LECTURES
on
Language Problems

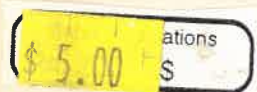**BJÖRN JERNUDD**
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Lectures on Language Problems

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Since skills are involved, anyone's expression can become jumbled. Schoolteachers also teach evaluation of communicative behaviour, and appropriate correction behaviours. Should school fail to do so, the young person will inevitably experience the harsh realities of social judgment on straying outside his/her network or group due to inability to handle the differences in language evaluations and appropriate management through correction adjustments. Teachers are individuals who have a mandate to legitimately correct without threatening the integrity of the person being corrected. Such is the student's privilege. This very much applies to language learning. To systematically emit "wrong" utterances with a straight face and to accept correction cheerfully when it is forthcoming clearly marks one as a child regardless of one's age! Of course, another reason for the teacher's role is the need for specialists in correction who know how to effectively apply systematic correction in aid of the individual learner.

An individual speaker's inability to evaluate and adjust inadequacies may cause evaluation and more or less explicit adjustment by a hearer/reader or delayed comment by an editor, although neither has to occur, or the inability may cause the person to seek help from other members of the speech community.

Monitoring, noting, evaluating and adjusting are part and parcel of language production, and, indeed, are integral to the structure of all communicative acts. Individuals' resources include the ability to make use of such inbuilt management devices; a discourse management system that permits them to avoid, repair and/or clarify utterances; and variable access to a more rigorous system of management through which people get together to deliberately and systematically note, evaluate and adjust language.

Individual speakers/writers may support language management by demanding authoritative judgement (and what one person deems authoritative might not be so evaluated by another) with respect to appropriateness of expression and word choice, criticism of efficiency or the esthetic quality of texts. S/he may refer to manuals of various kind, such as the grammars, dictionaries and phraseological handbooks, or may call up the grammar hotline, take "effective writing" and "public speaking" courses, *etc.* Support of authority engenders authority and minimizes uncertainty and dispute, thus creating a feeling of stable predictability[24].

Thus, the fundamental aspect of language management is problem-solving that removes inadequacies in individual discourse.

The sixth lecture

PUBLIC LANGUAGE MANAGEMENT

A new Webster's dictionary for the English of the United States or the publication of just about any major, national reference work on the "words" of a language will normally engage people in debate. Many English language dictionaries are continuously updated and sell in mass editions. The several Swedish dictionaries are best-sellers and their new editions excite both scholarly and popular scrutiny. Making dictionaries and discussing them make sense because they are the logical outcomes of a chain of events set in motion when people get together to discuss the choice of word or the formulation of a sentence or the shape of a document. Language is the inevitable subject of overt noting, overt evaluation, and publicly implemented adjustment. This may be so simply for reasons of intellectual curiosity, but a rationalization for the interest can be found. In this way, individuals help each other maintain a language system by forming and upholding normative judgements of language. Language professionals will specialize in pronouncing language verdicts, in doing linguistic research, in writing dictionaries, and so on. In societies organized along other lines, the equivalent practices will be executed by erudite people in their appropriate roles; and some individuals take as their roles in society the in-depth study of how language is formed and what is good and bad language usage. The experts among them who ask the fundamental question, "what is language?" are the scientific linguists; literary critics are among those who evaluate literary language; orators evaluate skill of speech-making; teachers of the native language are experts of usage. All people engage in comment, critique, and correction, and some people assume specialist roles in *organized* language management.

Because matters of language use are deliberated and adjudicated, also interpretations made in the course of debate themselves become topics of discussion. People will generalize or defend

positions on language according to principles, in fact, rhetorical ingenuity in whatever form and will help shape such discourse about language, embedded in sentiment and beliefs.

With changes in a language community's affiliations to other communities (for whatever reasons, of war, change in trading patterns, political liberation and reorientation), one can expect at least ideological reorientation of language management and innovation in language use, the combined outcome of which may change the language norm. For example, in Indian languages with their historical dependency on Sanskrit, many aspects of which remain part of contemporary society, systematic expansion of vocabulary and style on Sanskritic patterns in econo-technical and scientific domains of expanding usage, however desirable to some by virtue of their thoughts and feelings, is not easily compatible with an influx of English and Greco-Latin patterned vocabulary and texts. As long as Sanskritic and English training, respectively, form part of the future scientists', engineers', economists', broadcasters' and business managers' education, the Sanskritic heritage and the literature and values that accompany it and that uphold a measure of unity to these languages, and English elitist modernity, will also have a fair chance of maintaining themselves. Whether the one or the other ideological orientation is the one that rules organized language management, at the very least, a majority of Indians will suffer from this double dependency that now divides norms of vocabulary and style in many domains of language use in India, and that adds an obstacle in development campaigns and in the mobilization and integration of most people through mass communication. Even highly educated people complain, *e.g.*, a TV reviewer in Calcutta's *The Statesman* (March 20, 1983) that "Doordarshan [TV] interviews are not famous for plain speaking. Interviewers themselves are selected not for their political acumen but for their flair for English" and another reviewer in Delhi's *The Hindustan Times* (March 22, 1983) that "The language of All India Radio and especially television is so highly Sanskritized that broadcasts and telecasts have become unintelligible and boring."

In rhetoric far removed from daily discourse yet ultimately connected with it, and perhaps more motivated by non-linguistic than linguistic interests in favor of a "two-language formula" of all-Indian language policy, thus, against Hindi but for use of the state languages, we find statements in favor of English that can be

summarized as follows (from *The Hindu* and *The Hindustan Times*, January through March, 1983):

English is the only link language in India.
English must continue as official language of India.
If one has to arrest disintegration of India, English
   should be made the national language.
English is not a foreign language. It is the mother-tongue
   of Anglo-Indians and it is as much Indian as any other
   Indian language.
English is the basis of present political unity of India.
English is an international link language. Rejecting
   English and making Hindi an official language would mean
   delinking India from the rest of the world.
English is a language of scientific thought, technology and
   material progress.
English is a language of learning and wisdom. Removal of
   English would spell disaster in higher education.
English is a language of world thought.
English is studied in all countries including China, Japan
   and USSR.

Newspaper readers write in letters to the editor or political leaders are reported to suggest that "to close the controversy of national language the only solution is to make the most un-controversial language: 'Sanskrit' the national language." They give the following arguments that reflect their ideologies and beliefs (*The Hindu*, *The Times of India* and *Nava Bharat Times* (in Hindi)):

Only Sanskrit can bring about national unity.
Sanskrit is respected by everybody.
Only with Sanskrit can uniform school syllabi and standards
   of education be maintained all over the country.
Resurrection of Hebrew has set a model.
To make Sanskrit the National Language is like starting
   language policy on a new slate.
Sanskrit has been the National Language of India from times
   immemorial.
Sanskrit has a great and rich tradition.
Sanskrit is our great heritage.
For cultural unity of India, no other language than
   Sanskrit would be appropriate.

