. The term cultivation of language (coined by Garvin to cover the continental *Sprachkultur, jazyková kultura, kul'tura reči* etc.) is the most appropriate to describe this approach. *Langue,* language code, remains the central focus, but *parole,* speaking, is also considered: inclusion of phenomena like 'intellectualization' or 'styles' (Havránek) is not accidental. This second approach might perhaps also be labelled anthropological or microscopic. Havránek's "Studie o spisovném jazyce" and the Prague School theory of Literary Language in general are typical examples of this attitude. While the policy approach appeals to administration, the cultivation approach addresses the public in general, and intellectuals in particular.

Acceptance of one of the approaches frequently excludes the other

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is coverage of the whole complex of communication patterns, including for instance network rules, rules governing the use of channels, thematic rules etc. (cf. Neustupný 1968). The extent of the field is best indicated in Hymes (1962, 1964, 1967, in press) and Ervin-Tripp (1964, 1968).

[3] Words like 'policy' or 'cultivation' have been employed here as mere labels, without intention to declare what 'policy', 'cultivation' or 'planning' etc. is or should be. A recent theoretical approach to some of the relevant problems may be found, e.g., in Jernudd-Das Gupta (1971) and Rubin (1971).

approach. It is noticeable, for instance, that although the distinct Bohemian diglossia (Literary vs. Common Czech) received descriptive attention already in the thirties (Havránek 1934), it was not raised as a language problem until recently (Sgall 1960, Havránek 1963a, Daneš-Sgall 1964).

Both the policy and cultivation approach occur in various mutations with regard to the $T_l - T_r$ axis. The examples used above (sociolinguistics and the Prague School) represent considerably rigorous attempts. A journalist's attitude toward the language problem of India, or a puristic attitude toward Czech, frequent before the emergence of the Cercle linguistique de Prague, approximate the other extreme. Reasonably developed attempts at linguistic treatment of language problems have so far been presented independently in four areas: the Prague School, Japanese linguistics, Russian linguistics, and Sociolinguistics. A careful examination of these aproaches may, in the future, lead to a better understanding of the complicated structure of language treatment patterns.

2.2 The Prague School Theory of Cultivation of Language

Future research in this area will undoubtedly reveal predominance of the policy approach over the cultivation approach for the Czech situation in the 19th and early 20th century. The basic idea of the Prague School linguists since the late twenties was, however, to provide a more systematic and theoretical alternative to the language problem treatment of their predecessors and contemporaries, and to incorporate this alternative into the novel framework of structural linguistics (cf. Vachek 1966: 96-99, also Jedlička 1964). The initial formulation is found in Theses of the Circle in *TCLP* 1 (1929): 27-29 (also available in Vachek 1964). Further elaboration is due to V. Mathesius and B. Havránek (cf. the bibliography).

One of the primitive terms in the discipline is a norm, conceived as being different from its codification in textbooks, dictionaries etc. (Havránek 1938: 414). Norm has never been satisfactorily defined but its close relatedness to evaluation of language is obvious. Norm is basically identical with the phenomenon discussed by Bloomfield (1927) under the heading of "literate speech". Any type of language (any variety) has a norm. 'Cultivation of language' is, however, mainly concerned with the norm of Literary Language.[4] The two main problems

[4] I translate *spisovný jazyk* intentionally as Literary, not Standard, Language, because it seems that the usage of the former term is closely connected with the cultivation approach, while Standard Language represents a concept typically discussed in the policy approach.

concerning the norm of the Literary Language are: its *flexible stability* attained by fixation of the norm and destroyed by arbitrary interventions (Mathesius 1932), and *functional differentiation* (Havránek 1932; in 1947-1948: 134 Havránek calls the problem "adequacy to the given purpose"). Functional differentiation does not imply only a different inventory of elements, but also their different use (Havránek 1932: 37). This is the point where the theory leaves the sphere of *langue* and embarks in the area of *parole*. There are two fundamental types of this special use: *intellectualization* (or rationalization) on the one hand, and *automatization/foregrounding* on the other (cf. Garvin 1964: 9). Individual functional dialects and styles are characterized by a different share of these problems.

2.3 Two Japanese Approaches

While a single aproach has been characteristic for the Czech scene, two distinct currents may be distinguished in Japan. The first discipline is called *kokugo mondai* (Problems of the National Language, cf. Katō 1961) and contains chapters like "National Language policy", "Unification of spoken and written language", "Limitations on the number of characters", "Standard Language and dialects" etc. (cf. Kōmoku ichiranhyō in *Kokugogaku iten* 1955: 18-19). It is not difficult to recognize in these topics a typical policy approach. Since the Meiji Restoration language policy has always been given enormous attention in Japan, and Japan may easily be designated as one of the countries with most vigorous treatment of language problems. The post-war series of language reforms was not so much a measure imposed by the American Occupation authorities – as often believed – as it was a logical conclusion of the long autochthonous process of treatment of language problems.

