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Language Planning and Policy



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The History and Theory of Language Planning

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Introductory Remarks

In language use, it is possible to differentiate between linguistic and metalinguistic activities—on the one hand, people produce utterances, while not devoting any attention to the language or the utterances, and on the other hand, people may orient their attention toward the language or the utterances, evaluate them, think about altering them and occasionally take action on those thoughts. Language planning can be primarily considered the second type of activity. The point of language planning is to bring about changes in language or in linguistic activities. These changes include, for example, the establishment of new terms, the standardization of thus far non-standard grammatical forms, the nomination of a certain variety of language as the official language, or the determination of which languages will be taught in schools. According to Kaplan and Baldauf (1997, p. 3) “language planning is a body of ideas, laws and regulations (language policy), change rules, beliefs, and practices intended to achieve a planned change (or to stop change from happening) in the language use in one or more communities.”

Until the formation of sociolinguistics in the 1960s, linguists trained in structuralist procedures devoted themselves primarily to “non-planned” changes in language and they rejected interference into matters of language and communication with the slogan of *Leave your language alone!* (Hall, 1950). This atmosphere is also reflected in the name of one of the first classical texts on language planning, *Can language be planned?* (Rubin & Jernudd, 1971a) and even the recent title *Do not leave your language alone* (Fishman, 2006), which, however, signaled an essential transformation in the attitudes toward language planning. The tension between positive and negative attitudes toward language planning can also be characterized as antagonism between the descriptive and prescriptive approaches to linguistic phenomena, emphasized by linguistic structuralism. The restrained attitude of linguists is due not only to the ideological foundations of structuralism, but also to the fact that language planning extends beyond the margin of linguistics even in a very broadly conceived sense; it is an interdisciplinary matter and, in its implementation, it is clearly a political matter. Language planning as an academic discipline, however, originally developed as a branch of sociolinguistics, that is, with ties to the development of various linguistic disciplines. The penultimate section of this chapter presents language planning in the framework of the broader concept of language management, which enables the integration of some interdisciplinary aspects of language planning, but also

the “purely” linguistic aspects such as grammar or the production of utterances. Following Neustupný (1978) or Haarmann (1990), language planning is thus viewed against the background of a general theory of language.

Language planning as a specific discipline with this name has existed for less than fifty years, yet intervention in language and communication is an activity that dates back to antiquity. The following section briefly recalls four more recent language planning social systems that tend to be cited as the predecessors of modern language planning or as a significant source of inspiration for it. Note that some of them are based upon carefully formulated theories.

Examples from History

Neustupný (1993, 2006) attempted to describe the history of language planning as social practice using the concept of developmental types, which are determined by the specific order of a number of sociocultural phenomena (e.g., means of production, social equality level, dominant ideology or attitude toward language variation), and in this way he arrived at four historical types of language planning: Premodern, Early Modern, Modern and Postmodern. These types correspond to a certain degree with specific time periods, but in the language planning system of a specific country, several of these types or their features can be present at the same time. The first three of these historical types can be found in the following examples. The Postmodern type, which corresponds broadly with the current ecology of languages paradigm, will be presented in a subsequent section.

The French Academy

The first example, which can be categorized as a (late) Premodern type, is the initial activity of the *Académie française*, the language academy founded in 1634. This institution came into being due to the initiative of Cardinal Richelieu during a time when European elites began to use the local vernacular languages in functions that had up to that time been reserved for Latin, during the time when the French state was restabilizing, and when Richelieu wanted to strengthen the unity and order of this state through the unity and order of the language. The French academy’s aim was “to give explicit rules to our language [i.e., French] and to render it pure, eloquent, and capable of treating the arts and sciences” (cited in Cooper, 1989, p. 10). This aim was to be achieved through the publication of grammars, dictionaries and manuals of rhetoric and poetics, though in the end only the dictionaries were written. The French academy became a model for the founding of similar institutions in Europe (e.g., in Sweden), but it was not the oldest institute of its kind in Europe, but rather it was continuing in the tradition of a similar “Italian” institution that was a half century older. The founding and activity of the *Académie française* is discussed in detail in Cooper (1989) as the primary part of the argument that the definitions of language planning must also incorporate language planning situations that are not connected to the breakdown of the colonial system that had occurred around 1960, i.e., the situations in which language planning as an academic discipline (i.e., “classic language planning”) was born.

