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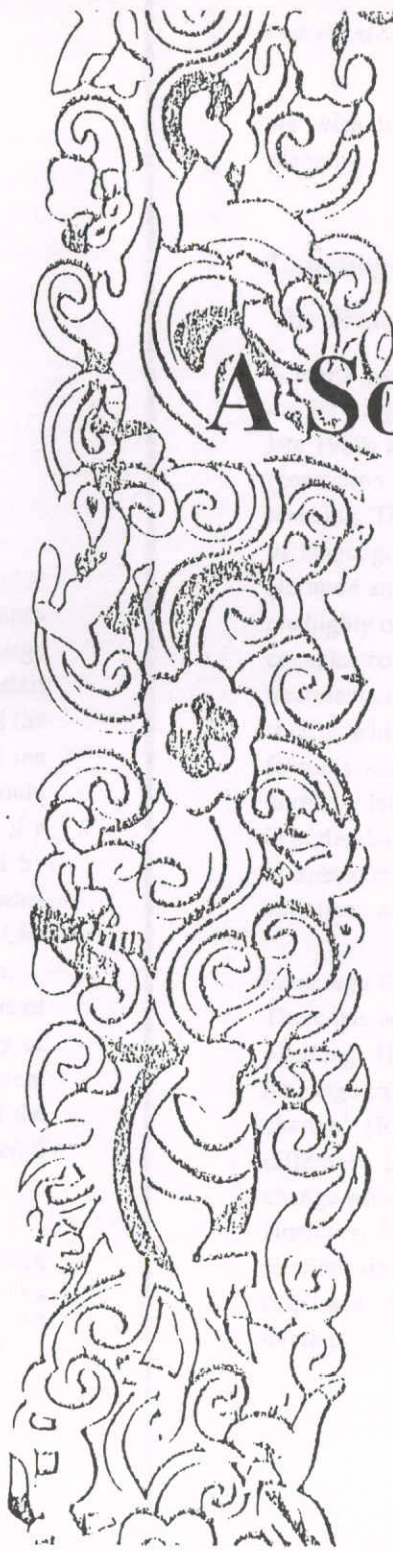
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# English and Language Planning: A Southeast Asian Contribution

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## — Chapter 3 —

## Problems of English Contact Discourse and Language Planning

Jiří V. Neustupný

### Introduction

In this paper<sup>1</sup> I intend to discuss an argument which is of considerable importance to the issue of English in Southeast Asia and the future development of language planning in general. I shall claim that any act of language planning should start with the consideration of language problems as they appear in discourse, and the planning process should not be considered complete until the removal of the problems is implemented in discourse. In other words, language planners should give up the long-established practice of guessing what the language needs of a community are, or simply accepting accounts of such needs as presented by participants in language treatment discussions. The important issue is not what some people think the language problems are, but what particular speakers actually identify as language problems in the course of particular interaction.

From the consideration of individual discourse we can proceed to clusters of discourses of the same or of different speakers, and finally to the totality of discourse within a speech community. Furthermore, starting from present problems we can develop perspectives for the future. Shortcuts, which omit the discourse level and jump straight towards the planning design, must be avoided if

<sup>1</sup> The author wishes to express his gratitude to Björn Jernudd for his comments on the first draft of this paper which was written and presented in 1988. Since then theories of language planning and language management have made considerable progress. Nevertheless, the paper appears here basically in its original form, without additions either to the text or the bibliography.

we wish to build firmer foundations for language education and language planning.

## Language Planning and Language Management

### The Framework

A major part of the responsibility for neglecting language problems in discourse can be assigned to the fact that the classical theories of language planning of the late 1960s and the 1970s concentrated almost exclusively on language treatment (correction of language in society-wide specialized networks) and language teaching. They failed to consider language planning in the more general context of language change and what has recently been called language management (Jernudd and Neustupný 1987). Since language treatment and language teaching are highly organized and community controlled processes, they tempt linguists to consider community-based rather than discourse-based arguments. In language treatment and language teaching we have traditionally commenced with questions such as which languages should be selected (status planning), or which language features should be attended to (corpus planning). Language planners have normally left unexplored the possibility of asking what language problems occur in particular discourses and of using such problems and their customary solutions by speakers in discourse as the point of departure for the selection of a particular variety or a particular feature of the target language.