Kokugo mondai is still an important term of reference in Japan. There is however no doubt that the post-war language reforms were the last for many years. After the war a new discipline referred to as *gengo seikatsu* (mostly translated as 'linguistic life') appears as a strong representative of the cultivation approach to language problems (cf. Miyaji 1961, Nishio 1961, Tokieda 1964, T. Iwabuchi 1964, Takahashi 1964). In the 'Encyclopaedia of the Japanese National Language' (*Kokugogaku iten* 1955: 15-18) the entries relevant for gengo seikatsu are classified as follows:

1. General . . .
1.1 Language acts in general . . .
1.2 Types of language acts . . .
2. Linquistic life and spoken language . . .

2.1 Speaking in general ...
2.2 About monologue ...
2.3 About dialogue ...
2.4 Listening life ...
2.5 Language product and language play ...
2.6 Linguistic life and instruments ...
2.7 Film, theatre, stage entertainment ...
2.8 Society and language ...
2.9 Language, customs and beliefs ...
3. Linguistic life and written language ...
3.1 Writing in general ...
3.2 Means and methods of writing ...
3.3 Types of written works ...
3.4 Calligraphy ...
3.5 Reading in general ...
3.6 Philology ...
3.7 Books ...
3.8 Printing, publishing ...

This system of topics, comparable to the "ethnography of speaking" (Hymes 1962) is treated not only as an object of description but also as a catalogue of language problems. The journal *Gengo seikatsu* published since 1951 under the sponsorship of the National Language Research Institute is especially notable in this respect.

Paralleled by attempts in a different tradition (Iwabuchi 1961, Kindaichi 1964) and also by a recent interest in McLuhan (e.g. *Hanashi-kotoba* ... 1968), the growth of the 'linguistic life' studies gives a clear testimony in favour of a transition from the policy toward the cultivation approach.[5]

E. Iwabuchi, Director of the National Language Research Institute, formulates perspectives for future development in the following way:

> The object of discussion of the so called Problems of National Language is at present most often represented by material which concerns its graphical representation. The Problems of National Language should not however stop in an area as narrow as that. Can, in the contemporary Japanese language, functions like cognition, communication, thinking and creation be satisfactorily performed? In which direction is it necessary to develop Japanese to further enhance the functions of human language? In my opinion this constitutes the real Problems of the National Language. (1965 : 2–3).

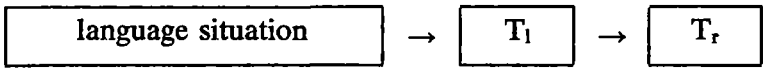
Fundamental to the Japanese situation is the problem of a theory. Standards of the journal *Gengo seikatsu*, laid down basically by T.

[5] Useful surveys of language situation and a bibliography appear annually in *Kokugo nenkan* (Yearbook of the National Language), ed. by the National Language Research Institute (Tokyo: Shūei Shuppan).

Shibata, are high, more than half way between journalistic and purely academic treatment. The reports of the National Language Research Institute on 'linguistic life' (*An Introduction* . . . 1966: 6-9, Grootaers 1952; cf. also Sh. Hayashi 1966) still continue to bring extremely useful and sometimes unique material. Even if these studies are sometimes considerably systematic, an outside observer may, however, not fail to notice that neither kokugo mondai nor gengo seikatsu have so far produced a generally acceptable attempt at establishing a modern theoretical framework. This situation has already been criticised in Japan (Takahashi 1964) but no improvement is immediately foreseeable.

2.4 Why Two Different Approaches?

The variables responsible for the difference between the policy and cultivation patterns are not difficult to identify. Treatment of language problems, even on its deepest and most theoretical levels, has so far been strongly influenced by levels adjoining T_l, and these, in their turn have received strong influence from features of the speech communities in question:



It is the *less developed* modern (or modernizing) societies in which the policy approach prevails. These societies are characterized by a high degree of arbitrary (Neustupný 1965: footnote 6, p. 89) social and linguistic heterogeneity. Under changed or changing social conditions the diversity within the repertoire of varieties is easily recognizable and leads to a clear policy approach on both the lower and higher levels of treatment. This explains the predominance of the policy approach in sociolinguistics which has largely developed as a study of developing languages.[6] The kokugo mondai approach in Japan slowly disappears (or significantly changes) with the country's transfer into the category of developed nations. From what I know of the Soviet treatment of language problems, a marked division seems to exist: the policy approach is employed for the less developed languages, while the cultivation approach applies to Russian (cf. already Polivanov 1927).

The cultivation approach coexists with a situation of functional (Neustupný 1965: footnote 6, p. 89) stratification of language which

[6] The other source of inspiration for treatment of language problems in sociolinguistics seems to derive from studies of bilingualism in developed societies like America (Haugen 1953, 1956; Fishman 1965).

appears in the foreground in *more developed* communities. The inter-variety relationships become less conspicuous, variation is "fine" (Labov 1966), and it is now issues like stability and functional differentiation that matter. Problems of (non-literary) style and expression come under discussion.[7]

Variations in this basic model can hardly destroy its general validity. It may further be expected that the contemporary transition of most developed speech communities from communication largely relying on written language (Japan, partly Europe) to patterns with less marked weight on written messages (American English) may constitute a third approach to treatment of language problems. M. McLuhan (Hymes 1964) seems to represent a lower level treatment of the third type.