European National Movements

A second example illustrating the Early Modern type is the language planning that was a part of the European national movements of the nineteenth century. These movements led to the formation of a number of modern nations in the Herderian sense (Slovak, Czech, Norwegian, Finnish and other nations). These were originally nations (ethnic groups) with less power, whose members were oppressed by more powerful nations within a single ethnically heterogeneous state unit. This

was one of the reasons why these movements were originally oriented toward cultural and linguistic demands rather than social and political ones (see Hroch, 1998). If we add the influence of Romanticism, it becomes clear that questions of language and language planning itself held a significant position in these movements. Haugen (1969) analyzes an essay written by Norwegian language reformer Ivar Aasen (1813–1896) in 1836, and argues that this essay represents “a paradigm of a program of Language Planning.” In it, Haugen essentially finds all the elements that should be considered in the analysis and evaluation of various language programs: background situation, program of action comprising a goal, policies leading to the goal, and procedures of implementing the policies, namely selection (of reference norms) and codification (in grammars and dictionaries) and/or elaboration (of functions) and propagation (of the proposed norms to new users).

Aasen targeted his program to oppose the use of Danish in Norway and proposed instead the postulation of a sort of generalized (i.e., not yet existent) norm of all Norwegian dialects as the starting point for Standard Norwegian. For Czech, the most significant representative of the first generation of the Czech national movement, Slavic Studies scholar Josef Dobrovský (1753–1829) codified the norm of Humanistic Czech (i.e., a variety of Czech that had not been used for a long period of time) as the standard language in a grammar in 1809 (2nd edition 1819). In both cases, this was a fundamental decision, the effects of which speakers and writers can still feel today.

Characteristic of language planning of the Early Modern type were large changes (reforms) concerning not only the selection of varieties to be standardized, but also orthography or lexicon (primarily for the purposes of science and art). In the Czech national movement, which was battling the more powerful German culture, the second generation of patriots led by Josef Jungmann (1773–1847) laid out the principles for enriching the Czech lexicon (they designated Old Czech, dialects and Slavic languages as the sources of the new lexicon, and the formation of new words was also considered acceptable), and they summarized the results of their work in the extensive five-volume Czech–German Dictionary (1834–1839).

Soviet Union of the 1920s and 1930s

The third case is the language planning in the Soviet Union that took place in the 1920s and 1930s. It can be categorized as belonging to the Early Modern type, yet with the presence of several features of the Premodern and Modern types. The formation of the Soviet Union meant that more than one hundred ethnic groups at very different levels of development found themselves together in one huge state, which for a limited period of time recognized and supported their languages. The language of most of these ethnic groups existed only in spoken form, and only a few of them had their own standard language, and these were also at various levels of development. During the early Soviet period (radical changes did not occur until the end of the 1930s), the Leninist doctrine of the Soviet state declared the right of self-determination for ethnic groups including schooling based on their languages. The promotion of the spread of Russian, including the Cyrillic alphabet, was associated with the previous oppressive regime of the Russian czars, and this is why it was rejected as the basis for the language planning at the beginning of the Soviet period. The basic task of language planning, called “language construction,” thus consisted in the creation of tens of new alphabets, orthography systems, the modernization of most of the languages, above all in the area of terminology, but also in the production of textbooks, primers and the like. The work done was noteworthy: Alpatov (2000, p. 222), for example, claims that more than seventy alphabets were created for the languages of the Soviet Union during this period. A characteristic feature of Soviet language planning was the fact that its participants included the leading Soviet linguists, experts in the respective languages or language groups (e.g., E. D. Polivanov, N. F. Jakovlev et al.). They were advocates of the developing structuralist linguistics, and they combined their work on the graphization of languages with the development

of phonological theory.¹ In other respects, these linguists framed language planning using Marxism, which led them to emphasize the social aspects of language and to the critique of structuralist linguistics for underestimating the value of the possibility of deliberate intervention into linguistic matters (for more details on this, see Alpatov, 2000). The scope, tasks and some of the approaches of the Soviet language planning of the 1920s and the first half of the 1930s are congruent with “classic language planning,” which came into being thirty years later in an entirely different social context. This newer theory, however, developed without an intellectual relationship to the practical and theoretical experiences of language planning in the Soviet Union (but see Lewis, 1983). This was due to a number of causes: opposing ideologies, the Cold War since the 1950s, the language barrier and even the fact that the language planning in the Soviet Union itself developed in a considerably different manner following the end of the 1930s, and its new representatives made efforts to have the early Soviet language planning forgotten (see Alpatov, 2000; Kirkwood, 2000).

