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What has been overlooked in Language Management Theory: Notes on some pertinent features of the work of Robinson, Weinstein, and Garfinkel

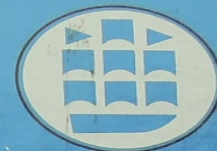
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LANGUAGE MANAGEMENT IN EDUCATION

THE AUSTRALIAN CONTEXT

PETER ROBINSON



The Civic Tongue

Political Consequences of
Language Choices

Brian Weinstein

Longman

Studies in Ethnomethodology

Harold Garfinkel

Studies in
Ethnomethodology

Structure of my presentation

- 1. Building an interpretive context: Basics of Language Management Theory (LMT)
- 2. Some remarks on the book by Peter W. Robinson
- 3. A reconstruction of the discourse on interests in Weinstein (1983)
- 4. Ethnomethodological inspirations in and for LMT
- 5. LMT as an intercultural issue and venture

Though I certainly want to contribute to the historiography of LPP, LMT, and sociolinguistics, I also want to follow up on some topics which we addressed and discussed at the previous symposia at Sophia University four years ago and at the University of Regensburg two years ago, and this way to contribute to the development of the current LMT.

Language Management Theory (LMT)

- The concept developed against the background of Language Planning Theory of the 1960s (with Joshua Fishman as a leading figure)
- LMT originated in work of **Jiří Neustupný** and **Björn Jernudd** (see particularly Jernudd and Neustupný (1987) Language Planning: For Whom)

Three Basic Features of Language Management Theory (LMT)

- **Interplay** of management as it appears in concrete interactions ('simple management') and management taking place in institutions or organizations ('organised management') – **micro-macro linkage**
- **Processual** character of management
- Close connection between **language management** (in the narrow sense) and **communicative** and **socio-cultural** (including **socio-economic**) management

What is language management (LM)

- Language management is understood broadly, as **any sort of activity aimed at language or communication**, in other words, at language as a system as well as at language use
- Or, briefly, **acts of attention to language or communication**

Starting Point of LMT

- In language use, two processes can be differentiated:
- 1. production and reception of utterances or communicative acts (= **linguistic behavior**)
- 2. activities whose **object** is production and reception of the utterances or communicative acts, that is, **management** (= “behavior-toward-language” in J. Fehsman’s wording, or **metalinguistic behavior**)

Organized LM and simple LM

- 1. Activities aimed at language or communication can be undertaken **by an institution or organization** (e.g. the ministry of education, which makes decisions regarding mandatory foreign languages in a given country), (*=organized LM*)
- 2. but also **by individuals in particular interactions** (when, for example, we switch to another language variety because we note that our communication partner does not understand us well, or when we begin to speak more slowly because we note that our communication partner does not understand us well, but we are not able to switch to another language variety, because we do not have competence in any other variety). (*=simple LM*)

The Management Process ('simple management')

- noting language phenomena, e.g. deviations from the norm or expected course of communication
- evaluation of these deviations
- designing adjustments
- implementation of adjustments
- (noting of what happened after the immediately preceding phase, that is, feedback)

Organized (Institutional) Management

- a. Management acts are trans-interactional
- b. Communication about management takes place
- c. A social network or even an institution (organization) is involved
- d. Theorizing and ideologies are at play to a greater degree and more explicitly
- e. In addition to language as discourse, the object of management is language as system

Close connection between **language management** (in the narrow sense) and **communicative** and **socio-cultural** (including **socio-economic**) management

- Language Management Theory does not deal only with **language** management, its scope is broader
- The theory assumes that (“organized”) solutions to linguistic problems should start with solutions to the associated socio-cultural (socio-economic) and communicative problems
- The right sequence may be:
 1. socio-cultural management,
 2. communicative management,
 3. language management

Three Basic Features of Language Management Theory (LMT) once again

- **Interplay** of management as it appears in concrete interactions ('simple management') and management taking place in institutions or organizations ('organised management') – **micro-macro linkage**
- **Processual** character of management (noting, evaluation, adjustment design, implementation, feedback)
- Close connection between **language management** (in the narrow sense) and **communicative** and **socio-cultural** (including **socio-economic**) management
- For more details see <http://languagemanagement.ff.cuni.cz/>

