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The origin and development of a language management framework

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The author's reminiscences recount ideas that came together from the 1960s, out of which came Language Management Theory. Most ideas have already been articulated someplace, somehow, and are already 'out there', if anyone cares to find them. Therefore, they are available to be compiled and formulated to respond to changing societal circumstances and intellectual insights. I will attempt to identify and discuss strands of ideas that came together and that moved researchers towards articulating a LM discourse, in particular the Language Management Theory.

Keywords: language planning, language problems, correction theory, norms, language management, language management theory

1. The concepts of LMT (language management theory) and LPT (language planning theory)

Language Management (LM) as a concept coexists with Language Planning (LP) as a concept. Both concepts embrace discourses that systematize enquiry into behavior toward language, and both refer to actual practices. Authors who use the one expression often seem to mean the other. Riggs' plea for terminological clarity notwithstanding (1981), academics in the social sciences are not as concerned with definitions of concepts, as are terminologists (Suonuuti, 1997). Instead, they explore and deliberate, cast their nets for content far and wide, are reluctant to impose order, and therefore hesitate to set boundaries in their discourses. This way of reaching out can be very productive, yet, it can also lead to inefficiencies in academic discourse and possibly also to inefficiencies in research. As for LM and LP, Nekvapil (2006, 2016) clarifies conceptual differences, as does Sloboda in a review (2010) of Spolsky's (2009) book, *Language Management*, and taking into account the Japanese perspective, also Kimura (2005). As Nekvapil (2006, p. 94) explains:

> Accordingly, Language Planning Theory, together with e.g. the Language Cultivation Theory of the Prague School, represents examples of social systems of language management only. Following this terminological strategy, the expression "language planning stage of language management" may be employed (Neustupný, forthcoming) and the whole field of study may be shifted into a more historical context (cf. Neustupný, 2006).

That LP is one of several practices that can be studied under the general theory of LM is a reasonable position to take (Jernudd, 1982, 2001). It is self-evident that both the study of these systems, and the actual processes under study, must become subject to historical enquiry (Jernudd, 1996).

2.   The approach

We can attribute what we consider important at any one period of time to a Zeitgeist, the spirit or genius which marks the thoughts or feelings of a period or age (The Compact Oxford English Dictionary). All people manage their languages, albeit in varying ways, and of course people know that, and have always known that: *plus ça change, plus c'est la même chose* (the more things change, the more they stay the same). I bring up the notion of Zeitgeist because I am reasonably confident that we all flow with a collective conspiracy that obliges priority to certain kinds of work at particular periods in time.

Consequently, I will not latch my narrative to individual academic papers although I shall of course refer to many. What I see is a font of intellectual contributions of great variety. I suspect that most ideas have already been articulated someplace, somehow, and are already 'out there', if anyone cares to find them. Therefore, they are available to be compiled to respond to changing societal circumstances (and occasionally intellectual ones). I will attempt to identify and discuss strands of ideas that came together and that moved researchers towards articulating a LM discourse, in particular the Language Management Theory (LMT).

3.   Background: The 1960's

In the 1960s, modernization and the development of new states were phenomena that coincided with a particular Zeitgeist. Planning, for example, seemed an effective approach to such events. Planning at any level of enlargement in organizations and states was very much in vogue, as were systems analysis and problem-solving modeling in decision-making. Feedback was a concept that drove much modeling of behavior, especially in treatises on business management.

I myself had been thoroughly immersed in behavioral theories of the firm as well as in cost-benefit analysis and in planning theories during my studies at the Stockholm School of Economics (1961–66). For planning, the main arena was macro-economics at the level of the state. Models of stages of economic development were proposed (Kuznets, 1966; Rostow, 1960); sociologists and political scientists proposed grand theories of social political development (e.g. Myrdal, 1968; Rokkan (see Flora, 1999); Smelser & Lipset, 1966; Deutsch, 1966); and were thought to be available to inform planning for development in the new nations.

In the 1960s, sociolinguistics also emerged, and in parallel with the formation of the variationist branch of the emerging sociolinguistics discipline (building on developments in dialectology and enquiry into language change, Koerner, 1991), a socio-political branch took an interest in the language problems of developing nations, enquiring into the determination and implementation of language repertoires (Ferguson, 1966), and with the purpose to study and inform new nations' language policies. This latter branch of sociolinguistics also embraced, in particular, the study of bilingualism and language contact, which was not in the least limited to developing societies. It is unnecessary to dwell further here on the blossoming of sociolinguistics (but see Paulston & Tucker, 1997).