Czechoslovakia and the Prague Linguistic School

The fourth example is the language planning that occurred in Czechoslovakia in the 1920s and 1930s, the participants of which were the linguists of the Prague Linguistic School (above all B. Havránek and V. Mathesius, also in part R. O. Jakobson). This language planning embodies clear features of the Modern type—macro-social problems are more or less ignored, as large changes are not desired, attention is oriented above all toward microscopic problems and the goal is to modify details (see Neustupný, 2006). Czechoslovakia was formed in 1918 from the ruins of the Hapsburg Empire, and even though it was relatively ethnically diverse and the problems of inter-ethnic contact were significant, the Prague School’s theory of language planning was devoted merely to the elaboration (“cultivation”) of the majority Czech standard language. In this process, its protagonists continued with the work of some of their predecessors as well as such contemporaries as the Swedish linguist A. Noreen (see Noreen & Johannson, 1892) or the Russian linguist G. Vinokur (see Vinokur, 1925). The Prague School’s theory of language cultivation achieved world renown and was, to a certain degree, acknowledged and accepted also in the later “classic language planning”—above all through B. H. Jernudd. Among the basic terms that marked this approach were norm, function, intellectualization and flexible stability of the standard language (see Daneš 1987a, 1987b; Garvin 1973, 1993; Havránek 1932a, 1932b; Kondrašov 1988; Mathesius 1932; Nekvapil, 2008; Neustupný & Nekvapil 2003; Scharnhorst & Ising 1976/1982). The cultivation approach is, in addition to the policy approach, one of the two basic approaches to language planning (Neustupný, 1970; Hornberger, 2006). It continues to be quite active in Europe and has also been applied to a number of minority languages (see Janich & Greule, 2002).

Haugen and Classic Language Planning

Language planning, i.e. the academic discipline with this name, was established at the end of the 1960s. It acquired individual features, which will be discussed in what follows, and existed in this form during the 1970s. In retrospect it is possible to call this era of language planning “classic language planning” (see, e.g., Ricento, 2000, p. 206). The fact that language planning was already a specific discipline during this period is evidenced not only by the fact that its subject of research was delimited, and that widely used research frameworks were developed and the respective research methods identified, but also that this research was institutionalized at a certain level (in the form of conferences, projects, representative publications and a newsletter) and it gained a new attractive name, i.e. “language planning.” The main protagonists of classic language planning were associated with American academia (C. Ferguson and J. Fishman) and American funding sources enabled the development of

extensive international research. This research was oriented above all toward the language situation in the “Third World,” the multilingual developing nations that had gained independence following the collapse of the colonial system after World War II (primarily after 1960) and were facing the necessity of quickly solving significant political, economic, social and also language problems—the general aim was their “modernization” and “development.” Attention was concentrated above all on the linguistic aspects of the sociocultural unit (“nationalism”) and political (administrative) integrity (“nationism”) (Fishman, 1968) and the related programs of literacy, i.e., on “status planning.” In addition, there was the development of planning oriented toward the form of the language itself, i.e., “corpus planning,” the aim of which was above all the graphization, standardization and (lexical) modernization of language (Ferguson, 1968). Interest in language planning, however, was also conditioned by the situation in linguistics, in which matters of language and society moved into the forefront, and a specific, more general discipline—sociolinguistics—began to take form. Language planning was understood as a branch of sociolinguistics, and sociolinguists aimed to test their theories and approaches in the social “laboratory” of the Third World (see Fishman, 1968).

The term “language planning” was popularized in the linguistics literature by Haugen (1959) and it is in a certain sense paradoxical that classic language planning, oriented mainly toward the linguistic conditions in the Third World, found its guru in a specialist whose work had been devoted to the sociolinguistic situation above all in one European country—Norway, but also other Scandinavian countries. On the other hand, this fact supports the idea that the European tradition of language planning was to a certain degree also present in classic language planning. On language planning, Haugen writes:

By language planning I understand the activity of preparing a normative orthography, grammar, and dictionary for the guidance of writers and speakers in a non-homogeneous speech community. In this practical application of linguistic knowledge we are proceeding beyond descriptive linguistics into an area where judgment must be exercised in the form of choices among available linguistic forms. Planning implies an attempt to guide the development of a language in a direction desired by the planners. It means not only predicting the future on the basis of available knowledge concerning the past, but a deliberate effort to influence it.

(Haugen, 1959, p. 8)

It should be noted that this definition is still rather narrow, essentially covering only what was later conceptualized as “corpus planning.” Fundamental for the formation of classic language planning was the introduction of the concept of “plan.” This is how language planning became a branch of “social planning,” which had begun to be elaborated on the theoretical level in the western social sciences of that time and was being applied in the policy and economies of a number of countries. Haugen also influenced the development of language planning by connecting the planning process to the “decision theory” of that time and formulating and describing in detail the “decision-making procedure” relevant for language planning. Its basic components were: problems that are to be solved, proposed alternative solutions including their limitations, principles of evaluating the alternatives, decision-makers and methods of implementation (see Haugen, 1966). Five years later, Rubin and Jernudd (1971b, p. xiii), in the introduction to the book that became a milestone in the theory of language planning, state simply that “the study of language planning describes decision-making about language”; in the same book, Jernudd and das Gupta (1971) build the theory of language planning and summarize their contribution thus:

This paper outlines an approach to language planning as decision-making. We do not define planning as an idealistic and exclusively linguistic activity but as a political and administrative

activity for solving language problems in society. Public planning, that is, orderly decision-making about language on a national level, is motivated by public effects of some language problems and by the social context. We maintain that language is subject to planning because it is a resource that is and can be valued. Aspects of language code and language use can be changed to better correspond to the goals of society.