“Language management” – label with different meanings

- (at least) **Three uses:**
- LM as a theory (the tradition established by Neustupný & Jernudd, that is, LMT)
- LM as a sub-concept (Spolsky)
- LM as a business strategy tool (Feely & Harzing; Piekari)

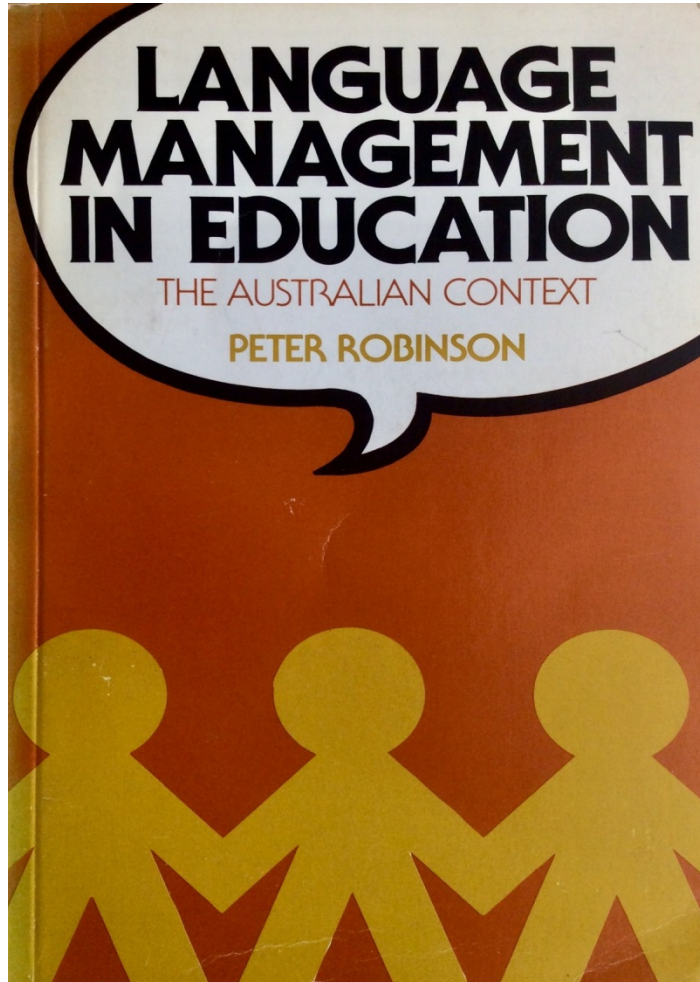
According to Sanden, G. R. (2016). **Language management × 3: A theory, a sub-concept, and a business strategy tool**. *Applied Linguistics* 37 (4), 520-535

How Peter Robinson enters this picture

- Robinson's place in the LMT network (a retrospect)
- **Personal experience:**
- referenced in Neustupný and Nekvapil (2003, p. 318) because of his detailed exposition of language functions in his book *Language and Social Behaviour* published in 1972.
- rediscovered in Weinstein's *The Civic Tongue* (1983), who refers to Robinson's *Language Management in Education* (1978).

Peter Robinson (1978)

Language Management in Education



- P. W. Robinson, Professor of Education, Macquarie University
- Offering a comprehensive review of Australian research directed toward the study of the language use of children from different social backgrounds, this book assesses the validity of Basil Bernstein's thesis that many lower working class children are confined to a restricted code of language use. This evaluation is set in two wider contexts: what language is and how it works, and the ways in which the language performance of children is used by the decision makers in education.

What does Robinson mean by ‘language management’

- The section “Lower Working Class Language Management” (162-165)
- “what lower working class children can do with language”
- “We lack descriptive accounts of what lower working class children can do [with language] ... the differences that have been shown to exist have so far been limited both to a few of the functions of language and to a restricted range of tasks within those functions that have been investigated.”

Some lessons to be drawn from the book

- Can Robinson's comments, notes and conclusions on language management be translated in LMT? (in terms of simple management performed by children and their teachers, for example)
- Shouldn't we pay more attention to "the ways in which the language performance of children is used by the decision makers in education"? (in terms of socio-cultural or socio-economic management or the interests and power concept)
- For historiography: in 1987 (the year of publication of Jernudd and Neustupný's classic paper) a general concept of language management was already 'out there', though not acknowledged by the founders of LMT (Interestingly, even Spolsky doesn't seem to know Robinson (1978)).

