# UNIT 2   LANGUAGE PLANNING

**Structure**

## 2.0   OBJECTIVES

In this unit, we look at another dimension of language in use, i.e. language planning. In complex multilingual societies language planning assumes an even more important role since minority languages and other marginalized languages must be given a certain space.

In this unit we have given a comprehensive picture of language planning which includes the following:

1. History of Language Planning
2. Types of Language Planning
3. Goals of Language Planning
4. Factors influencing Language Planning
5. Limitations of Language Planning

## 2.1 PLANNING IN GENERAL

In general terms planning is concerned with deliberately achieving some objective through the utilization of resources in a consciously controlled way. The concept of planning has, however, been a subject of considerable debate. Its definition ranges from "one specifying an activity that includes the broadest kind of human problem-solving on decision-making to a more limited one specifying an activity that is initiated and supported by some formal body" (Rubin 1971:217-18).

Planning is "oriented towards a problem" (Thorburn 1971`:254). It is an organised, conscious and continued attempt to choose between alternative ways of solving a problem and to select the best available alternatives to achieve specific goals. Planning does not just happen. It is not an automatic process. Rather it is a conscious and deliberate attempt involving a pre-determined end and a definite goal. It involves an activity whereby "goals are established, means are selected, and outcomes predicted in a systematic and explicit manner" (Rubin 1971:218).

Friend and Jessop (1969) view planning as a "process of strategic choice, requiring a capacity to anticipate the future and yet also to adapt to the unforeseen" (cited in Singh 1992:9). The elements of *future and unforeseen* relate planning to forecasting and highlight the risk-taking nature of planning. Inasmuch as forecasting is used in planning to predict what action other people will take and what future conditions will exist, distinction between forecasting and planning becomes difficult. However, planning is not forecasting and is different and distinguishable from it. "Forecasting does not serve the purposes of planners who seek to direct their organisations to the future. It is certainly of little use to planners who would innovate and change the ways in which people work and live" (Srivastava 1987:139).

It is processual in character and future-oriented in the sense that it systematically organises and carries out the decisions and measures the results of these decisions against the expectations through organised systematic feedback. However, it does not deal with future decisions. Rather, it deals with the *futurity* of present decisions (Srivastava 1987-139).

## 2.2 LANGUAGE PLANNING: AN INTRODUCTION

Language is always in a state of flux. There is a whole spectrum of language *variation* not only in *structure* but also in the *use* of language. Speakers do not use the same varieties for all purposes. They may *shift* from one to another. All this means that speakers constantly have *alternatives* available to them. They are constantly choosing between linguistic varieties or among variants within a linguistic system. The existence of alternatives makes planning possible. Language Planning (LP) is usually seen as an explicit choice among alternatives. Choice means *evaluating* the alternatives.

*Language Planning* is not the first term to appear in the literature. The maze of names can be found in literature on LP ranging from *glottopolitics* (Hall 1951), *language engineering* (Alisjahbana 1961), *language development* (Noss 1967), *language regulation* (Gorman 1973), *language policy* (as a synonym for *language planning*), *language management* (Jernudd and Neustupny 1986) to the present day most popularly and widely used term *language planning*. This term is found in the titles of a newsletter (*New Language Planning Newsletter*), a journal (*Language Problems and Language Planning*) a number of anthologies (Kalelkar and Khubchandani, eds., *Linguistics and Language Planning*, 1969; Rubin and Jernudd, eds; *Can Language Be Planned?*, 1971; Rubin and Shuy, eds., *Language Planning: Current Issues and Research*, 1973; Fishman, ed., *Advances in Language Planning*, 1974; Rubin et al, eds., *Language Planning Processes*, 1977; Cobarrubias and Fishman, eds., *Progress in Language Planning*, 1983; Annamalai et al, eds., *Language Planning*, 1986, Singh and Srivastava, eds., *Perspective in Language Planning, 1987*; Hasnain, ed., *Dynamics of Language Planning*, 1995), at least four books (Eastman's *Language Planning: An Introduction*, 1983; Dua's *Language Planning in India* 1985; Cooper's *Language Planning and Social Change*, 1989; Singh's *On Language Development and Planning*, 1992), a major bibliography on the topic (Rubin and Jernudd, *References for Students of Language Planning* 1979) and a directory of organisations dealing with planning (Rubin's *Directory of Language Planning Organizations*, 1979).

Haugen (1965:188) informs us that in 1957 Uriel Weinreich for the first time used the term *language planning* as the title of a Seminar held at Columbia University, but it was Haugen himself (1959) who introduced the term to the literature, followed by P.S. Ray (1961) who made an attempt to define this new area of investigation. In his 1959's article Haugen defined LP as "the activity preparing a normative orthography, grammar, and dictionary for the guidance of writers and speakers in a non-homogeneous speech community" (1959:8).

## 2.3   TOWARDS DEFINING LANGUAGE PLANNING

### 2.3.1   Various Definitions

A number of definitions of language planning appeared after the publication of Haugen's 1959 article. Some of these definitions are:

1.     "... the term LP includes the normative work of language academics and committees, all forms of what is commonly known as *language cultivation*, and all proposals for language reform or standardization" (Haugen 1969 cited in Cooper 1989:30).

2.     Thorburn believes that language planning occurs "when one tries to apply the amalgamated knowledge of language to change the language behavior of a group of people" (1971:254).

3.     "Language planning is *deliberate* language change; that is, changes in the systems of language code or speaking or both that are planned by organizations that are established for such purposes or given a mandate to fulfill such purposes. As such, langauge planning is focussed 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) decisions" (Rubin and Jernudd 1971:xvi).

4.     "We do not define planning as an idealistic and exclusively linguistic activity but as a political and administrative activity for solving language problems in society" (Jernudd and Das Gupta 1971:211).

5. Language planning is the "coordinated measures taken to select, codify and, in some cases, to elaborate orthographic, grammatical, lexical, or semantic features of a language and to disseminate the corpus agreed upon" (Gorman 1973:73).

6. "The terms *language planning* refers to the organized pursuit of solutions to language problems, typically at the national level" (Fishman 1974:79).

7. "Language planning is the methodical activity of regulating and improving existing languages or creating new common regional, national or international langauges" (Tauli 1974: 56).

8. The term language planning refers to "an activity which *attempts* to solve a language problem, usually on a national scale, and which focusses on either language form or language use or both" (Karam 1974:105).

9. Language planning may be defined as "a government authorised, longterm sustained and conscious effort to alter a language itself or to change a language's functions in a society for the purpose of solving communication problems" (Weinstein 1980, cited in Cooper 1989:31).