(Jernudd & das Gupta, 1971, p. 211)

As is apparent, it was economic thinking that was influential; after all, the solutions to language problems were to ultimately contribute to the economic prosperity of developing nations. Planning was conceived as a sequence of rational activities (fact-finding; planning goals, strategies and outcomes; implementation; and feedback), which take place in concrete social contexts, often in situations of limited material and human resources. For this reason, the criteria, values and type of information, on the basis of which a selection between alternative aims, strategies and predicted outcomes can be made, or the issue of “evaluation,” attracted significant attention. Rubin (1971) in continuation of the literature in the area of business administration, economics and political planning of that time, identified formal evaluation techniques, which could improve the quality of language planning (the many examples she works with concern the teaching of languages, above all English and vernaculars, in developing nations).

Classic language planning is based on the premise that language planning takes place at the level of the state and the plans come into existence in the interest of the development of the *entire* society. The state (or government) is essentially the only actor determining the goals to be achieved. The political opinions that dominated the international group of theoreticians of language planning in the 1960s are commented on in retrospect by one of their protagonists thus: “we recognized and accepted the realities of political process and central state power; and we believed in the good of state action, that governments could act efficiently and satisfactorily” (Jernudd, 1997a, p. 132).

Language planning theory in the 1960s and 1970s was formed in a specific political and social context that left it with particular features. A number of them were criticized in the further development of the theory and practice of language planning (see the next section), yet language planning as a specific discipline did not lose its attractiveness, including the specialized literature produced during its beginnings (in addition to the literature already cited, this undoubtedly includes Rubin, Jernudd, das Gupta, Fishman & Ferguson, 1977). During this period, a number of variables relevant for language planning in general and the relationships between them were identified, and some basic terms such as corpus planning and status planning were introduced. Some continually relevant aspects of language planning, e.g., that planning must consider the “interests” of various social groups, or that the research on language planning cannot be only an issue for (socio)linguists, but rather, also for representatives from other specializations (multidisciplinary approach) were introduced as topics during this period, though not elaborated. To a certain degree, some aspects from this period remain relevant for the contemporary era, a dominant orientation that critics of language planning later reproached: the introduction and elaboration of formal procedures and concrete techniques of language planning. Not even the language planning of today could exist without them.

Critique of Classic Language Planning

During the 1980s and in the following years, there were many voices criticizing language planning theory of the previous period. There were several causes for this. The process of modernization of the developing nations, which language planning was meant to help, failed in many countries. The theory of classic language planning had only a small influence on the actual practice of language planning. The atmosphere in the social sciences was changing; the visible diversion from scientifically

oriented structuralism was accompanied by the growing influence of critical theory. The economic planning model, the so-called “rational model,” which was the basis for classic language planning theory, was criticized in general theories of social planning, and planning itself as a practical activity of the state gave way to the forces of the market economy.

Critical voices were heard even from the protagonists of classical language planning itself. Rubin (1986) joins the critique of the “rational model” and in addition to the simple “technical” problems admits the existence of numerous “wicked problems,” which have no “stopping rules” evidently because there are other previously unconsidered or unknown factors at play. Further she argues that not just one actor, but rather, the greatest possible number of concerned parties including the “target population” should contribute to the formulation of goals to be achieved. This leads to the idea that became the central one on the later ecological approach in language planning: in a specific language planning social system, it is necessary to deal with all types of languages used and the relationships between them (Rubin, 1986, p. 119; on the ecological approach, see, e.g., Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997).

The book by Cooper (1989) is not only a well-considered synthesis and critique of the previous development of language planning, but it also introduces a number of innovations. Although he does not abandon the initial term “plan,” he refuses to conceptualize language planning as problem-solving in his book (thereby abandoning the tradition of classic language planning) and he significantly expands the definition of language planning. According to Cooper (1989, p. 45), “language planning refers to deliberate efforts to influence the behaviour of others with respect to the acquisition, structure, or functional allocation of their language codes.”

Thus, all of the cases cited in the section “Examples from History” can be characterized as language planning. Cooper’s conceptualization of language planning became very influential in one additional respect. Cooper introduced the term “acquisition planning” as the third basic area of language planning (in addition to corpus and status planning), by which he made language planning explicitly relevant for applied linguistics dealing with the teaching of languages (first/second/foreign language teaching and learning).

More than twenty years after the publication of the volume *Can language be planned?* (Rubin & Jernudd, 1971a), one of its main authors wrote about the book:

Should the book be written today, it could not carry the subtitle “Sociolinguistic Theory and Practice for Developing Nations,” but would have to take account of a broad range of different sociolinguistic situations at different levels of enlargement (from nation to firm), of a broad range of different interests and population groups (from women to refugees), under widely different communicative circumstances (of media, channels, information processing), and foremost, of the different ideological and real, global and local sociopolitical conditions.