Tradition-inspired thoughts of unification, well grounded in facts of the shared lexicon and grammar of most Indian languages, make up ideological rhetoric that justifies Sanskrit; international-linking thoughts of global integration by a commercial and scientific-technical elite, grounded in the fact that this elite and their system now use English, make up ideological rhetoric that justifies English. Since neither language is used by the masses, not even by a majority of socially mobilized people, language management in India will find good returns not in implementing Sanskrit- or English-language solutions to language problems but in implementing state and vernacular language development goals. Yet, these latter processes are necessarily influenced by people who have the very same kinds of ideological orientations, but in contention with others', mainly locally-endogenously oriented, ideology. Examples can be found in the formulation of principles of term and vocabulary development processes for Indian languages which permit relating rhetoric to principle and, in turn, to language use.

The principles that guide the federal Indian Scientific and Technical Terminology Commission's work are:

1. International terms should be adopted in their current English forms, as far as possible and translated in Hindi and other Indian languages according to their genius.

    a)   Names of elements and compounds, *e.g.*, Hydrogen, Carbon, Carbon-di-oxide *etc.*,

    b)   Units of weights, measures and physical quantities, *e.g.* dyne, calorie, and amperes *etc.*,

    c)   Terms based on proper names, *e.g.* Fahrenheit scale (Fahrenheit), Voltameter (Volta),

    d)   Binomial nomenclature in such sciences as Botany, Zoology, Geology, *etc.*,

    e)   Words like Radio, Petrol, Proton, *etc.*, which have gained practically world-wide usage.

2. The symbols will remain in the international form written in Roman script, but abbreviations may be written in Devanagari and standardised form, specially for common weights and measures *e.g.* the symbol 'cm' for centimetre will be used as such in Hindi, but the abbreviation in Nagari may be से॰ मी॰ This will apply to

books for children and other popular works only, but in standard works of science and technology, the international symbols only, like cm. should be used.

3. Conceptual terms have generally been translated.

4. In the selection of Hindi equivalents simplicity, precision of meaning and easy intelligibility should be borne in mind.

5. The aim should be to achieve the maximum possible identity in all Indian languages by selecting terms:

    a)   common to as many of the regional languages as possible and

    b)   based on Sanskrit roots.

6. Indigenous terms, which have come into vogue in our languages for certain scientific words of common use will be retained, such as

तार	telegraph/telegram
महाद्वीप	continent
अणु	atom.

7. Such loans from English, Portuguese, French *etc.*, as have gained wide currency in Indian languages will be retained, *e.g.* Engine, Machine, Meter, Litre, Torch *etc.*,

8. Orthography: Transliteration of International terms into Devanagari script. The transliteration of English terms should not be made so complex of new signs and symbols in the present Devanagari characters. The Devanagari rendering of the English terms should aim at maximum approximation to the standard English pronunciation with such modifications as prevalent among the educated circle in India.

9. Gender -- The international terms adopted in Hindi should be used in the masculine gender, unless there were compelling reasons to the contrary.

10. Hybrid-formation -- Hybrid forms in scientific terminologies, *e.g.*, āinikaran for ionization, voltata for voltage *etc.*, are normal

and natural linguistic phenomena and that such forms may be adopted in practice keeping in view the requirements of the scientific terminology, *i.e.* simplicity, utility, precision.

In 1961, a Directorate of Languages and Language Advisory Committee were established to manage Marathi in Maharashatra state. The committee was mainly formed of linguists and scholars of Marathi and Sanskrit. The principles followed in the Committee's Glossary of technical terminology are by and large the same as the principles at the Centre, but the Marathi order of preference is as follows:

1. Pan-Indian communication, *e.g.*, appropriate words already in use were replaced by "Hindi" ones, among which,

from:	to:
prāptikara (income tax)	āyakara
nabhovāṇī (All India Radio)	ākāshavāni
tapālaghara (post office)	ḍakaghara
vidyatpiṭha (academy)	akādamī.

2. Precision of meaning, *e.g.*, there were two competing words in Marathi for hospital, ispiṭala and davākhānā, but the word list offers these specializations in meaning, dropping ispiṭala in the process:

hospital	rugṇālaya
asylum	upacāra gṛha
clinic	cikitsālaya
dispensary	davākhānā
infirmary	agangālaya
nursing home	shushruṣālaya
sanatorium	ārogyadhāma.

3. Self-explanatory words: many words are not self-explanatory but those which are constructed from Marathi stems are more or less transparent, *e.g.*, from sampa, strike and phoḍyā, one who breaks, sampa phoḍyā, strike breaker.

4. Sources.

1)   There are the common Marathi words:

sticking-plaster	cikaṭa paṭṭi
fire engine	āgica bamba
slaughterer	khāṭik, kasāi
parasite	bāṇḍaguḷa.

2a)   There are words with equivalents in Sanskrit:

field-marshal	mahābalādhikṛta
accountant general	mahālekhāpala
record keeper	abhilekhapāla.

2b)   There is coinage based on Sanskrit:

right	hakka, adhikāra	adhikāra
privilege	viseṣa hakka	viseṣādhikār
prerogative	viseṣa adhikār	paramādhikār
authority	adhikār	prādhikār.

3a)   There is acceptance of English words:

radio	radio, rediyo
railway	relve
stethoscope	sthethóskopa
hotel	hóṭela
privy council	privhi kounsila.

3b)   and acceptance of Perso-Arabic words:

decree	hukumanama
agreement bond	karāra nāmā
surety	jāmina
document	dastaaivaja
application	arja.

A comparison of principles for Marathi with principles pronounced to govern the development of some other regional languages in India reveals that the principles are not parallel. Preferences as to degree of endogenous (native) incorporation of recommended

words appears to be strong for Kannada and very strong for Tamil. Pan-Indian and internationalizing preferences also appear to have different rank, with Marathi leaning in a pan-Indian direction and Hindi in an international direction.

A working group at the Central Institute of Indian Language's summer institute in Mysore made the following quick and dirty count of the number of English-derived words in a set of twenty-five recommended administrative terms in Marathi, Kannada, Hindi and Tamil (for Tamil, three terms are different) and their equivalents in newspaper usage (including synonyms) during the last days of June and the first couple of days of July, 1980,

	Marathi	Kannada	Hindi	Tamil
lists	3	6	12	-
newspapers	14	12	11	9

The number of English-derived words is higher in the newspapers (except for Hindi). The replacement of English with Sanskritic or endogenous expressions must underlie the gap between list and newspapers for Marathi, Kannada and Tamil.