3. CONCLUSIONS

The main points of the above discussion may be summarized as follows:

(1) Linguistic approaches to language problems are only one section of a broader category of treatment of language problems.
(2) Two extreme and opposite patterns of linguistic treatment of language problems may be distinguished: a policy approach and a cultivation approach.
(3) The policy approach is connected with the study of less developed speech communities while the cultivation approach is found in modern industrialized societies.

Before any modern prescriptive attempt at language treatment is produced, at least the following three considerations seem necessary:

(1) Can any advantage be derived from application of the policy approach in communities characterized by a high degree of social development? The already mentioned persistent neglect of the Bohemian diglossia seems to attest to the correctness of a positive answer to this question. Some linguists' surprise whenever a policy type problem (e.g., the language problems in Belgium or Canada) emerges in the developed world points to the same conclusion.
(2) Is the cultivation approach applicable to less developed societies? Undoubtedly the centre of language problems in these societies

[7] Fishman (1970: 69 et seq.) correctly argues in favour of both "uniformation" and "differentiation" in industrialized societies. Undoubtedly new dialectal features do emerge (Shibata 1965) even if mostly they are isolated and do not constitute clear new varieties. Of much greater importance for industrialized societies than these examples of newly created arbitrary heterogeneity is, however, the fact of the fast growth of functional heterogeneity, establishment of a complicated set of so far nonexistent levels of linguistic means designated to fulfil new tasks (Neustupný 1965: 89).

will remain in the sphere of the policy approach. Issues of stability, functional differentiation, intellectualization etc. do however apply in any situation. A model like Haugen's (1966) which attempts to incorporate elements from both of the extreme approaches deserves careful attention (cf. also Jernudd-Das Gupta, 1971, Section 3).

(3) In order to develop the higher levels of treatment of language problems it will further be necessary to set linguistics free from its preoccupation with the problems of language code (grammar-code variety) and explore the vast area of *parole* far beyond what 'code' linguists would imagine. The *langue*-and-only-*langue* approach in linguistics is close to going out of fashion also in the sphere of treatment of language problems (Neustupný 1968).

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THE THEORY OF LANGUAGE PLANNING

Language is a means of communication. By this statement two main and essential characters of the language are given. Firstly language is a means. Already Wilhelm von Humboldt maintained: "Die Sprache ist immer nur Mittel."[1] Secondly language is a social code, as well as a social institution. If we want to treat language realistically, and not as a mystery, we must always have in mind these two aspects of language. Much has been written on the importance of language. It is impossible to exaggerate the role of language in a society and culture, and its importance is still increasing steadily day by day. Joyce O. Hertzler in his book *A sociology of language*[2] discusses the following major general functions of language: language as the means of identification, categorization, perception, thinking, creative activity, technology, memory, transmitting knowledge across space and time and grasping the abstract and supernatural. Besides this language is the basic instrument of social behavior.

That language has a great social function is proved by man's great concern in linguistic matters. This is valid for the man in the street as well as for persons holding the highest posts in a state. One is anxious that oneself as well as other persons use correct and good language. This is manifest in the extensive demand for and success of manuals of linguistic correctness in various countries and in numerous

From *Las Concepciones y Problemas Actuales de la Sociolingüiistica,* Oscar Uribe Villegas (ed.) (Mexico: Universidad Nacíonal Autónoma de Mexico). Reprinted with permission.

[1] *Gesammelte Schriften* VI (2) (Berlin, 1907), 396.

[2] New York, 1965, 38 ff.

inquiries and complaints received daily by offices dealing with linguistic service in many countries.[3] The concern of political authorities for language is manifest in royal and governmental academies, official language boards and in legislation regulating the use of language (cf. governmental intervention in language reform in Turkey or Norway, *Ley de defensa del idioma* in Columbia etc.). The concern of intellectuals for linguistic correctness and efficiency is manifest in numerous private and semi-official organizations in various countries (cf. *Office du Bon Langage* in Belgium), which besides service often deal with linguistic propaganda on a vast scale in the press, radio, television and special drives (cf. *Quinzaine du bon langage* in Belgium, 'Language Day' in Latin-America). Often, but not always, the linguistic philosophy behind such propaganda is puristic. A popular slogan is 'the defense of the language' (cf. *Association Défense de la langue française*). A common catchword of intellectuals is the 'decay' or 'ruin' of the language; one speaks of illness, corruption, crisis, etc. of language ("they tend to feel that the English language is going to hell if 'we' don't do something to stop it").[4] Regardless of the real efficiency of the propagated norms and the naivete of people in linguistic matters this activity proves the great social role of language.