10. Neustupny (1983) refers to language planning as systematic, theory-based, rational, and organised societal attention to language problems (restatement of the definition).

11. The study of language planning "focusses on the decision making ... [It] is concerned with how language can be conducted and interpreted successf in a speech community, given the language goals of that community ... [it] looks at the choices available to a speech community and at possible recommendations of language policy for adoption by that community" (Eastman 1983:2).

12. "Language planning is usually seen as an explicit choice among alternatives" (Fasold 1984: 246).

13. Cooper defined language planning as "deliberate efforts to influence the behaviour of others with respect to the acquisition, structure or functional allocations of their language codes" (1989:183).

14. Dua's definition of LP is based on language system. He defines LP as "an organized and systematic pursuit for changing the function and status of the varieties of linguistic repertoire keeping in view the goals and aspirations of the community in question" (1992:9).

15. Khubchandani (1983, 1995) looks at LP as a campaign to initiate "deliberate changes in the content, the function and the status of a language ... inspired by some ideology, and are either imposed over people [by elites] through authority, or are canvassed on the strength of emotions" (1995:127).

16. Jernudd defines LP as "proactive organized language management which typically but not necessarily proceeds with government - authorized involvement by public agencies and/or with the support of subsidy" (1990:52).

### 2.3.2 Practical Considerations

Language planning can best be understood in terms of the following questions: *who* plans *what, for whom* and *how*?

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**Who:**

The activities of LP can be undertaken by government, government-authorized agencies, non-government bodies, academies, and even individuals (e.g. Ben Yehuda in Palestine, Samuel Johnson in England, Noah Webster in the United States, Aasen in Norway, Korais in Greece, Aavik in Estonia, Arzoo, Hatim, Wali and Insha in case of Urdu, and Raghunath Murmu in case of Santali, etc.

Jernudd (1973) has shortlisted the following language planning agents, in addition to government and individuals as literateures:

(a)     national, but non-governmental agencies, e.g. Singapore Chamber of Commerce, which constructed and issued language examinations and a style manual for business correspondence in Malay;

(b)     non-national and non-governmental agencies, e.g. the Shell Company provides its own Malay Oil Terminology in Malaysia and influences language development in its personnel and training policies;

(c)     a newspaper's proof reading function.

**What:**

The language planners may focus their attention on corpus, status or the crucial relationship of values, i.e., prestige associated with corpus and status planning activities. If the object of language policy making is *language teaching*, then the focus of language planning may be on acquisition.

**For Whom:**

Language planning is carried out for larger aggregates at the society or state level (or even cutting across national boundaries), for smaller aggregates --- ethnic group, religious group, occupational group, etc. Cooper looks at the target group of language planning as communication networks. According to him, communication network is "a set of verbal interactional links among persons, each network set off from others by sparsity of interaction" (1989: 38-39). This is diagramatically represented as:
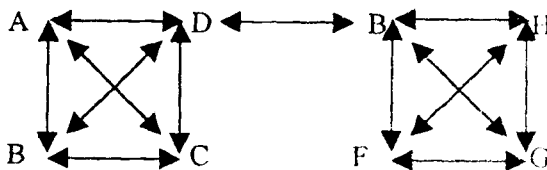


**Figure 1: Two interaction networks**

There are two communication networks (ABCD and EFGH) were the arrows between pairs of persons (A<--->B, B<--->C, E<--->F, etc.) indicate verbal interaction between them, be it oral or written. The two networks are connected because D and E interact with one another (D<--->E). Cooper outlines several advantages of viewing LP target population as a communication network. It does not restrict the analysis to micro or macro level, it makes the study of LP "consistent with the study of language spread " and it also enables us " to trace the diffusion of innovation or the resistance to innovation with which language planning is concerned" (1989:39).

**How:**

This question is connected with the *planning* and *implementation* stages of a larger planning process. Rubin (1971) identifies four steps of this larger process, three of

which relate to developing and implementing the plan while the fourth one relates to evaluation:

1. *Fact-finding*: a substantial amount of background information should be available before any planning decisions are made.

2. *Planning*: formulating goals, the means to achieve them, and the expected outcomes.

3. *Implementation*: putting the plan into action.

4. *Feedback*: at this step, the planner finds out how well the plan has worked.

Neustupny's view of LP as a rational activity has been quite influential in looking into 'How is LP done?' He views LP as a special type of *language correction* , which refers to all planned and unplanned, conscious and unconscious language modification, whether by an individual or an organisation. Language correction implies the existence of a communicative problem which requires a solution. Here the problem is first perceived by the speaker, who seeks the way to solve it and then implements the solution.

The communicative problem may reside at an individual level or at a group level. When the problem confronts a group and when the group or its representative attempts to solve it, then it is referred to as *language treatment*. According to Neustupny "the term language treatment has been coined to refer broadly to all organized forms of societal attention to language problem, both in the past and at present" (1983:2). He considers language planning as a subset of language treatment, which , in turn, is a subset of language correction. Thus, for him language correction becomes the widest frame of reference.

Communication problems have also been looked at from the perspective which arises out of a theory of language problems (Neustupny 1968, 1978:243-257; Jernudd and Das Gupta 1971: 205-206). A theory of language problems is explict about relationships between discourse and peoples behaviour towards discourse, and can therefore "serve as the basis for theory of *language management and language planning*.... Participants in processes of language management claim that certain features of language, or a language system, are inadeuqate . . . [These claims] arise out of linguistic interest or out of non linguistic interest" (Jernudd and Neustupny 1991: 31). Here the linguistic interests are a direct part of the communication process while the non-linguistic interests "must be introduced into discourse in order to become problems of language. They are then perceived as inadequacies and corrected through the normal management process" (Jernudd & Neustupny 1986: 6). The discourse based approach has been referred to as (the study of) language management, and language planning has been modelled as a type of *language management*.

The model for language management in discourse holds that "a person:

1. produces messages;

2. monitors the language that constitutes these messages, and notes (or not) a difference from norm;

3. evaluate (or not) the kind and degree of deviation from norm;

4. selects (or not) an adjustment strategy or at least adhoc means cf adjustment for the inadequacy; such adjustment can be pre-, in- or post- correction of self or of other participants' language;

5. acts (or not) to implement the selected adjustment" (Jernudd and Neustupny 1991:32).

### 2.3.3 Two Concepts of Language Planning

Can language planning create an 'optimal language' i.e. a particular code that can further develop to optimally serve the best communicative needs of the speech community? This question can be answered on the basis of the following two theoretical viewpoints:

*Instrumental theory of language planning*:

A theory, proposed by Tauli (1974), is based on the assumption that language is like a tool or an instrument which can be evaluated, changed, regulated and improved. Even a new language can be created. Further, according to Tauli, languages can be evaluated with regard to efficiency. This approach characteristically considers some languages inherently better than others in their balance of *beauty, clarity, elasticity* and *economy*. LP should be used to improve the quality of the inadequate language. This approach, however, does not take into account the symbolic value of language and language attitudes and represents an idealist conception of language.