Management of vocabulary in domain expansion occurs in response to a systematically felt need for replacement of one language by another, in these cases, use of Marathi, Kannada, Tamil *etc.* into domains for which English was hitherto appropriate. Vocabulary is developed not in response to inadequacies in discourse that could have arisen when words that express these meanings were noted and negatively evaluated in particular regards, but in response to principles. These principles reflect the committee members' ideological commitments. Principles as we have seen express degrees of preference for endogenously motivated vocabulary, for international transparency, for Sanskritization and so on. These principles are intellectually and sentimentally derived, debated and projected. On the one hand, if other words are already in use, there is little reason for people to adopt words from these kinds of word lists. On the other hand, users are also sensitive to degrees of international or Sanskritic or endogenous transparency or other motivatedness of vocabulary and may well in their discourses make use of new or alternative words for that reason.

Shared realities of diversity of interests and diversity of languages in India prevent anyone from closer thought of unification than at best endorsement of a center's Sanskrit or English with hegemony of regional languages in their respective states. A Sun Theory of one Pan-Indian language that like Turkish in Turkey would unite India within and open India to influences, thus rendered harmless, from without is out of the question because of these realities of diversity. At the level of vocabulary, equivalent realities of diversity of interests that may guide evaluation of words in discourse and the accumulated influences by use over time will likely result in multiply available actual and potential synonyms and stylistically and "sociolinguistically" differentiated variants.

The major principle behind coining administrative terms in Tamil is nativization, coining "pure" Tamil words. Critical examination of a Government of Tamil Nadu glossary from 1971 reveals that this principle has not been uniformly implemented. Rather, the Education Minister of Tamil Nadu mentions in his preface to the glossary that there is no harm in using pure Tamil forms as he expects them to gain public currency in due course of time. Whether intended or not, the statement is remarkable for several reasons. First, an ideology of "purism" may well be a rational response by members of a language community who feel overwhelmed by exogenous language pressures on their language. Purism identifies and defends an endogenous "core" of language and rules of language creation in order to assert independence, seek and maintain a sense of authenticity, and to enable a higher degree of reliance on intuitions based in acquired generative competence, or at least on indigenously inherited grammatical theory. Purism may well help stability of a language system by closing it to influence from one direction and opening it to influence from another, even identifying and rejecting language features already in it but once received from one source rather than another. Purism may thus reduce uncertainty among its users, especially counteracting a sense of uncertainty in face of the foreign. But purism can also introduce new uncertainties in individuals' judgement of what is acceptable and correct. Normally, different groups in society take different positions depending on their training and experience of other communities and literatures and on their group interest. Second, the Tamil Nadu minister will inevitably be proven right, because continuing stability of use of Tamil will remove foreign-marking of routine vocabulary. Noting in discourse will not lead to evaluation in

terms of indigeneity or foreignness but rather to evaluation in terms of appropriateness to style or to specialized user group's register, to precise meaning, and so on.

As for ideological reach, whether in purism or in other ideologies that influence language management, the sky is the limit. If there is a language of God, then that language is Arabic or Hebrew or Sanskrit. In contemporary secular Swedish society, notions of democratization, regionalism, and internationalization are all examples of ideologies that have an impact on language management (Dahlstedt 1976). Democratization of language is intended to offer access to knowledge for all people by removing language obstacles. Regionalism is intended to increase solidarity between the Nordic peoples by increasing the intertranslatability and mutual individual knowledge of each other's languages, while internationalization is intended to bring Swedish in line with currency of expression in economically and technologically important foreign languages. Indeed, the very notions of "Swedish" and Swedish as a "national language" are ideological. The substantial task of describing and explaining relationships between language use in discourse and language change, between ideologies and language management, still lies ahead[25].

The seventh lecture

LANGUAGE PLANNING

What values and what ideology may we then bring to bear on the study and, through our study, on the conduct of language management? Students of language management may reveal participants' linguistic and non-linguistic interests in such acts of language management as they chose for study, dissect the unfolding of consequences of action, and order their accumulated revelations into texts of cases, histories or typologies. Whether neutral or cynical, chronological or factored, texts are written and read from some point of view. Language management may be so thoroughly entwined with other political processes that motivations in communication for solving problems or for resolving inadequacies are neglected or suppressed. People may seize on available language differentials to further group interest, or create differentials when there were none before, to mark group distinctiveness, thus erecting new obstacles to communication. Processes of this kind are real and important features of communication. However, from the point of view of the quite specific disciplinary interest I am seeking to delimit in these lectures, it is just as real and important to connect claims people make about language problems to their or others' actual, observable (potentially, at the very least) communication in discourse. There are processes of interaction between individuals' discourse and individuals' support for and actions through institutions that manage language. This is my interest.

This lecture shall take a planning perspective, anchoring this point of view in a political-intellectual ideological commitment to the "public good"[26]. This lecture also assumes a democratic perspective. A democratic perspective on planning reveals how, through the political process, members of a community are given the opportunity to participate in designing a desirable future and finding ways of moving toward it as effectively as possible. In its normative aspect, it assumes participation and in its analytical

aspect, it evaluates participation. A major research question in the planning perspective in language management asks in what regard and to what extent can texts on language management suggest courses of action in the complex political-administrative contexts of contemporary society, from the point of view of criteria that participants in a democratic polity agree with and implement, despite inherent multiplicity of competing interests?

For government to manage language efficiently is no easy matter, however democratic the polity and however agreed the policies. Not unexpectedly, some difficulties can be understood as problems in authority, says Saulson. He identifies at least three such problems, namely, (a) the problem of consensus, (b) the problem of saliency, and (c) the problem of awareness (1979:187). From his study of the Israeli Hebrew experience, he derives some interesting hypotheses concerning requirements for successful implementation in language planning, for example, concerning awareness, that language managers have to be aware of public language needs and usage, that language users have to be made aware of agency services and products, and that language agencies must create a demand for their language products (188-190). He concludes in this regard that:

"effective functional authority, *i.e.* the ability to elicit voluntary compliance, is rooted in its appeal to utilitarianism. The language planning milieu has to assure the ordinary member of the language community that his internalizing a particular language product will be to his benefit" (193).

There would seem to exist no better way to ensure "effective functional authority" than for agencies to suggest adjustments only to such language inadequacies as "the ordinary member of the language community" has noted in discourse and referred to the agency for evaluation (and adjustment).

Language planning is proactive, organized language management, which typically (but not necessarily) proceeds with government-authorized involvement by public agencies and with the support of subsidy. In business administration literature, and in problem-solving literature, planning, in a much broader meaning, often refers to decision-making behaviours in general. There has been confusion in scholarly debate about language planning because these two different, yet of course interrelated, contexts of meaning of planning have not been kept sufficiently apart.

