

30. Language politics, policy, and planning

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1. Introduction

Research on language politics, policy, and planning is of importance to contact linguistics, since political relations between groups of language users, the way in which the use of language(s) is organized, and how language issues are politicized fundamentally shape the political and social conditions under which language varieties are in contact. This chapter first provides a short sketch of how language policy, planning, and politics have so far been conceptualized. Major subfields will be discussed, and then relevant actors and factors in these processes will be introduced. At the end, these aspects will be discussed from a contact linguistic perspective and summarized in a graphic visualization.

2. Language politics, policy, and planning: conceptualizations and interrelations

Language politics, language policy and language planning are closely related. Language policy and planning are two sides of the same coin, with *policy* traditionally referring to more conceptual strategies and activities, and *planning* to direct intervention into language practices, i.e. how governments and other institutions actively try to influence the way in which languages are used. In more recent literature, the term *language policy* has become dominant as an overarching term for all kinds of activities and underlying motivations for policies dealing with language; alternatively, language policy and planning (LPP) has also become common, since it often proves difficult to neatly distinguish policy from planning activities (Hornberger 2006: 25).

A somewhat distinct tradition, even though closely related to LPP research, is language politics and the politics of language (see Wodak and Forchtner [2018] for an overview). These concepts denote how language is politicized, how language(s) and their speakers are used for establishing distinctions between groups, and how politics are organized around them, e.g. in discourses of nationalism, in which language is a fundamental marker of in- versus out-groups (Schmid 2001). The difference between these two is a matter of focus: whereas the politics of language reflects the instrumentalization of language for specific ideological purposes, language politics relates to the way in which political actors try to influence existing policies based on language. Yet LPP, language politics, and the politics of language are interlinked, since political questions

discussed along the lines of groups of speakers usually involve issues surrounding the status of different varieties, i.e. of acceptable versus unacceptable forms in specific situations. As such, the politics of language shares with LPP debates on ideologies, language practices by groups of speakers, and the ways in which language regimes are (consciously and subconsciously) organized. In addition, the politics of language and the organization of societies along language lines also involve different topics, e.g. when issues of power and of participation in society are decided according to peoples' language competences, or even according to their L1s. At the same time, language politics, policy, and planning are intertwined with other concepts: linguistic culture (Schiffman 1996: 8) denotes a "complex of values, beliefs, myths etc. concerned with language", which provides the setting for LPP, whereas language cultivation (Nekvapil 2008) focuses on aesthetic values, and language critique denotes evaluations of varieties and specific forms at the meta-level (Kilian, Niehr, and Schiewe 2010).

Research on specific cases of political influence on language(s) started to develop into a separate field of linguistics after World War II. It gained theoretical momentum in the 1960s and 1970s. Early understandings of LPP by e.g. Haugen (1959) focused on state-centered activities, mostly regarding variation within a language. Rubin and Jernudd (1971: xviii), in a famous definition, conceptualized language planning as "deliberate language change [...] 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 fulfil such purposes".

In the course of the academic debates which followed, the focus widened considerably, as exemplified by Cooper's (1989: 45) definition, according to which language planning denotes "deliberate efforts to influence the behavior of others with respect to the acquisition, structure, or functional allocation of their language codes". The debate now included broader aspects of linguistic behavior by far; it also made reference to the relationship between different language varieties. In the 1990s, LPP studies followed the tendency toward investigating language conflict and contact, in line with the 'critical turn' focusing on ideologies and power relations (Tollefson 2002).

More recent understandings of LPP therefore largely agree that perceptions beyond deliberate, active intervention into a linguistic situation need to be considered. Spolsky (2004, 2009) stipulates that language policy consists of three parts: language management (i.e. LPP in the traditional sense), language beliefs (i.e. conscious and subconscious views that influence which values and functions are assigned to specific varieties and variants), and language practices (i.e. what people actually do with language). This understanding of language policy suggests that essentially any type of linguistic behavior is the expression of a language policy: by preferring a specific variety or variant, every language user makes a statement, which in turn may influence the practices and beliefs of others. The ideologies expressed in this way reflect the status of varieties and their speakers in a political or societal context, as well as power relations. In any analysis, it is therefore important not only to consider *overt* policies, as expressed by language laws, institutional language plans, or the like, but also the *covert* side – language behavior which reflects policies and attitudes, as well as the 'hidden agendas' (Shohamy 2006) of language policy-making.