*Sociolinguistic theory of language planning*:

This theory believes in the social nature of language and rejects the theory of instrumentalism. It is based on two principles:

(a) all known languages are symbolic systems of equal native value;

(b) language planning should not only deal with the technical aspects of language, but also with its social aspects.

Hence superiority of languages or linguistic structures has no place here, nor are languages considered as tools. There is a social nature of language and language is seen as a resource that can be utilised in improving social life. It attaches different values to languages, and speakers' identities are strongly linked to the language they speak. The scholars who work in this frame of reference (Jernudd, Das Gupta, Fishman, Rubin, Singh, Dua, etc.) take the idea of planning seriously.

## 2.4   HISTORY OF LANGUAGE PLANNING

While the field of language planning is a twentieth century endeavour, the activities of language planning have a much longer history. Whether it is a case of establishment of language academies--in Florence (1582), France (1634), Spain (1713) and Sweden (1786) to preserve and defend the 'purity of language', or the spread of literacy and consequences of printing on standardisation in Europe, America, India, or Hebrew's revitalization in Palestine on account of Jewish immigration to Palestine, or the American feminist campaign for nonsexist language usage in the 60s in America, or political events that led to the establishment of new official languages, or the activities of the Soviet government in the 1920s and early 1930s to create written forms for the many linguistic minorities within the Soviet Union or the Prague linguists concern with "*language cultivation*" *in the 1930s*, etc., all these are instances of certain activities anticipating the modern goals of language planning. Against the backdrop of these activities, language planning began to emerge as a field in its own right. Eastman (1983) provides a decade-wise presentation of history of language planning, beginning in 1960 through 1980. Her presentation has been adopted here and further updated.

### 2.4.1 The 1960s : Planning for problem-solving

Language planning in the 60s tried to solve societal language problem. The societal language problems may arise as a result of the relationship between language and ethnicity. Since language is a factor of ethnic identity, a marker of social class and a reflection of status and mobility in a multilingual context, studying socially related language problems became a concern of LP of the 60s. LP was no longer considered as "primarily the activity of preparing a language to serve a social function, as it had been earlier" (Eastman 1983:116). It was rather looked at as providing solutions to language problems in a multilingual context or in the context of problems faced by multiethnic communities in developed or developing nations (for example, problems concerning language types, language attitudes, diglossia, factors that contribute to language maintenance and shift etc.).

The 1960s also marked the period of growing interest in the formulation of language policies and its implementation. It is this period that witnessed the emergence of concepts like *selection, codification, elaboration, implementation--* concepts proposed by Haugen's 1966 case study of LP in Norway and which are still central to LP of today.

### 2.4.2 The 1970s : Planning for change

The language planning in the 70s emphasized change. From planning for problem-solving purpose it came to planning for change. Here Lambert's notion of language attitudes as changeable underlies the definition of LP that guided research during the 1970's. To deliberately change language, it is necessary to change the attitudes people have toward language. Eastman observes that although problem-solving aspect still continued in the LP of the 1970s, "the field in general was consolidated such that all solutions pursued involved language change, generally by means of language choice and language policy formation" (1983:121). Arising from language choice are the issues concerning role of planning in the context of (Language for Wider Communication) LWCs, relationship between the spread of lingua francas and the use of LWCs, etc. For example, the case of South Asian English as a potential LWC in India (Kachru 1978) or the situation of Swahili in Kenya.

According to Eastman (1983), LP in the beginning of 70s had two-pronged emphasis: **language standardisation** and **multilingualism.** Although LP literature of the 70s is replete with overlapping and confusing terminology in this area, in general standardisation as the branch of LP was concerned with unifying underlying linguistic diversity in national contexts. The multilingualism aspect was largely dominated by the policy approach where the emphasis was placed on "finding out what linguistic varieties exist and how they are distributed rather than on questions of style, correctness, efficiency and the like" (Eastman 1983:125).

### 2.4.3 The 1980s : Focus on Evaluation

The 80s marked the beginning of a theoretical base of LP which was possible on account of a number of case studies done in the 70s in multilingual contexts. The results of all these studies made it possible to focus in the area of evaluation of results. It is on account of not being able to focus on evaluation that LP lagged behind other forms of cultural or development planning. The 80s, thus, paid heed to Haugen's (1966) plea that LP ought to focus on the evaluation of linguistic change as well as on ways to bring it about.

In the 80s, questions concerning the social and cultural context in which LP takes place had begun to appear in the literature. Questions concerning social motivations for LP in society, the reasons for success and failures, etc. were raised. Against the background of evaluation Cooper (1989) proceeded to raise a question : "Is a theory

of language planning possible?" By focusing his interest on the social and not on the linguistic issues, Cooper proposed a sociological perspective to LP, which reiterated Fishman's (1987) social science approach to LP. Fishman constructs LP around such issues as ethnic identity, nationism and nationalism, functional inequality and undercut pluralism and holds the view that language planners should be: "issue definers and consciousness raiser's vis-a-vis the goal of ethno-cultural pluralism and ethno-cultural democracy" (cited in Jernudd 1991:128).

Besides the social science approach to LP, the 80s also marked the beginning of *Language Management Approach* to LP. The fundamental aspect of language management is problem-solving that removes inadequacies in individual discourse.

### 2.4.4   The 1990s: Critical Reflection

The 1990s allowed the continual broadening and deepening of the field of LP by scholars from a multidisciplinary background. By taking insights from postmodernist trends and *Critical theory*, a number of scholars from various academic desciplines and specialities proposed theoretical and analytical approaches that take into account broader historical and economic forces influencing social policy, of which language planning and policy is one element. Specific language policies in specific contexts are being investigated to explain why particular languages are maintained or allowed to die, why one language is acquired and another is not, and why and how "language is built into the economic and social structure of society" (Tollefson 1991:2). Recent research in the 90s has often dealt with issues concerning language rights, the ways language policies perpetuate structural socioeconomic inequalities (Skutnabb-Kangas & Phillipson 1994) and bottom up efforts to revitalize threatened and non-dominant languages (Fishman 1991), etc.

The 1990 has also witnessed certain approaches that tend to problematize language with a view to looking into mechanism of social control by dominant elites (as Khubchandani's 1983, 1995 *Critique of Language Planning*) and unraveling the `invisible' ideology in language policy perpetuated for exclusion and inequality. Jernudd's (1996) recent write-up on "Contact Linguistics" is indicative of the fact that in the 1990s, language planning is also motivated by "migrations and ethnic relations, by new nationalisms, by the maintenance of state power by one interest group, by consequences of economic globalization of the economy...." (1991:130).