Planning can refer to planning as conduct in decision-making procedure in general, or to planning in the specific meaning of government involvement. Language planning applies when:

"changes in the systems of language code or speaking or both are planned by organizations that are established for such purpose or given a mandate to fulfill such purposes. As such, language planning is focused on problem-solving and is characterized by the formulation and evaluation of alternatives for solving language problems to find the best (or optimal, most efficient) decision" (Rubin and Jernudd 1979:xvi).

"Such management, planning or guidance is presumed to be not only possible but practical and necessary; thus the natural association with the institutional as the purveyor of rationality in planning. The institutional framework is usually governmentally sponsored. Its relationship to the particular language is defined, on the one hand, by the deliberateness in language change" (Saulson 1979:161).

Language planning can be understood as a problem-solving method. It offers a framework for people to try for the best decisions, to reach an ideal in the future (Ackoff 1978:26). By engaging in language planning, participants negotiate what seems to them to be the most satisfactory solution to a language problem within their limits of control and cognition. This emphasizes, as Saulson puts it, that language planning "is defined by its future-orientation". Future-orientation points to an important problem of knowledge, namely, whether we can ever learn what would have been the best course of action. Does the pursuit of an optimal policy require an explicit understanding of language development in the context of societal development (Jernudd and Das Gupta 1971:209), or should knowledge after the fact merely define what happened as necessary and therefore optimal? Historical analysis will contribute knowledge. In present circumstances, it would seem sufficient to realize, as does Saulson that

"language will be planned by those inclined to do so because of the larger societal development within which such planning is always interrelated... The real problem to be treated, therefore, is not whether language should or can be planned but, rather 'how

to do so most effectively in connection with prespecified criteria of success.'"

From such a point of view, planning is (Faludi 1973:230):

"a process of iteratively approximating a formal statement in which all parties agree on one programme in preference to others... However, the order in which arguments are stated has nothing whatsoever to do with the order in which they are actually formulated."

To believe otherwise is to call on false assumptions concerning the planning process. Language planning interacts with social, political, economic and other kinds of planning; and it is embedded in the entire social, economic and political process of development. Planning is political process. A fully developed language planning model in language management would aim at an analytical understanding of what policies are possible and under what conditions (both historical and normative) and it would show what designs, measures, instrumentalities and operations are available with what systemic effects, in relation to policies.

Decision-making tools in the planning process can well be borrowed from the one context to the other, but it must be remembered that decision-making tools are no more than aids that at most help advocate a particular suggested course of action. First and foremost, the aids are there to help one formulate and to perhaps understand what is an issue, to what degree this issue concerns oneself, and to relate problems to the issue. This may enable one to determine what can be done about the problem(s), now that the issue has been clarified. Sometimes, clarification of the issue eliminates what was thought to be a problem. Solutions are only valid for the period of time under consideration and in the particular context of the given problem and within boundaries of ever present particular constraints: some things simply cannot be done, within reasonable cost (of spirit or matter). And while a plan of action may be overturned long before its horizon of implementation (perhaps as soon as a year after initiation, and twenty-nine years before the planning horizon), and while students of language management and planning must seek to understand circumstances of such change, the fact of a plan's demise does not invalidate planning, neither as a decision-making tool, nor as process. *Any* tool is only partially helpful, and *any* model, even

theory, selects to describe and explain only partial relationships (within what may or may not be a whole).

Problem-solving is to face a choice of sufficient importance to require deliberate assessment. A decision in language management and planning is the acceptance, by particular people with particular interests, of a formal statement that suggests action to correct the language inadequacy that gives rise to the language problem. Formal statements are utterances that can be criticized. If these formal statements, plans, are not made available to at least those potentially affected by their consequences when implemented, at least then a democratic requirement has been violated. Reasonably, those who are affected should be meaningfully involved in solving the problem from early on in the process.

In democratic societies today, there are at least three social processes that keep appointed decision-makers and self-appointed experts in check and give direction to and provide constraints in public language management and planning. These three social processes are:

(1)   public debate, and institutionalized politics
(2)   criticism, and critical theory
(3)   free research[27].

One cannot assume that there are substantive solutions that are always true and that therefore can be promulgated once and for all through the scholarly literature. Nonetheless, guidelines based on accumulated experience of outcomes under similar conditions of decision-making can probably be developed for a range of language problems in recurring situations. An example of such a guideline may be that it appears to be wise for language managers whose job it is to monitor borrowings to allow some time to pass in order to allow foreign words to be rejected or to be accommodated by their fellow speakers in discourse, before the managers intervene in any way, more so, before they cry wolf! After all, is there a problem and whose is the problem? And it would also seem wise for language managers to involve themselves with the "naturalization" of new terms only when their help is welcome, which would be when anxiety about what's the right inflection or spelling has developed in a definite user group and, when in consequence, representatives in the network (*e.g.*, some specialization in engineering or medicine) invite, or respond positively to suggestions for help from, language managers.

Unfortunately, a detailed record of partly generalizable and practically applicable experience is sadly lacking in language management and language planning so far, with a little more detail available from language communities in Northern and Eastern Europe, *i.e.*, those that represent the cultivation type of language treatment. Much must have been learnt by linguists involved in cultivation, and in the development of, for example, the Indonesian and Malaysian standard languages, Hindi and the regional languages in India, and so on. These records should be recovered, interpreted and communicated.

In the decades following World War II, as "development" took on such problematical saliency, "planning" came to be associated also with strategies to rapidly bring (some) inadequacies in "developing" countries under control through belief in massive action initiated by governments. Even in this context, separation of meanings is essential, perhaps especially when referring to language problems. Also, the economic planning literature normally deals with society-wide action, although the core question in that literature has been and unambiguously remains:

what actions can governments take that are "legitimate" from particular points of view?

Consequently, and in view of the commitments above, the normative questions that should govern language planning could be expressed with the help of economics metaphor, borrowed from the theory of public good, namely,

(1)   are there efficient solutions to language problems[28]?
(2)   what problems would not be solved unless people get together to take collective action[29]?

These two questions address the central issues in the study of language planning.

The latter type of intervention is sometimes thought to be justified because little would be done otherwise to solve a particular problem because to do so would cost very much (in time, say) for any one individual, or he/she could not reap commensurate individual benefit from a solution, or the problem is simply too unmanageable because too many factors are involved. In aswering the crucial question of whether or not public agencies can do better than individuals left entirely left alone in a laissez

faire system, three major dimensions of analysis, or, in gross terms, goals, are normally balanced one against the other. These dimensions are: (a) resource allocation, (b) distribution of benefit, and (c) growth and stability. These dimensions are very general but serve the purpose of judging outcomes of decisions affecting language in society quite well. It is important to realize that these dimensions are merely analytical devices that do not directly help anyone to make decisions. These several dimensions are helpful as analytical metaphors, and other sets are possible (*e.g.*, development, democratization, unity and foreign relations per Neustupný 1968:292). Values embedded in the analytical terms must be made explicit, subjects must be identified, and consequences must revealed in concrete terms in research, whatever set is chosen. The following three sections apply the dimensions in approximation of the political economy metaphor to common issues in language planning.