Somewhat aside from these theoretical developments, which looked at LPP mostly from a macro-perspective, Language Management Theory adopted a micro-approach (Jernudd and Nekvapil 2012; Jernudd and Neustupný 1987; Nekvapil 2012, 2015), sug-

gesting a circle-shaped model for analyzing active intervention into linguistic behavior: a specific linguistic situation is evaluated and discussed; if it is considered to be a problem, a decision may evolve which tries to change the linguistic behavior of the individuals or the community of linguistic practices in question; after a while, the situation is reevaluated.

Today, all of these approaches continue to be influential, but their labeling as ‘classical language planning theory’ (see Taylor-Leech [2016] for an overview of different phases) indicates that more contemporary approaches have developed. These derive from different fields, for instance, ethnographic and discursive approaches (Johnson 2013; McCarty 2011), i.e. observation- and interview-based analyses of interaction on the ground, as well as studies of language policy documents, all of which aim at analyzing underlying social orders. This LPP school is rooted in the framework of ‘critical’ social sciences, which aim at understanding ideologies, power structures, and social realities. Hult and Johnson (2015) collect the most important research approaches, including, for example, discourse analysis, media studies, language attitudes, and nexus analysis. Yet more traditional approaches also continue to be of importance, including the analysis of state-driven LPP (e.g. of official language regimes) as manifested in language laws.

It is in this combination of more traditional and more recent approaches where the connection between LPP and the politics of language also becomes apparent – a connection which, as Darquennes (2011: 557) remarks, has only fairly recently gained more systematic attention in academia. Kymlicka and Patten’s (2001) comprehensive overview of relationships between political ideologies and their stances on language(s), and McRae’s (1983, 1986, 1997) subsequent analyses of language-related political cleavages in Belgium, Switzerland, and Finland, can be seen as pioneering works.

3. Subcategories of LPP

Whereas recent writings frequently stress how multilayered and interwoven LPP activities (and their analysis) are, it is still beneficial to return to several traditional distinctions between types of language policies, since these continue to be used as important reference points (Hornberger 2006: 28–29; Kaplan and Baldauf 1997; Marten 2016: 27; Spolsky 2012). A common categorization going back to Kloss (1969) distinguishes between corpus and status planning. These two main strands of language policy-making are often separated in practice (e.g. public bodies and language agencies, such as the Académie Française, which develop the corpus of a language, in contrast to laws, which determine the official functions of different varieties), even though this distinction has been questioned (Fishman 2006). In brief, status planning considers the functions of different varieties in society (e.g. which languages are allowed to be used in official contexts), whereas corpus planning considers the choice of lexical, grammatical, and phonetic forms within a variety. A main issue is standardization, starting with Haugen’s (1966) seminal work on the relationship between the two standardized Norwegian varieties (Bokmål and Nynorsk), and efforts to unite them by creating ‘Samnorsk’ as a common standard.

Other important categories are acquisition and usage planning (Cooper 1989; Lo Bianco 2005). Acquisition planning denotes processes that influence which varieties are acquired

as L1, L2, or foreign languages, most notably in formal education from kindergarten through university. Usage planning provides usage opportunities, e.g. by creating active offers which encourage speakers to expand the domains in which a variety is used, often in contexts of minority language policies.