Language management x 4 (?)

- Could Robinson's book inspire the rise of the fourth approach to language management? (perhaps in the sense “an education strategy tool”)
- A thought against the background of Sanden, G. R. (2016): **Language management × 3: A theory, a sub-concept, and a business strategy tool**. *Applied Linguistics* 37 (4), 520-535.

How Brian Weinstein enters the picture

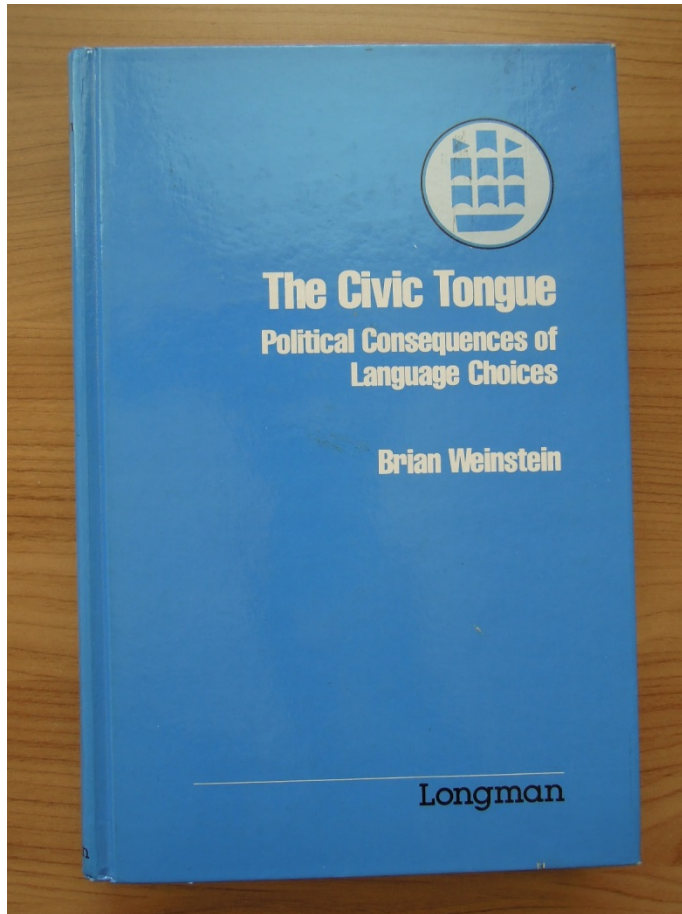
- **Brian Weinstein (1983) *The Civic Tongue: Political Consequences of Language Choices*. New York, London: Longman**
- Weinstein, B. (1987) Language planning and interests. In L. Laforge (ed.) *Proceedings of the International Colloquium on Language Planning*. Québec (here he offers a classification of interests: ideological, political, economic, and social interests)
- Jernudd, B. H. & Neustupný, J. V. (1987) Language planning: For whom? In L. Laforge (ed.) *Proceedings of the International Colloquium on Language Planning*. Québec (They were critical of Weinstein for his emphasis on the idea of the whole-nation interests – in Neustupný's later wording: "different interests of participants necessarily lead to different management processes" and this must be acknowledged both in practice and theory).

Brian Weinstein at the International Colloquium on Language Planning held in Ottawa from May 25 to May 29, 1986



- B.W. in the middle, a photo from a collection of Björn Jernudd

Brian Weinstein (1983) *The Civic Tongue: Political Consequences of Language Choices*. New York, London: Longman



- Brian Weinstein, Professor of Political Science at Howard University (Washington, D.C.) where he has been teaching since 1966
- Prof. Weinstein demonstrates not only that language choice is possible, but that language strategists can change frontiers between countries and ethnic groups, affect political participation, conflict, nation-building, and world politics, and can modify patterns of access to power, wealth, and prestige. Language politics, he argues, is a matter of public policy (from the book endorsement)

Weinstein and the then sociolinguistics

- Weinstein was familiar with sociolinguistics of the times including academic language planning. In the introduction he acknowledges the influence of many scholars, including B. H. Jernudd and J. V. Neustupný. Note also the footnote on p. 78:
- “I also learned a great deal about the nature of politics and language in Professor Neustupný’s course on Language Planning, Linguistics and Language Change, at the 1977 Linguistic Institute, University of Hawaii.”