Growth and stability of language resources in language planning

The state may be privy to information that enables agency analysts to take a systematically longer-term and collective viewpoint, because the state has an institutional capacity already in place or that is readily mobilizable. Representatives of the community at large may wish to make the judgement, for example, that language learning and maintenance of particular foreign language skills may well be worth it now for reasons of expected use and therefore potential future benefit. Representatives of the polity's people may weigh future generations' interests which may be derived from utilizing opportunities to learn a language provided now against alternative uses of the money that would have to be spent now to cover the costs for such a program and charged against people active in the community today who could benefit immediately from other uses of this money. The political process offers at least some opportunity for confrontation of opinion and perhaps for creation of conditions of making decisions as to what should be done--and in consequence actions will be taken that affect people's language lives.

Decisions concerning the development of endogenous languages and their promotion in use in public life and in education belong here. This is so not only because the state often controls these domains, but because it is a costly process to make a transition

from one language to another. So many people with different language backgrounds and different individual expectations concerning their roles in the language future are involved.

In macroeconomic parlance, the rate of discount, which reflects the probability of mobilizing later such language knowledge as is acquired now, therefore should differ in the state's judgement and in private judgement: the representatives of the people may feel the burden of their mandate to take a personally disinterested but collectively responsible point of view. If their representatives identify future language needs for which it takes a long time to prepare people to meet properly, the govenment can act in the public interest now. Examples of future language needs are for Australia to reorient itself from looking towards Europe through French, to introducing instead Asian languages in schools and universities. What the government can do is to pay the salaries for language specialists in government or academic employment which means that individuals are compensated now although the benefit to the society as a whole accrues later. The government can keep these individuals in readiness until they are needed when the individuals themselves couldn't have found the means to sustain themselves meanwhile. Or the government can launch an information campaign about the future value of certain language knowledge and combine this effort with offering low-interest individual loans or tax relief, such as directly subsidized education to students who opt for studying those languages now.

Such was the shock of the Sputnik in the United States that the US Congress passed and funded the National Defense Education Act which enabled many more students than would otherwise have done so to study foreign languages in the 1960's.

Distribution in language planning

The first lectures discuss prejudice. Discourse manifests who a person is. Prejudice, self-interest, self-centering, get in the way of building mutually supportive and equal relationships. Information to remove fear of differences, political debate, legislation, travel, youth exchanging visits, sharing in sports, are but some of the channels through which communication inequities and barriers of access to acquiring language proficiency may be removed. Sociolinguists are fortunately deeply concerned with inequalities and social differentials in communication. Celebrated cases in

point because of the existence of abundant resources to seek solutions are the vicious circles of lesser opportunity for, among minorities, the Chicanos and Blacks in the United States. For these minorities, unequal opportunity is thought to be intertwined with lack of educational success and, in turn, their lack of success on the job market is attributed to their supposedly insufficient preparedness to learn through the English medium of school. Competence in English was not adequately supplied by the schools and even when it was, this effort took too much time away from learning other subject matter, thus negating the English achievement. Therefore, one measure of system-wide, long-term adjustment is US federal and state subsidized bilingual education in the context of rights legislation and implementation of many other kinds of remedies in addition to the language-related ones (see Leibowitz). It is hard to see how private measures alone could bring about nation-wide change in educational and work opportunities in the context of American race relations.

The global restructuring of networks of choice ("political structure"), production ("the economy") and society ("who's who") incorporates more and more individuals into the international networks and gives them greater say in politics, in production and in matters "social"; yet, at the same time, this global restructuring delimits these same people sharply from others who are not given opportunity for such concerns or access at all. As any other human activity, language planning serves particular interests in this structure. Elites ("executives", engineers, professionals) and bureaucrats dominate and cooperate within and across state structures in national and international networks. Their coincidences of interest foreground some language problems rather than others and, on a global scale of assessment, clearly do not favour dignity and equality for all people--unless one takes a very pessimistic view of our abilities to change human conditions. While I have chosen to rely on an economics metaphor in this lecture, this metaphor reproduces the present structure of the world and would seem to support mainly within-system adjustments of problems of inequality. A human rights perspective would focus on inequality, yet, it, too, is compromised by collaboration with international organizations that exist by virtue of acceptance of severe restrictions on their action and expression.

In the existing system, assuming a democratic requirement, and if enough people disagree with the direction in which the state is going, they can show their displeasure by voting their

representatives out of power, perhaps due in part to these very issues. Perhaps solicitation of action and reaction can be built into the political process through multiple channels of continuing debate, including community discussion evenings, public hearings, referrals of proposals to community organizations, unions, corporations *etc.* Comparatively speaking, some states offer a fair opportunity for public participation in the political process. But the will of the people is channeled (oppressed, and manipulated) in very complex manners in different political systems.

Whether an issue is on the election platform (as is language policy in the racially divided Malaysia) or not, the democratic requirement assumes political action to be the corrective (which may after all sustain a degree of moderation in Malaysia in the face of calls for Malay racist supremacy, including the exclusive use of Bahasa Malaysia in schools and in public transactions). The model also predicts--because adjustment is tied to the noting and evaluating of language problems that people actually encounter in discourse--that lack of realism in government involvement may cause even enthusiastically launched programs to bog down.

Resource allocation in language planning

Language is a resource because, by economic jargon, it is valued during discourse, *i.e.*, it is a "consumer good", or through discourse to produce other products, *i.e.*, it is an "input". Language is a highly diversified "commodity" ("good") because there are many languages and much stylistic differentiation and lexical specialization within languages. It takes effort to learn a foreign language at a level of use greater than colloquial banter. This gives language knowledge value, *i.e.*, language is a resource. The person who has become proficient in a foreign language is, *e.g.*, available to help negotiate a business contract between people from different language backgrounds, or to facilitate exchange of goods through preparing for the smooth functioning of precisely understood and equivalent terminology in ordering, forwarding and customs processing. Language is also given value because of sentiment, such as expression of identity and personality, and preservation of cultural traditions. Oral performance and literature give language value which are not measured by the value of exchange of other goods but by intrinsic properties of (changing) appreciation. Language planning in some countries, *e.g.*, in

Malaysia, supports and aims to develop the language and literary arts; in most countries it connects critically with access to foreign language acquisition and access to proficiency in use of endogenous language, and also with their conditions of use. The state is an important agent especially in language development, *e.g.*, in Malaysia (for Bahasa Malaysia through the Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka [the Language and Literature Agency]) or India. Education is not left to private initiative. The state assumes responsibility for youth and increasingly adult education, and therefore for language teaching.