## 2.5   LANGUAGE PROBLEMS

Understanding language problems is essential before formulating any language policy or theory of language planning. In fact LP is an "organized pursuit of solutions to language problems, typically at the national level" (Fishman 1974: 79). Hence the primary focus of LP has been on language problems. As Dua has pointed out "the characterization and systematic account of language problems of a speech community is a prerequisite to an adequate theory of policy formation, language planning and language treatment" (1985:3).

### 2.5.1   Perception of Language Problems

Andreas Faludi (1973) defines a problem as "a state or tension between the end pursued by a subject and his image of the environment" (cited in Singh 1992:23). This definition has been a delight for the language planners as well as other planning theoreticians. Faludi's perception of problem appears rather simple and there are layers of complex and significant issues involved in the characterizstion and description of language problems which need to be peeled off before one settles down for defining the nature, scope and mode of language problems. Who defines language

problems?; what is the nature of the language problems defined; what are the language problems defined, how and when? Faludi's definition, according to Singh (1992) seems to be "a simplification of the situation". The key terms used in his definition, according to Singh, demand clarification and elicitation. "If a problem is to be characterized as a *state*, then one must consider the possible kinds of state [like] 'physical state', 'ideational state' 'theoretical state', 'hypothetical state'" (Singh 1992:23). Even the state may never be static. It is a continuing process, quite flexible and even "volving". If one uses the state of *tension* to describe language problems then "tension *can be* desirable as well as undesirable, and it is the latter which Faludi's definition seems appropriate"(24). Although Faludi recognises the tension between the *end* and the *image* as problematic, there are "various other kinds of dyads that could contribute to undesirable tension", like "the fact vs. the fict", "the end and the means", "the goals and the opposing forces" etc (24).

Against the backdrop of various complexities involved in defining language problem, Singh provides a probable definition of language problem as :

"a set of problems—some purely linguistic and others so to a varying degree—which is a reasonably persistent or evolving state physical, ideational, hypothetical or theoretical (as well as at times, absence of an ideal state) --- of undesirable, and therefore, unproductive tension between any one of the following: the end pursued by the subject and his image of the environment, the fact and the fict (or the way the subjects want the facts to be), the end and the means the subjects identify to achieve it, or the goals and the forces of opposition that impede the subjects in achieving them" (1992:24).

## 2.5.2    Typologies of Language Problems

A number of proposals for typologies of language problems have been suggested. These are :

*Haugen's approach*:

The earliest description of language problems has been presented by Haugen (1966) in terms of :

a.    Selection of norm,
b.    Codification of norm,
c.    Elaboration of norm, and
d.    Acceptance by the members of a speech community.

While the first two relate to *language form* the latter two relate to *language function*. He further introduces a distinction between *initiation* and *implementation*, to which selection and elaboration belong to the former and codification and acceptance to the latter (see Figure-2). He also assigns selection and acceptances to society and codification and elaboration to *language*.
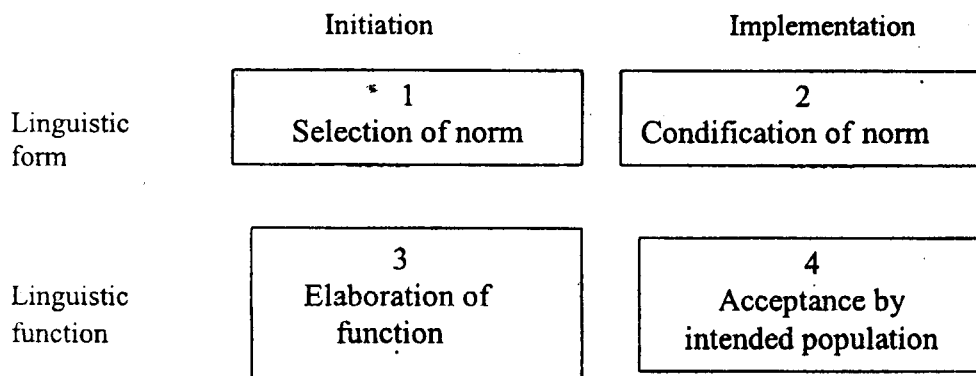
|  | Initiation | Implementation |
|---|---|---|
| Linguistic form | 1<br>Selection of norm | 2<br>Condification of norm |
| Linguistic function | 3<br>Elaboration of function | 4<br>Acceptance by intended population |

Figure 2: Haugen's scheme

### Neustupny's approach:

Neustupny (1968, 1970, 1978) takes up the question of language problems in a broader framework. He makes a distinction between *verbal* vs. *non-verbal communication* problems and further divides verbal problems into *language code* and *speech* problems. He emphasises that preoccupation with language code at the expense of speech problems will not help resolve language problems.

He also makes a distinction between *policy* vs. *cultivation* approach. The former focusses attention on the language code, covering problems like standardisation, literacy, orthographies, selection of the national/official language, etc. The latter deals with problems of correctness, style, efficiency of communication, etc. According to Neustupny, *policy* approach is characteristic of the "less developed, modern or modernizing societies" which are marked by "a high degree of arbitrary social and linguistic heterogeneity" (1970:43-44). The *cultivation* approach, on the other hand, is characteristic of "more developed communities".

Neustupny (1970) reformulated Haugen's (1966) proposal and suggested four major problem areas and their corresponding processes as major fields of language planning in form and format of problem-process relationship.

| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Problem** | **Selection** | **Stability** | **Expansion** | **Differentiation** |
| Process | Policy decision Legitimisation | Codification =Standardisation | Elaboration =Modernisation | Cultivation =Stylisation. |

Figure 3 (format partly modified by Srivastava, 1987).

i.     The selection of code(s) as official or national language is carried out through policy decision. For example, in India it has been our policy decision to promote regional languages to official status at the state level. When a particular code is selected under official policy formulation for its use at national or state level, then it has been referred to as *"legitimisation of languages"* by Srivastava (1987).

2.     Where there exists multiple variations, standardisation prescribes authentic variant of a language through codification.

3.     Selected code is put to use in new emerging domains of social activities in which it was not used earlier. This is referred to as modernisation of a language through elaboration.

4.     Stylisation is a process that makes a language situation-bound, event-centered and communication-oriented through cultivation and promotion of different language studies.

Neustupny (1978) further broadened the framework of language problems and discussed it within correction model. He reformulates language problems as occurrences of the marker "inadequate", which can be attached to certain features of communicative acts or features of communicative systems. When "inadequacies" are located in the communicative acts, we have language behaviour characterised by hypercorrection, request for clarification or repetition etc.