‘Interests’ in the book

- The item of interest has not been included in the extensive index, but there is, e.g., the section Choices and Interest (p. 75) and many uses of the term throughout the book.
- Note in particular that solution of communication problems is perceived here as closely connected to interests: “To solve communication problems and thereby satisfy an interest of some kind, policy makers and language experts have altered any aspect of language ...” (p. 42)
- Concepts from political science: interest-group (p. 167), national interest (p. 115).

'Interests' in the book viewed as the system (my reconstruction)

- According to three criteria:
- **Whose** interests
- **Parameters** of interests
- **Basic kinds** of interests

Whose interests

- interests of the class, ethnic, or regional group (p. 40)
- interests of leaders, elites and masses (p. 32, 191)
- governmental interests (p. 170)

Parameters of interests

- consciously felt interests (p. 40)
- immediate interests (p. 75)
- established interests (p. 101)
- Thus, by implication, there are also unaware interests, long-term interests and emerging / changing interests

Basic kinds of interests, and their relationship

- political interests
- social interests
- economic interests
- linguistic interests
- military interests
- Most importantly, Weinstein poses the question “how linguistic, political, and economic interests are linked” (p. 81).

Final comments on the book

- Clearly, from Weinstein's book it was possible to reconstruct a relatively rich conceptual apparatus which could be utilized in LPP including emerging LMT.
- However, in the book, this apparatus was present more or less implicitly and the author himself tried to make some of its features more visible in his later paper published as Weinstein (1987).
- Moreover, Weinstein works with the concepts without terminological precision, more or less by intuition, and instead of 'interests' he uses terms such as motives (cf. p. 62), purposes, goals (cf. p. 62, 189), aims, concerns (cf. p. 180).
- Overall, the book has remained important not only for historiography but also for the current development of LMT in which 'interests' is a neglected topic.

Ethnomethodology

- Harold Garfinkel (1967) Studies in Ethnomethodology
- Harvey Sacks (1992) Lectures on Conversation

A particular focus of ethnomethodology: practical activities and practical reasoning

- In the label ETHNOMETHODOLOGY 'ethno' refers to members of a social group (not only ethnic but also professional one, for example)
- 'method' refers to the ways members go about their affairs in their daily life
- '-ology' implies the study of these methods
- Ethnomethodology = the study of members' methods for producing recognizable social orders
- For ethnomethodology, social life is produced 'from within' by members of society and it is the task of ethnomethodology to identify the methods of such production
- Ethnomethodology offers a detailed study of social practices as a solution to the **grand** theoretical problems of meaning and order

Ethnomethodology in LMT

- Yamada, T. (1999). Esunomesodorozhi kara mita "gengomondai" ["Language problems" reformulated in terms of ethnomethodology]. *The Japanese Journal of Language and Society*, 2(1), 59-69. (note that here Yamada has also drawn Foucault and 'power' in debate)
- Muraoka, H. (2015) The significance of norms in LMT. Paper presented at the 4th Language Management Symposium. Tokyo: Sophia University.
- Numerous papers using conversation analysis, particularly the concept of repair (Jernudd, Miyazaki, Muraoka ...).

Simple management modelled after the repair possibilities as elaborated in Conversation Analysis

- These are based on two basic parameters: who performs the repair / management (“self” or “other”) and who initiates the repair / management (“self” or “other”)
- Self-initiated self-management
- Other-initiated self-management
- Self-initiated other-management
- Other-initiated other-management

Documentary method of interpreting

- “The method consists of treating an actual appearance as “the document of,” as “pointing to,” as “standing on behalf of” a presupposed underlying pattern. Not only is the underlying pattern derived from its individual documentary evidences, but the individual documentary evidences, in their turn, are interpreted on the basis of “what is known” about the underlying pattern. Each is used to elaborate the other.” (Garfinkel 1967, p. 78)

Documentary method of interpreting (cont.)