The state gets involved because language skills do not accrue value only to the learner (its "purchaser") when s/he uses them, but a community decision to support acquisition of language skills also yields benefits to the community, *e.g.*, more people with language skills make them, together, a better informed electorate, there is a chance of improved international understanding, there are benefits of scale, a common second or foreign language is more easily reciprocated by others, and so on.

Language skills are produced by many diverse agents and in a multiplicity of social environments, and are consumed for as many different purposes as language communication mediates. Due to the high degree of differentiation of language skills "as a product" and the multiplicity of "producers" and "consumers", the market for language skills as both input and output could, according to the economics metaphor, be an imperfect market because of differential availability of information. "Productivity" could improve if imperfections were removed. Because of time lag in production of language skills, and because of the often sporadic, uneven or unrecognized demand for skills in many foreign languages, the market mechanism for making adjustments between demand and supply of services of language skills, if uncoordinated, produces an oscillation of excess demand followed by excess supply. Good language planning may help dampen these collective swings, but haphazard language management may aggravate them. For example, the recognition of a school generation's lacking language skills, be it in foreign languages or in reading and writing skills in endogenous languages, leads to wholesale and undifferentiated application of measures of correction throughout a mass educational system. This appears to have been the case with the supply and demand in the United States of foreign language skills since the Second World War, and appears to characterize also the

lament of lacking English writing skills in the late 1970's and onwards.

Fortunately, use does not exhaust a person's language skills but instead improves it. Language skills remain a resource once they have been acquired--although they do decay unless reinforced in use immediately after the learning experience.

Time lag can also be beneficial, in the language development conatext. Time may pass between first creations ("production") to meet a language communication need and the date of coordination of the varied responses to the need. This would seem to be the case in regard to specialized vocabulary. Either one word emerges as the clearly preferred term to express the new concept or object, and writers and lexicographers merely note the fact of usage, or the interacting individuals in the language network recognize the need to get together to choose one preferred term from among competing words. In this process, the state should limit its involvement accordingly. Often a state subsidy supports a terminological agency to coordinate solutions in precisely these circumstances.

CONCLUSION

A case can clearly be made for language planning, from the points of view of language as a resource, of distributively equitable societal goals because of uneven distribution of language skills, and of growth and viability of the language community. Individuals benefit from cooperation and society benefits from specializaion. Individual fruits of labour in language management and coordination of future language needs can help everyone to a richer life if public agencies provide input and evaluate, distribute and coordinate information and knowledge. But how much and under what specific circumstances the public interest could be involved are questions that remain unanswered. In principle, at least suboptimal efficiency gains can be made in domestic language determination concerning foreign language learning and use in language development in the context of international scientific communication and in regard to term standardization.

The eighth lecture

THREE ISSUES IN LANGUAGE PLANNING

Foreign language competence

From time to time, a country needs people with particular language expertise for very important transactions. In between these occurrences of unpredictable need, little value is placed on individual knowledge of that language expertise. The problem is actualized when the need arises to have a person on the spot who knows Arabic, Russian, Persian or whatever languages may be involved in case of a diplomatic crisis, hijack, or worse, and in retrospective self-criticism perhaps even before an event takes place to be able to better predict what might happen. After all, the collective shock in the USA that the Soviet Union placed a Sputnik in space first led to a massive effort of upgrading education, foreign languages included, through the National Defense Education Act.

A most interesting planning problem arises out of this kind of problem. How can the community find and maintain an acceptable and perhaps even efficient balance in the long term between capacity for training, on the one hand, and competence of performance at any given point in time, on the other, in which languages, and for how many individuals. Clearly, when language proficiency is only seen as a valuable asset during crises, the government is the only channel for maintaining language skills and even encouraging the learning of particular languages to begin with--if there is to be a systematic approach to the stochastic need for occasional language skill at all. The government must judge need and degree of support of language specialists in between crises. "The national interest" is at stake!

Justification for government involvement could also be derived from countering a sense in the community that second or foreign languages are not useful (see Simon 1980). In an increasingly interdependent world with such a multitude of languages that

receive increased attention and such an impressive array of increasingly important regional lingua francas (Arabic, Bahasa Indonesia/Malaysia, Hindi, Russian, Spanish, Swahili, and others), decisions on structuring language learning opportunities for international communication take on great importance. For example, Bangladeshis or Sri Lankans or Swedes who go abroad for jobs could advantageously know English or Arabic, and for studies overseas anyone would benefit from knowing languages. Disciplines of higher learning are associated with their language media of origination, dissemination and discussion of their subject matters, *e.g.*, English for the contemporary hard sciences, French, Arabic, Chinese, Greek, Sanskrit for philosophy and history, Hebrew, Arabic, Aramaic, Greek and Latin for studies of Judaism, Christianity and Islam. Education regulates learning among young people to begin with--therefore, who governs education must take into account also international communication needs. Although there are private schools anywhere, most schools are publicly governed. Therefore, the government must plan and administer foreign language needs and opportunities for most people in the country through an educational system which it largely controls.

The state and also regional educational planning would be made much easier if the language communication system itself could be made more predictable. International cooperation and coordination about an *international language communication order* would have a definite impact on state educational systems if such a planning process could get under way. In the European Community, educational coordination and cooperation already interacts with a hierarchization of language use in practice in European Community administration. Mazrui (1976:476) has suggested a language future in a Model World Federation of Cultures with English, French, Russian, Arabic and Chinese as world languages. Every child in his new world would be required to learn three languages--a world language, a regional language, and either a national or a communal language. Examples of regional languages are German or Swahili, of national languages, Persian or Japanese, and of communal languages, Gujerati or Luganda.

At the national level alone, planning can offer a set of guidelines for improving the internal efficiency of a foreign language "delivery system" through consistent inter-institution coordination and efficient flow of information. The kinds of institutions that would be involved include schools, universities, colleges, armed service

schools, tutorial agencies, and so on. Inter-institution coordination would be concerned about how many students there are, in which languages, where; the locations of studying certain languages; job opportunities linked to language skills; language training materials; research on success and failure of programs; and so on. Coordination would seek an optimum combination of inputs, and an optimum distribution of "trainees" in different levels and channels of foreign language training, be it formal schooling, informal training at home, on the job, or abroad. The argument holds that in accordance with market theory, there would be considerable benefits to be gained from better informed decisions about language acquisition and maintenance by the many individuals who make up this complex system of learning, teaching and use. This can be accomplished from a relatively modest investment in facilitating information exchanges and information availability among and to all these individuals.