### Language Change

There has been little contact between theories of language change and language planning. Haugen (1966:52) defined language planning as 'the evaluation of language change', and Rubin and Jernudd characterized it as 'deliberate language change' (Rubin and Jernudd 1971:xvi). Ferguson (1977:9) has noted the difference between change which takes place in unconscious processes, and change which is related to users' evaluations and attempts to affect language use. However, further research is needed if we wish to understand more about the relationship between language change and language planning. Language change is the widest frame of reference for language planning, but the two do not entirely overlap.



### *Language Management and Language Correction*

Among the processes of language change we must single out what I shall refer to as 'language management' (Jernudd and Neustupný 1987). Language management covers all overt noting of language, attitudes assumed, and all subsequent 'behaviour toward language' (Fishman 1971:221).

The concept of language management is wider than what is sometimes called 'language correction'; the term language correction was first suggested at the beginning of the 1970s (Neustupný 1973) and has been accepted since by a number of language planners (cf. Jernudd 1982, 1983; Jernudd and Thuan 1983; Rubin 1978/79). However, the terminology presented a number of problems.

Firstly, 'language correction' referred to a whole series of management processes, only some of which would be called 'correction' in everyday language. These processes are (Neustupný 1985a):

- 1 Deviation and noting. Deviations from what a speaker or speakers in the situation accept as the norm can remain unnoted; however, often they are noted by one or several participants.
- 2 Evaluation. If noted, a deviation can be negatively or positively evaluated. A negative evaluation has been termed 'inadequacy', or simply a 'language problem' (Neustupný 1973).
- 3 Adjustment. Subsequently, a number of measures can be taken to cope with negatively evaluated features. The decision may be to take no action; a negative emotional attitude can be assumed; the negative attitude can be verbalized; or a corrective adjustment strategy can be selected. The strategy may be, for example, to replace the feature by a different one.
- 4 Implementation. Finally, the adjustment strategy can be implemented.

Obviously, only the 'corrective adjustment' process under (3) represents 'correction' in the usual sense of the word. The extension of the term 'correction' to include all processes that follow a case of deviation from a norm caused difficulties.

Secondly, some 'correction' sequences did not include correction in the narrow sense of the word ('corrective adjustment') at all. For example, some deviations lead simply to negative evaluations (process 2 above) but no adjustment strategy (process 3) is selected or implemented (process 4). In cases

such as these we had a 'correction process' without 'correction' in the usual sense of the word.

Thirdly, too much emphasis was placed on negative evaluations of language as the starting point for adjustment. Today we wish to emphasize that corrective adjustments are often based on positive evaluations: speakers often correct because they wish to come closer to the language they admire. More on this topic will be said below.

Finally, some readers confused the technical use of the word 'correction' with its everyday usage of referring to the teacher correcting students' homework or correcting pronunciation in the classroom.

The concept of language management removes all these problems and opens the door to further development of the correction theory. What used to be called the language correction sequence is one of several types of management processes. It can be studied in connection with other types of language management. Furthermore, the management framework can accommodate other existing approaches, such as the Speech Accommodation Theory of Giles and associates (cf. Giles, Mulac, Bradac and Johnson 1987), which deals with convergence of communicative modes aiming at evoking listeners' approval, attaining communicative efficiency and maintaining positive social identities.

### *Organized Language Management*

Language management takes many forms. For example, it can be 'organized' to various extents. Language reform is an example of a highly organized management of language. It usually involves a considerable number of participants, extensive theoretical legitimation of standpoints (evaluation and adjustment design), it takes place in a number of encounters, and implies complicated implementation mechanisms. On the other hand, the correction of a slip of tongue normally involves only a single participant, the evaluation process may be unconscious, the design routine, and implementation immediate.