Once enquiry began into behavior toward language, whether merely to describe language situations or to inform language policy, behaviors toward language in general came into view and demanded study. The study of LP agencies at state levels and how they act on implementing language determination policies represents but a fraction of all our behaviors toward language. Therefore, should enquiry not also encompass, for example, European language cultivation activities, term agencies' work, language treatment in Australian indigenous communities, naming, and so much else? By broadening enquiry, one may move towards being able to formulate LMT.

And, critically, what is the link between behavior toward language and language behavior?

4. Starting point and research organization

I was a member of a team that engaged in exploratory research on LP (1968–69) at the East-West Center in Honolulu. The team[1] organized a conference in April 1969 with participation by expert practitioners and academics from several

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1. At the East-West Center in Honolulu, the team comprised of Joshua Fishman, primarily a sociologist, Joan Rubin, an anthropologist, Jyotirindra Das Gupta, a political scientist, myself (included as an economist-linguist?), and Charles Ferguson, a linguist, as an absent member.

different disciplines and countries.[2] The team's work aimed at developing a model of (f)actual, empirically observable, language planning processes, specifically in the new postcolonial states that were then emerging. One first outcome was the book, *Can Language Be Planned*? (Rubin & Jernudd, 1971).

This aim at the 'macro' level of behavior toward language and planning was a focus of choice. The team was well aware of the importance of 'micro'-level processes, and of other agents (actors) than the LP planning agency. (Cf. my review of Haugen in Jernudd, 1971.) The team's broadly encompassing awareness of other behaviors toward language was generally true. Punya Sloka Ray's statements in the chapter on 'language policy' in his book *Language Standardization*, published in 1963, took a similar position: "What is of concern here are the spontaneously formed habits of talking and listening to one another, increasing readiness to explain oneself to or to ask explanation from one another in unrestricted interchange of proposals and comments" (p. 74); and, "any native speaker of a natural language or dialect functions as some kind of a teacher during the moments of social encounter" (p. 75).

Further to the point, Haugen quotes P. S. Ray in ending his introductory chapter on Norwegian LP: "As pointed out by P. S. Ray, he [the language planner] can do so ["to foresee the wave of the future and ride it to its goal"] only if his goal is substantially the same as that which the people have unconsciously accepted as their own" (1966, p. 26).

Nonetheless, the Hawaii team chose to focus on the role of central agency. The team designed an international research project on LP processes to focus on learning about language planning agencies in new states (Indonesia, Malaysia, then replaced by Bangladesh but neither eventually studied, replaced by Sweden as a cultivation case, India, and Israel). The research plan is included in Rubin and Jernudd (1971, pp. 293–305) as the "Research Outline for Comparative Studies of Language Planning".

The team studied LP agencies from a variety of perspectives and used word naming as a measure to gauge the spread of vocabulary disseminated by the language planning agencies into their respective speech communities. The published report is the book, *Language Planning Processes* (Rubin, Jernudd, Das Gupta, Fishman & Ferguson, 1977).

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2. The meeting took place April 7–10, 1969. The participants were S. Takdir Alisjahbana, Charles F. Gallagher, Muhammad Abdul Hai, Einar Haugen, Herbert Kelman, John MacNamara, Chaim Rabin, Bonifacio P. Sibayan, Thomas Thorburn, and the research team members.

Meanwhile, and quite unremarkably, the team and 'iglopers'[3] discussed other directions of enquiry on behavior toward language. A document from October 1973 reports on discussions at a meeting at Skokloster in Sweden. This meeting was convened to scrutinize a draft report of the international research project on LP processes. Participants came from the US, Asia, Africa and Europe.[4] A summary of its proceedings (*Proceedings of the International Conference on Language Planning*, 1973, p. 5) mentions four 'recurrent basic questions' that came up during the meeting:

1. How does language planning fit with the broader phenomena of "language treatment" which include other ways the speech community deals with its language?
2. What is the relation between language planning about public policies of language *use* and language planning about the actual *forms* of the language? (These two phases or stages were referred to as language policy or status planning and language cultivation or code or corpus planning.)
3. Is there a fundamental difference between an internal linguistic theory ("teleology") in language planning and an external sociological theory of implementation?
4. Are language planning processes significantly different in developing countries and advanced, industrialized countries, or is the difference between "emerging" languages and relatively "stable" languages more important?