Prestige planning (introduced by Haarmann [1990] as an addition to the status-corpus dichotomy) and discourse planning (Lo Bianco 2005) are terms which were added to the debate at later stages. Prestige planning affects views of specific varieties, e.g. when spreading understanding for the use of a minority language or – in nation-building contexts – for processes in favor of a common national language, e.g. when promoting Swahili in Tanzania after independence, replacing English, but to the detriment of less widely used languages (Batibo 1992). Prestige planning is related to status and acquisition planning, e.g. by demonstrating that a specific variety considered unsuitable in formal situations (e.g. in communication with public authorities) may indeed be used in such contexts, and by providing opportunities for acquiring the language either from scratch, or for expanding knowledge in more prestigious and specialized domains. Discourse planning denotes attempts at influencing language use at the meta-level, both with regard to LPP debates as such, and to discussions about values assigned to specific varieties and forms. This concept was introduced to LPP theory, not least because of “skepticism about the real impact of scholarly contributions to language planning [which aims] to explore closer conceptual links with policy analysis scholarship that theorizes power and with the various branches of discourse studies” (Lo Bianco 2005: 263). In this way, contemporary LPP research incorporates ideological stances and power relations which shape the political systems in which debates on LPP take place.

In all this, language policies may be categorized as symbolic, as opposed to practical. Symbolic steps include, for instance, the presence of a language on signs in the so-called ‘linguistic landscape’, i.e. the display of a language on visible signs in a public space (Shohamy and Gorter 2008), or the use of a variety in a speech by an activist or a politician. Such measures assign symbolic value to a variety, but they do not change the language behavior of other persons as such. This stands in contrast to active practical offers to e.g. acquire a language in education or use it in a company. In practice, it is often a combination of a symbolic recognition with practical steps which encourage the use of a specific variety, or which provide opportunities for influencing a linguistic environment.

4. Actors of LPP in the context of language domains

As has become apparent, many individuals and groups interact in determining which discourses on language prevail in a given society, and what implications these have for the status and use of varieties in contact in a linguistic ecosystem, as well as for the development of the standardized corpus of a variety. It is therefore useful to more closely examine groups of actors in specific contexts, in particular with regard to contemporary views of LPP which respect the perceptions of the various strata of society.

Early studies mostly investigated the state and semi-state institutions – governments, ministries, language academies, or councils – which openly shape language policies. Closely related to state policies are usually educational policies and state-funded kinder-

gartens, schools, and universities, which follow official rules in their choices about media of instruction and languages offered for acquisition. Private institutions are at least subject to specific laws.

Yet it is commonly accepted today that nongovernmental institutions, private companies, and individuals also conduct individual language policies – partly through overt statements, and partly through *de facto* practices based on underlying beliefs (the tendency to broaden the understanding of language policy has become apparent in titles such as *Language Policy Beyond the State* by Siiner, Koreinik, and Brown [2017]). A common distinction is made between ‘top-down’ and ‘bottom-up’ (with possible intermediate levels) policies and practices, which may or may not be juxtaposed, even though Johnson (2013) remarks that successful LPP usually requires that players from different levels have similar aims and interact with each other. Most notable bottom-up actors are activists, who support one variety (e.g. in minority language contexts), but nonprofit organizations as well as private companies essentially conduct (direct or indirect) language policies with regard to language choice in communication, or skills required by employees (note that this also applies to standard varieties as opposed to dialects or sociolects). Likewise, individuals at the private level also have conscious and subconscious policies, reflected in the development of research on family language policies in recent years (King, Fogle, and Logan-Terry 2008; Schwartz and Verschik 2013). Families make decisions about which varieties to teach their children (most prominently discussed in the context of the one-parent-one-language model in bilingual families), but also which forms are considered ‘good’ or ‘bad’ language when raising children, and when choosing languages in education.

Another important tool of categorization – used in LPP research and by many language planners in practice – are domains (Spolsky 2004). Even if no individual acts in only one linguistic domain (and even though holistic approaches attempt to overcome separations), LPP is frequently organized by the domain approach, which has been referred to as one of the major approaches to LPP (e.g. languages in education, public administration, the health system, courts and police, cultural and heritage organizations, and the media [Baldauf 2012]). Among the most important official domains are lawmaking (see Turi [2012] on a classification of language legislation), public bodies, and education (Tollefson 2013). More private domains include the economy and businesses, but also culture or heritage activities, as well as religious institutions. Of particular importance are also media (both traditional types and more recent innovations), as they help to spread certain varieties while also shaping discourses on language(s).