Language acquisition provides further examples of varying degrees of organization of management processes. Language acquisition can take place in a highly organized and professionally designed intensive course, with excellent teaching materials, trained teachers, and professionally conducted classes. However, students can also acquire a language in much less sophisticated courses taught by literature experts on the basis of an old-fashioned textbook. A lay



teacher may teach Chinese to a single foreigner, using primers for native language teaching. There can be no textbook, or no teacher, the student simply exposing himself to situations of natural use.

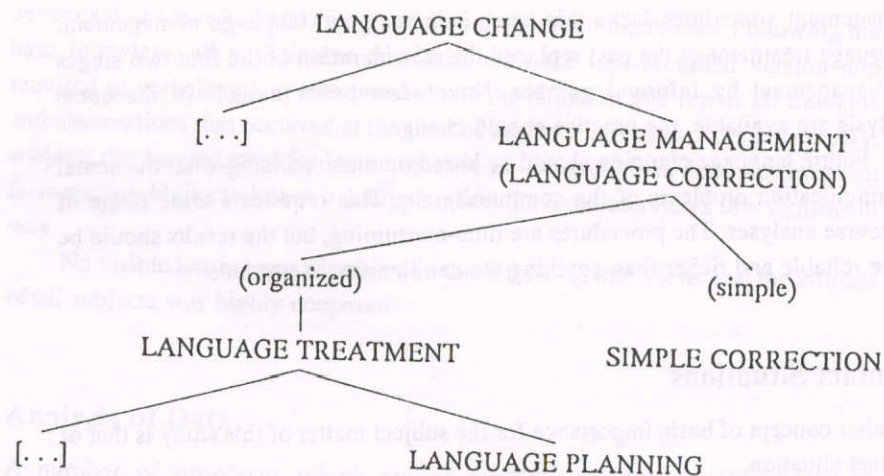
#### *Language Treatment*

A system which is usually highly organized in the sense described above is 'language treatment'. Language treatment is language management in which the principal actor is the government, its individual arms or appointed agencies (academies, councils, committees), or competing agencies or associations which represent other interests within the community. Some typical language treatment acts are the selection of an official language (or a language of education), a language reform, a literacy campaign or a language movement (Annamalai 1979). After the term language treatment was introduced (Neustupný 1970), its meaning gradually extended to cover almost all types of organized language management. However, such extension (of which I myself have sometimes been guilty) has little justification. I believe that it is preferable to keep the term for society-wide management processes, and employ different terminology for management in private companies, language teaching (unless it is demonstrably using networks identical with language treatment), translation and interpreting, proof-reading, speech therapy, etc. Of course, boundaries between these management processes are not always clear, and this fact should be duly acknowledged. However, if we use 'language treatment' too loosely, to cover all organized language management, we will have to find another term for management that is conducted in society-wide networks.

#### *Language Planning*

'Language planning' is a highly systematic type of language treatment which developed in the 1960s and received the support of a relatively rigorous language planning theory (cf. particularly Rubin and Jernudd 1971). I find the trend to extend the use of the term to virtually all language treatment ill-advised. To apply the term language planning to language treatment in fifteenth century Korea is an anachronism. Besides, if we accept such usage, it will be necessary to find a different term for the historical stage of language planning of the 1960s and the following decades.

The relationship between various terms presented so far can be schematized in the following way:



#### *The Role of Discourse*

It might appear that highly organized systems such as language planning only deal with inventories of features (systems of sounds, alphabets, morphological systems, etc.) and have nothing to do with discourse. On the other hand, very simple management systems (such as the slip of tongue correction) might appear to be dealing only with individual discourse. However, this conclusion would be mistaken. Although the lack of concern about discourse may be a true reflection of what is actually going on in language treatment, it can hardly be accepted as a desirable state of affairs. Even when we aim at correction of the language system, it is essential that the management process be anchored in discourse.