The third question indexes a view with an already long history espoused by, among others, Tauli (1968) who was present. Haugen discussed Tauli's treatise in a paper

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3. "Iglopers" was an in-group expression that for some time referred to an international group of students and practitioners of LP. I believe this not particularly elegant expression was inspired by the "Group for the Study of Sociolinguistics" (GSSL), a list of scholars maintained by the US Social Science Research Council. The iglop network can be loosely characterized as embracing those who came to receive the <u>Language Planning Newsletter</u>, edited and distributed by the East-West Center with Joan Rubin as its first editor. Vol. 1 No. 1, is dated February 1975.

4. The following participated: Mohamed H. Abdulaziz (Kenya/Tanzania), Erik Olof Bergfors (Sweden), Karl-H. Dahlstedt (Sweden), Charles A. Ferguson (USA), Jyotirindra Das Gupta (USA), J. E. Hofman (Rhodesia/Israel), Björn H. Jernudd (Australia), Lachman M. Khubchandani (India), Anton M. Moeliono (Indonesia), Bertil Molde (Sweden), J. V. Neustupný (Australia), Sirarpi Ohannessian (Center for Applied Linguistics, USA), Joan Rubin (USA), Bonifacio P. Sibayan (Philippines), Valter Tauli (Sweden), Richard Tucker (Canada), Elinor Barber and Melvin J. Fox (the Ford Foundation), with Bengt Nordberg (Sweden) and Barnard Barber (USA) as observers. Joshua A. Fishman (USA) and Abraham Demoz (Ethiopia) could not attend due to emergencies. Invited but also unable to be present were František Daneš (the former Czechoslovakia) and L. B. Nikolsky (USSR).

on instrumentalism in language planning (1971) and Jernudd and Das Gupta characterized it as "an expert enterprise motivated by abstract ideals" (1971, p. 198).

The first and second questions above are hardly surprising since the meeting took place in Sweden, a language cultivation speech community, at the time without so-called policy issues, and with practitioners present at the meeting. I had studied Sweden for the project, and in addition to my project reports, tabled an annotated list of references relating to language treatment in Sweden (Jernudd, 1973a). (At the time, language treatment referred to both language planning processes and acts of language cultivation (Rubin, 1973, p. vii).) Ferguson remarks in his brief introduction to the annotated list:

> This extensive list of references on language treatment in Sweden gives a valuable overview of the range of topics which appear in publications and courses of instruction in a nation which has great concern for its verbal repertoires and also self-consciousness about this concern… [and] can stimulate studies of language treatment elsewhere.　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(Jernudd, 1973a, p. 1)

Thus, LM phenomena well beyond the embrace of the narrower concept of LP were recognized and explored. Socio-economic typology was linked to LM systems, and questions were raised as to how linguistic disciplinary concerns fit in the study of LP.

The central purpose of the international comparative project, however, was to study "national level [language] planning conducted under governmental auspices where planning includes indicative, regulative, productive and promotional functions" (Rubin et al., 1977, p. 5).

5. Bundles of ideas and practices-made-visible: Two vectors in LMT development

From almost the very beginning of the team's work, issues arose that required attention, if one were to formulate a coherent model. Two of those outstanding issues were:

a. How can we account for other behaviors toward language [other than language planning].
b. How can behavior toward language be linked to language behavior (as we explore planning and other behaviors toward language).

Consequently, I will approach the development of LMT under the following two headings:

1. *What language problems are there?*
2. *How do individuals deal with language problems?*

5.1   What language problems are there?

First I take up language inadequacies that have become topics, i.e., those that have become objects of management 'off-line'. I shall deal with on-line management of discourse inadequacies, under the second question below.

Language problems were available to be seen if one wanted to look. People knew that there exist other language problems besides the language determination and development problems of new and developing states (Jernudd, 1977). The 1966 Airlie House conference (Fishman, Ferguson & Das Gupta, 1968) published its papers with 'language problems' in the plural, and the country descriptions in particular are by no means lacking analysis of the consequences on language structure as languages are promoted in use.