The striving for correct and good language are based on the two basic characters of language, as a social phenomenon and as a means. Language is a social code. The codes of society are in general normative. The linguistic norm is inherent in the nature of language. In a normal dialect in general, except in mixed border areas, no phonemic or morphemic variants occur. The linguistic norm is the precondition on which an efficient and economic function of linguistic communication is based. This is instinctively felt also by the speakers of standard language (SL). It is the most natural and positive thing in principle. It is on this normal instinctive feeling that the demand for linguistic correctness is based. If a user of SL becomes aware of more than one expression for something, he naturally asks which of them is the correct one. The natural assumption is that one of them must be wrong. But man is not satisfied with language which is correct. He wants to use good language and he is anxious to improve his language, like other tools and even social institutions. This, too, is the most natural and

[3] The language office of the Finnish Academy receives yearly 10,000 inquiries (Seulaset, 1968), 52. The Austrian radio has a broadcasting series, the so-called 'Sprachpolizei', whose main task is to make the listeners language policemen. During fifteen years the Austrian radio had received 110,000 communications from listeners. Most of them were reports of linguistic errors which the listeners had noticed (Maria Hornung in: *Sprachnorm, Sprachpflege, Sprachkritik* [Düsseldorf, 1968], 216).

[4] Cf. A. A. Hill, *Language* 46 (1970), 246.

rational attitude towards language. This attitude is based on language as a means. The spreading of a tool depends partly on the usefulness and efficiency of the tool, partly on various historical, social and psychological conditions, as propaganda, power, social and individual mentality. An inefficient tool can spread because it has become fashionable or because it has been forced upon. All this is also valid for a language and its components, as words, morphemes, constructions, even sounds, as the history of languages proves.

From the fact that language is a means follows that a language and its components can be evaluated, altered, corrected, regulated, improved, and replaced by others and new languages and components of a language can be created at will. Thus all languages or the components of a language, as constructions, words or morphemes, are not equal in efficiency in every respect. The efficiency of a language or a component of a language as a means of communication can be evaluated from the point of view of economy, clarity, redundancy, etc. with objective scientific often quantitative methods. For example a conspicuous difference exists in languages in respect of the degree of morphophonemic complexity, i.e. invariability vs. variability of morpheme, regularity vs. irregularity. On this difference also the degree of difficulty in learning a language or linguistic pattern depends. There is, of course, a great difference in memory burden if a grammatical category, e.g. the genitive singular, is expressed by one or a few automatically conditioned allomorphs, as in English, or by about 70 unpredictable allomorphs, as in Estonian. A well-known type of error in child language is formation according to a regular pattern instead of an irregular one. Susan M. Ervin and Wick R. Miller maintain that in English even a six-year old often uses regular and irregular past tense forms interchangeably, which proves that the adult norm has not yet developed a firmly established habit. Other, less frequent patterns are yet to be learned.[5] It is obvious that where such irregular forms are lacking it is impossible for children to commit such errors, and the time needed to learn the expressions of the corresponding grammatical categories must be shorter.

No language can express everything adequately: the whole physical and psychical reality, all the shades of human thought and feeling, not to speak of abstract theories. But there are also many imperfections in languages which need not occur. The ethnic languages were not constructed methodically according to plan. They originated and developed by infinite momentary groping attempts of individual members of thousands of generations to communicate with each other. These individuals had no consciousness of the whole system of language but

[5] *Readings in the sociology of language*, J. A. Fishman (ed.) (The Hague, 1968), 83.

only the needs of the moment. In the development of language chance plays an essential part: the various linguistic changes depend on several extralinguistic conditions, psychological, geographical, social and historical factors, which have no logical connexion with each other. It would be absurd to assume that languages form logical, harmonious or perfect systems, or that every element in every language and dialect is the most efficient one. It is evident that all languages are fatally imperfect and unsystematic, with lacunae and unnecessary elements. It is a well-known fact that language lags behind thought: on one hand it contains signs which have no longer any meaning in the speaker's mind, on the other hand there are meanings which have not yet been given an adequate expression. It is particularly in the periods of cultural revolution that language lags behind needs, when the lack of adequate expressions for new meanings is felt. To a certain extent the need for new words is a constant phenomenon of every developing culture. Several linguists have pointed to structural imperfections in the main European languages, also in one's own mother tongue (e.g. Charles Bally[6] and J. Marouzeau[7] in French). In comparison with progress in technology and social life modern ethnic languages seem rather primitive and archaic. But what is is not necessarily what should be. We are not bound to the language as it is (as Ferdinand de Saussure thought).[8]

Like other tools a language and its components can be changed and replaced. This is valid for phonemes, morphemes, words, syntactic constructions and rules. Although language is more resistant to changes than some other social phenomena, it is nevertheless subject to deliberate change and direction, even to radical change. The deliberate direction of language depends on the same factors as change of other social customs and codes: individual initiative, influence of leading persons, authority, prestige, imitative instinct, propaganda, and, last but not least, power. The deliberate change of linguistic elements is already proved by several customs in several preliterate societies. For example, some Australian tribes name their children after natural objects; when the person so named dies another word is invented for the object after which the person was called. According to a similar custom in the language of the Abipones of Paraguay, e.g., during seven years the word for jaguar was changed thrice. In the Galla kingdom of Ghera the name of the sovereign may not be pronounced and common words which resemble it in sound are changed for others.[9] Literary and

[6] *Linguistique générale et linguistique française* (Bern, 1944²), 253 ff., 310, 334 ff., 368.