It is because deviations from norms are noted and evaluated in discourse, spoken or written, that people involved in language treatment are led to discuss such evaluations, systematize them and try to design adjustment measures. In other words, the first two stages of the management process as outlined above (noting of deviation, and evaluation) are present in language treatment processes. I suggest that language planners should pay more attention to such foundations of language treatment in discourse. We should attend to spelling reforms or decide to learn a language on the basis of experiencing language problems in the actual process of using language. This experience of language problems in discourse should be an important factor in our selection of adjustment strategies. If language



management sometimes lacks this base, it is not good language management. Language treatment of the past replaced the consideration of the first two stages of management by informal guesses. Now when better models of discourse analysis are available, the practice should change.

Future language planning should be based on understanding what the actual communication problems of the community are. This requires a wide range of discourse analyses. The procedures are time-consuming, but the results should be more reliable and richer than anything we can imagine at present.

### Contact Situations

Another concept of basic importance for the subject matter of this study is that of contact situation.

English in Southeast Asia is and will continue to be used in contact situations. A contact (external) situation differs from an internal (native) situation in harbouring two or more different systems of norms of language, communication and interaction in general. The simplest form of a contact situation is when a native speaker communicates with a foreign speaker. Their norms of English differ. While the native speaker possesses a relatively complete set of the norms, the foreign speaker's norms are deficient (cf. Neustupný 1985b). However, the matter is further complicated if the participants are not simply a native speaker of British, American or Australian English and a foreign speaker, but speakers with other kinds or degrees of English language competence. In the case of Southeast Asia we must assume that apart from native speakers of American, British, etc. English, there are also native speakers of Asian-based Englishes (Kachru 1983) and a number of users of English as a second or foreign language.

Contact discourse has so far mostly been studied in the case of situations that involve only native and foreign (or second language) participants (Gumperz 1982; Marriott 1984; Asaoka 1987). Fan (forthcoming), who examined communication between the Chinese and the Japanese in Hong Kong, calls these situations 'partner situations', because the language of one of the participants (partners) is used. She contrasts them with 'shared language situations', in which similar but not identical norms apply (as in the case of various Englishes) and 'third party situations', where no participant is a native speaker (as when speakers from Hong Kong communicate with the Japanese in English).

Fan points out that while in simple 'partner situations' – at least in the entertainment domain – the native speaker tends to assume the role of a pivot because of his/her linguistic competence, no similar trend seems to exist in the other two types of situation; there the role of the pivot is allocated on the basis of substantive rather than communicative criteria.

Language management commences from the comparison of discourse and a norm. In contact situations of the 'partner type', the norm of the native speaker serves as the 'base norm'; however, the whole range of norms employed in such situations is fairly wide (cf. Neustupný 1985b). What are the expectations of participants in the 'shared language' and the 'third party' situations? This question can only be decided on the basis of empirical studies of the application of norms in discourse. Since speakers in 'multilingual' situations employ norms in the processes of language management, the description of such norms is an urgent task for language planners.

### Data

In order to develop language planning for English in Southeast Asia, we need a comprehensive analysis of language management within contact discourse. This paper represents only a preliminary approach to the problem.

### Subjects

My data derive from seven recording sessions, conducted at Monash University in Melbourne in August 1988. Because of this setting, the data are not strictly speaking representative for Singaporean English, although they do approximate it to a certain degree. Participants in these sessions were:

IM, male, age 30-40, airline employee, Singaporean of Indian origin, native language English, English language educated. Australian resident for 2½ years.

MF, female, age 30-40, housewife, Singaporean of Malay origin, native language Malay, English language educated. Australian resident for 11 years.



CF, female, age 50-60, housewife, Singaporean of Chinese origin, native language Cantonese, Chinese language secondary education, tertiary education in Australia. Australian resident for 18 years.

JF, female, age 50-60, housewife, born and educated in Japan, English competence at second language level. Australian resident for 22 years.

AM, male, age 50-60, university lecturer, born and educated in Australia.

My own subjective rating of the English language competence of the speakers place IM on the top of the scale (immediately after AM), followed by CF, JF and MF. However, even MF's fluency was considerable. While IM can be considered as a native speaker of English, the other three subjects clearly fall within the second-language speaker range.