### Rabin's approach:

Rabin (1971) presents a tripartite classification of language planning aims which tend to cover different kinds of language problems. These problems require involvement

of interdisciplinary researchers for their effective handling. According to Rabin there are three language planning aims:

a.  *Extra-linguistic aims* which focus on the use of a given language block or relative extent of usage of competing language blocks horizontally over different regions and vertically among different social classes within a region. These aims concern primarily sociologists and political scientists and its implementation can be realised in educational planning.

b.  *Semi-linguistic aims* are concerned with problems of writing, spelling, pronunciation and restrictions in speaking. The study of these problems require the involvement of strong sociological and psychological factors alongwith contributions from linguistics.

c.  *Linguistic aims* handle problems of vocabulary, structure and style. According to Rabin these aims fall in the province of the normative linguists, in collaboration with the literary practitioner.

### *Ferguson's approach :*

Ferguson (1968) conceived of three types of problems which are basically three components of language development. These problems are:

a.  *Standardization*, which he defines as" the process of acceptance of one variety of a language throughout the speech community as a supra-dialectal norm" (1968:31).

b.  *Modernization*, which is a process by which a language joins "the world community of inter-translatable languages recognized as appropriate vehicles of modern forms of discourse" (1968:32). This process is said to have two aspects : (i) the expansion of the lexicon of the language by new words and expressions, and (ii) the development of new styles and forms of discourses.

c.  *Graphization* which is concerned with spelling and orthography.

### *Fishman's approach:*

Fishman (1968) shows his concern with problems of language choice (a selection), codification and elaboration. With regard to language choice he identifies two clusters of problems in the context of developing nations. The first cluster of problems centres around the question of national language as a unifying symbol directed towards authenticity of goals and socio-cultural integration beyond the local level. The second cluster focusses on the efficiency and instrumentality of communication and politico-geographical integration and is less directed towards authenticity of goals.

### *Dua's typology of language problems:*

After reviewing various typologies of language problems, Dua (1985) provides a systematic framework in terms of five aspects of language : structure, use, user, material and language as a symbol. His typology of language problems has been represented through a geometerical design (Figure 4), in the middle of which rest the questions : *who defines what, when, how* and *social context* of language problem. The five aspects of language have been linked with these questions.

### *(i)  Problems of Language as a Symbol:*

The language problems involving symbolic significance of language include the issues of solidarity, socio cultural integration and multi-level identities as well as

distribution of power, status and socio-economic advantages. These problems are found in both developed and developing nations.

## (ii)    *Problems of Language Structure:*

These problems have been considered under language code and speech problems which include a wide range of processes such as codification, elaboration and cultivation or graphisation, standardisation and modernisation.

## (iii)    *Problems of Language Use:*

These problems have received a great deal of attention by language planners and policy makers in both developing and developed countries. Here the emphasis has been in the area of language use in education and this has serious implications for language-education, policy and planning. Besides education, other domains that raise significant problems of language use are health/medical, legal, media and communication, etc.

## (iv)    *Problems of Language Users:*

This includes the problem of identifying adequate number of trained persons who can put language to use in different domains of communication. The trained persons will be required to resolve language problems in the process of implementation. It is also concerned with the facilities for training or for learning and acquisition of language varieties, availability of channels for redressal of language problems raised by users, etc.

It also includes a study of the level of awareness of the norm, intergroup attitudes and other psycho-social issues which are useful in the spread of linguistic innovation and change and in predicting the degree of success in language planning.

## (v) *Problems of Language Materials:*

It suggests the need for having (a) basic reference materials (including grammars, learning materials, dictionaries, glossaries, thesaurus), (b) translation of materials, textbooks, abstracts, legal documents or official records, (c) textbooks, and (d) creative and journalistic or scientific literature in a language. All these are required to "resolve problems of language use and users and to effectively implement language policies" (Dua 1985:34).
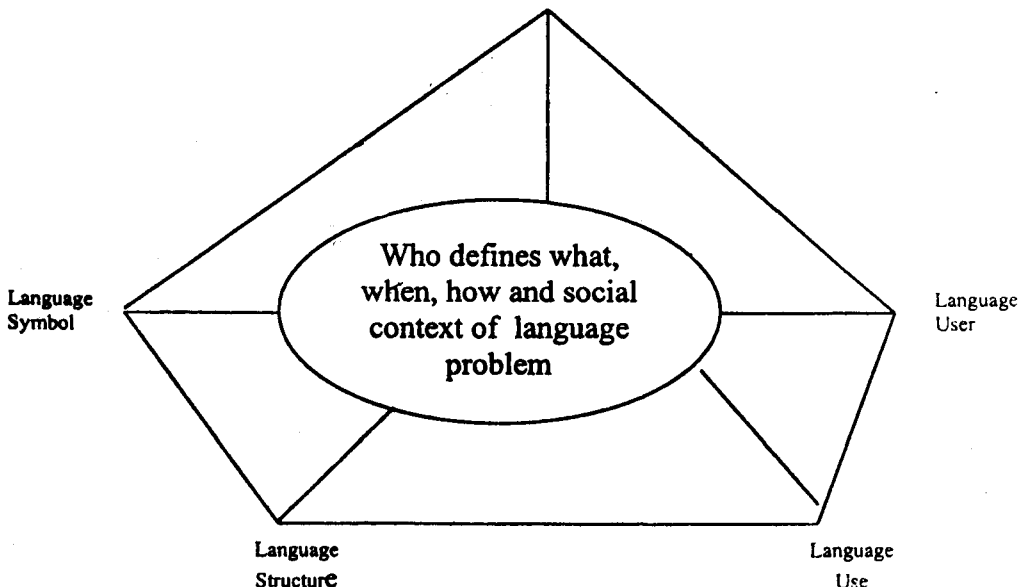


**Figure 4: Dua's typology**

In language planning literature the type of planning which has assumed greater prominence and attracted wide attention of scholars is status vs. corpus planning. Besides this, there are other types of language planning as well which have been outlined by Singh (1992).

## 2.6.1    Status Planning vs. Corpus Planning

One of the definitions of language planning reads thus: "a government-authorized, long term sustained and conscious effort to alter a *language itself* or to change a *language's functions* in a society for the purpose of solving communication *problems*" (Weinstein 1983, cited in Hornberger: 1990). This definition, although relatively recent, has been selected for two reasons first, it reiterates a focus on *problems* that has traditionally characterised language planning, and secondly, it alludes to a distinction between *status planning* and *corpus planning*.