[7] *Aspects du français* (Paris, 1950), 198 ff.

[8] *Cours de linguistique générale* (Paris, 1922), 104.

[9] J. G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough II* (London, 1911), 358 ff.

standard languages are all to a greater or lesser extent deliberate arbitrary creations. This is valid for old literary languages, and to a still greater extent for various new national languages in Africa and Asia. New words are coined not only for new concepts but purists and language planners in several countries have succeeded in replacing everyday words with new ones.

The most obvious proof of the possibility of extensive deliberate changes in linguistic usage is the experience of language reforms in such languages as Hungarian, Norwegian and Estonian. In Norway the so-called *landsmål* or *nynorsk* was originally constructed by one person, Ivar Aasen, on the basis of archaic dialects.[10] In Estonian, by the initiative of the bold language reformer Johannes Aavik, wholly arbitrarily constructed new root-words *roim, laip, relv* have supplanted such old common compound words as *kuritegu* 'crime', *surnukeha* 'corpse', *sõjariist* 'weapon' respectively not only in literary language (LL) but also in colloquial SL and have been transmitted to the new generation. Through the influence of Aavik, in the language of many users of Estonian SL in the 1920s the plural morpheme *-te* was deliberately replaced in many words by *-i*, which was formerly unknown in their language, e.g. *kõrgetes kirikutes* 'in high churches' was replaced by *kõrgeis kirikuis*; likewise the analytic superlative expression by the particle *kõige* + comparative was in many words replaced by a synthetic superlative form with the suffix *-im*, hitherto unknown in Estonian.[11] That linguistic tools which are deliberately and freely constructed can be efficiently used as means of communication in writing as well as in speech is proved also by the experience of the constructed languages. Theoretically there are no limits to deliberate language change if we do not take into account limitations due to biological factors. Neither have we any practical experience proving that there are certain kinds of deliberate changes that are impossible. Chances for realization of deliberate changes differ in different language communities and periods, depending on various psychological, social, cultural and other factors. In any case man is free deliberately to change and improve his language, as he does with his other tools and social codes. And that is feasible to an extent that was not realized in the past.

It is regrettable that linguists have been slow to grasp the nature of language as a means of communication and to draw the logical conclusions from this fact. The 20th century inherited from the 19th century the negative attitude of linguists towards the problems of language

[10] See further Einar Haugen, *Language conflict and language planning* (Cambridge, Mass., 1966).

[11] See further Tauli, "Estonian poetry and language", in: *Studies in honour of Ants Oras* (Stockholm, 1965), 106 ff.

evaluation and language planning (LP). As late as the year 1921 Otto Jespersen could write: "Breadth of vision is not conspicuous in modern linguistics, and to my mind this lack is chiefly due to the fact that linguists have neglected all problems connected with a valuation of language."[12] This passage has been later repeatedly quoted, and it is still valid for some linguists. It is remarkable that it is in the small countries as Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Scandinavia, Finland, Estonia etc. with young LLs where linguists have actively participated in LP and have been first to advocate the solution of LP problems by linguists. The Hungarian linguist Fülöp Kaiblinger in his book *Alkotó nyelvtudomány* (1912), maintained that linguistics must change from being purely historical and psychological into creative or constructive science. The task of linguistics should be to spread the existing better forms and to construct new better forms. The distinguished Danish linguist Otto Jespersen voiced (1914) the opinion that theoretical linguistics is the means and LP the end, adopting the slogan of Auguste Comte: "Savoir pour prévoir, et prévoir pour prévenir": one investigates reality with scientific methods in order to remodel reality.[13]

The greatest breadth of vision was shown by the Estonian language reformer Johannes Aavik. In his book *Keeleuuenduse äärmised võimalused* [The extreme possibilities of language reform] (1924) he outlined a revolutionary theory of LP. Aavik drew the full logical conclusion of the plain fact that language is a means: as all natural languages are imperfect, the improvement of languages is indispensable. Aavik differs from other language planners in insisting that language improvement must be methodical and extensive, including "artificial", i.e. free, arbitrary creation. He argued that we can arbitrarily combine sounds to make new words and even new derivational and inflectional morphemes, and to create new syntactic constructions. That Aavik's theory did not remain on paper is proved by the success of his language reform.[14] Aavik's theory and practice smashed all mystical prejudices about languages and opened unprecedented perspectives for improvement of ethnic languages. Several linguists have since then stressed the need of language improvement.

