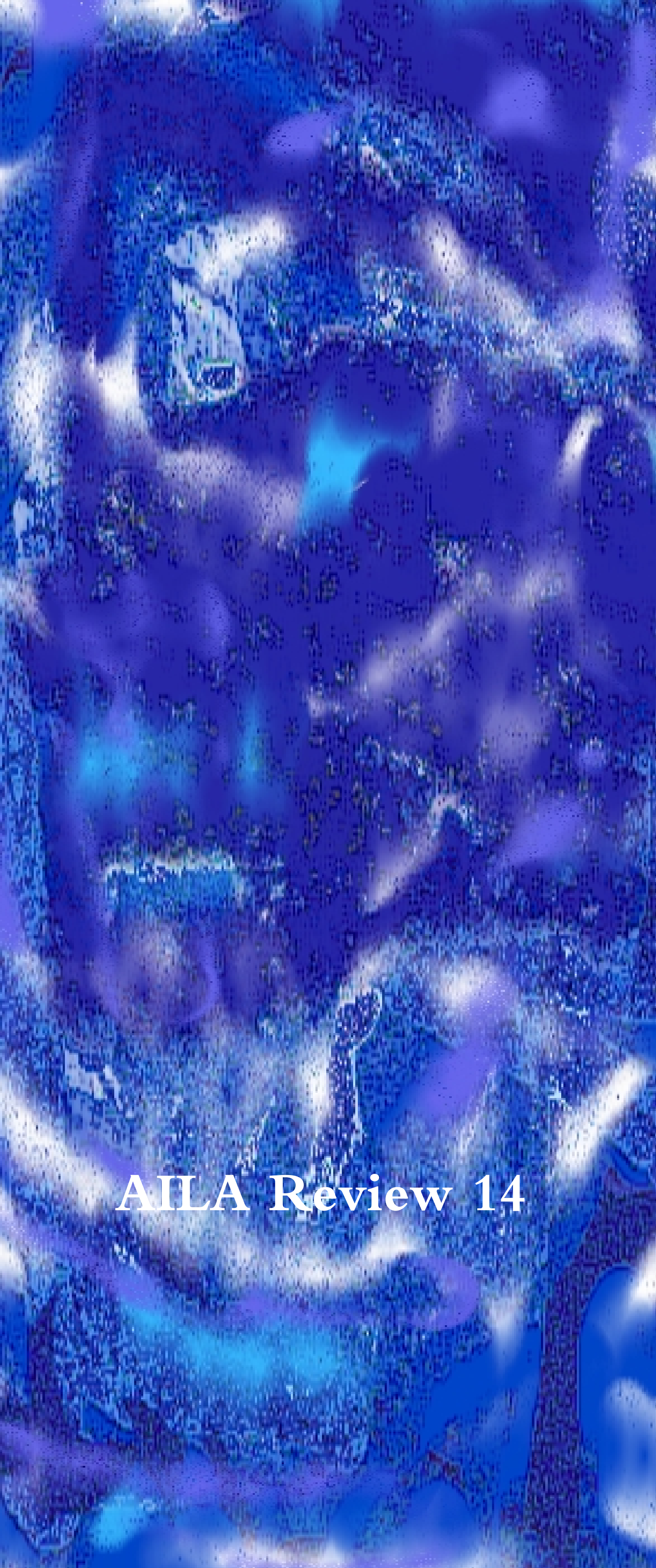

Applied linguistics for the 21st century

edited by
David Graddol

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Association Internationale de Linguistique Appliquée

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The AILA Review 14

The AILA Review is a publication of the Association Internationale de Linguistique Appliquée, an international federation of national associations for applied linguistics. AILA promotes, co-ordinates, and disseminates research, and collaborates with international non-governmental organisations in key areas of applied linguistics. AILA has affiliated associations and organisations in 35 countries.

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La Revue de l'AILA est publiée par l'Association Internationale de Linguistique Appliquée, fédération d'associations nationales de linguistique appliquée. L'AILA promeut et coordonne la recherche, en dissémine les résultats, et collabore avec les organisations non-gouvernementales internationales dans les domaines essentiels de la linguistique appliquée. L'AILA a des associations qui lui sont affiliées dans 35 pays.

Introduction

The AILA Congress is held once every three years and represents a significant event in the global calendar for applied linguists. In 1999 the congress was held in Tokyo and included over 30 keynote addresses, 100 symposiums organised by AILA Scientific Commissions, and nearly 900 other papers. Proceedings from this congress have been published in book and CDROM format by the organising committee in Japan. (ISBN 4-657-00938-9). This issue of the AILA *Review* offers a small selection of invited papers on the theme of 'Applied linguistics for the 21st century' – inevitably an important theme of a congress held in the last year of the millennium.

Henry Widdowson's long and distinguished career in applied linguistics made him an ideal choice for the opening plenary address. He also opens this issue of the *AILA Review* with a personal perspective of the past, present and future of applied linguistics. S.V. Parasher then explores the linguistic situation in a country with considerable experience of the kind of multilingualism and policy-making that will be increasingly encountered elsewhere in the world. Europe is one world region where that pressure is already felt: Peter Hans Nelde examines strategies for managing linguistic conflict and the role to be played by applied linguists. He argues that language policy must be adjusted to each specific case, situation and context. Mark Warschauer takes us into cyberspace and analyses the changing relationship between language, literacy and technology at the turn of the millennium. Alwin Fill describes the newly-energised field of 'ecolinguistics', together with the promising avenues now open for linguists looking for interesting fields of research. Finally, Chris Candlin – President of AILA – shares with us some notes from his contribution to a panel session on applied linguistics in the 21st century.

All the papers contained in this issue of the *AILA Review* were originally designed for spoken delivery. Light editing has made them more suitable for publication but much of the spoken voice remains. We hope the many applied linguists who were not able to attend the congress in person can in this way share some sense of the occasion, the celebration of the discipline's development in recent years, and the curiosity about where its future lies in the 21st century.

This issue of the *AILA Review* is the first to be designed for distribution on the World Wide Web at AILA's new website: www.aila.ac. This innovation has been introduced by Ulrike Meinhof as AILA Publications Coordinator and it is intended that every third issue of the AILA Review will now be related to the triennial congress and will be published on the web.

David Graddol
AILA Review Managing Editor

Coming to terms with reality: applied linguistics in perspective

H.G.Widdowson
University of Vienna, Austria

Preamble

I feel greatly honoured to be invited to deliver this plenary address, though somewhat daunted by the task. I have been asked to present my perspective on the past, present, and future of applied linguistics. Why me, you might reasonably ask? Well certainly as far as the past is concerned I am as qualified by age as any other to talk about it, more qualified indeed than most. The past is another country. It is where we all come from, and where, to quite a degree, I suppose I still reside. For me it is a familiar place. Too familiar perhaps. For the danger is that I might impose its perspective on the present and the future as well. Old men forget. But the problem is not that. The problem is that old men remember, often at tedious and tendentious length. What they forget is that the old order changeth, yielding place to new, that time moves on and they don't keep pace. So what qualifies me to talk about the past perhaps disqualifies me to talk about the present and the future.

I say these things to give some context to the text of this paper. Meaning, as we all know, is not contained in texts but is constructed, and deconstructed in the discourses derived from them. So you will naturally process my text in the usual pragmatic way, making sense of it in reference to your own discoursal preconceptions of the theme. And of the speaker. What you take me to mean will be in part a matter of who you take me to be. You will edit both yourself and me into the text. Some will construe supportively what I have to say and piece out my imperfections with their thoughts. Others will be busy piecing out their own constructions. This being so, it will be as well for me to make clear from the outset how I interpret my brief and the role I propose to play.

I propose to make public a number of personal reservations I have about certain current trends and tendencies in applied linguistics. I make no claim to present an even handed survey of the state of the art. On the contrary, my purpose is to provoke some critical thought about what I see as a number of crucial, indeed critical, issues. So the role I intend to assume is a combination of agent provocateur, Devil's Advocate and licensed fool (even licensed old fool).

How is applied linguistics defined?

Applied linguistics has many achievements to its credit. That it continues to flourish is evident from the annual programme of the AILA convention and needs no commentary or commendation from me. Nevertheless applied linguistics has always been, and continues to be, an elusive kind of enquiry, and applied linguists have agonised about their identity for as long as I can remember. All kinds of diverse activities have been, and are, carried out in its name by all kinds of people, including those who would not call themselves applied linguists. Apparently no special credentials are required for practising it: it is an area of enquiry which linguists of various kinds can turn their hand to when they feel so disposed. The only requirement, it seems, is that they should be doing something which bears on language problems in what we call 'the real world'. And the assumption seems to be that the closer you get to reality the more applicable your linguistics becomes.

And, of course, linguistics has in many ways moved closer to reality over the past 30 years. The orthodoxy that was previously dominant, though there were of course dissenters, defined language study in formalist terms. It was concerned principally with what Chomsky called Internalised (I) language (Chomsky, 1988). But the scope of linguistics has been extended since by many scholars to take in Externalised (E) language. Indeed, it is now quite a common view that formalist linguists are not really dealing with language at all: I-language is not only internalised language but language idealised out of all recognition. So formalist linguists are certainly not dealing with the real language as normally experienced in contexts of use, as a means of communication, as the expression of social identity, and so on.

So long as linguistics dealt exclusively with idealised mentalist constructs remote from everyday life and was obviously, not to say ostentatiously, abstract, then there was a need for what J. R. Firth referred to as a renewal of connection with the real world of language experience. There was then a fairly well-defined role for applied linguistics to play: to refer linguistic categories back to the actual language from which they had been abstracted. Linguistics is now apparently coming to terms with reality: it now deals not only with what people know about language but also with what people do with it in their everyday contextualised dealings. Thus it would seem reasonable to suggest that what linguistics is doing in the present is what applied linguistics was trying to do in the past. One might say that with the extension of descriptive scope to take in E-language there is no reason for distinguishing between linguistics and applied linguistics at all – there are simply different ways of doing linguistics. I shall argue otherwise. I shall suggest that recent developments make it all the more imperative that we should distinguish between these two disciplines.

Can applied linguistics capture the reality of experienced language?

It seems to be quite widely believed that the broadening of the scope of linguistic description to account for E-*externalised* language data necessarily implies that it captures the reality of E-*experienced* language, and therefore, as a corollary, makes it capable of solving language problems. But how far is it true to say that the linguistic description of externalised language does indeed capture the reality of experienced language? I want to argue that it does not; that both the object language which is described and the metalanguage of its description are necessarily at a remove from the reality of user experience, and that in consequence the problems arising from that experience cannot be accounted for by direct linguistic intervention.

Let me, by way of illustration, mention two major developments in linguistic description that have become prominent over recent years, both of which claim to reveal the reality of E-language, and to have a warrant therefore for intervention. One of these is corpus analysis, the quantitative investigation of text *en masse* to discover patterns of actually occurring behaviour (see, for example, Biber et al, 1998; McEnery and Wilson, 1997; Sinclair, 1991; Stubbs, 1996). The other is critical discourse analysis, the qualitative investigation into the features of particular texts to discover their hidden significance (see, for example, Caldas-Coulthard and Coulthard, 1996; Fairclough, 1989, 1995). Both approaches to description are concerned with reality but of different kinds. Corpus analysis attends to overt reality and reveals what people really produce in the way of language, and critical analysis attends to covert reality and seeks to reveal what the people really mean by the language they use.

Both of these developments have gathered considerable influential momentum over recent years, and this is likely to carry them well into the future. Both have indeed yielded findings of great interest.

Corpus analysis Corpus analysis traces detailed patterns of usage and so reveals facts of production, which the producers themselves are not aware of, which is why corpus descriptions can always spring surprises and demonstrate that our intuitions about usage are wrong. But this immediately, of course, sets limits on what kind of reality such descriptions reveal: it is not the reality that is apprehended by language users themselves, but a function of third person observation. Furthermore, it is of course only one aspect of what people do with language that is described. What we get here is an analysis of the textual traces of the discourse processes of contextualised interaction. And it is these pragmatic processes which constitutes the reality of language use. People do not set out to produce texts: texts simply occur contingently as a by-product. So to isolate texts from the contextual conditions of their production is to necessarily to create an analytic construct which cannot represent language reality as experienced by users quite simply because users do not experience texts in contextual isolation.