While Fishman, in his summing up of the Airlie House conference (1968), satisfied himself with discussing language problems in political and socio-cultural integration in states in terms of allocation and promotion of "national languages!" and "languages of wider communication", Neustupný advocated a *general theory* of language problems. He refers to his paper "First Steps toward the Conception of 'Oriental Languages'" and writes that "there are some features of languages spoken in the developing societies that are connected with other nonlinguistic features of these societies" (1968, p. 290). Further, "if any features of the communication patterns can be found that are motivated by developing features of the social structure, they will be called *developing features of communication* and we can therefore speak of developing communication" (ibid.). He threw the door wide open for expanding enquiry precisely into the full range of language problems, in this context appropriately and specifically coexistent with and motivated by features of development.

That Neustupný's paper ended up in a section of the book (Fishman, Ferguson et al., 1968) containing country case studies and not in an earlier "theoretical formulations" section, shows how a preferred direction of research on language associated with national integration and "ethnic authenticity" had presumably already been set. While the conference set course for research on planning language at the level of national society, participants were quite aware that language problems are found on all levels of decision-making – individual, group, or national.

I note, however, that Ferguson, who co-directed the subsequent research projects with their national LP focus, outlines an approach in his short paper on "language development" (Ferguson, 1968, pp. 27–35) that resonates with Neustupný's, in that same conference and volume. Ferguson's paper sketches a typology of the

linguistic aspects of "graphization", "standardization" and "modernization [of language]" as motivated by development in general.

The consensus at the Airlie House conference was that language selection, i.e., whole languages and language repertoires, should be the main focus. From the point of view of political scientists and economists describing and theorizing about modernization, language teachers and educators, and advocates and students of language maintenance, this surely seemed obvious at the time – if for no other reason than because the former are not trained linguists and because 'language policies' governed the new states' allocation of resources, and language policies address repertoires ('whole languages').

The Airlie House conference led to the language planning research project at the East-West Center. Networking around the EWC project led the path towards LMT. I met Jiří Neustupný at the conference and discovered that we were both newly appointed to Monash University earlier that year. Neustupný was very familiar with Japanese and European language cultivation, and he kept injecting both Prague School theory and awareness of cultivation practices into our discussions at Monash. His expertise on Japan introduced us to *kokugo mondai* (the issue of a standard national language) and *gengo seikatsu* (language life) as well as other kinds of correction behavior in Japan (Neustupný 1970, 1978).

We both recognized the importance of describing what kinds of problems agencies manage, and how. I took an interest in describing the range of agents who treat language problems, and in radically different societies. I visited the Shell Company in Malaysia in 1969, and also the Volvo plant in Malaysia, to enquire how they engaged with the government's language policy. I used these visits as examples to represent one level of agency among many, that of an oil company and an industrial plant; just as at other levels of enlargement, e.g., of agency, whereby proofreaders treat text problems, individual authors rewrite their manuscripts and editors 'edit' them, and so on (Jernudd, 1972, 1973b).

After the Malaysian riots in 1969 and the civil war in East Bengal in 1971 closed the doors on field work there, I ended up doing my share of empirical work in the international language planning processes project in Sweden, and on Sweden, introducing my colleagues to Swedish language cultivation. Once European and Japanese language cultivation experience had been entered into LP discourse, a vast array of language problems and agencies managing them had to be recognized, besides those that had presented themselves in a development context (mainly but not exclusively spelling and vocabulary issues, and language acquisition). Our view of language problems was therefore vastly broadened.

The Modernization and Language Development project that I coordinated at the East-West Center set out to systematically inventory language problems (see, e.g., Jernudd & Thuan, 1984; Jernudd & Uyangoda, 1987; Musa, 1987). The project

convened a research planning conference and among the invited participants were J. V. Neustupný, R. Baldauf and R. Kaplan.[5] The project was also co-responsible for conferences on language development and planning for Chinese and Pacific area languages. The Linguistic Modernization and Language Planning in Chinese-Speaking Communities conference was convened in cooperation with the East-Asian Languages Department at the University of Hawaii, September 7–13, 1983.