This distinction, which was first introduced by Heinz Kloss (1969), basically amounts to making a distinction between linguistic innovations that relate to the *allocation of language functions* (*language's function* in Weinstein's term) of a language variety in a given speech community (status planning) and linguistic innovations that relate to the *structure* of a language (*language itself* according to Weinstein) or of a language variety (corpus planning).

Status planning refers to cases in which the attributed status of a language or variety is changed. It includes, for example, the designation of a language as the official or national language; decisions about language to be added or deleted on the list of those permitted in some context; decisions about the language of religion or language of instruction in the educational system, etc.

Corpus planning refers to changes in structure, vocabulary, morphology, spelling or even adoption of a new script. It is basically concerned with changing the structure or corpus of the language--the nature of language itself. Corpus planning often accompanies status planning--when a particlar variety has been chosen to perform official functions, the chosen variety *per se* requires development and expansion to meet the demands of the society. It includes Ferguson's three dismensions of language development: "graphization—reduction to writing; standardization—the development of a norm which overrides regional and social dialects; modernization—the development of intertranslatability with other languages in a range of topics and forms of discourse...." (1971:221).

## 2.6.2    Comprehensive Planning vs. Partial Planning

In more general term, if a language plan covers both status and corpus problems, then it is a comprehensible plan. In this plan both public planning and private development activities are coordinated. According to Singh "Comprehensive language planning is so named because... in such instances a language plan becomes a part of the general socio-economic plan... and [also] because it takes the whole geo-political entity or speech community into consideration, and then accounts for aggregate linguistic resources (functions, structural variations, inter-intelligibility, ... registers, linguistic attitudes, etc.) available within the speech community and aggregate targets to be reached by the polity or community as a whole" (1992:42).

## 2.6.3    Global Planning vs. Local Planning

Global language planning involves issues which are of major socio-psychological and emotional concerns or it takes major decisions pertaining to language status changes

or whole-scale corpus changes such as adoption of a new script, etc. It does not refer to any "Universalistic assumption" nor is it a "comprehensive more" (Singh 1992:43). Local language planning takes up problems that are at individual, small group, local or single institution level. Since it identifies limited problems, it has more chances of being successful.

### 2.6.4 Imperative Planning vs. Indicative Planning

Imperative language planning can be planning by compulsion and planning by inducement, while indicative language planning is not any of these.

### 2.6.5 Centralised Planning vs. Decentralised Planning

Centralised language planning includes all centalised plans which are usually official or public. It may also include academies or institutions which may reside outside the direct political control, but "can make a language plan centralised" (Singh 1992:44). When the plans are implemented at provincial level by local governments they are said to be decentralised plans. These provincial set ups have greater autonomy in deciding their language plans globally or comprehensively.

### 2.6.6 Intrinsic Planning, Extrinsic Planning, Intrinsic-cum- Extrinsic Planning

This three-fold classification was proposed by Srivastava (1987). Intrinsic language planning" brings about the change internal to the structure of language" (1987:149). Modernisation or elaboration is a good example of this kind of planning. Extrinsic language planning is "concerned primarily with the factors external to language; no direct change in the structure of the language takes place" (1987:149). Inter-ethnic or interlingual relation, roles or functions of languages and other speech varieties, etc. are examples of extrinsic planning. The interplay between internal and external factors bring about intrinsic-cum-extrinsic language planning. Here the language structure as well as the status of the language is affected. Srivastava illustrates this through the difference between the concepts of standardised and standard language. Standard language and standardised languages are two different concepts. Here the former has history, prestige and status of a language, while the latter is an outcome of the standardization process. According to him, it is not necessary for a standardised language to attain the status of a standard language. Here the best example is the case of various dialects of Hindi in the context of Hindi speech community which may have been standardised but still remain dialects of standard Hindi language.

### 2.6.7 Status Planning, Acquisition Planning, Corpus Planning

If one looks at Prator's definition of language planning as "language policy-making involves decisions concerning the teaching and use of language, and their careful formulation by those empowered to do so, for the guidance of others" (cited in Cooper 1989:31), the mention of language teaching as an object of policy-making, is suggestive of a third focus of language planning. Cooper (1989) refers to it as *acquisition planning*, which is directed towards the users. He thus insists that *acquisition planning* should "be added to the status planning - corpus planning distinction" (1989:33).

### 2.6.8 Corpus Planning, Prestige Planning, Status Planning

This has been proposed by Haarmann (1990), who believes that there is the crucial relationship of values associated with both status and corpus planning activities which have not been given serious attention. "Every planning effort... has to rely on a kind of psychological background which favors an effective implementation of planning goals and which, ultimately, is the most crucial variable for a long-term

success of planning. Any kind of planning has to attract positive values" (Haarmann 1990:104). Positive values bring prestige to the planning. However, in the earlier studies on language planning, *prestige values* were never taken seriously. Instead they were often subsumed under the general heading of 'planning'. Haarmann thus introduces three elementary ranges of language planning activities namely: corpus planning, status planning, and prestige planning. These are represented diagramatically as:
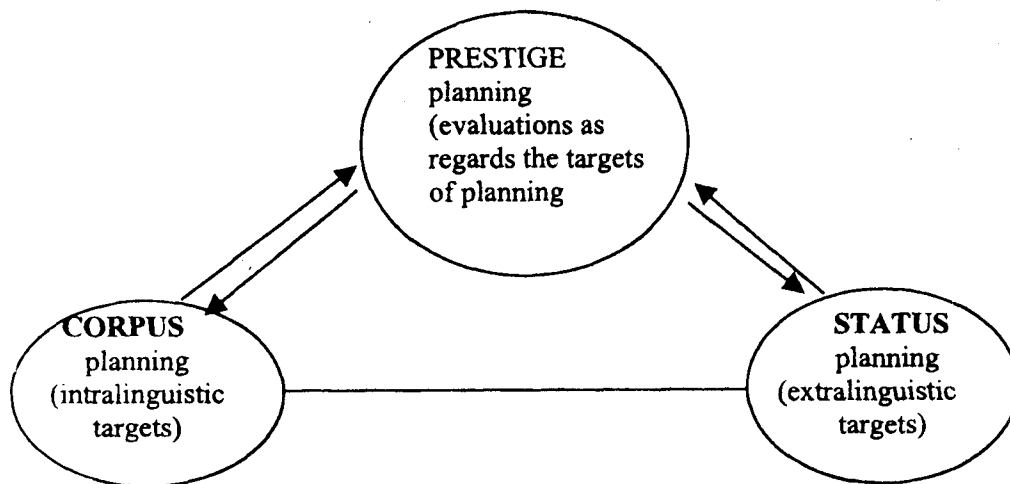


Figure 5: Basic interrelations among the functional ranges of language planning

Inclusion of prestige brings *processual character* to language planning where "understanding of the overall effect of language planning cannot be attained solely by inspecting the following string of relations:

*who* is engaged in planning *what* language *for whom* and *why?*

Another set of relations must also be taken into consideration:

*who* accepts *what* planning provisions *from whom* and under *what* conditions?" (1990:123).