(Jernudd, 1997a, pp. 135, 136)

This formulation can also be read as an implicit critique of the early theory of language planning, further informed by the development of the whole discipline. Minimally, this raises the following issues: language planning is not specific to “developing nations”, but rather, it also occurs in supposedly “developed” nations. It does not take place only on a state level, but also on lower levels, in other words, not only the macro, but also meso and micro planning (see Canagarajah, 2005; Liddicoat & Baldauf, 2008). It does not represent the interests of the socially non-differentiated societies (nation, state), but is the resultant force of the conflict between the interests of various groups. To put it another way, various interest groups plan language and communication on various levels of society in the context of the language planning of other interest groups of varying complexity. In the analysis of language planning, it is difficult to create abstractions from the social and political conditions, including the relevant ideologies.

A number of other authors have uncovered and criticized the “covert” ideational basis of classic language planning, thus problematizing its alleged ideological neutrality (in particular Williams, 1992; Tollefson, 1991, 2002; Blommaert, 1996). These authors argued that all language planning assumes a specific theory of social change (see also Cooper 1989) and as a political matter it cannot exist without political analysis. Furthermore, they argued that early language planning was closely connected to the evolutionary theory of modernization based on Parsons’ structural functionalism, which was one of the reasons why, in spite of the intentions of the theoreticians of language planning, it did not contribute to change, but rather, to the solidification of the social and economic inequality in the developing nations. Symptomatic in this sense is the title of Tollefson’s book *Planning language, planning inequality* (Tollefson, 1991).

“Reversing Language Shift” and its Critique

It is language “modernization” as an “(early) modernization” process that meant the unification of languages (with the help of standardization) and the suppression of linguistic diversity in Third World countries (among other reasons, due to the spread of European languages, in recent decades primarily English). Classic language planning brought concepts to the developing nations that were successful in the modernization of European countries (“one nation–one language”), even though as a discipline itself it had come into being in countries where post-modernization was beginning. The shift in attention from the “developing nations” to the “developed nations,” however, led to the fact that the post-modern thinking was gradually being established in the considerations of language planning. The Postmodern language planning type supports variation and protects plurality (Neustupný, 2006 in theory and, e.g., Lo Bianco, 1987 in practice). Accordingly, new approaches inspired by ecology, that is, language ecology (see, e.g., Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997, p. 311ff.) and human rights, that is, linguistic human rights (see, e.g., Skutnabb-Kangas & Phillipson, 1995) have been applied in theories of language planning. The protection of the plurality of languages has led to the re-evaluation of the function of the spread of European languages (above all English) in the world. The linguistic imperialism framework that was developed by Phillipson (1992) emphasized the negative influences of these languages on the “ecosystem” of a number of countries as a part of globalization processes. Ricento (2000, p. 208) calls this new situation in the theory of language planning “the ecology of languages paradigm.”

A significant place in this paradigm is occupied by the Reversing Language Shift model (Fishman, 1991, 2001), which achieved significant popularity and was applied to a number of language situations. Hornberger (2006, p. 35) considers it an example of a model that embodies three fundamental features of a newly emerging paradigm, these being ideology, ecology and agency. Even though this model has a narrower scope than the theory of classic language planning, Williams (2007, p. 162) considers it to be the height of language planning, and, pointing to its exceptional influence, argues that this model essentially replaced “language planning.” The model of “Reversing Language Shift” reacts to the fact that in the contemporary globalizing world, a record number of languages are facing extinction, and the model should serve as a theoretical reflection as well as a practical guide to prevent this, or in some cases, for the revitalization of languages. The level of language endangerment is captured in the model through an eight-degree scale inspired by the Richter Scale, which measures the intensity of the disruption of the earth’s surface. The “graded intergenerational disruption scale,” the core of the entire model, then, is as follows (degree 1 means the *lowest*, degree 8 the *highest* extent of disruption):

Degree 1: (potentially) endangered language (still) used in the educational sphere, in the work sphere, in the mass media, and on higher levels, even on state level;

- Degree 2: endangered language used on lower levels (local media and government offices);
- Degree 3: endangered language used in the local work sphere, in which interaction between speakers of the minority and majority languages occurs;
- Degree 4: endangered language used as the language of instruction in schools, in looser or tighter dependency on instruction in the majority language;
- Degree 5: endangered language is used for instruction, but not in formal education;
- Degree 6: endangered language used in family settings as a means of intergenerational handing down of traditions and is thus handed down in this way;
- Degree 7: endangered language used by the older generation, which is already beyond the age of biological reproduction;
- Degree 8: the endangered language used (known, remembered) only by several of its older speakers.