5.2   How do individuals deal with language problems?

"Linguistic correction" is performed by the individual. Linguists may idealize language as a system of grammatical rules but it is not as though they don't know that people talk. Languages are what people do, in talk and signing (and in derivation thereof, writing), exchanging mutually agreed Saussurean signs in their combinations. Doing talk means doing talk right, with the aim of course to get the message across (whether factual, esthetic, or emotional, etc.).

Neustupný was already presenting a correction theory by the early 70's (with its roots in the Prague School enquiry into parole) as published later in his book *Post-structural Approaches to Language* (Neustupný, 1978).

Figure 1 relates correction behavior in and towards language (Neustupný, 1978, p. 244).[6]

Neustupný elaborated on correction in the context of Dell Hymes' ethnography of speaking which he somewhat modified. A key contribution by Hymes to linguistics in the US was precisely the recognition of speech acts and the speech situation, which resonated well with Neustupný who came out of a Prague School recognition of the importance of studying parole. Incidentally, Ferguson, who

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5. September 1–3, 1983. The participants were: E. Annamalai, Richard Baldauf, Paul Brennan, David Cressy, Terry Crowley, John DeFrancis, Lili Dorton, Robert Gibson, Patrick Hohepa, Robert Kaplan, John Lynch, Francis Mangubhai, Anton Moeliono, Monsur Musa, Bobbie Nelson, J. V. Neustupný, D. P. Pattanayak, Bonifacio Sibayan, Donald Topping, Hoang Tue, Robert Underwood, Zhou Youguang. Longer-term team members of the Modernization and Language Development project at the East West Center were: Paul Brennan, Martin Combs, Bernadita Dungca, Darius Jonathan, Ruth Kovoho, Monsur Musa, Amara Prasithrathsint, Ellen Rafferty and Jayadeva Uyangoda. Richard Baldauf Jr. participated in August and September 1983. One outcome of the research planning workshop was a decision to convene a conference on Pacific languages: Directions for the future, in Vila, Vanuatu. A steering committee was formed with Terry Crowley as coordinator in Vila. It took place on August 27–30, 1984. See also Report on the conference (1984).

6. The text of this chapter was in its essentials presented at the University of Pennsylvania in 1973, where Dell Hymes then worked. It is also in my teaching notes from the pre-session to the Linguistic Institute, in the summer of 1977.
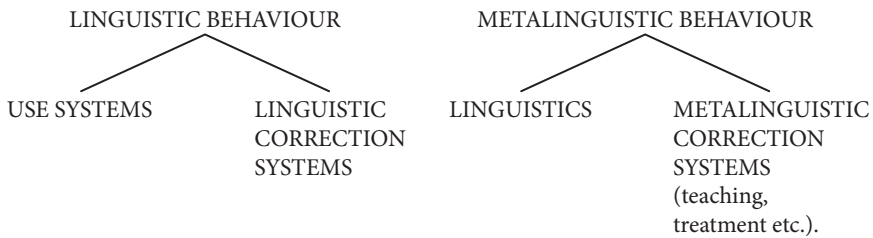
LINGUISTIC BEHAVIOUR   METALINGUISTIC BEHAVIOUR

USE SYSTEMS   LINGUISTIC   LINGUISTICS   METALINGUISTIC
                   CORRECTION   CORRECTION
                   SYSTEMS   SYSTEMS
                                                        (teaching,
                                                        treatment etc.).

Figure 1. Neustupný's model of the "Linguistics of language problems"

taught the first courses on sociolinguistics in the US in the Linguistic Institutes, the first in 1962, also taught Hymes' model. I attended his class in 1963 when the Linguistic Institute was held at the University of Washington in Seattle (http://www. linguisticsociety.org/meetings-institute/institute/ archive).

The notion of correctness is present in one form or another in all speech communities because individuals have to comply with norms to remain members in good standing of those communities; and adjustments and decisions based on norms are made by individuals (on-line and off-line) as well as by institutions (off-line) (cf. Nekvapil, 2016, p. 12; also, Bartsch, 1985 on norms). Norms are thus reinforced and new norms are introduced.