### 2.6.9  Micro Planning vs. Macro Planning

Although reference to micro-and macro-planning can be seen in Fishman (1974), recently some scholars have begun to distinguish between micro vs macro processes in language planning particularly against the background of the revival of Hebrew. Macro language planning is carried out at governmental level, while micro language planning takes place at local levels where aggregate of small individuals are involved. The small individuals may include language pedagogues and other activists like parents, school superintendents, local leaders, etc. These have been referred to as *Micro Language Planning Agents* by Nahir (1998:352) and are seen to be operating in *Micro Language Planning Cells*". He looks at Hebrew Revival as an example of micro language planning.

## 2.7   LANGUAGE PLANNING PROCESSES

There are two essential processes of language planning. These are:

1.   the choice of language or languages,
2.   establishing a policy to be followed for the chosen language.

### 2.7.1   Language Planning Choice

Before formulating Language Planning Policy there is a need to *choose* the language(s). Language choice may involve decisions regarding National Languages, Languages of Wider Communication (LWCs), particularly in developing nations.

Fishman outlines certain features (total six in number) and claims that language choices are made with respect to presence or absence of these features. According to him three types of language choices are possible: Types A, Type B, and Type C. (Table 1).

Type A choice are made by "a-modal" nations which are linguistically complex, marked by the presence of primarily oral traditions rather than written. Hence the language choice is for political integration. Many developing or Third World countries are of this type. Here LWC is chosen as an official language and as a national language and, at the same time, standardisation is carried out so that people can become literate in their first language as well as the LWC. For example, choice of English in the Western Cameroon and of French in Eastern Cameroon.

Table:1. Types of Language Choice (modified from Fishman 1969a:192)

| Features | a-modal nations (Type A) | uni-modal nations (Type B) | multi-modal nations (Type C) |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Is there a Great Tradition?* | no | yes | many |
| 2. Reason for selection of national language | for political integration | for nationalism | for compromise |
| 3. Reason LWC is used | as a national symbol | for the transition | as a unifying force |
| 4. LP activity to be done | standardization | diglossia | modernization |
| 5. Is bilingualism a goal? | no | yes, but situational | yes |
| 6. Is biculturalism a goal? | no | yes, but situational | yes |

*The term Great Tradition refers to a literary tradition of long standing thought to be great by the people who have it, and considered a part of their cultural heritage. (cited in Eastman 1983:13).*

Type B choices are made by "uni-modal" nations which are characterised by the presence of both indigenous language and LWC. Here LWC, which often exists as a result of colonial policy, is preferred by the newly educated people for education, while the indigenous language, which has a literary tradition is favoured for purposes of nationalism. For example, Swahili in Tanzania.

Type C choices are made by "multimodal" nations which are marked by linguistic heterogeneity. Here many indigenous languages with literary traditions coexist and compete with each other and thus make bilingualism a norm and a desirable goal. India is an example of Type C nation.

## 2.7.2 Language Planning Policy

*Language Policy:*

Language policy is a broad overarching term for decisions on rights and access to languages and on the roles and functions of particular languages or varieties of

languages in a given polity. It is a system of measures taken by the government, institutions, social groups to alter or maintain the existing functional allocations of languages, to introduce new linguistic norms or to maintain the existing norms which are in use.

Language policy may deal with issues in education i.e.. how best to organise schooling that may lead to high levels of bi-or multilingualism for both minority and dominant groups; with the choice of a language for certain communicative purposes; assess in broader sociopolitical domains like maintenance of indigenous cultures, the promotion of language rights, choice of national and official languages in modern states, etc.

Language policy programmes are drawn up for the solution of language problems arising in a particular society. These problems can be with regard to functional allocations of a language or with the use of language and its internal structure. For example, a study of the language policy in India presupposes, on the one hand, a study of the way the official languages (Hindi and English), the regional languages (Tamil, Punjabi, Bengali, Marathi, Kannada, etc.) and various other languages of small ethnic groups are distributed among social interaction domains, and, on the other hand, an inquiry into the way the internal resources (grammar, vocabulary) of each language make communication possible in its respective domain.

A language policy may be *retrospective* or *prospective.* A retrospective language policy aims at conserving the existing language situation or even conserving the existing language norms. A prospective language policy looks at changes in language situation as an ongoing process and hence provides a ground for the codification of new norms, standardisation, spelling reforms, terminological development, etc.

Since a language policy is by definition the policy of a government, social group or state, it is bound to reflect the interests of a particular group or dominant elites. This makes language policies ideological, although the ideology may not be apparent or acknowledged by practitioners or theorists. Tollefson (1991) refers to it as an example of *invisible'* ideology : "The policy of requiring everyone to learn a single dominant language is widely seen as a common sense solution to the communication problems of multilingual societies. The appeal of this assumption is such that mongolianism is seen as a solution to linguistic inequality. If linguistic minorities learn the dominant language, so the argument goes, then they will not suffer economic or social inequality. The assumption is an example of an ideology, which refers to normally unconscious assumptions that come to be seen as common sense . . . such assumptions justify enclusionary policies and sustain inequality". (Tollefson 1991:10).

A language policy impregnated with ideology may become a cause of strong reaction and protests. For example, imposition of Urdu in Bengali dominated erstwhile East Pakistan accelerated the liberation movement resulting in the creation of Bangladesh, or even attempts in 1964-65 to introduce Hindi as the only official language of India gave rise to the strong opposition from Tamil and Bengali speakers.

A language policy may have nationalistic overtones and an anti-colonialist ideology. For example, drive to use Hindi as an official language after independence, or Tagalog in Philippines, Burmese in Burma, etc.

### *Language Policy Stages:*

The implementation of a language policy is a process including the stage of formulating policy goals and objectives. Depending upon the nature of language policy, language policy programmes may be evolved. For example, if the language policy is prospective, the language policy programme may include the goal of

elaboration and codification of both --- new norms of language use according to the topic, social and situational context of discourse, and new norms of language as such

Preparation for the implementation of the goal is the next stage of a language policy. Implementation provides "the authoritative backbone to achieve the goals and the motivation for the use of the language of the policy by the people affected" (Eastman 1983:12). People may accept the recommendations (fully or partially) or may even reject them altogether.