A field which stands somewhat outside the traditional purview of LPP is the field of international language policies. National language institutes (Ammon 2014) support their respective national languages both within and outside of their nation states. Exterior language policies enacted by embassies and by cultural and language institutes, such as the British Council or Goethe-Institut, aim at the promotion of national languages outside their core areas, including activities at all levels of education (e.g. by financing lecturers at universities abroad). Language, cultural, educational, and economic aims often go hand in hand in such processes. International language policies may also take shape as policies in international institutions or informal networks. Organizations such as the UN or the EU have long LPP traditions (McEntee-Atalianis 2015), both with regard to internal practices (as official or working languages, or languages of communication and publications), and to support for specific languages, e.g. through minority language pro-

tection or technological support. Informal international networks exist not least in academic circles on linguistics; often, they take an interdisciplinary shape.

5. Aims, ideologies, and rights in LPP

In line with the distinction between overt and covert policies, the aims of LPP may be explicitly formulated in policy documents, or be implicitly understood. Nahir (1984) lists categories of LPP aims, e.g. standardization (typical of corpus planning), maintenance and revitalization (of endangered languages), terminological unification, and lexical modernization. Vikør (1994) classifies such principles, namely: language-internal principles (e.g. simplification of phonological and/or morphological structures), the relationship to other varieties (e.g. purism), and the relationship between a variety and its speakers (for instance, the so-called ‘majority principle’, which accepts the most common variants as the norm, and the ‘revolt principle’, which supports forms which may be considered provocative by many users, e.g. feminist language policies which aim at spreading awareness of gender inequalities).

At the core of the politics of language is the relationship between language and general political ideologies. Related to Spolsky’s (2004) ‘language beliefs’, ideologies are stances shared by larger sections of society. Cobarrubias (1983) noted four standard ideologies: assimilation, pluralism, vernacularization, and internationalization. Ruíz (1984) uses the concept of ‘language orientations’ to categorize whether a language is considered a problem, a right, or a resource. Vikør (1994) applies to language the concept of liberalism, i.e. a lack of interference which leaves language use to market forces (cf. also the critique by Robichaud and De Schutter [2012]). Other underlying ideologies include traditionalism (i.e. traditional forms are considered valuable *per se*), and nationalism.

The focus on ideologies gained momentum during the ‘critical turn’ (Blommaert 1999), and is at the core of many contemporary LPP studies, which explicitly aim to identify ideologies and their consequences for users of specific varieties (Tollefson 1991). In particular, with regard to nationalism, language policies of many nation states favor a national language, to the detriment of both traditional minorities and migrant communities (see Gogolin [2008] on Germany; Schiffman [1996] on France). In the educational field, but also in other domains, official ideologies are reinforced, e.g. with regard to the question of which varieties are accepted in communication with a public body. Factors which were investigated in early LPP research, such as nationalism (Fishman 1972), continue to be fundamental for many LPP frameworks; yet nationalism has been sidelined by newer major ideologies, such as globalization (Wright 2016). In the sense of a ‘hidden agenda’, language questions are frequently used to deny speakers of the ‘wrong’ language, or of nonstandard variants, access to influential positions in society (for an overview of ideological debates around English versus other languages in the US throughout the country’s history, for instance, see Ramsey 2012).