### Conversations

Two conversation sessions were videotaped. In conversation (1), IM, MF and AM (all of whom met for the first time) discussed their experience in Australia, education and shopping. The session was chaired by AM. Conversation (2) was between CF and JF, with the latter acting as the interviewer. Their children are friends and they themselves have met on a number of occasions. They discussed CF's experience in Australia, housing, and children. Each of the two base sessions lasted for approximately 20 minutes. The remaining five sessions were audiotaped follow-up interviews between the author and each of the participants. The average length of each of these sessions was 45 minutes.

All participants, except AM, reported tension resulting from the fact that the base interviews were videotaped. The metalinguistic awareness of all participants was raised, but not to a level that would give the interviews an outwardly artificial character. The conversation was fluent and participants performed to their own satisfaction. Only MF and JF reported that they would have spoken better in their native language, Malay and Japanese respectively.

### Follow-up Interviews

The follow-up sessions, conducted after each base conversation, require a few words of explanation. The methodology of follow-up interviews has been

developed as a standard accompaniment of all recorded interviews. Following the base interview, all participants are faced with the tape-recorded version and required to verbalize their interpretation of the situation and report all thoughts and observations that occurred at the time of the base interview. When necessary, subjects can be contacted for further questions. The technique does not reveal all facts we would like to know, but supplements the base interviews in a significant way.

No visible tension was identified in the follow-up interviews and the attitude of all subjects was highly cooperative.

### Analysis of Data

A number of processes which are of considerable interest for language management in Southeast Asian English language use appeared in my data. I shall only be able to report here a selection of these processes. Note that my data, i.e. interviews with highly competent speakers of English, provide hints and conclusions mostly for corpus planning. However, we can imagine discourse analysis (e.g., recordings of shopping transactions) that would be of relevance to status planning as well.

### Propositional Management

Under the term proposition I understand the 'bare message' of a discourse. The issue is what was spoken about and what was said. When non-linguists speak of the problem of understanding, they normally refer to the understanding of the proposition. In discourse, the propositional content is subject to a number of management processes: deviations from conversational maxims and other rules are noted, evaluated, adjustment strategies selected, and implemented. These management processes indicate areas of importance for language planning.

A summarizing assessment of the comprehension of speech in conversations (1) and (2) was elicited at the beginning of each follow-up interview. The assessment was invariably positive: all participants claimed to have said what they wanted to say and understood without problems the speech of all other participants. However, when listening to the tape-recording of the base interview,



a number of comprehension problems were reported to have taken place at the time of the interview. This contradiction in summarizing assessments and the actual process which took place in the discourse itself must be of interest to language planners.

As an example of a particular propositional problem we can consider IM's use of the expression 'to barter' instead of 'to bargain'. Although this usage is noted as legitimate in some dictionaries, both AM and IM himself accepted it as a mistake. After having used the word, IM consciously noted this deviation but decided not to proceed to a corrective adjustment. AM did not understand his message, but did not request correction. MF, who participated in the same encounter, also failed to comprehend but did not evaluate the usage negatively because she did not know the meaning of the word 'barter'.

Language planners should be interested to know what attitudes speakers in contact situations take to lexical usage. Do confident speakers like IM easily relax English semantic norms? Do native speakers such as AM easily abstain from request for lexical correction? These questions are of interest for establishing policies with regard to the teaching of English as a second language.

Another interesting example, also from conversation (1), occurs when MF answers AM's question concerning her current work:

AM: And what do you do – here

MF: Ah, well, first

AM: – you work?

MF: No, first when I came, I was frightened. Everything is so far, yeah, not like Singapore [...]

Especially when you don't drive, I don't drive [...]

But when I got my licence, went to drive, then I started again job [...]

