

Language Management

Language policy is all about choices. If you are bilingual or plurilingual, you have to choose which language to use. Even if you speak only one language, you have choices of dialects and styles. Some of these choices are the result of *management*, reflecting conscious and explicit efforts by language managers to control the choices. This is the first book to present a specific theory of language management. Bernard Spolsky reviews current research on the family, religion, the workplace, the media, schools, legal and health institutions, the military, and government. Also discussed are language activists, international organizations, and human rights relative to language, and the book concludes with a review of language managers and management agencies. A model is developed that recognizes the complexity of language management, makes sense of the various forces involved, and clarifies why it is such a difficult enterprise.

BERNARD SPOLSKY is Professor Emeritus in the Department of English at Bar-Ilan University, Israel. His recent publications include *Language Policy* (Cambridge, 2004) and *Handbook of Educational Linguistics* (with Hult, eds., 2008).



Language Management

Bernard Spolsky





CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

Cambridge, New York, Melbourne, Madrid, Cape Town, Singapore, São Paulo, Delhi

Suo Tuulo, Dellii

Cambridge University Press

The Edinburgh Building, Cambridge CB2 8RU, UK

Published in the United States of America by Cambridge University Press, New York

www.cambridge.org

Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9780521735971

© Bernard Spolsky 2009

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2009

Printed in the United Kingdom at the University Press, Cambridge

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloguing in Publication data Spolsky, Bernard.

Language management / Bernard Spolsky.

p. cm.

Includes bibliographical references and index. ISBN 978-0-521-51609-9 (hardback) – ISBN 978-0-521-73597-1 (pbk.)

1. Language and languages-Variation. 2. Language

policy. 3. Sociolinguistics. I. Title.

P120.V37S69 2009

306.44'9-dc22 2008052012

ISBN 978-0-521-51609-9 hardback

ISBN 978-0-521-73597-1 paperback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication, and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.



For Ellen, with love, admiration, and gratitude



Contents

Ack	Acknowledgements	
1	Towards a theory of language management	1
2	Managing language in the family	10
	Managing speech and linguistic communities	10
	The individual and "simple management"	11
	Managing language in the family	14
	Parents or peers?	19
	Family as target	22
	Methods of managing the home language ecology	23
	Home language managers	25
	Ideological influences on the home	26
	A model of home language choice	28
	First modification of the theory	30
3	Religious language policy	31
	Introduction	31
	Jewish language policy	33
	Language management in Christianity	38
	Islamic language management	44
	Other religious language management	48
	Religion in the theory of language management	49
4	Language management in the workplace: managing	
	business language	53
	Domains and levels of language management	53
	Workplace language rules	55
	Global business	57
	Language management at sea and in the air	62
	Advertising and signs	63
	The workplace in a theory of language management	63
5	Managing public linguistic space	65
	Public linguistic space	65
	Public verbal signs	66
	Early studies of public signage	66

vii



viii	Contents	
	Preliminary questions	69
	The effect of advertising on the paysage linguistique	72
	Public signs in a theory of language management	75
	Visual space for private use	76
	Newspapers and magazines	76
	Visual space: books	79 79
	From sign to sound Media: radio and television	80
	Minority access to radio and television	81
	Media: telephones, cell phones, and call centers	85
	Media: the Internet and e-mail	86
	Cultivating public language	87
	Media in a theory of language management	88
6	Language policy in schools	90
	Participants	91
	Pupils	91
	Teachers	92
	Other participants	93
	Where are the managers?	93
	The self-managed school	94 95
	The locally managed school	93
	Externally managed schools Examination boards as language managers	98
	Patterns	98
	Language of instruction	101
	Educational evidence	101
	Developed languages	102
	Ideological arguments	104
	Dividing language functions	105
	Teaching additional languages	106
	Teaching foreign languages	107
	The results of language education policy	108
	The tools of language management in schools	109
	Teachers as a tool of language management	109
	Managing the admission of students	111
	Punishment as language management Schooling in a theory of language management	113 114
7	Managing language in legal and health institutions	115
	Safety and health	115
	The law courts	116
	Civil rights	117
	The police	124
	The health institutions	126
	The legal and health domains in the model	128
8	Managing military language	129
	Communication needs in the military	129
	The Roman army and the sergeant's problem	130