- Overall, the operation of this method accounts for important features of practical reasoning.
- Using the method we, both as lay persons and experts, face the omnirelevant “gap of insufficient information” (p. 95).
- The method may be involved in Membership Categorization Analysis: in everyday scenes, category bound activities may be “documents” of the operative presence of particular categories.

Garfinkel's examples of the use of the method

- In everyday life, it is employed in recognizing “such common occurrences and objects as mailmen, friendly gestures, and promises” (p. 78)
- In professional inquiry, examples can be given “from every area of sociological investigation”, for example, “when the researcher, in reviewing his interview notes [...], has to decide ‘what the respondent had in mind’” (p. 95)
- I want to argue that documentary method of interpretation is also important for the account of what is going on in intercultural encounters or contact situations.



An example from my research on multilingualism and multiculturalism in Czech cities, particularly Hradec Králové



- Hradec Králové, a regional centre situated about 100 km to the northeast of the Czech Republic's capital, Prague.
- With approximately 100,000 inhabitants, it is the 8th most populous municipality in the country. As such, it is perceived as a large town or city in the Czech context.
- Shop window of the Indian restaurant The Royal Maharaja in Hradec Králové

Extracts from my fieldnotes

■ 6.1.2019

We had a lunch at the Indian restaurant. In the kitchen, we saw people preparing meals, Indians. We were served by a dark-skinned girl of Indian appearance. She spoke Czech very well. I asked her where she had acquired such a good knowledge of Czech. She replied: “I come from this country“. So she may be an Indian born in the Czech Republic, I thought. At the bar, she used English while talking to a young waiter, dark-skinned as well. I thought, they, as Indians, talk in English among themselves, and they use Czech with the Czech customers ... After the lunch I spoke with both waiters while settling my bill. He told me he is Azerbaijani and she told me: “I’m Gypsy“. – Overall, I was oriented to the cultural pattern: it is highly likely that at the Indian restaurant, the Indians work and I interpreted the individual features of the situation as documents of that pattern.

Some comments

- What features could contribute to my misinterpretation of the ethnic categories of the persons: Based on my experience, both waiters looked like Indians and spoke English and Czech well or relatively well (incidentally, Azerbaijanis can easily learn Czech because of their knowledge of another Slavic language, namely Russian; and many Gypsies in the Czech Republic speak Czech)
- Obviously, my initial interpretation was wrong, had to be corrected and the underlying pattern on which I relied has changed (at least in the sense “today you can expect to find all kinds of ethnic groups in Hradec Králové”).

Documentary method of interpretation and LMT: what can we gain?

- Sensitivity to the role and practical activities of the researcher
- Sensitivity to what is happening in intercultural encounters or contact situations
- A theoretical point: Noting deviations from expected phenomena has to be based on “underlying patterns”, so noting as practical activity is interpretive

Interpretive noting

- Monitoring (as an executive brain function) vs noting (as a matter of interpretation)
- In ethnomethodology, this seems to be expressed in the distinction “**seen but unnoticed** features of everyday scenes” (and by analogy, “heard but unnoticed”)
- In LMT studies, Fan’s “active notings”, in her paper *Noting As Learning*, have to involve interpretation; cf. also her didactic problem “how to enhance noting” (Fan 2017)
- Also, Kimura’s “noting by the researcher” in the language management process (Kimura 2015) has to be sort of interpretive noting (all the more so that, in his case, the cumulative or recurrent noting is at issue)

Instead of a conclusion: LMT as an intercultural issue and venture

- Two basic information sources: site of the Society of Language Management (a Japan-based forum) and site of Charles University (a European-based forum)
- It is difficult to cope with the corpus of LMT texts at least for two reasons: the corpus is
 - 1. too numerous and, particularly,
 - 2. multilingual (esp., in Japanese, English, Czech) (note the case of Yamada's paper; also, a recent review by Patrick Heinrich seems to be based particularly on his experience from Japan and the Japanese corpus)

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- ありがとう
 - Thank you
 - Děkuji

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- The language management websites: <https://lmtjapan.wordpress.com/> ; <http://languagemanagement.ff.cuni.cz>