Corpus descriptions yield fascinating facts about text, but any claim that they therefore represent real language is misleading. More misleading is the claim that because such descriptions represent real user language they should be directly applied to the design of language learning programmes on the grounds that learners are after all striving to be like users. For text, as I have argued, is only realised, made real, as use when it is contextualised. If the textual findings of frequency and co-occurrence are to be made real for learners, therefore, they have to be contextually reconstituted in some way, and this reconstitution must obviously be based on different contextual conditions from those which pragmatically activated the production of these texts in the first place. The realities do not correspond. (For further discussion, see Widdowson, 2000a.)

Critical discourse analysis What of critical linguistics? This too reveals a reality of a kind, but of a different kind: not textual facts this time but textual effects. What critical linguists claim to do is to uncover ideological significance which ordinary people in the natural process of reading would fail to notice. But significance can be assigned to a text only by relating it to contextual conditions, so you cannot simply 'uncover' it. The significance that is attached to a text is attached by reader response: it is a function of a particular perspective which favours certain contextual conditions over others. The 'uncovering' that critical linguists do is a projection of their own partiality. For if ordinary people do not realise the significance it is not, in their experience, a reality for them. But then, we might say, they need to be enlightened. The assumption of critical linguists seems to be that their reading has the authority to override others – it alone is capable of revealing ideological bias which is insinuated into the minds of uninformed readers without them being aware. That then provides the justification for intervention, for critical analysis can reveal how the design of texts has designs on readers, thereby alerting them to the way their minds are being manipulated. (For further discussion, see Widdowson, 1998, 2000b.)

How do applied linguists describe what they do?

Neither of the descriptions of externalised language, corporal or critical, account for the actual experience of language use. On the contrary, both represent realities, based on analytic authority, which are not apparent to ordinary language users. This does not make them invalid. Quite the opposite. They are revealing precisely because they are partial, informed by a particular perspective. If linguistics could provide us with representations of experienced language, it would be of no interest whatever. Linguistic accounts of language only have point to the extent that they are detached from, and different from, the way language is experienced in the real world. But then, of course, if they are to be made useful they have to refer back to the contexts of the real world, and their partiality made relevant in relation to other realities.

And these accounts of the object language have to be couched, furthermore, in a metalanguage which is similarly remote from the way actual language users talk about their language. What linguists say about language is distinctive, and so is their way of saying it. It has been suggested that linguists, and other academics, deliberately develop a specialist terminology to keep ordinary people in the dark and sustain the mystery, and the mastery, of their intellectual authority. Edward Said in his Reith lectures some years ago made this observation:

> Each intellectual, book editor and author, military strategist and international lawyer, speaks and deals in a language that has become specialised and usable by other members of the same field, specialist

> experts addressing other specialist experts in a lingua franca largely unintelligible to unspecialised people.

But fields of enquiry are necessarily delimited and plotted by their specialist terminology, and it seems quite disingenuous to deplore it. It is of course true that specialist terminology, in common with any other uses of language, can also serve to exercise power, to sustain group solidarity and exclude outsiders. But this does not warrant condemning it, as some would seem to do, as a kind of conspiracy to corner specialist knowledge and keep ordinary people in a state of exploitable ignorance. For specialist terminology also has the entirely legitimate use of expressing conceptual distinctions which define different ways of thinking. And intellectuals, military strategists, and lawyers are not the only people who develop specialist modes of expression. Everybody does. Said does it himself. All communities develop distinctive ways of talking about things. In this sense there are no unspecialised people but only people who are specialised in different modes of thought associated with different uses of language which are bound to be, in some degree, unintelligible to others. And if you are an outsider, one of the others, you call it jargon. Oscar Wilde once defined vulgarity as other people's manners. In similar vein, one might define jargon as other people's language.

It seems to me that it makes no sense to argue against specialised language. Quite apart from the fact that you can only use specialist language to argue against it, to do so is to deny the validity of conceptual and cultural diversity. The argument against specialised terminology is in effect an argument against cultural pluralism, and it is odd in a way to find Said of all people supporting it. Although perhaps in another way it is not so odd, for it is consistent with the current trend of academic populism, with scholars anxious to display their democratic credentials by being critical about the apparent elitism of their own disciplines. Getting at jargon is, of course, an easy way of showing how down to earth you are, and of making common cause with ordinary everyday folk.

But there are dangers in such apparent democratisation. For you run the risk of undermining the validity of intellectual enquiry, and thus proportionately diminishing its value to the non-scholarly world. Linguists, like other academics, have things to say of significance only to the extent that they are based on an authority of knowledge and expertise which others do not have. This may not be a popular thing to say because it is not a populist thing to say. Authority is something we, in the West at least, are encouraged to challenge rather than recognise. The general assumption seems to be that the exercise of authority must be the exercise of power, an imposition to be resisted; that one cannot be authoritative without being authoritarian. I would argue that if scholarship cannot claim to be authoritative in its own domain, it is nothing. But this authority has no warrant elsewhere, and it is when linguistics claims authority in other domains that it is open to the charge of being authoritarian.

The point I want to make is that no matter how close linguists might get to language as used in the real world, they will not replicate user experience, and the language they use for talking about it will be unreal for those who actually use it, and it seems pointless to pretend otherwise. What linguists do is to formulate their own version of linguistic reality on their own terms and in their own terms.

Pause for a literary parallel

I would like briefly to consider the case of William Wordsworth and the poetic manifesto he wrote in the Preface to the *Lyrical Ballads* in 1798. Wordsworth too was keen to get close to the reality of lived experience and the living language and to rescue poetry from what he refers to as the 'gaudiness and inane phraseology of many modern writers'. His purpose is to represent the experience of ordinary rustic folk by, as he puts it, 'fitting to metrical arrangement a selection of the real language of men.' But of course his representation does not correspond with how these rustic folk themselves apprehend the world. The very selection of language and its metrical arrangement reformulate it in ways which would be unfamiliar to them. It would not be poetry otherwise. And Wordsworth acknowledges as much:

> The principal object proposed in these poems was to choose incidents and situations from common life, and to relate or describe them, throughout, as far as was possible in a selection of language really used by men, and, at the same time, to throw over them a certain colouring of the imagination, whereby ordinary things should be presented in the mind in an unusual aspect. (Wordsworth, 1798)

Just so. Things are no longer ordinary but made unusual by Wordsworth's own imaginative reconstruction. Since he is representing the life of these people, he can be said to be their representative. He is speaking for them. But he cannot do that by speaking like them. (Widdowson, 1987)

That was 200 years ago. But the same problem surfaces with particular poignancy in the work of a contemporary British poet Tony Harrison. The child of a working-class family, he writes of his feelings about his parents with an extraordinary sensitivity to verbal nuance. But the more subtly he explores the reality of his own experience, the further he gets from the reality that his parents would recognise. A recurring theme in Harrison's poetry is one of disparity of values and guilt that his scholarship has estranged him from his parents and their working-class ways. Even his portrayal of them is a betrayal of a kind since it can only be based on an experiential distancing and expressed in a poetic idiom they cannot understand. He speaks about them, for them, but can only do so in his terms, and on his terms, and not theirs. The poet and his parents inhabit different worlds. Their discourses are indeed incommensurable. (Widdowson, 1993)

> Sorry, dad, you won't get that quatrain
> (I'd like to be the poet my father reads!)
>
> (*Rhubarbians*)

Finding a mediating role for applied linguistics

Literary representations are, of course, different from linguistic descriptions, and these differences have to do with the nature of their correspondence with actual experience, with matters of empirical accountability. Nevertheless, they are alike in that both linguists and poets are specialists; both are in T. S. Eliot's phrase 'expert beyond experience', and so create intellectual constructs, reformulated versions of reality from a particular perspective. Neither is actually true to life, and both would lose their point if they were.

But if, as I have argued, linguistics can only of its nature provide partial accounts of language in its own idiom at a remove from everyday experience and expression, then how, it might be asked, can we renew connection with reality? Linguistics, like any other enquiry that claims to be empirical, will always, of course, need to use data as evidence for its abstractions, but that is not the issue here. The issue here is how these abstractions can be referred back and made real as relating to an everyday experience of language. The only way, as far as I can see, is to recognise that specialist accounts can have only a relative validity, and that their value can only be realised, both in the sense of being recognised and made real, by being brought into correspondence with other perspectives which are not informed by linguistic expertise. We need to acknowledge, to use current terminology (or jargon), that there are different and disparate discourses and that these need to be inter-related by some kind of mediation. And this, I believe, is the essential function of applied linguistics.

I think it is important to recognise, then, that linguistics does not capture experienced reality. If it did it would be worthless. There is the need to make it useful, to mediate between its abstractions, its particular discourse partiality, and other discourses representing alternative versions of reality as experienced by language users, and language learners. This is where applied linguistics comes in. Some would say 'butts in' where it is not wanted. For it is not always welcome. John Sinclair has made the observation:

> Applied linguists, I have the impression, see themselves as mediators between the abstract and heady realms of linguistic theory and the humdrum practical side of language teaching. (Sinclair, 1998:84)

As far as I am concerned, the impression is entirely correct. I do see myself as a mediator. From the perspective of outsiders, linguistic theory may indeed be a heady realm, and language teaching humdrum practice. And this is just the kind of difficulty that mediation has to deal with by showing that what is commonly dismissed as heady, and abstruse can also be interpreted as providing a legitimate intellectual perspective, and that this can be relevantly related to language teaching, or other areas of practical life, to make it more meaningful and less humdrum. Without mediation, the heady just remains heady, the humdrum humdrum.

Of course you can accept that mediation of a kind is necessary but deny the need for mediators. As linguistics establishes a closer rapprochement with reality, one might argue, then its relevance becomes more apparent so that linguists can do their own mediation, and cut out the middle man. One might be tempted to go further and seek to guarantee relevance by building usefulness into your linguistic theory, thus making its validity conditional on its utility. Instead of trying to make theories useful, you would simply make useful theories. This would appear to be the position that William Labov takes. He first expresses the view I have already discussed that linguistics should be involved in the facts of the real world:

> A sober look at the world around us shows that matters of importance are matters of fact. There are some very large matters of fact: the origin of the universe, the direction of continental drift, the evolution of the human species. There are also specific matters of fact: the innocence or guilt of a particular individual. These are the questions to answer if we would achieve our fullest potential as thinking beings.

I am not myself competent to judge the factuality of the origin of the universe and the evolution of species, but my own sober look at the world around us shows that matters of fact are frequently elusive because they are essentially relative. And this is especially the case with specific ones. People construct their own facts to suit themselves, drawing on their particular sociocultural values and beliefs, and this is surely true of such matters as innocence and guilt. These matters are not facts: they are value judgements. To treat them as facts is to subscribe to one set of values and disregard others. You may believe you have good moral reasons for doing this, but that is another matter.

There are, of course, some things about the world we live in we can be fairly sure about, and which we can reasonably call factual: population statistics, for example, gross national product, the Dow Jones index. But these are hardly matters which applied linguistics is likely to influence. The kind of issues we are confronted with are not matters of fact of this kind but matters of opinion, attitude, prejudice, point of view. These are the important things which determine the way people think and act. But they are not matters of fact. They are matters of perspective. And it is for just this reason that mediation of some kind is called for: to see how far these different perspectives, these different fixes people take on the world, can be related, and perhaps reconciled.

Can applied linguistics navigate prejudice and point of view?

As Thomas Gradgrind discovered to his cost in Dickens' *Hard Times*, one should be wary of being fixated on facts. They usually turn out to be projections of prejudice. 'Everybody knows that…' but what everybody knows is a social construct; a matter not of fact but convenient belief sanctioned by a particular community: common sense is always communal sense. So it would be unwise to take such facts as given in advance and then design a theory to account for them them. For the theory will then simply confirm partiality, and sustain beliefs without substantiating them. And yet Labov does seem to be speaking in favour of devising theories to fit the facts. He goes on:

> General theory is useful, and the more general the theory the more useful it is, just as any tool is more useful if it can be used for more jobs. But it is still the application of the theory that determines its value. A very general theory can be thought of as a missile that attains

> considerable altitude, and so it has much greater range than other missiles. But the value of any missile depends on whether it hits the target. (Labov, 1988: 182)

Useful theory, a tool for doing jobs, hitting the target: all this sounds down to earth, even humdrum – certainly no heady realms here. And yet, the missile analogy is a misleading one, and a disturbing one as well. For how can you be so certain in advance what targets you want to hit? What if the targets change, as they are prone to do, so that your fixation on some targets makes it impossible to aim at others? And, crucially, who decides on what is a target and what is not? Missile makers have no say in the matter – they just follow orders, and theory makers would presumably do the same. But whose orders? On this account, theorists would design theories defined as useful for hitting targets determined by all manner of motives: the dictates of commercial profit, perhaps, or political expediency, or whatever. Make me an economic theory which I can use to justify the ruthless exploitation of market forces. Make me a social theory which I can use to justify racism, genocide, ethnic cleansing. Of course, people who talk about useful theories are thinking of benevolent uses. But equally theories can, and have been, made to measure to match malevolent designs as well.