Despite the potential dangers of elitism due to limited access by individuals to foreign language study, there is absolutely no point in government support for substandard foreign language teaching. The enormous cost of educating all in a public school system in a foreign language is indefensible when only some ever benefit from its use, and when valuable educational time is thus taken away from other activities that could directly serve a development effort or enhance individual futures, and when foreign language knowledge could easily be alternatively provided for those who eventually need it. Opportunities to learn foreign languages should be [made] available [by good planning] at those points in time when the student is clearly motivated to learn and this may not occur until business school or as the result of an on-the-job overseas assignment; learning should take place in a pedagogically conducive setting and however little we know about the characteristics of those settings at least we know that regular practice of the language in as immersing a setting as possible is helpful; *etc.* Planning can offer a set of guidelines and a very practical set of cooperating practices for improving the internal efficiency of the foreign language delivery system through consistent inter-institution coordination and efficient flow of information, through a best possible combination of inputs (of students' time, teachers, buildings, materials, *etc.*) and also through responsive and well-informed distribution of "trainees" in different levels and channels of foreign language training (formal schooling

at home and abroad, informal training at home and abroad, electronic link-ups, *etc.*).

Official languages

The lottery effect refers to how pupils in government schools or without--in private schools that cost even more to attend-- acquire an exogenous language which is required for employment in public service. This is the situation after World War II in many newly formed polities. English is the language of federal and much state administration in India--English is even said to be an endogenous language in India despite the fact that only a fraction of the population ever attain any kind of fluency in it. Pakistan requires English for public service entry. A school leaver acts on the belief that he can afford to remain many years without employment after graduation because if he does luck out and win in the lottery by eventually obtaining employment--and sufficiently many obviously do or perhaps belief persists despite the fact that even more resign themselves to a different existence--he will earn enough to believe that he will be making up then for hardships he suffers now. This assumes, of course, that the salary premium is high in the job that requires the exogenous language compared to what the mass of the population earns. This earnings gap motivates the pupil and his parents to demand exogenous-language education and therefore contributes to maintaining this vicious circle of crushed hope for the many and lucky winnings for the few. Only a determined government effort can break this circle by removal of the salary premium and of the exogenous language requirement, or by removal of subsidy for its study at the very least (Blaug 1970, chapter 8). The government must forcefully and deliberately favour endogenous languages in a degree of judicious coexistence with the exogenous language during a transitional period, lest administrative difficulties and dissatisfaction among the already salaried result.

If for some reason uniform language use in government offices is legislated, sufficient measures should rather be taken to train civil servants on the job and to promote them according to language proficiency tests, possibly giving a salary benefit to those who already know the non-local working language of civil administration, or best of all, according to proven performance. Ideally, knowledge of a particular language need not be a

requirement for employment during a longer transitional period to a state of affairs of stable expectation of language proficiency needs in the administration. There need only exist language requirements for specialist linguists' positions (of interpreting or translating or drafting) because once on the job, language training would be provided, and interaction would find its languages.

Rather than for a government to determine one language for its administration--before adequate institutions of equal access and compensatory channels of communication have been established through societal consensus--it would seem possible rather to put up with multilingualism and translations and interpretation on demand, at points of information transfer, and to create an internal rewards system for learning a second-language-in-common; to stimulate the use of these second languages through incentive and not through required use. But given failings of human nature, and as the continuing process of enforcing rights of use of French in Quebec and Federal Canada demonstrates, implementation can also take the path of legal enforcement of rights of multilingual use. A political process that supports a language transition would engender a language planning process--as in Canada and in most developing nations. This planning process would have to include continuous monitoring of use for feedback on progress, conscientious publication of these statistics, continuous noting of inadequacies in consultation with a broad range of interest groups, and consistent action on adjustments.

The public sector in its relations to a society with new roles and many new career opportunities can advantageously (or at least less problematically) be made to reflect even very complex societal language situations also inside the administration: through decentralization, regionalization, (lingual) recruitment policy by differential needs in the different sectors of administration, and so on.

The need for prescribed language uniformity in or out of public service remains a myth until proven. At least other measures and practices are possible that accommodate to and take advantage of the language situation in a society: in the economy, as it were[30]. The author's belief rests on the perhaps naive but nevertheless imaginable assumption that people are capable of creating a society built on justice[31]. In this, I am much encouraged by Das Gupta's continued insistence that an optimistic view should be upheld in the analysis of language politics (1985:214).

"Language politics in developing countries can thus be studied more productively as a transitional politics integrally connected with human development... Language politics calls attention to the process of national development, dynamically incorporating the people into the process through their articulated assent. Language demands and the way political authorities cope with such demands indicate how allegiance to national entities can be progressively developed through the institutions of political representation and developmental justice...   it helps us to discount the inherent sacredness of the fiction of nations promoted by privileged groups who inherited the control of the post-colonial states and subsequently ruled under the cover of a confusion between empowerment and entitlement."

And quite apart from the fundamental rights of all individuals anywhere to participate in community affairs on an equal basis and unencumbered by communication obstacles due to dominance of proficient users of the one language over others, one might maintain that language diversity enriches life.   To preserve variation in the human cultural heritage could be considered a public good that should be cherished, worth the imagined or real cost. But this idea, too, must be endorsed by those people with whom those of us who are fortunate to do so share in building a just society.   Sociolinguistic history urges moderation in too enthusiastic an endorsement of a principle of diversity for diversity's sake[32], at least if articulated in opposition to an additional language in common.   Should parents so solidarily decide and should they justly distribute the resources to make its acquisition equally attainable,   their community should almost certainly be able to sustain one language for all.

Language development

In regard to development of each and any language, it is hypothetically in all residents' interest for government to get involved by subsidy to effect fully efficient allocation of resources. Specialized vocabularies or a reformed spelling may more likely grow and stabilize with coordination and with the backing of authority. These two functions can be performed by government agencies or by government-sponsored or -financed agencies. This is so because although individuals have a critical role to play as

initiators, as organizers in writers' organizations and language movements, and as critics of language use, individuals do not also always reap an equivalent benefit from their initiatives (should they work out solutions to language problems on their own and if these were to be valued in the marketplace; they can't sell the solutions). Much more to the point, it is not always the case that individuals working alone can reasonably find the means to make themselves heard, gather the necessary "data" on which to base analysis and suggestions for society-wide legitimization of norms, or especially to disseminate findings in a timely fashion to meet other language users' needs--not to speak of the time and means for proactive investigations. This last factor is very much a key to emergence of coordinated usage which creates and maintains a new norm -- because the language norm is a collectively interactive matter. Language development work concerns such a variety of issues that perhaps public agencies alone can channel and focus the community's concern. And should the individual make herself heard, then this means continued attention to the matter through public involvement and public agencies[33].