A case in point is the Baltic states, where top-down LPP influences the status of the national and minority languages, but where after the end of the Soviet Union language shift reversal from Russian towards Estonian, Latvian, and Lithuanian, respectively, stands in contrast to defenders of Russian in a human rights’ context: language is being

politicized by both the Baltic governments as part of the one-nation-one-language ideology, as well as by the politicians of Russian (Ozolins 2019). A classic example of a monolingual ideology is France, where the state actively engages in corpus planning and also provides an extensive framework for political decisions, most notably through language acts, for enshrining the dominance of French, e.g. in the media or education *vis-à-vis* both minority (such as Breton, Corsican, or Alsatian) and international (i.e. mostly English) languages. In multilingual countries, societies and territories are frequently split by language, including regular renegotiation of the principles of linguistic coexistence (e.g. Belgium, Switzerland, and Finland). Yet subunits of states also use strong ideological claims in order to demand an increase in status, acquisition, usage, and/or prestige of minority languages which are constitutive for these regions, and which may be more (e.g. Quebec and Catalonia) or less (e.g. Wales and Friesland) connected to political separatism.

Nationalism and other factors reinforced by a state are often supported by the beliefs and practices of its majority population, but they also frequently stand in sharp contrast to the practices of other speech communities. As a counterweight, individuals and institutions at the micro-level seek out individual ways to facilitate more multilingual practices. In LPP research, investigating such opposing processes, and their underlying ideologies, is fundamental for understanding how language contact creates social conflicts stemming from e.g. socioeconomic status (sociolects, urban dialects), center versus periphery (i.e. traditional rural dialects), or distinctions with regard to the languages of migrants and/or of autochthonous minorities. A specific field of LPP research is therefore minority language policy (Fishman 2001), which often aims at improving the chances of language revitalization, or a reversal of language shift (famous examples being, for instance, Welsh, Maori, and Native American languages such as Navajo; see Hinton and Hale 2001). Varieties may be strengthened through improved status (e.g. by making them official, or co-official, in a state and/or region); yet status by itself does not guarantee language survival. Therefore, acquisition and usage planning are often at the core of activities, supplemented by attempts to raise prestige (among both the minority and the majority populations) and to influence discourses on the desirability of the survival of a specific variety, often in relation to the specific identity of a region.

Debates on minority languages are frequently connected to general issues of language rights. These are subject to international treaties and other regulations, such as the UN Charter, which provides a very broad antidiscrimination regime on the basis of languages. More specific is the 1992 UN Declaration on the Rights of Persons Belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities (Orlin 2015). In the European context, documents by the Council of Europe protect languages and their speakers, including in particular the 1992 Charter of Regional or Minority Languages, and the 1995 Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities (Grin 2003).

6. The relevance of analyzing LPP in contact linguistics

LPP relates to language contact in numerous ways (see Darquennes [2013] for an overview). Corpus planning is the field which reacts most visibly to language contact. Through norm-setting processes, such as the acceptance (or refusal) of loan words or of

grammatical interference in a variety, the degree to which language contact is ‘allowed’ to influence a variety is regulated. This relates most notably to official standardization processes, e.g. the sanctioning of dictionaries or teaching materials. Darquennes (2015) stresses the *Ausgleich* function of LPP measures – active intervention which seeks a compromise between different views – as one possible way out of a (potential) language conflict. Successful intervention depends, however, on both institutional support and a positive social climate; implementation of such measures has therefore been called the “Achilles heel” (Deumert and Vandebussche 2003: 7) of standardization. Edwards (2012) stresses that language agencies such as the Accademia della Crusca in Italy may indeed contribute to such an *Ausgleich*, while also at the same time enshrining tensions between elitist norms and real-life use. Latvia and Norway (Bull 1993) are examples of states which have reacted to contact-induced language change with active corpus planning, e.g. by suggesting neologisms as replacements for lexical borrowings. Yet speech communities also react to language contact ‘from below’ by incorporating loan words into a variety, through practices such as code-switching or translanguaging in multilingual settings. Here also, practices reflect language beliefs about which kind of influence is considered appropriate in which functions.

The coexistence of different varieties in contact also leads to questions about their status. LPP reacts to such processes by reinforcing the dominance of one variety (which usually leads to an increase in tensions), or by creating spaces for different varieties, based on the idea of equality of languages and respect for the wishes of different groups of speakers. Status questions include, for instance, the labeling of ‘desired’ and ‘undesired’ languages in education, but also defining whether a regional variety is a language in its own right, or rather a sub-variety of a standard language (e.g. Latgalian in Latvia, or Scots in Scotland). Prestige planning and usage planning are often related to status planning, e.g. in discourses about which varieties have more prestige and should therefore be given more usage opportunities.