MF's imperfect control of the past tense, also conspicuous in other parts of the interview, led her to an interpretation of AM's question as referring to the past. She tells at considerable length her story starting from her arrival in Australia 11 years ago. Then she asserts that she doesn't drive, but changes this statement only a few sentences later ('when I got my licence'). The other two participants in conversation (1) did not note MF's wrong interpretation of the question, but noted the contradiction in her statements about being able to drive. They were confused: could she drive or not? However, neither of them requested clarification. MF

herself did not note any deviation. In the follow-up interview she insisted that her statement ('I don't drive') was correct: she didn't drive when she came to Australia. This shows that she was not only unable to control the usage but also failed to notice the error when confronted with the tape-recording.

Problems with the use of the English past tense have been studied by a number of scholars (cf. Platt, Weber and Ho 1984) and a good error analysis will suffice to clarify their occurrence and mechanism. What is not likely to be included in a standard error analysis is how such problems are managed in discourse. Under what conditions are they noted, evaluated and adjusted? Unless requests for correction are issued by other participants in the situation, it is unlikely that automatic correction will take place, and a systematic correction policy must be introduced.

Language planners must accept that simultaneous removal of a large number of problems, particularly in corpus planning, is impracticable. We want to know which of the problems are most crucial for getting the message across, and for the correct self-presentation of the speaker. For example, conversation (1) contains, apart from past tense problems, also problems in the singular/plural distinction (for example, MF: 'And I heard also about other language, like German, French-'), but none of these problems has resulted in a misunderstanding. Is there a hierarchy of negative evaluations and adjustments for grammatical errors? No effective planning can take place before we possess this knowledge.

Let me add that participants in the conversations frequently noted grammatical deviations in the speech of other participants, even when such deviations did not seriously affect the understanding of the message. This is not surprising because we know that in more formal contact situations non-native participants monitor their own speech and the speech of other non-native speakers and sometimes apply norms that are even more rigid than those of native participants. Language planners should know whether such management also appears in less formal situations and whether it extends to casual interaction between intimate participants.

### Presentational Management

Language problems are not only propositional problems. Of equal interest to language planners is how participants communicate their intentions, attitudes, and how they present themselves to other participants.



For example, MF reported that she normally does not want her English to sound too Australian, and that she pre-corrects her speech. However, she denied to have consciously used pre-correction within conversation (1), because she was preoccupied with constructing the narrative and finding suitable lexical items.

It is a common experience that speakers pre-correct their English in certain categories of contact situations in order to present themselves in a particular way. The maintenance, expansion and possibly the redirection of this ability is of great importance for language planning.

Although no formal assessment has been made, it was obvious that the language of my subjects was more 'English-like' in the base (videotaped) conversations than in the more relaxed follow-up interviews. MF's statement about lack of pre-correction notwithstanding, all subjects did pre-correct; however, this pre-correction did not affect all features of their speech to the same extent. They sounded like sophisticated speakers of English, but not like British or Australian speakers. We would like to know what features of English are singled out for pre-correction, and for which of the features the intention to pre-correct is easily implemented.

Apart from variety selection, there was a problem in IM's self-presentation in conversation (1). Although AM rated IM as the more effective and more competent of the two speakers, he did mark his speech negatively (as too informal) in several segments of the interview.

First, IM introduced himself with the phrase 'The name is IM (first name)'. AM's comment was that this was a very informal routine that would be adequate in a pub, but was inappropriate in the given interview situation. The usage was not merely noted but also consciously evaluated as inadequate.<sup>2</sup> An important factor may have been the timing of the self-introduction – it appeared at the very beginning of conversation (1) when relationships between participants were still being negotiated. IM used very informal expressions later in the interview (e.g., the dollar was consistently referred to as the 'buck') and such usage, although noted by AM, did not receive an overt negative evaluation.

Secondly, some expressions used in IM's conversation were noted and evaluated by AM as stylistically too hard and un-English ('to have late

development', 'has to seek doctor's treatment'). The follow-up interview with IM confirmed that for him these expressions were stylistically unmarked.

Let me emphasize that I am referring here and elsewhere in this paper to noting and evaluation as it took place in the base interview, not in the follow-up interview. Admittedly, judgements of native speakers on discourse presented to them for assessment are of interest; however, what is more important is to know what happens not when we present speech to listeners for scrutiny, but when speech is actually used in natural discourse.