Examples abound. A recent report on a UNESCO-sponsored regional workshop on language development in Melanesia (Crowley and Lynch 1985) strongly recommends that "each country in Melanesia establish a single centralised body to coordinate the implementation of policies relating to the use of Melanesian languages in the public domain" (125). Their reasons are, (a) the large amount of work; (b) coordination at the national level makes the most effective use of scarce resources; (c) prevention of "unnecessary duplication of effort"; (d) implementation would be more effective; and (e) authoritative backing for the policies. It is worth reproducing here their suggested agenda for a National Language Centre (126):

assistance in orthography development for vernaculars;
standardisation of written Pidgin, and the dissemination of this
   standard form;
development and publication of dictionaries, and especially the
   proposed dictionaries of Pidgin;
development of terminology in both Pidgin and vernaculars in the
   particular domains in which this might be needed;
assistance with the production and publication of vernacular and
   Pidgin literatures;
coordination and assistance with literacy programmes;

overseeing the use of Pidgin (and other languages?) in the media;
assistance with the development of syllabuses if Melanesian
    languages are to become subjects in school;
coordination of translation services, including possibly the provision
    of translation and interpretation services for government;
coordination of training programmes for staff involved in many of
    these areas;
acting as a general clearing-house for information on language,
    languages and language issues in the country;
being closely involved with linguistic and language-related research
    in the country; and, specifically,
producing research guidelines for, and being responsible for the
    granting of approval for research projects by, foreign researchers.

Naturally, in some societies, privately organized and publicly
incorporated organizations may serve functions that government
agencies serve in other societies. The Melanesian report holds
(127) that

"importantly, some of the proposals would just not get
implemented if there were no central coordination. Overall, a
considerable amount of impetus in the implementation of any
aspect of a language policy would be lost."

Experience indicates that some form of government sponsorship
is worthwhile. It has apparently been worthwhile to offer public
subsidy in order to bring concerned individuals together to assist
them in maintaining files of vocabulary and in printing glossaries
both for general vocabulary development and for specialized term
standardization, to encourage writing (of most any texts) and to
subsidize their printing and distribution, to promote learning of a
language through preparation of course materials and to promote
its use or support good usage through preparation of encyclopedias
and grammars. Since society as a whole benefits, society as a
whole might as well share in the burden of cost.

The boundaries and extent of government-sponsored involvement
are problematical in regard to language development. Large firms,
professional associations, and trade associations do engage to a
very considerable degree in language management, particularly in
the standardization of terminologies and uniformation of style.
Yet, the private sectors' findings and practices are of value outside
their own groups. Also, experience indicates that cooperation is

normally eagerly sought by these private firms to negotiate
standards in enlarging networks of endorsement of products of
private language development because broader endorsement of
standards enhances productivity. For example, even in mature,
stable, language communities, term inadequacies need constant
attention, pro- and reactively. It is, for example, important to
know whether the word door when used in commerce between
specified industries and construction contractors entails delivery
also of the door-frame or not. Shall an order of doors be
understood to include its frame or not? Or, it is important to
lawyers of the sea, fisheries inspectors and fishing vessel captains,
among others, to know what is a tuna[34]. The origin of the
Swedish Centre of Technical Terminology is to be found in a firm
in the manufacturing industry in Sweden. This firm has kept its
internal bureau for term treatment out of which the Centre grew
and it now cooperates with the Centre; and the Centre coordinates
problem-solving and disseminates language treatment results
throughout the Swedish business community, naturally
incorporating this manufacturing firm's bureau (Selander 1988).

Some language extends beyond the boundaries of a particular
community or language, for instance, scientific naming of fish or
plants; or naming of electrotechnical products and processes. The
scientific system of fish-naming is international in scope because it
aims at the universal classification and naming of all fishes. Its
outcome is a description of the definitive physical properties of
each species of fish, the relationship of that species to all other
species by those properties, and a definitive name, the scientific
name, for the species. This name identifies the species, so should
also reflect the relationship of that species to other species in the
taxonomy. A very rigorous set of rules is loyally adhered to by
ichthyologists both in regard to the classification of the physical
properties and in regard to principles of naming. An international
dimension also cuts across the other two systems in fish-naming,
namely, the *common system* which refers to the function of names
in economic transactions concerning the handling of fish as a food
source *etc.*, and the *folk system* which refers to common folks' use
of language in referring to fish within their immediate
environment, thus, local in scope and characterized by immense
variation. Examples of cross-cutting international dimensions are
translations between languages, information exchanges across
languages, data files across agencies, and foremost the United
Nations Food and Agriculture Organization's global inventory and

attempt at standardization of names in their species identification sheets. The scientific system has eliminated the translation problem by ruling that there shall be one and only one name for each species. The International Commission on Zoological Nomenclature (Mayr 1969) authorizes a set of rules that makes a unitary naming system possible. But as concerns the common naming system, there seems to be little exchange of information concerning problems and solutions, objectives and procedures. Different communities that use the same language seek different solutions, whether knowingly or unknowingly, to the same or equivalent language problems in fisheries. In an increasingly interdependent world of trade and information exchanges this is at best inefficient. There is, *e.g.*, differential standardization and listings of preferred common names in languages such as English, French, Spanish, *etc.* FAO's effort for a globally valid English name is commendable, but what about the other languages? Difficulties multiply--and this extended example deals only with a problem of such limited connotation as naming fish.

Languages and features of languages interlock at multiple levels of usage. The interfacing between languages and user groups needs to be given much more attention by international organizations, governmentally sponsored or not, and serves as an example of action where private interests may lack motivation through lack of opportunity to reap profits or because private groups that would tackle the coordination tasks are each too small or simply lack perceived authority to organize at this scale and across boundaries.

The ninth lecture

RESEARCH DIRECTIONS

Research on the circumstances of language management can be guided by an array of methodologies. Selection of method would depend on the research question. This is so because there is no closure to this research, other than what the researcher's own questions imply. The researchers are active in the broad field of language management when they identify by citation with workers in it and when they use any of its models and terms[35].

In commenting on the status of particularly "status planning" in language planning at a recent conference, Joshua Fishman[36] (1987:410) said that "[those interested in language planning] have been making up social science theory far too long and, as a result, have benefited far too little from the theory that has been elaborated by specialists working in other areas of social change and social planning." He noted that (426)

"far too few empirical studies were presented [...] in any but a historical vein. The study of history is, of course, empirical in terms of documentation of the past record. But sociolinguistics is also concerned with the exhaustive, multidimensional depiction of the present, with attitude studies, with usage studies, with criterion evaluation studies, in short, with quantitative studies of various kinds. We ultimately want to know more about what kinds of populations are more likely, and what kinds are less likely, to adopt the status planning and corpus planning products of language planning authorities and why these differentials exist."

I agree and feel that, on the one hand, there is a glaring need for greater methodological awareness and for significantly greater discipline in following up suggestions by projecting and testing these on renewable "data"; on the other hand, there is a serious and immediate need for cross-reading between researchers and disciplines, not to impose a burden of compulsorily inter-