In the bigger countries with older LLs the comprehension of the nature of language as a means of communication has been more slow. Regarding Germany Siegfried Jäger could write as late as 1971: "Die Sprache wurde lange Zeit personalisiert und mystifiziert. Eine Auffassung der Sprache als sozio-kulturelle Variable, als gesellschaftliches Mittel zum gesellschaftlichen Zweck, wie sie schon von Leibnitz ver-

[12] *Language, its nature, development and origin* (London, 1922), 99.
[13] *Linguistica* (Copenhagen, 1933), 103.
[14] Cf. Tauli, "Estonian poetry".

treten worden war, setzt sich in Deutschland erst in der allerletzten Jahren wieder durch, bei V. Polenz, Betz und anderen."[15] The new attitude of linguists is manifest in the statement that evaluation is an important task of linguistics (Hugo Moser).[16] *Das Institut für deutsche Sprache*, founded 1964 in Mannheim by linguists from all German-speaking countries, has a committee "für wissenschaftlich begründete Sprachpflege". In France the new attitude is manifest in Aurélien Sauvageot's statement: "Le problème de la régulation de la langue . . . est l'un des plus importants qui connaisse la linguistique".[17]

Progress in the attitude of linguists has been slowest in the USA. The slogan 'Leave your language alone'[18] and the view that 'one word is as good as another', current among many linguists in the 1950s, has now mostly been abandoned and one has begun to grasp that languages and their components can also be evaluated from the structural point of view, for example morphophonemic complexity. A distinguished American linguist, Joshua Whatmough, maintained even that language must be adjusted to the present age, for which purpose it must be improved and redesigned.[19] Nevertheless one can still find prejudices and, curiously enough, unscientific statements about language evaluation even by distinguished linguists. Such dogmatic fallacies are what Einar Haugen calls the hypothesis of *linguistic equilibrium*[20] and I. A. Richards "non-scientific *linguistic egalitarianism*"[21]. According to the former view positive and negative balance each other in all languages and no language is more easy or difficult than another. Needless to say, such balance has never been proved for any language, and has no evidence whatsoever. This view ignores, besides other things, the difference in morphophonemic complexity and is practically contradicted by experiences in language learning. Likewise unfounded is the view that every language is equally well adapted to the uses to which the community puts it. Some American linguists still cannot imagine that linguistic expressions can be evaluated by the linguist "qua scientist"[22] not only from the viewpoint of social prestige and from the esthetical point of view, but also from the structural aspect, i.e. from viewpoints

[15] *Muttersprache* 81 (1971), 163.

[16] In: *Sprachnorm, Sprachpflege, Sprachkritik*, 186.

[17] *Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique de Paris* 64 (2) (1969), 18.

[18] The title of a book by a known American linguist Robert A. Hall, Jr., 1950. The second revised edition has the title *Linguistics and your language* (Garden City, New York, 1960), but the same content.

[19] *Language* (London, 1956), 238.

[20] *Language* 45 (1969), 941.

[21] *So much nearer* (New York, 1968), 74.

[22] Cf. Ernst Pulgram, *Linguistics* 53 (1969), 89 ff. D. Crystal, *What is linguistics?* (London, 1968), 8 ff., 14 ff., 23 ff.

of efficiency, such as clarity and economy, that the different expressions for the same meaning are not only 'just different'.[23]

Understanding of the importance of LP has steadily gained ground among linguists in several countries, but the theoretical foundations in dealing with LP problems have been weak. In the 20th century, several scholars have voiced the opinion that LP should be based on a proper theory and methods and that for this purpose a new branch of science should be established. For this science several names have been used, e.g. *practical linguistics* (A. Peškovskij), *applied linguistics* (Bruno Migliorini, H. Spang-Hansen), *prescriptive linguistics* (Punya Sloka Ray), *normative linguistics* (Einar Haugen). The present writer uses the term *theory of language planning* (TLP).[24] It should be mentioned that in the current usage the term 'applied linguistics' does not mean a science of LP, but it is a collective name for the most various practical problems connected with language, including computational and mathematical linguistics, machine translation, bilingualism, etc. In some countries it deals mainly with problems of foreign language teaching. Sometimes the programmes of applied linguistics include LP. In practice LP is ignored by the institutions, journals and congresses which contain the term 'applied linguistics'.[25] TLP may be defined as follows:

Theory of language planning is a science which methodically investigates the ends, principles, methods and tactics of language planning.

LP may be defined as follows:

Language planning is the methodical activity of regulating and improving existing languages or creating new common regional, national or international languages.