(Based on Fishman, 1991)

The scale has a (quasi) implicative character, in other words, the lower degrees (e.g., 6) in essence include the state of the language specified by the higher degrees (that is, 7, 8). The aim of this scale is to identify the level of disruption of a specific language, and in accordance with this to plan adequate measures, with the help of which the current state of disruption (e.g., 8) can be shifted to a lower one (e.g., 6), and in optimal cases to the full functioning of the language. A part of this model is also the component of “ideological clarification,” the aim of which is to clarify the ideological conditions for potential revitalization.

The “Reversing Language Shift” model accents significantly different aspects than those on which classic language planning concentrated. In spite of this, it maintains some aspects of early language planning, such as evolutionism, the static concept of social change or the structural functionalist point of departure (Williams, 2007; Darquennes, 2007). A number of authors point to the fact that in a time when the role of the family in society has evidently decreased, the model places excessive weight on the role of handing over the language in the family and ignores the effects of socio-economic processes in the revitalization of language. Williams (2007, p. 168) emphasizes that if the family were to be the only agent of passing down the language, revitalization today would essentially be impossible, as “dynamics of economic restructuring involve a degree of the circulation of capital which leads to migration, or the circulation of people,” and thus to the disruption of linguistically homogeneous neighborhoods and families. Other authors argue that for successful revitalization it is necessary for potential users of the endangered language to begin to positively evaluate the economic benefits of the endangered language for their everyday life.

An alternative model that deals with some problems of Fishman’s model is the circular model of language status change, the “Catherine Wheel” proposed by M. Strubell (see Strubell, 2001, pp. 279–280; in more detail Strubell, 1999). This model emphasizes the individual as a consumer and its point of departure is the fact that the following components are functionally interconnected: (1) the language competence of individuals, (2) the social use of language, (3) the existence of products and services in this language and the demand for them, (4) the motivation to learn and use this language. The relationship between these components can be captured in the following (simplified) manner: the language competence of individuals stimulates, or can stimulate the social use of language, which, in turn, stimulates or can stimulate the existence of products and services in this language and the demand for them and that, in turn, stimulates or can stimulate the motivation to learn and use the language, and thus the language competence of individuals is preserved, which, in turn, stimulates or can stimulate the social use of language, etc. The metaphor of the “Catherine Wheel” points to this very dynamic self-perpetuating process. This process, enriched by several other components, can be visualized through Figure 52.1.

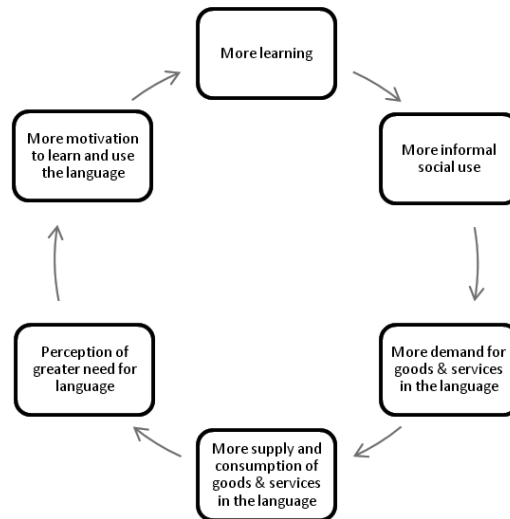


Figure 52.1 The “Catherine Wheel”
Based on Strubell (1999) and Darquennes (2007).

A specific language is endangered if this self-perpetuating process is disrupted. The aim of language planning and policy is then to identify in which component of the circular model the process was disrupted, and to renew its original dynamics through the appropriate measures.

Language Management Framework

While the models presented in the previous sections are rather narrow in scope and are models of some *specific* social reality, Language Management Theory (framework, model, LMT for short) has been constructed from the beginning as a broadly founded general theory, which on the one hand delimits its relationship to linguistics, but on the other hand considerably extends beyond its boundaries and even comprises the sociocultural (including the socioeconomic) dimension. While classic language planning, as well as the resulting approaches, emphasizes the role of the macrosocial level (the level of “social structures”) and merely assumes the specific linguistic behavior of speakers in specific linguistic interactions, LMT reverses this perspective and emphasizes the practices of the speakers (“agency”). Because LMT provides extensive opportunities for practical applications, including in the area of the teaching and learning of foreign and second languages, let us now examine it in more detail.