The application of a theory determines its value, says Labov. Well that depends on what you mean by value. If you mean its practical use, that is one thing. If you mean its theoretical validity, that is surely quite a different matter. Einstein's theory of relativity turned out to be extremely useful for the construction of the atom bomb. But I doubt if anybody would seriously propose that the validity of the theory was in any way determined by the dropping of the bomb in 1945. That, we can agree, was a pretty large matter of fact. But what, we might ask, of the more specific 'facts' of guilt and innocence in this case? These are not so easy to decide.

Increasingly these days academics are called upon to justify what they are doing in the name of usefulness. The idea of scholarship itself seems anachronistic and quaint, and intellectual enquiry for its own sake is something we feel calls for some kind of apology. In such a climate, notions like reality, factuality, usefulness sound appealing: they can be invoked in the cause of accountability, and to counter the charge that linguistics is an elitist academic discipline, an abstract and heady realm remote from the everyday world. But I think there is something spuriously populist about the appeal. As I have argued, linguistics as such only exists by virtue of its specialisation as a disciplinary discourse in its own right, and only has validity to the extent that it presents reality on its own intellectual authority and in its own specialist terms. If it starts producing theories and descriptions to specification and their validity measured by their utility value, then its authority, it seems to me, is bound to be compromised.

This does not mean that linguists should set out to be deliberately useless. Nor does it mean that particular problems in the world should not stimulate enquiry, but only that the course of enquiry should not be determined in advance to come up with expedient solutions. To my mind, then, it is not within the brief of linguists to make useful theories. On the contrary, as soon as they start doing that, they lose their scholarly independence and with it their value to the non-scholarly world. This value depends not on making useful theories but on making theories useful. But this is not within the linguists' brief either. For it requires a distancing from their disciplinary perspective and the recognition of its possible relationship with others. This is what I mean by mediation. So the linguist, qua linguist, is not in a position to judge what use might be made of linguistic theory and description. Their usefulness potential is for others to realise.

The example of Chomsky

Consider the instructive case of Noam Chomsky. It is often pointed out that Chomsky himself, in a talk at a teachers' conference in 1965, expresses his own scepticism about the usefulness of linguistics for language teaching, and his remarks are frequently cited, with some glee, as if they settled the question once and for all. But Chomsky, as linguist, has no authority to pronounce on the matter, and right at the beginning of his talk he makes his position plain:

> I should like to make it clear from the outset that I am participating in this conference not as an expert on any aspect of the teaching of languages, but rather as someone whose primary concern is with the structure of language and, more generally the nature of cognitive processes. (Chomsky, 1966:43)

And later in his talk we find the following disavowal:

> It is possible – even likely – that principles of psychology and linguistics, and research in these disciplines, may supply insights useful to the language teacher. But this must be demonstrated, and cannot be presumed. It is the language teacher himself who must validate or refute any specific proposal. There is very little in psychology or linguistics that he can accept on faith. (Chomsky, 1966)

As we have seen, not all linguists would be so cautious and deferential. Some would assume usefulness without further ado and presume to propose precepts for teachers based on linguistic authority. One might, of course, retort that what Chomsky says applies to his linguistics, a formalist, ideal, armchair abstraction which everybody knows is useless because it is not a linguistics of use. With an E-linguistics that comes to terms with reality, the situation is different.

But how is it different? To begin with, a moment's reflection will reveal that Chomsky's linguistics was not useless at all. It had an enormous influence on how non-linguists, including language teachers, thought about language. And his insights were turned to good use in reconceptualising the nature of the language learning process, and consequently of how language was to be defined as a subject. It was Chomsky who challenged the orthodox pedagogic view of the time that learning was a matter of habit formation to be induced by pattern practice and structural drill whereby learners were constrained into conformity. He made us conceive of language learning in a totally different way, as an essentially cognitive and creative process in which there was room for learner initiative. And this, of course, led to a revision of the concept of error and a radical reappraisal of teacher and learner roles. All of the ideas about autonomous learning, problem solving, the distinction between overt participation and covert engagement, the defining of classroom activities in terms of tasks rather than exercises, all can be traced back to Chomsky's insights about the nature of language.

Formalist linguistics has, of course, fallen out of fashion in many circles, and people are busy pointing out its limitations. But our current fixation with communication and the social functioning of language should not prevent us from giving credit where it is due, and acknowledging a debt. Indeed, one might argue that Chomsky's ideas about I-language have had a more beneficial effect on language pedagogy than have the subsequent developments in the description of E-language. For his ideas necessarily draw attention to what learners do and the reality of their experience, whereas E-language descriptions tell us only what language users do. These descriptions, as I have tried to show earlier, can give rise to the misleading assumption that the reality they represent can be replicated in classrooms without regard to what relevance they might have for the learning process itself. It is often pointed out that attempts to directly apply formalist linguistics to language pedagogy were misguided. This may be so. But this is linguistics applied, not applied linguistics, and the same charge of misguidedness can, as I have argued, be levelled against any direct applications of linguistics, even when, and indeed especially when, they come with claims that now they have come to terms with reality, the applicability is self-evident.

What Chomsky is talking about here is not the applications but implications of his linguistics and these, as he makes clear, it is not his business to work out. It is not the business of any linguist, for no matter how close they may seem to come to terms with reality, they can only come to terms with reality on their own terms. The domains and discourses of linguistics and of such practical activities as language teaching remain as distinct as ever. And Chomsky's comments are as relevant now as they were over 30 years ago. The past is still with us.

Can linguistics be applied?

I think that Chomsky, that arch fiend of useless formalist linguistics, gives us a clearer indication of the role of the linguist than many who claim to be useful in accounting for use, for real language. The usefulness of insights that linguistics supplies must be demonstrated. Chomsky never said a truer word. But a little close analysis of his text will reveal a difficulty or two. Note the passive. And the deleted agent. The usefulness must be demonstrated. But who is it that does the demonstrating? Who is to be the agent? The teacher. But how do teachers recognise these insights in the first place? Linguists, as I have already said, develop their own specialist discourses to suit their own disciplinary perspective on language, and so they should. So whatever insights might be forthcoming cannot simply be supplied, retailed from one discourse to another. For one thing, as Said points out, the insights will be couched in an idiom 'largely unintelligible to unspecialised people'. And language teachers are unspecialised as far as linguistics is concerned. So we need a third party; a mediating agent whose role is to make these insights intelligible in ways in which their usefulness can be demonstrated. In other words, we need the applied linguist.

I have been talking here about mediating a relationship between linguistics and language teaching, but I think that the principle of mediation applies more generally to the relationship between any disciplinary discourse and the areas of its potential applicability, between abstraction and the actuality of experience. There is never any direct transference. Disciplines can, of course, and routinely do, use human beings empirically as a source of data. Psychology is a case in point. But they can only do that by reducing them to subjects, and so their findings cannot be directly transferred to situations where real people are involved, when they find themselves, for example, on a psychiatrist's couch. Similarly, as we have seen, the subjects, the *sujets parlants*, that produce the language data that corpus linguists describe cannot be directly transferred to the real people who are learning language in classrooms. Whatever insights there may be, they are a function not of transference but of translation: mediated into a form where their usefulness might be realised. They are not just supplied.

So linguistic insights are created by mediation. But, equally, so is the usefulness. Applied linguistics is often said to be concerned with the investigation of real-world problems in which language is implicated. But this seems to suggest that problems, like insights, are somehow there, that somebody in the real world supplies a problem, the linguist supplies an insight and the applied linguist matches them up. But things are not like that. To begin with, problems are perceived and formulated in culturally marked ways, in other words, they belong to particular discourses. So it is likely that they will need to be reformulated so as to make them amenable to investigation. It may indeed be the case that what people identify as a problem is simply the symptom of another one that they are not aware of. In a sense then, investigation, which of its nature belongs to a discourse other than that of the problem, will necessarily reformulate it, and change it into something else, which in turn may create problems that were not perceived at all in the first place. So just as linguistic insights are a function of the mediation, so are the problems they are related to. The process brings together two discourses or versions of reality and this requires an adjustment of fit whereby an area of convergence is created, compounded of elements of both discourses but belonging exclusively to neither.

Since the area of convergence belongs to neither discourse, proponents of both are likely to be somewhat ambivalent about it. Thus language teachers, for example, may, and indeed often do, think of it as an unwanted, and unwarranted, intrusion on their domain. And there are times when it is: when we get linguistics applied, as distinct from applied linguistics, the process I discussed earlier whereby linguistic findings are foisted on pedagogy on just the presumption of relevance that Chomsky warns us against. Conversely, linguists may feel that the area of convergence is a misrepresentation that disfigures their discipline. Applied linguists thus find themselves in an anomalous position, in a no-man's land they have made for themselves, and not infrequently under fire from both sides. It is not surprising that they should so often feel insecure. Not surprising either that the straightforward unmediated process of linguistics applied should be so appealing. You only have to be a linguist to do that.

So there is the applied linguist busily mediating in the middle ground trying to establish points of useful connection. But what business do they have to be there? Why do they take it upon themselves to meddle in the affairs of others, and what makes them think they are competent to do so anyway? The question of competence is rather a tricky one. The point I have made about applied linguists is that it is precisely because they do not subscribe to the discourses of either party that they are capable of seeing how they can be related. But then, of course, they cannot claim the same degree of expertise or experience as the parties concerned either, so they are vulnerable to the charge of incompetence. But this, it seems to me, is necessarily the case with all mediators. They need to know enough of the position of both sides to provide them with what we might call a catalytic capability, enough for them see where there is room for manoeuvre, for adjustment, reformulation, negotiation. The discourse of applied linguistics, like any other, is a partial version of reality, but one which is compounded from at least two others, on a principle of mutual relevance.

Can intervention bring improvement?

There remains the question of why applied linguists should presume to mediate in the first place. Why can't they mind their own business? One answer is that this is their business. You can tell linguists or language teachers to mind their own business, because they have separate businesses to mind. Applied linguists don't. But then why do they make this their business? The answer must be that they believe that things will improve with their intervention, that linguistics does have insights which they can turn to practical use and that they can help to modify the perceptions people have of their problems so as to take advantage of such insights. We intervene because we believe that the way things are can be improved, and that we have the competence to bring about the improvement.

But such a belief is, of course, fraught with problematic implications. I have already talked about the dangers of making useful theories. But there are dangers too, of course, in making theories useful. Useful for what purpose, and on whose terms? We come inevitably to intractable moral issues. How can you tell benevolent intervention from malevolent interference; and even if your intervention is well intentioned, how do you know what negative consequences might follow? In language pedagogy there have been influential voices that suggest that what teacher intervention amounts to in many cases is interference in the natural processes of learning, that the teacher should allow it to develop rather than direct its course. Whatever grounds there may be for such a view in language pedagogy, it would seem to be a perverse one to take in other areas of human life. We do not object to medicine on the grounds that it interferes with the natural development of disease. We do not withhold economic aid on the grounds that it interferes with the natural process of poverty. Allow not nature more than nature needs, man's life is short as beast's, as King Lear puts it. And not just short, but as Thomas Hobbes would add: solitary, poor, nasty, brutish and short. Those who are most keen to commend the natural are often those who have unnatural alternatives conveniently at hand to fall back on. And so, of course, we intervene. And we reformulate problems on a presumption of authority to do so, based on knowledge or expertise that others do not have. We are not in the business of accepting existing versions of reality but of pointing out alternatives which might lead to improvement.