Often the use of the term 'language planning' includes governmental

[23] That there is something wrong with the evaluation criteria of some modern linguists is also proved by the attitude towards orthography. I do not mean those who defend the present English spelling with a metaphysical pathos against the "tyranny of reason" (cf. John Nist, *Linguistics* 23 [1966], 81 ff.), but those who mean that English orthography "comes remarkably close to being an optimal orthographic system for English" (Noam Chomsky and Morris Halle, *The sound pattern of English* [New York, 1968], 49; for criticism of this view see Geoffrey Sampson, *Language* 46 [1970], 621 ff.) and who do not grasp that "the current orthography should be anything in particular other than what it is" (Richard L. Venezky, *The structure of English orthography* [The Hague, 1970], 122), and that despite the obvious complexity of the system (which now has been revealed even with the help of computer) and inconsistencies, and the experiences of learning and ability of spelling, not to speak of what popular belief and common sense says in this matter (cf. also the steadily increasing trend of spelling pronunciation in English, French and Swedish).

[24] Cf. the author's book *Introduction to a theory of language planning* (Uppsala, 1968).

[25] Regarding the various meanings and programmes of applied linguistics see Otto Back, *Sprache* 16 (1970), 21 ff.

linguistic policy in the widest sense (cf. Belgium or India)[26] or it is used only in this meaning. But it is more expedient to employ the traditional term *language policy* for the latter meaning.

Why do we need competent LP based on a proper theory? The prerequisite for normal, easy and efficient communication in a society is the possession of one common language. In case of a nation it is called *standard language*. SL means deliberate choice and planning. In order to do it in the most efficient way it must be based on a scientific theory, proper principles and methods. An urgent task in many languages is to eliminate the harm done to language by the incompetent and antiquated grammarians in the past. In various countries many newer more efficient colloquial forms have been repudiated, whereas archaic, extinct and inefficient or unnecessary forms have been preserved in LL owing to the influence of grammarians. Often language development has been directed in a wrong direction or has been stopped altogether, in contradiction to the spontaneous and beneficial development. To eliminate these errors of the past is the task of a scientific methodical LP. It is not the task of LP to prescribe norms, but to try to point out and prove which expressions are preferable.

The higher and more difficult task of LP is the methodical improvement of language, i.e. to eliminate inadequacies and inconveniences in the structure and vocabulary of a language, and to adapt the language for new needs and to make it more efficient. For this purpose TLP is indispensable. We must also consider the immense increase of the importance of language in modern society. An entirely new situation has arisen, which cannot be compared with the situation in the beginning of the century when the main manifestation forms for LL were belles-lettres, modest press and scientific literature destined for specialists. Now, because of radio and television, the modern press and the dynamic social life, the importance of LL and SL in the life of man and society is far more extensive. Let us also remember that in all countries the teaching of the mother tongue in the schools demands extensive costs in time, energy and money, while the knowledge of the mother tongue of graduates is still unsatisfactory. Thus the efficiency of a language has great importance also from the viewpoint of national economy. The role of writers in language development has diminished and among the dominating factors which influence language development are now also technology, natural sciences, economy, advertising and every-day speech, which more and more is also used by writers.[27] Adding here the problems of terminology we realize how important LP

[26] Cf. Haugen in: *Sociolinguistics*, William Bright (ed.) (The Hague, 1966), 52; H. A. Koefoed, *Sprog og sprogvidenskab* (Oslo, 1968), 13.

[27] Cf. Moser in: *Satz und Wort im heutigen Deutsch* (Düsseldorf, 1967), 16.

and a rational solution of its problems are. The importance and difficulty of the problems of terminology is proven by the enormous number of existing terms and the everlasting need for new ones. If already at the beginning of the century several scholars found that language is behind thought, how much farther does it lag behind now. The new situation and knowledge have placed in the foreground other LP principles. Still some decades ago (and in some circles even today) one argued with such romantic criteria as historical or puristic principles. Now economic principle is in the forefront.

The need for LP is not the same in all languages. The situation is different in a language with a long literary tradition, relatively simple morphology and small dialectal differences and a language with a young literary tradition, complex morphology, great dialectal differences and a great many competing forms in SL, which did not become the vehicle of a complex culture until the 19th or 20th century and is in urgent need of a mass fabrication of new words. Still other problems face the countries where hitherto has existed no national or regional common language, no SL nor LL. An important task of LP is to establish linguistically sound principles for creating new common and literary languages where none yet exist. The creation of new national and regional common languages has become an acute problem all over the world, in Europe, Africa, America, Asia. It concerns a great number of languages and peoples. If a new common language to be created is to become as efficient as possible, it is necessary that it be founded on linguistic considerations, not extralinguistic, political factors or chance. The main problems are: (1) to choose the dialect or dialects SL is to be based on; (2) to establish norms for SL; (3) to plan the appropriate improvements, i.e. to adapt the language to the new cultural and social needs, making it an efficient instrument for the new society and culture; (4) to create an appropriate orthography. It is obvious that such a planning demands a proper theory. S. Takdir Alisjahbana, professor at the University of Malaya, has spoken of "The failure of modern linguistics in the face of linguistic problems of the twentieth century"[28] and has declared that the new nations in Asia and Africa "are interested in the problem of how to change and mould the phonology, the morphology and the vocabulary of their languages, so that these languages not only become an integrating force in society but also adequate vehicle for communication and progress in the modern world. What they want is not *descriptive* but *prescriptive linguistics*."[29] One can imagine how much harm may be done to the languages and peoples concerned if

[28] Inaugural lecture delivered at the University of Malaya in 1964 (Kuala Lumpur, 1965).