5.2.1   *Error correction and repair*
Ideas addressing error correction, by phoneticians and psycholinguists, and repair in speaking, by ethnomethodologists and conversation analysts, drew attention to the individual's correction behavior in interaction, not merely as norm preserving, but as constitutive of language. I refer to discussions of slips of the tongue (Boomer & Laver, 1968; Goldman-Eisler, 1968; and others) and especially error correction, self-correction and repair (Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson, 1974; Jefferson, 1974; Schegloff, Jefferson & Sacks, 1977; Shimanoff & Brunak, 1977).

At the time, I thought of Neustupný's correction theory as an exponent of this collection of ideas, in his case specifically in relation to existing norms. In my view, ethnomethodology's "repair" process that keeps talk trouble free need not be constrained by existing linguistic norms although it is to be expected that in "same language" interaction, speakers do indeed often fall back on extant norms to resolve trouble. In contact communication, this need not be so. We also know from experience that repair does not always work (cf. Jernudd & Thuan, 1983, notes 4 and 6).

5.2.2   *Noticing (in language learning)*
Research in applied linguistics, notably on language learning, also took a subjective-cognitive turn. My colleague and friend since my time in Cairo in the

mid 70's, Richard Schmidt, later at the University of Hawaii (while I was at the East-West Center), took a sabbatical in Brazil and decided to learn Portuguese. He reported on his experience, and unsurprisingly his central insight led to his "noticing hypothesis":

> The principle of notice-the-gap … We have proposed that the process of noticing the gap may be the crucial point at which affective variables, individual differences, conscious awareness, and "paying attention" enter into the language learning process. We have proposed that negative input, in the form of overt correction by native speakers in conversation, also exists and can potentially have salutary effects on the learner's ability to notice the gap.   (Schmidt & Frota, 1986, p. 316)

Colleagues of his had been discussing for some time the role of feedback and consciousness in language acquisition. Language acquisition researchers at the time were discussing Krashen's theory of second language acquisition in which among other processes a 'monitor' serves a planning, editing and correcting function (Krashen, n.d). See also, Váradi (1980, originally 1973).

Not(ic)ing in language acquisition is essential to eventually accomplish automatized and intelligible speech. Self-monitoring is an essential executive brain function to enable discourse (see Donald, 1998, on executive brain function and especially page 53 on self-monitoring). Noti(ci)ng, however, takes effort. Automatization of speech (and behavior) reduces the cost of this exertion (Pawley & Syder, 1983; Syder & Pawley, n.d.).

5.2.3   *Individual evaluation and adjustment*

While Ferguson worked to find US research funding sources to address language problems of developing nations (at first as director of the Center for Applied Linguistics with offices in Washington DC, and then as chair of the linguistics department at Stanford University), he was by no means unaware of the importance of studying individuals in speech situations. In his chapter in the published report of the international project on language planning processes, Ferguson elaborates on "users' evaluations of language" (Ferguson, 1977). Ferguson comes close to appreciating a key concept of LM, namely to "evaluate the forms of the language they use, in that they regard some forms as 'better' or 'more correct' or 'more appropriate' either in an absolute sense or for certain purposes or by particular people or in certain settings" (p. 9); and "language users sometimes explicitly call attention to particular features of language structure or use as signals of group identity, disapproved behavior, objects of correction or other social values" (Ferguson, 1977, p. 14).

However, his chosen focus was language planning and he took a daring leap indeed: "they [i.e., the evaluations] constitute the primitive source from which institutional language planning activities ultimately derived" (p. 14). Ferguson

linked individual speech behavior to organized behavior toward language, in the context of the language planning project. He names as the point of origin this 'primitive source' of evaluations in discourse. He writes that evaluation:

> may be either conscious or unconscious. A listener may rate speakers unconsciously by details of pronunciation and choice of words which he could not specify, or he may consciously listen for or comment on a particular form, construction or pronunciation of which he strongly approves or disapproves. Further, the relation between evaluation and actual behavior is complex.
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> (Ferguson, 1977, p. 13)

The chapter in which Ferguson makes these remarks introduces the published report of the International Project on Language Planning Processes (Rubin et al., 1977). He makes the connection to the main focus in this manner: how "patterns of evaluation in a particular speech community tend to be reflected in the goals and activities of its language planners" (p. 14).