Acceptance or rejection of recommendations are determined by the evaluation of the proposed innovation. The evaluation may be positive or negative. The motivating factors for positive evaluation can be *aesthetic* (new coinage sounds good), *psychological* (is easy to remember) and *sociological* (it has a social prestige).

In promoting the acceptance of language policy recommendations, schools, mass media, literatures, etc play an important role.

## 2.8    IDEOLOGY OF LANGUAGE PLANNING THEORY

If one explores the ideological foundations of research on language planning and language policy, two approaches to research can be discerned. These are : the *neoclassical* approach and the *historical-structural* approach. While in the former individual linguistic decisions are emphasised, the latter emphasises constraints on individual decision making.

### 2.8.1   Neoclassical approach

The premises of the neoclassical approach are articles of faith. It is characterised by assumptions that :

- the key to understanding social system is the individual;
- individual decisions are of paramount importance;
- individual decisions are predictable but free.

Inasmuch as the rational calculus of individuals remains the focus of research in the neoclassical approach, evaluation of the stated goals of language planning becomes problematic. The ideology inherent to the neoclassical approach profoundly affect the relationship of language planning researches to the object of their inquiry. It insulates the researcher "from any evaluation which is 'external' to the planning process" and reduces him to the status of an observer "who is not part of the historical context and whose primary responsibility is to analyze the planning process without 'interfering' in it" (Tollefson 1991:28). Thus, instead of enabling the planners in the planning process, the neoclassical model presents a theoretical obstacle. It fails to correlate planning decisions with changes in language structure and use, and it is also "unable to explain how, and under what conditions, planning decisions bring about linguistic change" (Tollefson 1991:29).

### 2.8.2   Historical structural approach

This approach rejects the neoclassical assumption that the rational calculus of an individual should be the focus of research. It correlates planning decisions with changes in language structure and use in terms of the social, political and economic factors, and also looks into the origins of constraints on planning. It focuses itself on the sources of the costs and benefits of individuals' choices and raises certain questions like :"why must that individual expend those particular costs? Why are those particular benefits rather than others available to that individual? What are the

costs and benefits for other people in the community? What language choices do they confront?" (Tollefson 1991:32). The underlying objective of this approach is to "discover the historical and structural pressures that lead to particular policies and plans and that constrain individual choices" (Tollefson 1991:32). It treats language planning as a macro-social process where the historical process and structural considerations are inseperable. The historical-structural approach believes that the action of groups is not the same as the sum total of the individual actions of its members. Hence the actions of planning bodies as well as of the populations they affect are to be viewed as products of history and the social relationships which organize groups. Thus, according to this approach, "[T]he primary task for researchers is to develop a theory of language planning that makes explicit the mechanisms by which planning processes interact with other historical-structural forces that form language communities and determine patterns of language structure and use" (Tollefson 1991:36). It is difficult to achieve this task if the emphasis is placed on individual decisions.

## 2.9 GOALS OF LANGUAGE PLANNING

Between 1984 and 1990, there has been a remarkable increase in the list of goals that language planning activities are expected to carryout. Nahir (1977) initially wrote about five goals of language planning. Later he added six more in his classification of language planning goals (1984). Hornberger further added five more by drawing from other literature in language planning and ultimately made the number reach to sixteen. The 16 language planning goals have been categorized in two groups (1990:20) namely:

(i)     goals with regard to *language status*. These include officialisation, nationalisation, status standardisation, vernacularisation, revival, spread, maintenance and interlingual communication.

(ii)    goals with regard to *language corpus*. These include purification, reform, corpus standardisation, lexical modernization, terminology unification, stylistic simplification, auxiliary code standardisation and graphisation.

## 2.10 ORIENTATIONS IN LANGUAGE PLANNING

Orientations merely describe "what is thinkable about language in society" (Ruiz cited in Hornberger 1990:24). Ruiz has identified three orientations toward language that may underlie language planning efforts. These are :

### 2.10.1 Language as problem orientation

According to this orientation, language is viewed as an obstacle which comes in the way of linguistic minorities and the mainstream.

### 2.10.2 Language as right orientation

This orientation treats language right as a basic human and civil right and, thus, stresses on the right of linguistic minority groups to speak and maintain their mother tongue.

### 2.10.3 Language as resource orientation

Here the importance to the notion of conserving and developing all of its linguistic resources is emphasised. Hence linguistic diversity is never viewed as a drawback or

a disunifiying factor in society. Rather it provides certain insights which may be utilised for developing a better understanding of language situation and formulating a comprehensive theory of language planning.

## 2.11  FACTORS INFLUENCING LANGUAGE PLANNING

Since language planning does not take place in a social vacuum, a number of factors may affect language planning. These may be:

1.  *Socio-demographic factors* which include the number of languages spoken, the number of their speakers, and their geographical distribution.

2.  *Linguistic factors* which mainly have to do with the status and the character of a language and the similarities and dissimilarities between them.

3.  *Socio-psychological factors* which in their broadest sense, concern the attitudes of people towards a language. The attitudes may be with regard to both the social meanings attached to various languages and the social distribution of languages in speech community.

4.  *Politico-economic factors* are of considerable importance in the success or failure of language planning.

5.  *Religious factors* which concern the relation between language and religion, and more categorically, the use of local languages in the spread of religion.

6.  *PR factors*: Haugen opens his discussion of implementations in corpus planning with the observation that "This topic is basically one that ought to be handled by either a political scientist or a PR man" (1983:69).

## 2.12  LIMITATIONS OF LANGUAGE PLANNING

There are certain limitations of language planning. These are:

(i)  *Uncertainty*: Problems of uncertainty always looms large even when there is a careful plan. These uncertainties can be those that are unknown or those that are only predictable within certain probability limits.

(ii)  *Limited planning*: Of all the activities of man, language is perhaps, the most widespread and the most essential one. Hence to plan this activity will be very difficult. Language planning can, therefore, be discussed only in a very limited sense and for a very special goal.

(iii)  *Costliness*: Practical limitation of planning is the costliness of making plans. Since lot of time and energy is spent on acquiring the necessary information to make a good plan, the cost of planning may not necessarily be felt to be rewarded by sufficient benefits.

## 2.13  LET US SUM UP

In this unit we have given a comprehensive picture of language planning which included the history of language planning, its processes and limitations of language

planning. We have also given you in detail types of language planning and orientation in language planning.

We hope that you would now be able to understand the difficulties, texts and subtexts involved in the language policy of any nation.

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## 2.15  EXERCISES

1.  Why is language planning essential in any country?  What are the factors which influence language planning? What do you think would be the limitations of language planning in India?
2.  What are the questions that you ask yourself when planning a language?
3.  From the 1960's to the 1990's what are the changes in focus that have taken place in language planning?