[29] *Lingua* 15 (1965), 517.

these problems are handled by dilettantes or prejudiced scholars. It is to be feared that much harm has already been done to millions of people by incompetent manipulation of their languages. The enormous task of vocabulary planners is illustrated by some statistics. The Indian Board of Scientific Terminology, constituted 1950, was assigned the task of preparing 350,000 new terms in Hindi, of which, by 1963, 290,000 were already delivered. This regards only science, for other fields another committee has the task to coin new terms.[30] In Indonesia in 1952-1965, 328,000 new terms were created.[31]

TLP is an *applied science*, i.e. its results are applicable to practical ends. In this respect TLP is comparable to other applied sciences such as pedagogy, agronomy, medicine, technology, etc. TLP is also a *normative science* as opposed to descriptive or factual science. It deals with values. The proposition of a normative theory implies a following form: "an A which is B has the quality of C".[32] TLP as a normative science implies by definition that one has not to be satisfied with the factual state of things; the task of TLP is to evaluate the facts and to give norms for their improvement in conformity with an ideal.[33] A property of normative science is the non-uniqueness of its theory. As the postulates of a normative theory partly depend on subjective attitudes there may be several rival normative theories. Consequently more than one TLP is possible.[34]

TLP problems are teleological, methodological and tactical corresponding to the ends (principles), means (methods) and tactics (strategy) of LP respectively. *It is particularly necessary to stress the difference in principle between the teleology, based on the ideal of language as an efficient instrument, and the tactics of LP, which must take into account the existing language and the social and other conditions of the language community.* In practice, and often also in theory, it is difficult to separate these two points of view.

Language ideal can be expressed by a formula which is valid for all human activities, for instance in economy as well as in art:
Ideal language is that which by the minimum of means attains the maximum of results.

In general terms we can define the demands for an ideal language as follows:

(1) An ideal language must do all the jobs necessary for its purpose,

[30] J. Das Gupta in: *Current trends in linguistics* 5 (The Hague, 1969), 585 ff.

[31] I. Käbel, *Zeitschrift für Phonetik, Sprachwissenschaft und Kommunikationsforschung* 22 (1969), 603.

[32] Cf. Edmund Husserl, *Logische Untersuchungen I* (Halle, 1913²), 48.

[33] Cf. Husserl, *Logische Untersuchungen*, 26 ff., 40 ff.; F. S. C. Northrop, *The logic of sciences and humanities* (New York, 1948), 225 ff., 278 ff.

[34] One of them is suggested in the present writer's book mentioned in note 24.

the means of communication, i.e. it must convey all necessary information and shades of meaning.
(2) It must be economical, i.e. as easy for the speaker and the listener as possible.
(3) It must have an aesthetic form.
(4) It must be elastic, i.e. easily adaptable to new tasks, i.e. for expression of new meanings.

The basic and most difficult problems of LP are:
(1) How to reconcile the contradictory demands of clarity and economy, i.e. which is the most efficient relation of clarity, redundancy and economy?
(2) Which is the most efficient and economic structure?
(3) (In Tactics:) To what extent it is expedient deliberately to change a given language at a given moment, i.e. which is the most expedient relation between tradition and ideal?

The evaluation and comparison of linguistic elements as to the principles of clarity, economy and beauty must be based on empirical facts and stated, if possible, in quantitative terms. If no appropriate empirical methods to evaluate certain structural features are available, or if one cannot solve a crucial dilemma between antagonistic principles by the deductive method, the diachronic facts and tendencies of linguistic change must help to solve the problems of linguistic evaluation. Here one must take into account the history, structures, tendencies and the factors behind them of all the existing language types and groups. In a methodical LP the following stages may be discerned. (1) One must try to evaluate the existing competing expression variants in SL, and to decide which of them are to be preferred and favoured. (2) The deficiencies of the language are to be discovered. (3) A plan must be worked out how to eliminate the deficiencies and how to improve the language. An appropriate LP presupposes that it is based on the existing structural type on the respective language and takes into account the potentialities of its spontaneous development, likewise the possibility of directing the language towards a more efficient structural type.

LP comprises all spheres of the oral and written forms of the language: phonology, morphology, syntax, lexicology (vocabulary) and orthography. The most extensive field of LP is vocabulary planning and lexicology is the biggest section of TLP, constituting in itself an extensive branch of science. Elaboration of detailed and well-founded principles and methods of vocabulary planning is an urgent task. In addition to the traditional sources and ways of coining new words, new bold methods can be used on a great scale, as arbitrary construction of words by free combination of phonemes, alteration of foreign words (cf. *gas* <Greek *chaos,* Estonian *embama* 'to embrace'<French *em-*