The difficulty is that our interventions, even if well meaning, might be misconceived. It is all too easy to reformulate other people's problems to suit our own predispositions. The road we pave with our good intentions may lead to hell for other people. And of course our interventions are not always well-intentioned, nor entirely disinterested. Altruism is a saintly quality that few of us sinners can claim to have. These are not reasons for non-intervention, or for thinking of intervention as necessarily motivated by self interest, as a conspiratorial exploitation of the oppressed. But they are reasons for us to be constantly critical of our procedures and our motives.

Critical. The word is like a bell. Like the word real it resounds clangorously through much current work in our field. In one sense, applied linguistics conceived of as mediation along the lines I have proposed, is of its nature a critical enterprise. But in this sense to be critical means the appraisal of alternative versions of reality, the recognition of competing claims and perspectives, and the need to reconcile them. But being critical is commonly used these days in a quite different, and indeed opposite, sense to mean ideologically committed to a single perspective. Applied linguistics, we are told, has in the past been deluded into thinking it can be objective, but since all enquiry is skewed by preconception and is never detached, no matter how rational it pretends to be, then we should give up the pretence of impartiality and cleave to our commitment. And the commitment, naturally, should be ethical, informed by moral rectitude and dedicated to worthy sociopolitical principles. I have the same problem with this notion of critical as I had with Labov's notion of what is factual. Whose ethics are we talking about? Whose morals? And how can you tell a worthy cause from an unworthy one? Critical people, like missionaries, seem to be fairly confident that they have identified what is good for other people on the basis of their own beliefs. But in making a virtue of the necessity of partiality we in effect deny plurality and impose our own version of reality, thereby exercising the power of authority which we claim to deplore. Of course, like Labov's facts, there are some beliefs that we can all share, some causes that everybody would agree are good, and it is easy to be on the side of the angels, in principle. Who would argue against equality, freedom, human rights? The difficulty, of course, is that people are also expert in interpreting these principles expediently to suit their own circumstances. Thou shalt not kill. Agreed. But in a 'just' cause, it can be condoned. Genocide is decidedly wrong. Agreed. But this is not genocide, it is a defence of cultural integrity. To recall George Orwell, all animals are equal. But some are more equal than others. It is this variable interpretation of universal concepts that constitutes the discourses of different cultures. Of course you will be inclined to think that the way your own discourse interprets them is preferable. But in my view it is precisely this inclination that applied linguistics needs to recognise and counter. And this, for me, is what it means to be critical: taking a plurality of perspectives into account so as to mediate between them, seeking points of reciprocity, and correspondence as a basis for accommodation. Of course it is true that there will be partiality and prejudice in the process. They are part of the human condition and you will never get rid of them any more than you can get rid of our brutish instincts. But this is not a reason for indulging them but for keeping them under rational control

Making applied linguistics relevant for the future

Time to conclude. Let me summarise what I have been saying by going back to the past for a last visit, and ending, as I began, on a personal note. Over 30 years ago, I wrote a paper entitled *The partiality and relevance of linguistic descriptions* (Widdowson, 1979). In a way what I have said today is a commentary on the same theme, which just goes to show how consistent, or unregenerate, I am (depending on your particular perspective). I still think that applied linguistics needs to be defined in reference to these key concepts, and in particular to the relationship between them. It is because linguistic descriptions are necessarily partial that they have something relevant to reveal, but by the same token they cannot themselves do the revealing. For relevance is a matter of realising relations between two parties which are evident to neither. This is a function of mediation, and the business of applied linguistics.

And what of the future? You will be relieved to know I have little to say on the matter. As far as problems in the real world are concerned, I would predict that the poor will go on getting poorer, the rich richer, that unbridled global capitalism will continue to corrupt communities and poison the planet in the name of progress, and that most of us will find it convenient to connive in it. What applied linguistics can do about all that – from my perspective the largest of the matters of fact that Labov talks about – I do not know. But it ought at least to put our work in perspective. Whatever small contribution we can make to human welfare will be a matter of intervention on a relatively small scale. This, let us be honest, will be based on an assumption of expertise. This intervention is not, though, a matter of locating problems and then bringing solutions to bear from outside, but of localising them, whereby they are reformulated in reference to different perspectives, including, crucially, that of linguistics as a distinct disciplinary discourse. We need to find ways of dealing with diversity without imposing unity upon it. We need, I think, to avoid politically correct, self-righteous posturing and the easy appeal to populism. We need to stop disclaiming proper authority, all the better to exercise it improperly by persuasion. We need, as Dr Johnson advised, to clear our mind of cant, and to be critical about our claims and pretensions. We need, in short, a critical, not a hypocritical, applied linguistics to take us into the future.

The future: that too, like the past, is another country. But it is one I must leave for other people to explore. As for me, I should not forget that the old order changeth and that I must yield place to the new. It is time for me to make my bow.

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Communication in multilingual India: a sociolinguistic perspective for the 21st century

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Abstract
India has been a multilingual and pluricultural society for centuries. At present there are hundreds of mother tongues (as reported in the census data), 18 constitutionally-recognised official languages of the states, and two official languages of the Union of India: one Indian language – Hindi – and another language of foreign origin, English. Most sociolinguists have highlighted this multilingual situation and the problems of communication associated with such complexity and diversity. My paper proposes to concentrate on multilingualism as a resource rather than a handicap, and attempts to show that in spite of such diversity the emergence of two languages of wider communication – Hindi or English – binds the Indian nation for practically most forms of communication. Now varieties of English and Hindi have emerged which are being used in various walks of life – business, mass media, education, administration, creative writing – and new communication styles in both English and Hindi have developed as a result of their interaction with the changing sociocultural setting. This paper analyses some of these new varieties and styles, and presents perspectives on the emerging trends in multilingual communication within India and with the outside world.

Taking the broad view
Linguistics today is at a crucial stage of development. On the one hand there are linguists who are 'doing' linguistics for its own sake – they may examine very little beyond linguistics itself. On the other hand there are linguists who are trying to relate language and its use with particular social, psychological, educational, cultural, pragmatic, literary and pedagogic issues in the world around us.

I believe that at this point in the history of linguistics we cannot lose sight of the realistic issues to concentrate only on abstract linguistic theories and equally abstract descriptions of what is, in effect, the linguists' idiolect. There are, after all, real consequences of our linguistic attitudes. In India for example, neglect of linguistic realities has promoted 'artificial islands' of monolingualism and monoculturalism, expressed through slogans such as 'one language one state'. This accords with a long-held view, particularly from a Western perspective, that bi- or multilingualism and multiculturalism are subtractive and problematic.

One of the successes from research into sociolinguistics is the increasing evidence that multilingualism and multiculturalism are worldwide phenomena. Research in sociolinguistics and the realisation among some linguists that language cannot be studied in isolation from society has bought about a much needed change in the understanding of bi- and multilingual settings and attitudes towards such phenomena and has drawn our attention to the richness of their resources as well as complexities.

Indian multilingualism

All South Asian nations are marked by bi- and multilingualism, but there cannot be a more complex multilingual society/nation than India. Through the course of history four language families (Indo-European, Dravidian, Austric and Tibeto-Burman) with speakers of several languages and dialects represented by numerous ethnic groups, have coexisted and yet presented a picture of cultural and political unity. Most of these languages and dialects have several phonological, lexical and grammatical similarities and have passed through more or less similar developmental processes. As per the 1961 census of India 1652 mother tongues were reported. These were classified into 193 languages – Austric 20, Dravidian 20, Indo-Aryan 57, Tibeto-Burman 98 and one of doubtful affiliation. Census data are, however, not reliable and subject to change depending on the speakers' perceptions of their languages which depend on their real or imagined notions of language identity. As such, the language returns in the 1981 census changed and over 95 per cent speakers returned 15 languages listed in the VIII Schedule of the Constitution of India at that point of time. In 1992 the Government of India added three more to the list of languages mentioned in the VIII Schedule of the Constitution (Table 1). In addition to these 18 languages, Sahitya Akademy (Academy of Literature) recognises Dogari, Mathili, Rajasthani and English for literary awards.

The 1981 census tabulated 90 languages outside the VIII schedule with claimants above 10,000. These 90 languages belonged to Austric (14), Tibeto Burman (53), Dravidian (13) and Indo-Aryan (9) families. English was claimed by 233 thousand native speakers (Verma 1987).

Language policy

In the midst of such heterogeneity the task of formulating a language policy is fraught with difficulties and complexities. When India attained independence from British colonial rule, the founding fathers of the Indian Constitution were confronted with the British language policy for India, proclaimed by the passage of Macaulay's famous Minute in 1835 which aimed at 'forming a class who may be interpreters between us and the millions whom we govern – a class of persons Indians in blood and colour, but English in taste, in opinion, in morals and in intellect.' (Sharp, 1920:116)

This Minute became the official language policy of the British Government in India and assured pride of place for English in the Indian educational, social and administrative systems. The other factors, which contributed to the planting of English firmly in the country, were establishment of universities, several English-medium (public) schools and the English press. Consequently, English took over from Indian languages as the official and academic language of India and gained deeper roots in the sub-continent along with the British Empire. However, as the national movement gained momentum in the 1920s and culminated in the attainment of independence in 1947 the need for a national (official) language was felt. After a long debate and a few dissenting voices, the Constitution of India, which became effective in 1950, provided that the official language of the union of India should be Hindi in Devanagari script with international numerals.

The Constitution also provided for a period of 15 years for the continuation of English for all official purposes. Some of the salient features of the Constitution with regard to language policy were: gradual replacement of

Table 1 Languages recognised by the Constitution of India and listed in the VIII Schedule (1981 census)

Language	Family	Percentage of total population	Prominent areas where used
Assamese	Indo-Aryan	2.6	Assam
Bangla	Indo-Aryan	7.8	West Bengal, Tripura
Gujarati	Indo-Aryan	5.0	Gujarat
Hindi	Indo-Aryan	39.9	Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Bihar, Rajasthan, Haryana, Himachal Pradesh, Delhi
Kannada	Dravidian	4.1	Karnataka
Kashmiri	Indo-Aryan	0.5	Jammu and Kashmir
*Konkani	Indo-Aryan	NA	Goa, Karnataka, Maharashtra
Malayalam	Dravidian	3.9	Kerala, Lakshadweep
*Manipuri	Tibeto-Burman	NA	West Bengal, Sikkim
Marathi	Indo-Aryan	7.5	Maharashtra
*Nepali	Indo-Aryan	NA	West Bengal, Sikkim
Oriya	Indo-Aryan	3.5	Orissa
Punjabi	Indo-Aryan	2.8	Punjab
Sanskrit	Indo-Aryan	–	No specific area
Sindhi	Indo-Aryan	0.3	No specific area
Tamil	Dravidian	6.8	Tamil Nadu, Pondicherry
Telugu	Dravidian	8.2	Andhra Pradesh
Urdu	Indo-Aryan	5.3	No specific area

NA data not available
* added in 1992

English by Hindi, exclusion of law courts, official statutes, business, industry, mass media and literature from the provision, freedom to states to adopt languages from the VIII Schedule as their official language and guarantee of several major rights to linguistic minorities including English speakers.

In spite of the constitutional provisions, Hindi could never become the sole official language of the Union. There has been strong opposition to its adoption from several groups in the country. The Official Language Commission appointed in 1955 expressed the 'apprehension that the fifteen-year period might be found to be too short and may have to be extended' (Government of India, 1959:40).

It, therefore, made a number of recommendations for the introduction of Hindi (in addition to English) in various spheres of government. But no time schedule for the introduction of Hindi and displacement of English was furnished. Of course, there were dissent notes from two members, Suniti Kumar Chatterjee from West Bengal and P. Subbarayan from Tamil Nadu, pleading for the continued use of English as the sole official language.

Therefore, the report of the Official Language Commission was reviewed by the Committee of Parliament on Official Language, it held the deadline of 1965 to be impracticable and recommended that English should continue to be used as the official language along with Hindi for an indefinite period.

A presidential order issued in 1960 proclaimed that English would remain the 'principal' official language until 1965; after 1965, it would continue as the 'subsidiary' official language. The order asked that 'no restrictions should be imposed for the present on the use of English for any purposes of the Union' and directed that provisions be made for 'the continued use of English even after 1965 for purposes to be specified.by Parliament by law as long as may be necessary' (Government of India, 1960).