In acquisition planning, language contact may also result in conflict-laden situations, in which LPP processes (and underlying ideologies) play an important role. In education, elements of the ‘wrong’ variety are often systematically abolished, in particular in traditional nation-states, such as Germany, where the ‘monolingual habitus’ requires standard proficiency for educational success as well as for access to prestigious domains (Gogolin 2008). In societies with a tradition of accepted multilingualism, language contact may be considered less problematic. Yet discourses on standards also frequently determine which linguistic repertoires are required for societal success, and politicize contact phenomena. Loan words, or practices such as translanguaging, for instance, are considered by some ideological stances to ‘threaten’ a language’s ‘purity’ – which may be incorporated into educational standards.

Taking into consideration the multitude of aspects in LPP research discussed in this chapter, the following graphic visualization *Holistic Ecolinguistic Model for the Analysis of Language Policy (HEMALP)* suggests a way to summarize the most relevant structures and mechanisms within a geographical or political unit (Marten 2016), including conflict between different varieties and their users. It draws on previous graphic models, such as Kaplan and Baldauf’s (1997) ecolinguistic tool for analyzing language regimes. Kaplan and Baldauf’s (1997) idea was that different varieties in contact with each other shape the ecolinguistic reality in which varieties and speakers develop. These are influenced by speakers’ practices, by overt as well as covert values and ideologies, and last but not