	Contents	ix
	The sergeant's problem in other armies	131
	Canada: making an army bilingual	133
	US military language management in two world wars	136
	US defense language policy in an age of global war	140
	The military domain in a theory of language management	143
9	Local, regional, and national governments	
	managing languages	144
	Introduction	144
	The organization of this chapter	146
	The pressure of a multilingual nation	147
	Language management at the constitutional level	148
	Center vs. periphery	152
	The territorial solution	154
	The new territorialism: regional autonomy and devolution	157
	Going further: the breakup of nation-states	162
	Central government regulation of languages	166
	Spelling and language reform	167
	Local government	168
	Why is national policy so difficult?	173
	Pressures for national monolingualism and multilingualism	175
10	Influencing language management: language activist	
	groups	181
	Entr'acte: the model to-date	181
	Hebrew revitalization as a grassroots movement	185
	Nationalist language activism	190
	The regeneration of Māori	195
	Language activism in Australia	196
	Language activism in the United States	197
	The volunteer stage	198
	Community language activism: indigenous and	
	immigrant minorities	198
	Some other cases of indigenous schooling	200
	Salvaging indigenous endangered languages	202
	Language activism in the theory of language management	204
11	Managing languages at the supranational level	206
	The supranational level or domain	206
	Monolingual supranational organizations: language diffusion	
	management	207
	Internal policy at the supragovernmental level	208
	League of Nations and United Nations	208
	Europe and the European Community: internal language policy	210
	Influence of international organizations on national	
	foreign language teaching policy	213
	Human and civil rights and the role of supranational	
	organizations	214
	Parenthetically, who has "language rights"?	217



X	Contents	
	International organizations on language rights	219
	The European Community and language rights	222
	Supranational organizations in a theory of language management	224
12	Language managers, language management agencies	
	and academies, and their work	225
	Agents and agency	225
	Managers enforcing status	226
	Agencies that are not specifically linguistic in scope	226
	Immigration and citizenship	228
	Specialized language agencies	230
	Post-Independence India	233
	Cultivating languages	234
	Academies	234
	Terminology committees	241 242
	Nomenclature and place names Language editors	242
	Managers of language acquisition	243
	Internally (language education)	244
	Externally (language diffusion)	245
	Language services	246
	First aid in language management	246
	Translation services	246
	Interpreters	247
	Language agencies and services in the theoretical model	248
13	A theory of language management: postscript	
	or prolegomena	249
	Introduction	249
	Simple language management: the accommodating	
	individual	249
	Organized language management: the family domain	250
	The religious domain	251
	The workplace	251
	Public linguistic space	252
	The school domain	253
	Courts, hospitals, and police stations	253
	Military language management	254
	Governments managing language	255
	Activism and pursuit of minority rights	257
	Beyond the nation-state: organizations and rights	258 259
	Agencies for language management What sort of theory do we have?	259
	what soft of theory do we have:	239
References		262
Index		291



Acknowledgements

The main purpose here is to acknowledge the contributions of my teachers, colleagues, and students to the writing of this book. Most of these will be clear in textual and bibliographical references, in particular the debt I owe to Joshua Fishman who has pioneered modern studies of language management and policy. It is also important to note the stated and unstated influence of colleagues with whom I have worked closely: Robert Cooper, Elana Shohamy, and Muhammad Amara in particular have played a considerable part in the development and shaping of my thinking. Strengthening the skepticism engendered by having my wife writing (E. Spolsky, 2001) in the next room, my doubts about inherent rights to try to control other people and their language have been further boosted by a summer reading Isaiah Berlin. Conversations with scholars and activists in the many countries I have been able to visit, thanks to a university policy that required me to retire from teaching while still able to write, have provided many examples of the complexity of language policy and attitudes to it. The three cases which I have been able to explore in detail (Israel, the Navajo Nation, and Māori regeneration) have encouraged me to see language in a fuller social and political context. And the conflicts, wars, diseases, starvation, slaughters, and environmental danger of the world in which I have lived have forced me to realize how small is the set of language problems that I have been able to

Jerusalem, October 2006-February 2008