What followed is an intensification of the already existing language controversy, dividing the country into two linguistic camps – the supporters and the opponents of Hindi. The Presidential order of 1960 was followed by the Official Languages Act in 1963. It removed the constitutional directive for the elimination of English and at the same time accorded Hindi the status of official language. In fact, the 1963 Act broadened the scope of the Presidential order of 1960 by providing that the use of English may continue for 'all the official purposes of the Union for which it was being used' (Government of India 1963). However, neither the pro-Hindi nor the anti-Hindi groups were satisfied and violent demonstrations against Hindi in the South and English in the north followed. There was intense political activity which finally resulted in the enactment of the Official Languages (Amendment) Act 1967. It provides that English may, in addition to Hindi, continue to be used in all such official work of the Union for which it was being used before 1955 as well as in the business of the Parliament. It also specified in some detail the official purposes for which English shall continue to be used in addition to Hindi:

a administrative and other reports and official papers placed before Parliament;

b contracts and agreements executed, and licences, permits, notices and forms of tender issued by the central government and its agencies and corporations.

For communications between the Union and the states and between one state and another the Act lays down that:

a English shall be used between the Union and a non-Hindi state, and

b English translations shall accompany Hindi communications from Hindi to non-Hindi states.

These two acts lay down the official position of language policy within the constitutional provisions as far as the Union of India is concerned. Hindi in Devanagiri script became the official language of the Union from 1965 while English continues to be the 'associate' official language for purposes specified without any time limit being imposed for a complete switch to Hindi.

The constitutional provisions give freedom to the states of the Union to adopt Hindi or any other language as their official languages. The switchover in the Hindi-speaking states to Hindi took place rather quickly. The Official Language Commission (1956) observed that the Hindi states had progressed further than non-Hindi states in displacing English from the position of their sole official language. The non-Hindi states have been rather slow and cautious in switching to regional languages. However, most states and union territories have adopted the language of the region as their official language. (Table 1)

Mis-match between language policy and language use

However, the actual task of implementing the Union government's policy is carried out mainly by government agencies. It requires the investment of huge sums of money which are made available by the government. Large proportions of this money are used to employ thousands of Hindi teachers,experts and authors. The actual output of these personnel 'has been oriented more toward contribution in quantity than quality. Success has been measured by the number of terms, volumes, schools, incentives and even programmes.' (Das Gupta, 1970:169)

Thus there is a contradiction between the stated policies and the language use situation as far as English is concerned. The Constitution envisaged the replacement of English by Hindi for the official purposes of the Union and as the language of communication between the states and Union as well as between one state and another. This task was to be completed within a period of 15 years. But owing to several factors this could not be achieved and ultimately resulted in the passing of the Official Languages (Amendment) Act 1967, making English the 'associate official language' for unspecified time. English still occupies, for all practical purposes, the position of the official language of the union and certain states, particularly in the South and the North-east.

Functions of English vis-à-vis Indian languages

In addition to problems associated with the implementation of the official language policy, there has been a continuous rise in the spread and use of English in India during the post-independence period. I have elsewhere given evidence to show that English bilingualism has spread more widely after India gained independence. It is being used in the various spheres of Indian society such as public administration, print and electronic media, production of books, primary, secondary and university education, business and industry, creative writing, intranational and international communication (Parasher, 1998).

It is an established sociolinguistic fact that nobody learns a second language unless there is a need to use it for communication in particular social situations. The fact that English continues to be learned and taught in India on a large scale shows that people still need to use it. Of course, English has not succeeded in driving indigenous languages out of use as it did in countries like the USA, Canada and Australia. What we have in India is a situation of prolonged bilingualism in which English and Indian languages seem to have acquired societal functions 'complementary' to one another. This view is evident from my study of educated bilinguals' language use, the findings of which show that the bilinguals' languages are functionally differentiated. The mother tongue or the first language tends to be the most dominant in the 'domain' of family, while English dominates the domains of education, employment and government. In the domains of neighbourhood, friendship and transactions, English, Hindi and regional languages are used, depending on the situation (Table 2 Parasher 1980).

The data in Table 2 are in favour of English because my subjects were educated bilingual professionals from a cosmopolitan urban centre in the South of India. A similar investigation in rural, semi-urban areas would certainly present a different picture, particularly in respect of dominance configuration of Hindi, which in effect is the lingua franca of the masses of India. Regrettably, there are no sociolinguistic studies to show this. On the basis of my observation, I can say that Hindi and English continue to be the languages of wider communication in the Indian multilingual setting. An average Indian with some elementary education has two to four languages in his/her repertoire and makes an alternate use of these languages depending on the exigencies of the communication situation. In fact the multilingual and pluricultural nature of the society in India requires the use of more than one language for intranational communication, cultural and national cohesion and social/geographical mobility. The use of Hindi or English in addition to one's mother tongue seems to contribute to this.

This observation can be supported by the indication one gets from census data, which point to an increase in the number of Hindi bilinguals. As per the 1981 census 13.3 per cent reported to be bilinguals and out of this number 57 per cent (as against 28 per cent in 1971 census) returned Hindi/Urdu as their second language.

Languages of wider communication

What emerges from the above discussion is that in the present sociocultural milieu, two languages have attained the status of languages of wider communication: Hindi and English. In the communication network each language has a role to play – the regional or state language is used for intra-group communication, Hindi or English for inter-group communication. The choice of language is determined by a number of sociolinguistic factors – topic of discourse, participant relations, locale of interaction, group identity, institutional affiliations of the interlocutors and their social/educational background. I have elsewhere argued that languages and varieties that Indian bilinguals use in everyday interaction have complementary functions, a kind of diglossic situation (Parasher, 1980). Such functional specialisation usually exists in stable bi- and multilingual situations like the one that prevails in India where Indian languages and English have coexisted for more than 200 years.

In such a situation there is always a mutual give and take between the co-existing languages as the bilinguals keep switching from one language to another. This gives rise to the phenomenon called 'sociolinguistic interference' (Hymes, 1971) a natural consequence of which is the rise of new varieties of mutually interacting languages. For example, Indian English (IE), like many other non-native varieties of English (Williams, 1987), is a product of this 'sociolinguistic interference' from Indian languages and cultures (Pararsher, 1991, 1999). This process has been described as 'nativisation', 'Indianisation', (Kachru, 1983) 'indigenisation' of English. Another equally natural and significant consequence of mutual co-existence and interaction between Indian languages and English may be termed 'Westernisation' or 'Anglicisation'. In fact Verma's (1984:20) observation about Indian languages applies to both English and Indian languages: languages in India 'have been experiencing a pull in two directions – 'nativisation' and 'Westernisation', i.e., nativisation of English and Westernisation or Anglicisation of Indian languages. In what follows I wish to illustrate this process in Hindi and English rather Indian English as they are used in the Indian sociocultural context.

Table 2 Domains of educated Indian bilinguals' language use

Domain	Speech	Writing
Family	Mainly MT / FL	Mainly MT/FL with older generation
Friendship	MT/FL and English/Hindi	MT/FL and English with younger generation
Neighbourhood	MT/FL, English, Hindi, Regional Language	Mainly English
Transactions	MT/FL, English, Hindi, Regional Language	Mainly English
Education	Mainly English	
Government	Mainly English, some MT/FL	
Employment	English, MT/FL	English

Linguistic and cultural contact: Indianisation of English

Although Macaulay's aim is introducing English in India was to form 'a class who may be interpreters between us and the millions whom we govern' (Sharp, 1920:116), the use of English in India is no more restricted to interaction between the British and Indian people. English is now used for various intranational and international purposes by a variety of educated Indians: academicians, doctors, engineers, computer professionals, scientists, business managers, diplomats, tourist guides, administrators, lawyers, judges and so on.

As a result of interaction with Indian languages and local contexts IE has acquired a different colour from other varieties of English, native, e.g. British or American or non-native e.g. Nigerian, Singaporean or Fijian. I have already referred to some evidence that shows that English and Indian languages co-exist in a diglossic relationship with clearly differentiated societal functions (Parasher 1980, 1991). Thus IE is clearly related to the functions it has to serve in the Indian sociocultural setting where it has to readjust itself to the various demands that we (i.e. Indian bilinguals) make on it.

Wherever the existing resources of the language are found to be inadequate for the expression of our ideas, emotions, feelings we extend, expand and stretch them to suit our needs. In other words 'the nature of IE is closely related to the demands we make on it, the functions it has to serve' (Verma, 1978:1). That is what gives IE its characteristic features – phonological, grammatical, lexical and stylistic (see Parasher, 1983, 1991, 1997 for a description of some of these features). What I propose to do in the following sections of this paper is to first highlight certain emerging stylistic features of IE and then move on to Hindi. I will comment on other features in passing if they have a bearing on the stylistic features.

Indian English registers and texts

As already observed, IE which was a product of language contact between the British rulers and Indian subjects is now used in India for certain specific purposes in the Indian sociocultural context. It has therefore developed certain registers, which are different from comparable registers of native varieties of English. The topic of discourse determines the choice of lexical items and therefore the more culture bound the topic is, the greater the possibility of IE differing from other varieties of English.

Consider, for example, the following contemporary description of the now extinct practice of child marriage (example 1), or a reference to what Gandhi did for women (example 2):

(1) Girls and boys were married off while still infants… the bride did not transfer residence to her sasuraal… then the Dwiraagumun or second coming, Gaunna was performed.

(2) Bapu liberated women from purdah. (From a national daily)

Example 3 is a piece of conversation from Kushwant Singh's famous writing.

This exchange might sound odd even in a normal everyday conversational exchange in IE. But taken as literal translation from a Persianised Urdu polite style it seems to fit into the context and succeeds in recreating the Indian sociocultural atmosphere. Try rendering it into contemporary English, American or British idiom and all its effect will vanish.:

(3) 'What honourable noun does your honour bear?
My name is Iqbal
May your Iqbal (= fame) increase!
Where does your wealth reside, Babu Sahib?
My poor home is in Jhelum district.'
(Khushwant Singh, *Mano Majra*: 39)

The following passage from Vikram Seth's famous novel *A Suitable Boy* (example 4) will sound strange to those who are not familiar with the ways of Indian sadhus (saints):

(4) 'Put your right hand forward…'
The sadhu smeared a little ash on his forehead and placed some in his palm. 'Now eat it', he commanded…
Eat it why are you blinking…
Eat it… It is the prasad – the grace – offering – of Lord Shiva. It is his Vibhuti.
(Vikram Seth, *A Suitable Boy*: 721)

Another powerful communication device used by Indian bilinguals is translation from their mother tongue. Creative writers exploit this to express Indian sociocultural milieu in their English writings. Consider (3) above with the following text:

(5) 'My nose has been cut; I can no longer show my face to anyone'.
'What has he done. Why don't you tell me where he is'.
'He's in jail. Where else can be he?'
'The Great Guru. The Great Guru. Who has been born to put my child in jail'.
(Kushwant Singh, *I Shall Not Hear the Nightingale*: 331)

In order to communicate certain culture-bound meanings, several IE expressions are used, which from the point of view of the non-Indian (native or non-native) users of the language will be considered deviant, e.g. co-brother, co-daughter-in-law, co-sister, respected sir, yours obediently etc, but they are appropriate in the Indian sociocultural context. Now consider the following text from a newspaper advertisement (example 6):

(6) Brahmin girl, divorcee kashyapa, 35, B.Com. H, 5'3',
very fair, respectable family, issueless, Govt. employee
UDC Hyderabad Rs.5,000/- p.m., required
well settled broad-minded life partner from same caste.
Write Box No. –
(*Deccan Chronicle*, 5 October, 1997)

Such texts are a common occurrence in newspapers these days. They serve an important purpose for the educated middle and upper middle class families where marriages are still 'arranged'. Notice the amount of information packed here and also the sociocultural assumptions underlying the text.

Politeness in IE

Politeness is a social value that speakers of languages express in various ways. There are different markers of politeness and the social norms relating to what is considered polite behaviour may vary across cultures. In the hierarchy of directness suggested by House and Kasper (1981) the most indirect speech act (7) can be taken as the most polite expression of a request, while the most impolite is suggested by (8).

(7) It's very cold in here

(8) Close the window (will you?)

Although not much work has been done to show cross-cultural similarities and differences in the use of politeness strategies, same evidence seems to suggest that these are cultural differences. For example House and Kasper's level 3 (example 9) seems to be the most frequent with the English speakers, while their level 6 (example 10) is most frequently used by German speakers (House and Kasper, 1981: 164-165).

(9) Can you close the window?