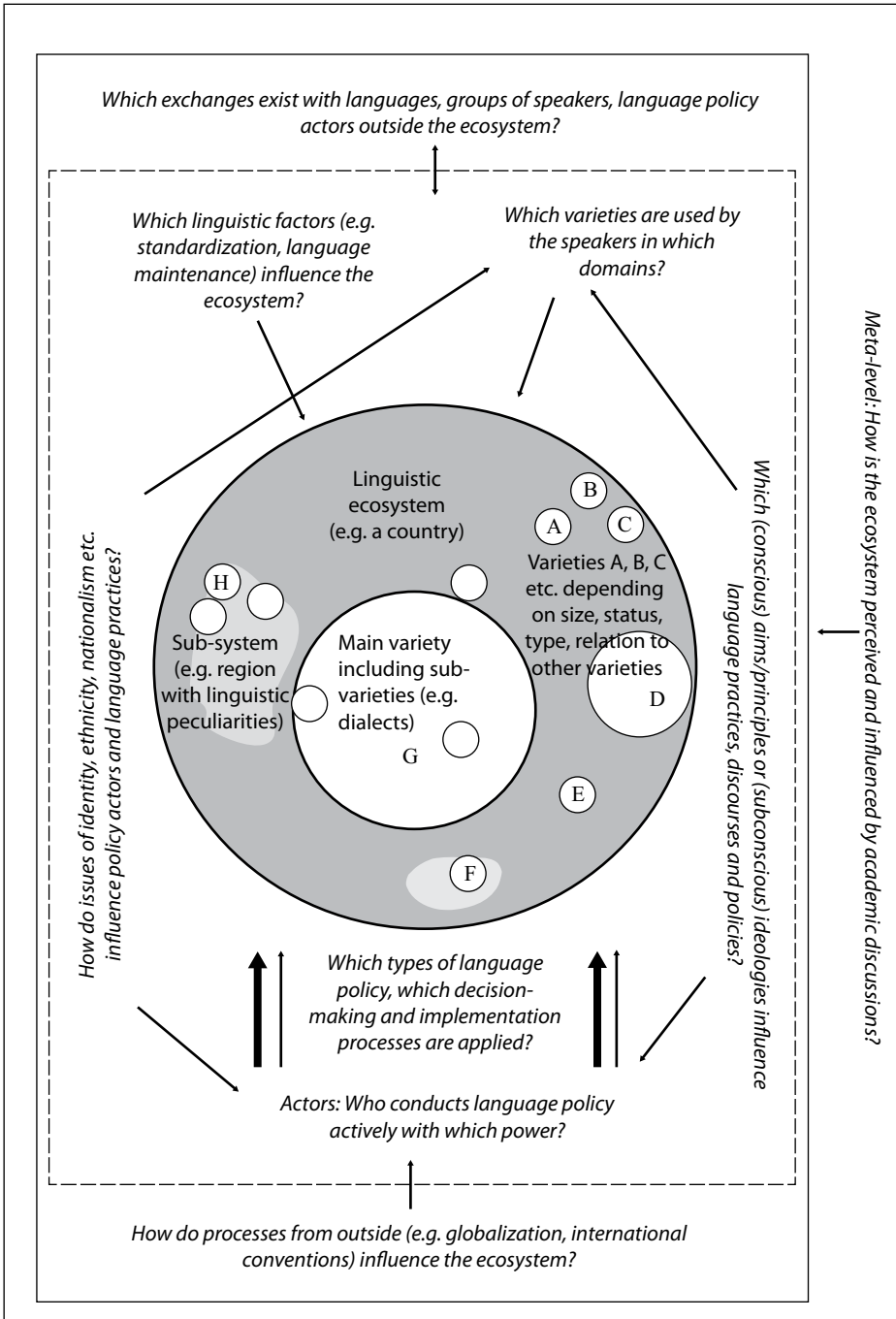


Fig. 30.1: Holistic Ecolinguistic Model for the Analysis of Language Policy (HEMALP), adapted from Marten (2016)

least, by status, corpus, usage, acquisition, and prestige planning activities. At the same time, the model incorporates contact-induced linguistic processes, such as structural changes and language revitalization.

With the benefit of more than two decades of research and insight after Kaplan and Baldauf (1997), HEMALP incorporates more recent academic debates. The model should be read in the following way: the main circle in the middle represents a linguistic ecosystem, i.e. a geographical or political unit (a state, region, city, or other); the small circles represent different varieties and their speakers, and the ways in which they are in contact (and possibly in conflict) with each other. Various actors, through their active LPP measures, influence the ecosystem: ideologies shape practices, which result in contact phenomena and status questions; rules and discourses from outside the ecosystem influence these active interventions, practices, and beliefs; aspects of language politics are part of the discourses on languages, but also of ideologies. Each variety is potentially influenced by LPP activities for purposes of identity formation, or of separating groups of society according to language, which results in disparate functions for varieties, which in turn influences practices, beliefs, discourses, and/or active LPP measures at the same time.

From the perspective of language contact, HEMALP displays which varieties are in contact with each other, and in which relationship (i.e. the size of the speech communities, as well as geographical or structural similarities). The model highlights factors which influence a contact situation, and shows how different LPP actors and speakers react to them – by direct intervention or as a speech community through their practices – and on which beliefs these reactions are based. HEMALP thereby allows for a contrastive perspective to compare the complexity of LPP factors in ecolinguistic systems in different political entities (e.g. states), or for a diachronic perspective to aid in understanding changes in a single region.

7. Outlook

In sum, this chapter has shown that language policy, planning, and politics are closely related, and are in their totality and complexity an important aspect of contact linguistics. Further research will be continuously necessary where new contact situations lead to new practices, fed by new (or reinvented) ideologies and other beliefs which – consciously or subconsciously – LPP actors will relate to, and turn into new interventions. Particularly fraught political (and linguistic) ‘hot potatoes’ at the time of writing, such as the crisis in Ukraine – in which the status of Russian plays an important role, both in the politics of language, where Russia equates language and ethnicity, and thereby justifies measures to ‘protect’ Russophones, and in LPP, where the question of the official status of Russian was one of the initial bones of contention in the crisis – show that both the birth and intensification of a language conflict, and its eventual resolution, may depend heavily on language politics, policy, and planning.

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