I remember how Neustupný led a series of meetings during the Pre-session to the Linguistic Institute in Hawaii in 1977 in which participants dissected language problems and speculated about their origins in discourse. I say speculated, because the speech act in which the inadequacy arose remained unrecorded and thus unknown as a data point. This line of enquiry is of course critical to closing the circle of relationships between language production and language maintenance-or-change by way of interaction in discourse, including the management of discourse both on- and off-line. Such closure is yet to be accomplished.

5.2.4   *Reintroducing the subject(ive) and agency*

Another bundle of ideas that was being recognized by mid-century concerned the role of the subject, the speaker, both in creating realities of language practice and as the subject of research. Some linguists were beginning to realize how they had captured a distorted reality by not experiencing language use through speakers' own agency. This turn towards the subject later obliged researchers to rename informants and give them consultant and even co-author status in research and for the publication of grammars and dictionaries.

How speakers react to variation represents another thread of ideas from dialectology. Already from the mid 50's, dialectology was being shaken up not only by the introduction of social science methods of enquiry and statistical methods, but also by a new attention to a speaker's subjective judgements. Curiously this is not mentioned by the historian of linguistics, Koerner (1991). I will not dwell on subjective dialectology here, other than by a reference to Preston (1999) to represent subjective (perceptual) dialectology through his compilation of earlier papers; and by mentioning significant early researchers in the field: Weijnen,

Grootaers, Shibata, Preston, Hammarström, and also, Labov. I visited Japan to meet Grootaers and Shibata and researchers at the National Language Research Institute in 1967, to discuss the topic of subjective dialectology. Neustupný helped with introductions. Incidentally, I also contributed to the topic (Jernudd, 1968).

Meanwhile, in psychological sciences, the subject had been allowed back into research and given a methodological role. Short-term memory can be tapped by giving subjects a witnessing role on their own behavior, by reporting during the behavior or by interviewing shortly after a behavioral event (the latter akin to what Neustupný (2018, pp. 193–194) named "the follow up interview").

Self reports had been judged cautiously valid in language survey contexts where subjects answer questions about their language use (Fishman, Cooper & Ma, 1968). Tapping short-term memory is self-report taken a step further, to include the subjects' reports on their thoughts and verbal behavior. Thought-process methodology, as an exponent of the cognitive and mental turns in psychology, was becoming legitimate and fit right into the methodology for LMT as the methodology allows researchers to access non-overt behaviors toward language in the flow of discourse (cf. Anderson, 1976; Ericsson & Simon, 1980, 1987).

6.   Summing up

Interactive language communication runs reasonably smoothly because people rely on mutually recognized norms, on agreements about the appropriate use of signs. Even in soliloquy, a counterpart, the other in the communicative act, is present because that other is the self.

The reenactment of norms both reinforces and allows for the change of norms. (For a detailed discourse on norms, cf. Bartsch (1985).) Norms are upheld but norms are also changed, so it is obvious that one must not think that discourse management refers only to error correction. People create new varieties (Jernudd, 2003) and people restructure varieties (as did Ivar Aasen in Norway, see Haugen, 1966) and people even use varieties of speaking that they overtly devalue (such as Moroccan Dariji, see Melbourne, 2006).

Norms guide speakers' behaviors. Also, as linguists order and analyze discourse data into varieties, so do speakers ('languages', 'dialects', 'styles', 'appropriate'). Furthermore, it is reasonable to think that speakers register, i.e., note and order, and analyze, i.e., evaluate and adjust, their own and others' discourse. It is equally reasonable to think that people do not adhere to what a linguist would register as a norm but that people find ways to express themselves that work. People know what works when the other engages, and off they go again in continuation of discourse, in a process of circular causation.

Management is interactive, and simple management is a matter of the relationship between speaker and speakers and other and others, and an individual participates and is subject to participation, from birth. Babies obviously adjust to others' norms, and ever more overtly so, as they grow up and enter society.

The particularities of languages, what Chomsky calls externalized expression (Araki, 2017), may be irrelevant for revealing whether humans' faculty to use language is innately specific or whether the use of language can be explained by exercise of a broader cognitive ability. However, those particularities comprise all utterances past, present and future in the lived world of all of us humans. It follows that LMT is a substantially decent tool, to understand how and why we exercise our language faculty.

Acknowledgements

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