Some basic features of LMT came into being almost in parallel with the classic theory of language planning (see Neustupný, 1978, Ch. XII), but the classic text is Jernudd and Neustupný (1987), who programmatically introduce the central concept of “language management.”² The concept of “language management” has a clearly delimited theoretical content, which has little in common with the term “management” as it is currently used in applied linguistics or in Canadian language planning. LMT’s point of departure is that in language use it is possible to differentiate between two processes: (1) the generation of utterances (communicative acts), and (2) management of utterances (communicative acts), in other words, linguistic and metalinguistic activities. With reference to Fishman (1971, p. 221), this distinction is often rendered as the difference between “linguistic behavior” and “behavior toward language.” Theories of linguistic grammar (and “communicative grammar”) deal with the process (1), while LMT deals with the process (2). The management takes place in the concrete interactions

(conversations) of individuals or in institutions of varying complexity and in accordance with that it is possible to distinguish “simple management” (also known as discourse-based management, on-line management) and “organized management” (also known as directed management, off-line management). An example of simple management is when a teacher uses an unusual colloquial term during a foreign language lesson and immediately following its utterance adds the equivalent standard expression. An example of organized management is a language reform or the introduction of language X into a school system. Simple management takes place in several phases:

1. the speaker *notes* a deviation from the expected course (“norm”) of communication (including linguistic form);
2. the speaker can (but need not) *evaluate* the deviation (if it is evaluated negatively, this is an “inadequacy” or “problem,” and if positively, this is a “gratification”);
3. as a reaction to this evaluation, the speaker can (but need not) create an “adjustment design”;
4. the speaker can (but need not) *implement* this adjustment design.

As is evident, LMT does not limit itself to language *problems*, but its point of departure is the fact that efforts to influence the language behaviour of the self or others can also be motivated by positive feelings (e.g., that someone likes a language, its form, etc.). The phases of simple management listed above take place automatically in many cases, and the speaker is unaware of them, but in some genres (e.g., writing or training in school), it is possible to observe phase after phase. Noting, evaluation, adjustment design and implementation can also be identified in organized management. Organized management is characterized by the following features:

1. Management acts are trans-interactional.
2. A social network or even an institution is involved.
3. Communication about management takes place.
4. Theorizing and ideology intervene.
5. In addition to language as discourse, the object of management is language as a system.

While theories of language planning typically deal only with “organized” management, LMT’s primary aim is to demonstrate the *connections* between “simple” and “organized” management (in the traditional terminology the connections between micro and macro language planning). In ideal cases, “organized” management is founded on instances of “simple” management, in other words, it is in harmony with the noting and evaluation of the speakers in specific interactions and with the help of adequate measures, it removes the speakers’ problems or suits their needs in the cases of gratification, i.e., takes the form of a “language management cycle” (for more detail, see Nekvapil, 2009; Giger & Sloboda, 2008). Of course, LMT acknowledges the fact that this ideal is sometimes far from being the case in practice, as actors of “organized” management occasionally produce measures independently of concrete interactions, or do not orient toward contributing to “happy communication” (Jernudd, 1997b), in addition to “linguistic” interests they advocate “non-linguistic interests” (Jernudd & Neustupný, 1987), through which, conversely, they can cause further problems for speakers. Essential is the fact that LMT is a processual conceptual apparatus that can diagnose such a state, being as a whole “an academic response to people in power in reaction against central imposition” (Jernudd, 1993, p. 134). Accordingly, LMT offers a new view of the problem of “maintenance and shift” discussed earlier (see Sloboda, 2009).

What this suggests is that not only linguistic forms but also various aspects of the communicative act can be managed. In terms of the components of a Hymesian model of communication, these

aspects are Variety, Situation, Function, Setting, Participant, Content, Form, Channel and Performance (Neustupný, 2004; Neustupný & Nekvapil, 2003). Because the communicative dimension is firmly embedded in the sociocultural dimension (including the socioeconomic dimension), it is only possible with great difficulty to perform successful *communicative* management, without the accompanying *socioeconomic* management. The following succession is an appropriate goal: socioeconomic management → communicative management → language (in a narrower sense) management (e.g., in the creation of specific jobs it is possible to encourage the development of specific communication networks, in which language X will be used, which can encourage the elaboration of such a language or the specific manners of communication; here the attention is thus oriented primarily toward the components Participant and Variety). Given the presence of the socioeconomic dimension in LMT, the theory cannot remain only in the hands of linguists.

Even though the discourse of LMT does not explicitly refer to the ecology metaphor, Kaplan and Baldauf (2005, p. 51) point out that LMT is ecologically informed in the sense that it deals with management, which takes place in a multiplicity of micro, meso and macro societal environments or levels: communicating individuals, families, associations, social organizations, media, economic bodies, educational institutions, local government, central government or international organizations.