Note that I am not arguing here for stylistic adjustment of any particular variety of English to British, American or Australian middle class speech. On the theoretical level the battle for the right of Asian and African native or second language speakers to their own English has largely been won. My argument is that in practice stylistic properties of speech continue to be actually evaluated by speakers in contact discourse. Language planners must understand these processes in detail.

Thirdly, IM's speech was subject to a management process on a different account. When speaking about his marriage he said 'when she got married to me' for Australian English 'when we got married'. His sentence implies his own superiority and was noted and interpreted by AM as such. Another expression he used seemed to support this interpretation. Earlier in the interview he said about his wife 'she was working with me'. This sentence is ambiguous in having two meanings: the first is 'working for me' and the second 'we were working together'. Since the speaker had said that he was working as supervisor, the first interpretation is not impossible. However, AM took the second interpretation. This was identical with the intention of the speaker.

Since some non Asian speakers suspect that Asian participants in encounters will engage in the communication of status (which is often negatively evaluated in the Australian, American and British communication systems), any utterance that can be interpreted as communicating status is likely to be noted and evaluated. This is a matter of considerable relevance for language planning. JF expected that CF would communicate status in conversation (2), as she reportedly does in casual conversation. However, this did not occur, even though the conversation topics did provide a number of opportunities. The fact that CF consistently presented 'good girl' sub-topics (children should be free to follow their own inclinations, one should not only meet with people of one's ethnic

<sup>2</sup> Note that it is completely irrelevant here whether the phrase concerned is considered to be informal by the majority of (educated) speakers or not. The important point is that in this particular discourse AM did *not* consider it as adequate.



group, etc.) made me suspect that she was pre-correcting her topical range and perhaps also status related content in her discourse. If this was so, the pre-correction might be conscious and retrievable in the follow-up interview. However, questions relating to status are potentially offensive in most cultures and it was impossible to pursue this issue in the follow-up interview.

### Management of Non-grammatical Features

Problems in contact situations are not limited to those of grammatical competence. Any communication planning for contact situations must build on a model of communication that surpasses the traditional grammatically oriented frameworks. A systematic treatment must return to Hymes' classical model (Hymes 1962, 1972) or its derivatives (Sherzer and Darnell 1972; Neustupný 1987). However, in this paper I can mention only a handful of problems appearing in my data.

#### Network Formation

Management of networks includes cases when noting, evaluation and adjustment takes place in the process of the selection of participants as speakers and listeners. In conversation (1) AM, who played the role of the interviewer, asked his introductory question ('now, could you tell me something about yourselves') without any expectation of the order in which MF and IM should respond. IM applied the rule 'ladies first', but MF hesitated for a second to accept the turn, because she felt that IM's English competence was superior, and also because (as she stated in the follow-up interview) he was male. The silence following AM's question was noted by both participants, evaluated negatively and adjusted by MF who commenced speaking.

Network formation is one of the first prerequisites for the occurrence of speech and as such must be given attention in language planning. Without the establishment of networks there is no communication and no implementation of corrective adjustments. The conditions of my interviews did not provide an opportunity to display the whole scope of the problem. However, even a limited set of data such as this has revealed a case of management. Note that there is no hesitation with regard to the order of speaking later in the interview when AM asks a question about shopping: MF readily accepts her turn to discuss this (female) topic.

#### Structuring Content

Conversation (1) also contains deviations from AM's norms of structuring the content. IM mentions the pressure on children within the contemporary Singaporean school system and tells the story of a boy who was completely healthy but 'today, he has to seek doctor's treatment because of his loss of memory'. AM felt that a fact as unusual as this should be commented upon or further explained. However, IM quickly passes to the next sub-topic and leaves the shocking statement about the 'loss of memory' unexplained. Note again that what is at stake here is not whether there is a deviation in some 'objective' sense, but whether a deviation was decoded in the particular discourse by one of the participants. The follow-up interview established that AM did consider IM's procedure as deviant.