(10) You should close the window = Du solltest das Fenster zumachen

Cross-cultural studies of native and IE are not available yet. However, I will discuss some of the politeness strategies used by Indian users of English. I have noticed a tendency in IE to prefer indirect and roundabout expressions to direct and specific ones in requests (Parasher 1983):

(11) .... it will not be out of place to request you to send us the details of chemicals etc...

(12) In case you want to obtain further information please make it convenient to address a communication to our Head Office.

In everyday conversation quite often one may come across certain indirect expressions to refer to one's spouse. A husband may refer to his wife not by her first name but by using an indirect expression such as Garima's mother (Garima is my daughter), my Mrs. (wife), or my family (i.e. my wife). A wife may use a similar strategy to refer to her husband as Garima's father, or your son /brother (while talking to relations) or just he/him.

IE users seem to prefer lexical devices i.e. the use of lexical items such as please, request, kindly to syntactic devices such as past forms of modals (could, would, might or a question pattern). Here are a few formula-like expressions used by Indians:

(13) Kindly please advise me

(14) I invite your kind attention

(15) I request you / your honour

(16) I respectfully submit the following few lines for favour of your kind consideration

(Parasher, 1983)

Certain 'honorifics' borrowed from Indian languages added to English lexical items seem to lend an Indian colour to IE and mark a polite style. For example:

(17) Helloji

(18) Thank youji

(19) Doctorji/Parasherji

(20) Doctor Sahib/Professor Sahib/Parasher Sahib

In IE there is a tendency to use certain kinship terms to refer to non-kins. Children are encouraged to refer to parents' friends as uncle or auntie. In native varieties of English these terms will be used only for kins, but Indian users of English refer to non-kins as Parasher uncle, Sheela auntie (i.e. LN + Kin title or FN + Kin title instead of Kin title + FN which is the norm in British or American English). An elderly looking person should not be surprised when he/she is addressed by a younger stranger as uncle or auntie. However, expressions such as Behanji (sister + honorific) in the north and amma (= mother) in the South are also frequently used in addressing women. Address forms, such as Respected Sir/Madam, or just (Dear) Sir are the norm in business and official correspondence, although Dear Mr/Ms + FN/LN are also quite common. Thanking you and several other combinations of this expression are a norm in business/official correspondence:

(21) Thanking you (in anticipation sir)

(22) Thanking you and assuring you of our (best) cooperation/attention

Greetings and partings

A important aspect of politeness is the use of conversational routines in negotiating social relationships. For a conversational interaction to develop and communication to take place the interlocutors have to negotiate a socially congenial atmosphere. Introductions, greetings and 'small-talk' play a important role in opening conversations. Once a social relationship has been negotiated the communication event can develop and 'business' transacted. Consider the following conversation (example 23) I had with my secretary the other day:

(23) R: Good morning, sir.
P: Good morning. You're in a festival mood, aren't you?
R: Actually, I wanted to take leave today. There is Saraswati Pooja at

home.
P: Yeah. But we have a Research Committee meeting tomorrow.
Could I have the minutes of the Linguistics and Phonetics Committee by lunch time today? The Dean's office phoned me a few minutes ago.
R: All right sir. I'll work on it now.
P: Thanks very much.

It is these 'routine ceremonies of greeting and parting … messages exchanged by participants in these marginal phrases of conversational interaction by means of which social relationships are negotiated and controlled' (Laver, 1981:289).

As can be seen from the above conversation, most of the standard English formulas like Good Morning/ Evening/ Afternoon/ Night/ Goodbye are used in IE. In addition, as I have pointed out above, expressions such as Hello (ji), Thank you (ji) (i.e. with or without honorifics) are also used. Formulaic expressions such as Hi, cheerio, ciao (see you) are used in informal situations among interlocutors of the same age and social status. A frequent greeting and parting expression is Namaste (ji) which may be used when the speaker is not sure whether he/she should use Good Morning or Good Afternoon because of certain time restrictions on these phrases, while the Indian formula is free of such restriction. You can use Namaste at any time of the day or night to greet a person or to say Goodbye. On the other hand English greeting and parting formulas are used in Indian languages too (example 24):

(24) A: Good morning.
B: Good morning.
A: Kya haal hen. (How are you?)
Kayi din se aap dikhai nahin diye.
(I haven't seen you for a long time.)
B: Men Dilli gaya hua tha, ek selection committee ki meeting thi.
(I was away in Delhi. There was a Selection Committee meeting.)
(Personal conversation with a colleague)

Anglicisation/Westernisation of Hindi

As I have already pointed out, Hindi and English have coexisted in an atmosphere of intense and intimate interaction for over 200 years. As a result of this intense interaction between the two linguistic and cultural systems a new set of registers and styles have developed in Hindi too. Hindi has developed at least three different styles – Sanskritised, Persianised and Anglicised – to play a variety of roles in the contexts in which the language has to be used. Sanskritised style, which draws on classical Sanskrit for resources, was introduced by Hindi purists and used for All India Radio and certain other official communications. It continues to be used for certain literary, academic and religious purposes even now, although the mass-media are now using more and more of Anglicised style. Persianised style is restricted to certain law courts, religious and literary contexts, and can be called 'high' variety of Urdu. It is the Anglicised variety of Hindi, which is used by most educated bilinguals in everyday contexts, and it is gaining popularity.

Now consider for example the following syntactic devices, which have become current in certain registers of Hindi under the influence of English:

Use of passive construction

(25) CBI ke dvaara jaanc karvaii jaa rahii hai
(Investigation is being conducted by the CBI)

(26) aaj Laloo Yadav ko kort me pesh kiya gaaya
(Laloo Yadav was produced before the court)

Use of imperatives

(27) apne symphony ko 5 amp 230 volts AC power strot se joriye
(connect symphony to a 5 Amp 230 volt AC power supply/)

Use of 'ek' (= a/an) as an indefinite article

(28) Yeh ek kitab he (This a book)

(29) Vah ek pencil he (that is a pencil)

Borrowing and loan translations
A large number of English lexical items from the fields of science, technology, sports, business, mass communication, information technology, law and administration have been borrowed into Hindi:

(30) telephone, television, wristwatch, plane, driver, car, tractor, library, university, cabinet, table, doctor, nurse, professor, computer data, input, output, surfing, cassette, email, Internet, fax, summons, warrant, affidavit.

In addition to borrowing of a large number of lexical items in English there are several expressions in Hindi which are modelled after, translated or adapted from their English counterparts:

(31) Akaadami (academy)
Takniki (technical)Antarim (interim)
Tankan (typing)
Doordarshan (television)
Aakashvani (radio)
Kampjuterikrit (computerised)

Code-switching and code-mixing

This brings me to another characteristic feature of communication styles in the multilingual setting of India: 'code switching'. I have already referred to 'borrowing' where the speaker/writer deliberately uses an Indian expression to give a local colour, or sometimes when an appropriate equivalent lexical item is not available in English. Code-switching is a phenomenon which has become a natural style of conversation (and writing in certain type of texts) where the two languages are mixed although appropriate expressions in either language are generally available. Code-switching is a natural outcome of a language contact situation. Consider for example (24) above, which is a typical exchange among educated Indian bilinguals. The conversation begins in English, switches to Hindi and then to code-mixed Hindi. It continues like this:

(32) A: Oh! that's interesting. Who did you select?
B: I can't tell you. It's still confidential. Voh (that) V.C. bahut strict he (is very strict). Usne saare members se kaha aap is selection ke result ko confidential rakhen… (He has asked all the members to keep the result of the selection confidential) kisi ko bhi disclose naa karen (Not to disclose it to anyone).
(Personal conversation with a colleague)

It is quite natural in the Indian sociocultural setting to begin a conversation in one language say English and in the same turn switch to another language say Hindi. This switching can take place a number of times, often within the same utterance. For example:

(33) The train leaves at 9.30, lekin traffic behut hota he shaam ko (but there is heavy traffic in the evening), so we must leave at 8.30. Bhai (brother), phir driver ko bhi overtime nahin dena hoga (And then we don't have to pay overtime to the driver).

According to Gumperz (1982) code-switching has conversational functions such as supporting what somebody else said, specifying an addressee when more than two interlocutors are involved in a conversation, reiterating a message (e.g. please do sit down, beithiye saahib), or qualifying a message (e.g. Just wait, we're leaving in a few minutes nahin to gaadi chut jayegi = or else we'll miss the train). Thus code-switching is a powerful communication strategy the bilinguals have at their command and which monolinguals are deprived of. Code-switching is being used effectively in written modes of expression too, particularly in film magazines, advertisements and creative writing, e.g.

(34) remote operation ke liye switch on karen aur manual operation ke liye switch off karen (switch on remote for remote operation and switch off for manual operation)
(Instruction manual in Hindi)

(35) desi (indigenous) channel, desi manoranjan (indigenous entertainment) aapki boli (your language) aapka (your) plus point
(an advertisement for a satellite TV channel)

(36) After going desi… indigenous MTV is now busy.
(*India Today*, 29 September 1997)

Conclusion

From the above discussion of certain characteristic features of Indian multilingual setting and communication styles in Hindi and English I have been able to demonstrate that on the one hand IE has acquired a distinct colour of its own and on the other hand Hindi too has undergone certain lexical, grammatical and stylistic changes. Language cannot be divorced from the sociocultural setting in which it functions. Indians use English to communicate with fellow Indians more often than with native or other non-native speakers of the language. The communication styles, in Indian English therefore, have to make adjustments between a language rooted in an alien culture and the local cultural norms prevalent at the time and in the place of interaction. On the other hand owing to pressure from English in contact with Hindi and adoption of technical know-how and cultural artefacts from the Western world and a change in the life style of bilinguals, communication styles in the indigenous language undergo a change. With more and more globalisation, faster means of communication and the onslaught of Western media through satellite television channels, the world has been shrinking and becoming a global village. As a result there is going to be more give and take between languages. The new styles of communication discussed in this paper is just a tiny illustration of the larger global phenomenon. This phenomenon has far-reaching implications for linguistics:

- Linguists need to re-examine the notions of language. We cannot afford to go on analysing language(s) and varieties in isolation.
- The phenomenon of multilingualism and bilingualism need to be studied in greater detail. Research must focus on the realities of language use.
- We must study the motivation and consequences of code-mixed/switched varieties. Are these new languages? And if they are how linguistic theory can accommodate them. How can they be described: one language, mixed-language, a new variety, or a new style?
- What sociolinguistic processes contribute to language change? Can language change be studied only as a linguistic phenomenon? Shouldn't research focus more on sociocultural factors that govern linguistic change?
- What are the sociocultural correlates of language choice? What triggers a switch from one language to another? What is the special meaning of language switch?
- How do speakers react to new varieties? What are their attitudes? How do they identify with them?
- What is the relationship between roles and functions of languages/varieties and their form or structure? Indeed, the basic question whether linguistic form is primary or function has to be examined more seriously.

These and many other questions must be addressed by all those who wish to understand how human beings communicate by using language. A collaborative effort by the so-called linguists, applied linguists and sociolinguists will be the call in the next century.

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Perspectives for a European language policy

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Abstract
Following suggestions for a classification of multilingualism, this paper presents the problems confronting a European language policy in five propositions. The terms of the fifth proposition – the Europeanisation of language policy – will be examined more thoroughly in order to scrutinise conflict avoidance strategies. These strategies have already proven useful in multilingual countries and may yet serve as a starting point for a discussion on how to neutralise conflicts all over Europe. The subsequent conclusions will try to demonstrate the extent to which contact linguistics may contribute to a politico-linguistic conflict analysis within an extended Europe.

Multilingualism in Europe

It would be like carrying coals to Newcastle if, at the beginning of the second millennium, one were to plead for multilingualism from a Brussels perspective. In Brussels, multilingualism and multiculturality are everyday phenomena that can be encountered in innumerable situations. What is new, however, is that the inevitable interdependence of politics, economy, media culture and language has been acknowledged in the official language planning of the European Union (EU) that itself has created a politico-linguistic instrument by founding a 'ministry' (Directorate General XXII) which – to some extent successfully – tries to manage language issues. This official body is responsible for, among other things, cross-border academic exchange (Socrates, Erasmus, Tempus, etc.) and for the handling of indigenous minorities (or 'lesser-used languages' as EU terminology puts it) which are entangled in conflicts of historical and socioeconomic provenance. A long, overdue and thorough analysis of these minority languages on the Production and Reproduction of Minority Language Groups in the European Union from 1996, known as the 'Euromosaic report', enriched and reinforced contact linguistic research in essential aspects. Language planning and language policy have thus become established in the cultural planning of EU members in such a way that they are now even recognised by outsiders.