In the context of this *Handbook of research in second language teaching and learning* it is also appropriate to mention that LMT has been used, among other things, in the analysis of various aspects of foreign and second language acquisition and intercultural competence in general (Neustupný, 1995, 2008; Miyazaki & Marriott, 2003; Muraoka, 2009). In accordance with the basic principles of LMT, the point of departure in this area of study is the behavior of the speakers (both foreign language learners and natives) in an intercultural situation (“contact situation”), i.e., in a situation in which the norms of more than one linguistic/communicative/sociocultural system are applied. Researchers analyze which linguistic/communicative/sociocultural phenomena speakers note or, conversely, do not note in a given situation, what they experience as problems, and how they deal with the given problems in a specific interaction. From the perspective of methodology, this means capturing naturally occurring interaction with the help of audio or video recording devices and conducting follow-up interviews (a stimulated recall interview) with the participants of the interaction afterward. On the basis of the analysis of simple management, experts propose measures for the organization or improvement of the foreign or second language teaching (“organized management”) (Fan, 2008, 2009). It is also worth mentioning that in connection with the increasing globalization of university life, research dealing with the acquisition of “academic competence” in academic contact situations has recently begun developing with the help of LMT (Marriott, 2004; Neustupný, 2004).

Summary and Concluding Remarks

This chapter has dealt with the development of language planning as a practice and its theory. It argues that language planning has been conducted in various countries for centuries and from the perspective of developmental types, it can be characterized as Premodern, Early Modern, Modern or Postmodern (Neustupný, 2006). These types are conceptualized on the basis of a number of socio-cultural phenomena such as means of production, degree of social equality, dominant ideology or attitude toward language variation. These types correspond, to a certain degree, to specific time periods, yet what is essential is that several of these types or their features can be present at the same time in the language planning system of a specific country.

Although rather elaborated theories of language planning have existed minimally since the 1920s, the theory of language planning considered prototypical or classic in the Anglo-Saxon tradition, was formed in the 1960s and 1970s in connection with the collapse of the colonial system

following World War II. Beginning in the 1980s, this field of study was strongly criticized for a number of reasons, and the ecological paradigm of language planning began to form, distinguishing itself from classic language planning through its emphasis on ideology, ecology and agency (Ricento, 2000). In this paradigm, a significant position has been occupied by the Reversing Language Shift model (Fishman, 1991). Although this model was broadly accepted, it was also criticized for underestimating the value of socioeconomic factors. From this perspective, a more adequate model is the Catherine Wheel (Strubell, 1999). Language Management Theory, as indicated by Baldauf (2005), is an alternative conceptualization of the discipline of language planning (see also Blommaert, 1996 referring to Kuo & Jernudd, 1993). This theory has a very broad scope, includes both the *macro* dimension and the *micro* dimension (“agency”), examines language management as a *process*, views it in *communicative* and *sociocultural* terms (including socioeconomic ones), but at the same time is transparently compatible with *linguistics* and good for utilization on research on *second language* teaching and learning. It is thus possible to assume that its significance will grow (see also Lanstyák & Szabómihályová, 2009).

Even though the orientation of the theories, models and frameworks of language planning has changed since the 1960s, language planning as an academic discipline has developed in clear continuation. This is, on the one hand, due to the fact that classic language planning ultimately provided a number of valuable concepts, but also due to the fact that the dynamics of the development of the discipline was contributed to by some of its protagonists. This is most visible in the case of J. Fishman, who contributed greatly to the establishment of language planning as an academic discipline. He considerably influenced the research on language problems of developing nations (Fishman, 1968), but also contributed fundamentally to the formation of a new ecological paradigm (Fishman, 1991) and in his recent book (Fishman, 2006) analyzed the political and ideological aspects of corpus planning and thus significantly “de-technologized” one of the basic concepts of classic language planning, which was criticized precisely for its excessive emphasis on the technical aspects of planning activities.

The theories, models and frameworks of language planning will undoubtedly continue to develop based on the demand for language planning itself in contemporary society. It appears that this demand is growing rather than decreasing. The lion’s share in this is held by three contemporary social processes: globalization, migration and the birth of new states and groupings of states (e.g., the European Union). These processes encourage language planning on the macro, meso and micro levels. It can be assumed that the newly forming planning situations will lead to the birth of new approaches and concepts or that it will be necessary to revise the old approaches and concepts. An example of this can be the language planning situations in some new post-Soviet countries, specifically the status of Russians and Russian in them—the question is, to what degree is it adequate to apply the traditional concepts of majority and minority and the related concept of “minority language rights” (Pavlenko, 2008) here? Even though the confrontation with new language planning situations can be a good inspiration for language planners to deconstruct established concepts, it is necessary to agree with Pennycook (2006), who calls for the deconstruction of *all* taken-for-granted categories upon which language planning theories are based, i.e., for the utilization of deconstruction as a permanent activity.

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Notes

1. It is useful to recall that the most well known representatives of structuralist phonology, N. S. Trubetzkoy and R. O. Jakobson, also came from the Russian territory.
2. The most comprehensive work to use LMT is Neustupný and Nekvapil (2003); a theoretical systemization is Nekvapil (2006) or Nekvapil & Nekula (2006); further innovations can be found in Nekvapil and Sherman (2009a, 2009b).

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