IM made no comment on this sentence in the follow-up interview. The conversation may have been perfectly well formed within his own communication system. However, it is possible that the speaker lost control of his speech, as often happens in contact situations which involve foreign speakers or in situations of particular stress (such as recording sessions).

The example is perhaps of little significance in itself. However, the development and structuring of content is highly significant for language planning in cross-cultural interaction. A full account of the relevant management processes in discourse is of primary importance.

#### Non-verbal Behaviour

Management of non-verbal behaviour played some role in conversation (2). CF was sitting with her legs crossed and when she changed her sitting position in the middle of the interview, the leg which was on the top remained for a fraction of time in a very high position. This was noted and negatively evaluated by JF, who herself was sitting in a classical sitting position with both her legs parallel and at right angles to the floor. CF's problem was probably caused by tension due to the recording situation, but JF interpreted it as an individual feature characteristic for some (but not all) members of CF's culture: neglect of proper body control. The point of interest is that a feature which is not of cultural nature is interpreted by a participant as signalling cultural variation. Existing stereotypes obviously support such interpretation.



On another occasion in the interview, CF also scratched her underarm. This remained unnoted by JF in the base interview, but was picked up in the follow-up interview and negatively commented upon.

### Positive Evaluation

The importance of positive evaluations remains to be fully accepted in language planning. In the follow-up interview MF expressed her admiration for IM's English. Such positive evaluations, if socially shared, may lead to correction by a number of speakers towards that variety. We adjust not only on the basis of negative evaluation, but on the basis of positive evaluations as well.

I assume that the mechanism of the process is as follows. An especially well formed feature of a speech act (e.g. lexical selection, intonation, a topic) is noted and evaluated as [+adequate]. Of course, no action may follow this evaluation, but under certain conditions the evaluation triggers off a corrective adjustment.

The type of inquiry conducted in my interviews does not allow me to identify the features of IM's English that MF marked as [+adequate], or to say whether she decided to draw any conclusions from the evaluation. In general, however, we must accept the possibility that positive models in language planning are more powerful than we were ready to imagine. The direction of the evaluation may not coincide with the judgement of English language teachers.

### Conclusion

My data indicate that a considerable number of management processes take place in discourse. Speakers note deviations from norms, evaluate them and sometimes adjust them. Whether language planning is interested in decisions regarding whole varieties or only their individual features, it cannot ignore language issues as they exist in discourse.

Even this limited study has confirmed a number of points that are of importance in language planning for English in Southeast Asia. Some of such points are:

- 1 Summaries of language problems provided by speakers in interviews do not necessarily reflect the range of language problems encountered in discourse. There is a need for full analyses of problems as actually experienced by participants in the process of speech.
- 2 Not all language problems (deviations from norms, and subsequent evaluations) carry the same weight. Before prescribing corrective adjustments we must consider the relative weight of all problems occurring in the system. Much theoretical work is still required in this area.
- 3 Language planning must pay appropriate attention not only to propositional problems but to problems of presentational nature as well. We are not only interested in conveying bare messages but also in correctly communicating our intentions and attitudes and in presenting ourselves in a particular way. Inadequate attention is being paid to such problems even in the most advanced language teaching systems.
- 4 Language planning must not stop at the level of grammatical competence. There are problems in non-grammatical competence, such as network formation, structuring of the content or in non-verbal communication. The adjustment of these problems requires attention which it is not receiving in present educational circles.
- 5 However liberal theoretical attitudes speakers may possess towards other varieties of English, they do evaluate features of their own communication and of the communication of others. It would be irresponsible of language planners to assume a relaxed attitude and omit problems that exist from consideration.
- 6 Different participants in contact situations perceive language problems in different ways. Language planning for multi-ethnic societies must take account of all categories of participants. Since second or foreign language speakers sometimes apply very rigid norms, 'native' speakers are not necessarily the strictest judges.
- 7 Positive evaluation of language plays an important role and should be given prominence in language planning.

It can be expected that the study of communication in discourse will provide new perspectives for language planning and will put it on a firmer foundation.



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