Some new perspectives of contact linguistics that emerged in the mid-1990s might have considerable impact on multilingualism in the next century and can be summarised as follows:

1 Multilingualism is no longer an exception to the rule for European countries with several languages, but – as in many regions of Asia and Africa – is becoming commonplace. In many cases it has already become a matter of course.

2 Whereas the predominant point of view taken in post-war sociolinguistic literature was that minorities turning to bilingualism are in danger of losing their mother tongue, multilingualism today increasingly serves as a driving economic force, creating more jobs and improving the standard of living (cross-border traffic, translation professions, supranational employers).

3 Economic factors such as globalisation, promoting the major languages, are inconceivable without the strong tendencies towards regionalisation that provide small and medium-sized languages in all spheres of a multilingual environment with new chances of survival.

4 Most recent developments have led from decades of defensive attitudes on the part of 'small' and 'very small' languages (German: *kleine und Kleinstsprachen*) towards a new line of reasoning that pinpoints the advantages of multilingual minority speakers, emphasises them in the context of a new European discourse and thereby takes the offensive: Multilingual speakers of 'small' languages no longer need to deny their identity and exclusively assimilate to the prestigious languages. Their monolingual adversaries, however, will have to struggle much harder than before within a multilingual, multicultural Europe in order to enforce their opinion in a mono-directional, i.e. monolingual way.

Proposition one

More than ever before, speakers in the late 1990s are confronted with strong demands to move towards a 'New Multilingualism'. The EU's initiative to acknowledge and implement 11 official and working languages is unique in human history. Since the system of 11 languages was introduced in 1995, it has already borne fruit. Linguistic and cultural discrimination within the EU has since decreased rather than increased. The trend towards multilingualism, however, is not a modern concept. In his most recent contribution on old Austria's language policy (1997: 117-8), Goebl has pointed out the deficient linguistic skills pervading contemporary Europe compared to the post-medieval Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation. In contrast to modern heads of government, the Habsburg emperors could boast an amazing knowledge of languages. The 'less linguistically gifted' among them mastered at least four idioms, the 'most linguistically gifted' one mastered nine different idioms or more. In light of an almost 200-year move towards monolingualism, this comparison cannot but produce meagre results for our contemporary leaders, inasmuch as Blair, Prodi, Chrétien, Hashimoto, Clinton, Yeltsin, Jospin and Kohl as representatives of

Great Britain, Italy, Canada, Japan, the USA, Russia, France and Germany can hardly be considered multilingual.

Besides the lack of shining examples in a new Europe, a range of socioeconomic and sociopolitical trends further underline the necessity of a 'New Multilingualism' in view of the century to come:

1 The significance of nation states and the sovereignty of their governments has weakened considerably in recent years. In most domains of society, responsibilities of national states have been taken over by 'Brussels' or perhaps 'Strasbourg' or 'Luxembourg', thus diminishing the authority of EU-member states and their governments.

2 Neo-liberalism and internationalisation have fostered tendencies towards rapidly advancing globalisation that undermines the options of specific national economic and cultural legislative opportunities on the part of the individual countries and reduces their effectiveness.

3 In view of the linguistic and cultural development in Asia and Africa, it becomes quite clear that due to the comparatively rapid rejuvenation of the population pyramid – in contrast to Europe and the USA – and also due to the fact that several languages and cultures co-exist as a matter of course, multilingualism has become a global standard, whereas monolingualism is becoming the exception.

In a simplified and clear way multilingualism in Europe could be presented in the following manner. In the whole of Europe, a total of more than 100 languages are spoken (Europe I); in the EU approximately 45 minority languages exist in addition to the 11 official and working languages, making a sum of at least 56 autochthonous languages (Europe II). After the expected extension to the east and southeast, the EU will most certainly comprise more than 70 autochthonous official and minority languages (Europe III).

Even without taking millions of members of allochthonous groups into consideration, such a confusing welter of languages and cultures can, if at all, only be managed properly by a sophisticated language planning and language policy. To this end, two obstacles must be overcome in advance, which otherwise could lead to intercultural misunderstandings.

Terminology The distinction that the English language makes between language planning, language policy and language politics can be found in other European languages as well (cf. the threefold Dutch variety *taalplanning*, *taalbeleid* and *taalpolitiek*). In German, however, the second term, the decisive one for a European language policy, has no equivalent, since only *Sprachplanung* and *Sprachpolitik* exist. In French, the hierarchical element (*planification linguistique*) has been pushed aside in favour of a convincing term (*aménagement linguistique*), which is related to modern democratic as well as ecolinguistic concepts and contains the meaning linguistic household. Because English, French and German in the context of EU multilingualism are *primi inter pares* and therefore decisive factors in the development of a common future language policy, the terminological differences with respect to these topics catch the eye.

Conceptualisation The first two contact-linguistic analyses of smaller language communities within the EU (Euromosaic I, 1996; Euromosaic II, 1998) have shown quite clearly that to the present day, there has been no overall European concept, not even an overall European vision with respect to the linguistic and cultural coexistence of the 15 members of the EU. This is to be expected, as two divergent conceptual approaches which are hard to relate, let alone amalgamate, are an obstacle to a common attitude: Whereas a centralistic concept of language policy can be assigned to one group of states (France, for instance), some federally governed states (such as Germany) have opted for the subsidiarity principle. Other states (e.g. Great Britain) practise mixed forms of these two principles.

These differences in concept are highly significant, as decisions on language policy based on a centralist principle will – firstly – depend on the existence of national (language) legislation, which will – secondly – be implemented hierarchically from top to bottom through administrative channels.

Where the subsidiarity principle is applied, the 'top' legislative level and consequently the respective national laws and decrees are often lacking (Germany and Belgium, for instance, do not have national ministers of culture). Political decisions on language and culture are instead made at the lowest possible level (communal, regional, 'Land'). Due to this more or less contrasting conceptualisation, a central language policy on the part of the EU from a Brussels point of view that does not consider the particularities of the historically developed structures is hardly conceivable.

Proposition two

Contact-linguistic models serve in a special way to illustrate the multidisciplinary nature of multilingual phenomena. Contact linguistics by definition has a multidisciplinary nature, covers language contact phenomena of different kinds (linguistic and extra-linguistic) and contributes furthermore substantially to conflict analysis and conflict resolution (Goebl, Nelde e.a., Contact Linguistics I and II, 1996 and 1997).

In our opinion, four contact-linguistic assumptions have a special significance for the handling of language conflicts and their neutralisation:

1 There is neither contact nor conflict between languages, but between speakers and language communities (Haarmann, 1980; Oksaar, 1980). As a consequence, the possibility of comparing one single language in different contexts (e.g. Italian in Slovenia and in Switzerland) is highly restricted. Having a multiplicity of causes, these contacts and conflicts appear under various forms – from the open outbreak of hostilities (Kosovo, 1998) to the subliminalisation of 'subcutaneous' conflicts in societies with a strong need for harmony (Scandinavia). A major cause for the frequency of all kinds of conflicts in linguistic communities is the asymmetry of any kind of multilingualism. Congruent language communities with an identical number of speakers, with languages that enjoy an identical prestige and with an identical national product and a comparable standard of living, do not exist. Therefore, contact without

conflict is hard to find.

2 Even if the statement that there is no linguistic contact without linguistic conflict ('Nelde's Law': K. de Bot, 1997) might appear somewhat exaggerated, there is – in the field of European languages – no contact situation which cannot be described as a linguistic conflict at the same time. Noteworthy in this context is Mattheier's view of linguistic conflicts among monolingual speakers (Mattheier, 1984).

3 Contact linguistics usually considers language as an essential secondary symbol of underlying primary causes of conflict of a socioeconomic, political, religious, psychological or historic nature. Linguistic conflict thus somehow appears to be the 'lesser evil', since linguistic conflicts in many cases are much easier to correct and neutralise than conflicts that primarily have sociopolitical and other extra-linguistic causes. Politicalisation and ideologicalisation of the language factor frequently lead to conflicts in which language often appears to be a matter of minor importance but is easily employed as secondary symbol. There is an endless list of examples in contemporary Eastern and Southern Europe. Bosnia-Herzegovina. Will a 'Bosnian' language arise next to Serbo-Croat (abandoned in 1992) and its successor languages Serbian and Croat? What of Moldavia? Is it possible to maintain the unity of a state if the land is divided by the same language into different alphabets (Latin and Cyrillic) and a different lexicon? And in Byelorussia, can a language survive in a young state if only 10 per cent of the school children are taught in Byelorussian?

4 Contact linguistics not only demonstrates that conflicts shouldn't only be considered as negative but proves at the same time that new structures can emerge from conflicts, structures which – in the case of minority speakers – might be more favourable than the previous ones.

Proposition three

Linguistic conflicts in Europe not only have an historical character. They are already preprogrammed for the future by European language politicians. Apart from the traditional language conflicts of an historical origin, there are at present conflicts between migrants and indigenous populations, between autochthonous and allochthonous groups fighting for or against their assimilation, or integration. These are 'natural' conflicts that I therefore would like to distinguish from 'artificial' conflicts created by the introduction of new structures of (language) policy.

Discussion of such conflicts leads us to a comparison of the old story of Babylon with modern Brussels: 4000 translators and interpreters working in currently 11 official and working languages in Europe II, often influenced and 'afflicted' by dozens of minority languages, most of them fighting for their survival. It's almost a mathematical problem: If there are ten possibilities to use each of 11 languages, that makes 110 combinations – a number the Flemish artist Pieter Breughel could hardly have taken into consideration when he created his famous painting on the construction of the tower of Babel, as his building does not provide enough room for as many booths for simultaneous interpreting as presently needed in the EU Commission. It should be evident by now that the creation of a homogenous Europe in itself does not guarantee the solution of conflicts, whether naturally evolved or artificially created ones. What then are the possible solutions?

1 The introduction of a planned language (Esperanto, sign language) etc.;
2 The acceptance of a strong vehicular language as a *lingua franca* (English);
3 The preference for a few major languages (such as German, French and English);
4 The maintenance of the status quo (11 official and working languages).

Can the present order (solution 4), i.e. the acceptance of linguistic diversity, be further expanded and continued? To avoid Babylonian conditions, some restrictions on the freedom of language choice will certainly have to be put up with. The extension of the EU will have to disrupt the pattern of the almost automatic acknowledgement of national languages as community languages in favour of solution 3, or yet another new one.

The problems in promoting and maintaining minority languages encountered by the EU ministry mentioned at the beginning – an authority which had been pursuing language policies for smaller languages in cooperation with European minorities (Directorate General XXII) – clearly pinpoint the delicacy and complexity of any commitment on the part of a political authority.

There is no agreement on how many minority languages and speakers exist in Europe II (40 to 50 minorities, depending on different contact-linguistic definitions, with as many as 30 to 55 million speakers from a total of 380 million 'unionists' in Europe II), nor on how to refer to them (the term 'lesser-used languages' sounds somewhat helpless and artificial and is translated into French as *langues moins répandues*, which is not entirely equivalent), nor on common guidelines for a language policy with respect to the language communities, which – due to their historically developed social structures – can hardly be compared. If the politicians concerned with minority languages were not adopting such an exemplary attitude of reserve, new 'artificial' conflicts would almost be inevitable.

Proposition four

The share of individual European languages in the present language conflicts varies. German as biggest EU language plays a special part. German, with 95 to 100 million speakers, is the most widely-spoken language in Europe apart from Russian. Its roles, as a secondary and tertiary foreign language in school, as an original language for EU tender procedures and decrees, as a negotiating language in multinational summits, as a colloquial language in the European institutions – in summary: as an international language – catches the eye. This might be due to, among other things, the comparatively high conflict potential inherent in the German language. Some examples will suffice to illustrate this:

1 German is characterised by a high degree of conflict imperilment, as its frequency of contact is higher than that of other countries. Today's Germany borders nine states; in most of its neighbouring countries, German is spoken (either as a minority or as a majority language). In at least 15 states (Europe II and III) German is the official or a minority language.

2 As far as allochthonous minorities are concerned, Germany experiences an extremely high degree of conflict diversification. Consider the spectrum of immigrants who for the past 20 years have been striving for acceptance and integration. For those not familiar with the situation it is certainly not 'easy' to distinguish the different terms used with respect to these newcomers and – when the terms used display a semantic similarity – to reveal the different ideological points of view inherent or even hidden behind them. For examples – and to mention only a few: *Fremdarbeiter* (transit worker), *Gastarbeiter* (guest worker), *ausländischer Arbeitnehmer* (foreign worker), *Arbeitsimmigrant* (immigrant worker), *Arbeitsemigrant* (emigrant worker), *Umsiedler* (resettler), *Aussiedler* (person repatriated), *Spätaussiedler* (late repatriate, person of German origin repatriated relatively late after 1945), *Rücksiedler* (returnee), *Asylant* (person granted political asylum), *Asylsucher* (person seeking political asylum), *Wirtschaftsflüchtling* (economic refugee), *Migrant* (migrant), *Remigrant* (returning migrant). Intercultural communication within Europe II faces another misunderstanding with respect to conflict revealing itself in the fact that the other member countries (with the exception of Luxembourg) do not experience similar numbers of people coming into the country. Consequently, due to the lack of a comparable factual and ideological background, a considerable number of terms cannot be adequately be translated into their language.

3 Ideology obviously plays a particular part in language contacts with German. Germany's past – above all the Third Reich and World War II – can be seen as an historical conflict burden. The construction of images (Dutch: *beeldvorming*) or development of stereotypes (Breitenstein, 1968) is all too familiar from the entertainment industry. Since the 1950s, popular TV serials and sitcoms such as *Hogan's Heroes* (USA, broadcast in 1998 in Central Europe on weekdays on cable tv) or most recently *Allo, Allo* (Great Britain, broadcast in 1998 on different Western European channels) are perfect examples of a biased black-and-white representation of the Germans as simpletons – naïve, stodgy scoundrels, wrapped up with a touch of folkloristically underpinned sympathy: a real gift for researchers on attitude and prejudice. Because of this kind of coming to terms with the past (*Vergangenheitsbewältigung*) – the acquisition of the language is – at least for European students of German – impeded by a concomitant extra-linguistic burden that complicates access to the German language.

4 German, the biggest minority language in Europe I, II and III, is confronted with totally divergent concepts of the term 'state' and contrasting political ideas, structures and hence minority conflicts. It must certainly not have been easy for Germans outside of traditional German-speaking countries to find ideological common ground between their own culture and the culture of the host country, between previously socialist and Western democracies, between socioeconomically underprivileged majorities and majorities taking part in the neo-liberal upswing, as a quick glance at the list of the most important countries with German as minority language shows: Denmark, Belgium, Luxembourg, France, Italy, Slovenia, Croatia, Slovakia, Czechia, Hungary, Romania, Ukraine, the Baltic countries, Russia, Poland.

5 As a conflict of prejudice there becomes apparent a learning conflict that starts from the assumption that German is particularly hard to learn. Objective linguistic criteria of argumentation are mixed with subjective ones as Herbert Christ (1980, 1992) was able to demonstrate convincingly.

6 Furthermore, the acquisition as well as the mastering of a German standard language is complicated by a conflict of pluricentricity. The words 'butcher' (English) and '*boucher*' (French) have not one but several equivalents that appear to be understood by all German speakers. Only one of these translations, however, belongs to their respective – actively used – idiolect or sociolect (*Schlachter, Schlächter, Fleischer, Metzger* etc.).

7 Finally, German presents itself as a potential European conflict language, inasmuch as the qualitative and quantitative under-representation on an international level (cf. the use of German in international organisations such as UN, Unesco, but also in the EU) in case of a socioeconomic or political disadvantage on the basis of their relatively limited right of co-determination might cause tensions. For the time being, however, the Germans are demonstrating a high degree of discipline, i.e. they refrain from deducing any claim to power from the promotion and funding of international institutions and try to avoid most conflicts that might result from linguistic discrimination.

It would be desirable to analyse the issue of 'German in Conflict' presented here in a multidisciplinary setting in order to deduce strategies to avoid conflicts. In a European context – characterised by numerous tensions and conflicts frequently centred around suppressed, underprivileged or simply small language communities (minorities) – the next objective should be to try to put strategies which have contributed to a conflict neutralisation to the test.

Proposition five

A successful subsidiary language policy in Europe II in view of conflict neutralisation must be 'Europeanised', that is, must become an integral part of a European language policy. Which concepts have multilingual states in Europe developed, and which of them have succeeded in leading multilingual language communities towards a more peaceful coexistence? Despite different starting points in some cases, it is possible to discern several common concepts to which countries like Belgium, Luxembourg and Switzerland and the conflict avoidance strategies used there have largely contributed.

The territoriality principle Many monolinguals think that in bilingual countries all citizens speak two languages. Bilingualism, however, might better mean that two languages exist side by side and enjoy – in theory, at least – the same status and the same rights.

This so-called institutionalised multilingualism is a consequence of the territoriality principle that forces the people living in a given region, declared as monolingual by the authorities in charge, to use the regional language at least for official communication. The territoriality principle must be distinguished from the personality principle. The latter allows each speaker to use his or her mother tongue or another language in all official and private domains, regardless of where he or she lives.

Although the rather inflexible territoriality principle arouses criticism, it does work quite well in several multilingual countries, particularly in more prosperous ones like Canada, Belgium and Switzerland. Initially these two principles of multilingualism were opposed to one another – as was the case in Belgium, where up until the 1960s, the personality principle had prevailed. The linguistic asymmetry in the country and the ensuing high prestige of the Romance language brought about a high degree of Frenchification of the country. Most remarkable are the results of the territoriality principle in the bilingual capital, Brussels. Here, the notorious *liberté du père de famille* (the freedom of the head of the family to choose one of the national languages) was not abandoned till the 1970s. Instead of a bilingualised structure, Brussels has now settled on two parallel monolingual systems in the official domains (education, administration, work place). In accordance with the territoriality principle, the two major parts of the country (Flanders and Wallonia), with the exception of few language border communities, are either monolingually French or Dutch.

This implementation of the territoriality principle was received by outsiders with both aversion and admiration, as it had obviously served to preserve a small multilingual nation. In the case of Belgium, the consequences for the individual speaker nevertheless are severe: if social advancement before the introduction of this concept was inevitably tied to the mastering of two languages (at least in the case of the Flemish and German population), many spheres of today's life can be managed in one language only – the language of the respective region.

The Belgian government is highly sensitive as to the consideration of the rights of the individual language communities in the country. Even small minorities are granted equal rights. One part of the German-speaking minority in eastern Belgium, amounting to less than 1 per cent of the total population, benefits from the language regulation policy between the two major parts of the country and is more or less treated like the Dutch- and French-speaking population. German has become the third national language throughout the country. In Brussels' airport, for instance, all signs display four languages: the three official languages – Dutch, French, German – and in addition, as the language of international air traffic, English, and these consistently in this order to avoid any discrimination of one language community. Also the police in charge of Belgian motorways takes into account all three national languages. In case of a traffic violation the driver is first granted the choice between three national languages. The language chosen is used for entry in the record.

Of course, such procedures are expensive, but they seem quite sensible in the context of conflict avoidance strategies. How many other countries are prepared to grant a language with as few speakers a similar status? If that status were denied, however, this kind of linguistic asymmetry would eventually entail greater conflicts with an economic as well as a political impact. With some restrictions the Belgian way of handling conflicts may henceforth be considered as a model for language planning on the part of the EU.

De-emotionalisation Another favourable outcome of the language dispute in Belgium is a certain de-emotionalisation of the language question. But it is far from easy to strip language and cultural conflicts of their emotional elements. With the introduction of the territoriality principle, the Belgian legislators had hoped that strict language regulation in a few basic spheres of life would leave enough room for as much freedom as possible in the use of language in other areas. Whereas the monolingualism mandated by the territoriality principle in most multilingual countries affects at least two domains (education and public administration), the work place has been added in Belgium. As already indicated, the language of a territory must be used in all formal contracts between employers and employees. Accordingly, tensions resulting from a socially determined language choice (e.g. if a higher-ranking official used a different language than the trade union representatives) are reduced.

Along with language legislation, a plan for federalisation and regionalisation was developed in order to prevent a centralised language planning policy following the French model. Since such regionalised (in Belgian terms 'communalised') language planning within the different language groups is implemented only in a few but nevertheless decisive spheres of life, the government adopts a rather permissive attitude in other domains and compensates for the strictness of the laws on language and culture with liberality and tolerance.

Language censuses Instead of following the example of the USA and Russia, where the population is assigned to the existing majority and minority languages according to large-scale language surveys ('census'), Belgium has sought its own way in numerical registration of minorities, proceeding on the principle that the rights and duties of a majority or a minority are not exclusively dependent on their number. That the size of a language community is no longer the decisive factor in the field of language planning entails that all considerations with respect to the protection of a language community start from the assumption that in order to achieve equal rights, a numerically and socioeconomically underprivileged minority deserves more support than the majority it is confronted with. Hence, the Belgian government has abandoned numerical language surveys as part of population census, thereby certainly contributing greatly to de-emotionalisation.

As Belgium in this respect distinctly differs from most other multilingual nations, we will take a closer look at the topic of language censuses, which seems to be a crucial factor for conflict. We have emphasised that bilingualism is always asymmetrical, that bilingual people will for some reason or other, depending on their socioeconomic status, their cultural identity, etc., always prefer one language. Therefore, a collection of data on bi- or multilingualism in the form of a numerical survey of the speakers will hardly produce socially reliable information on a particular region. In the census of 1933, for instance, 93 per cent of the inhabitants of Martelingen/Martelange, a small bilingual village near the border between Luxembourg and Belgium, claimed to speak German, and only 7 per cent declared themselves to be francophone (Nelde, 1979). In 1947, when the last official census was conducted in Belgium, the situation seemed to be reversed: The majority of speakers claimed to be francophone, whereas only a few per cent regarded themselves as speakers of German. The reason is all too obvious: most village residents were bilingual at the time of both censuses, but in 1933 German from an ideological point of view (in the era of fascism) was in favour, whereas in 1947 – after the end of World War II – the same language was unpopular. People found it more 'convenient' to turn to French. Therefore quantitative data from a language census in multilingual conflict situations should be treated with some scepticism, as the information on multilingualism which they seem to deliver is often distorted by extra-linguistic factors.

Positive discrimination As a logical consequence of the preliminary considerations on de-emotionalisation and language censuses, the focus of interest now is the positive discrimination of language minorities – an aspect which could be of considerable use for the language minorities of a future Europe. Positive discrimination means that minorities are granted more rights and advantages than they would be entitled to according to the proportional system, and this in order to be able to develop their potential for language maintenance and growth in ways comparable to that of the majority.

In the case of asymmetric and particularly institutionalised multilingualism discussed here, the structure of the educational system should, if necessary, explicitly promote the minority in order to give it a chance to produce similar results to those of the majority. In practice, this could imply the acceptance of smaller class sizes for speakers of smaller languages in school, or the provision of better pay for teachers confronted with special 'multilingual' requirements. Because they are weaker in terms of social prestige and number, minority students should enjoy more rights and advantages, so as to obtain equal promotion prospects in the long run.

Another form of positive discrimination is to reward all those who earn their living in a bilingual surrounding. A postman in a multilingual town, for instance, could earn more than his monolingual colleague, because the requirements are higher. This would obviously lead to an improvement in prestige and status of bilinguals.

Market economy and language In the wake of the de-emotionalisation of the language dispute in Belgium, other ways to avoid and resolve conflicts have emerged. Today, the multilingual situation in Belgium can be described as particularly liberal in respect of the three national languages as well as the most important foreign and neighbouring languages. It now has become much easier for individual speakers to choose the language they need according to their personal and professional objectives. Individual linguistic behaviour and individual language acquisition correspond to the free market. In this way, multilingualism, freed from numerous historical and social prejudices, stereotypes and emotions, could adapt to supply and demand. In addition, there is a purely economic aspect: Brussels' function as a capital and an international meeting point has increased the willingness among its population to learn foreign languages, since the mastering of additional languages pays off (Grin, 1996). Thus, the Belgian example shows that economically based language choice, determined by supply and demand, is a more successful motive for multilingualism than a centralised language planning policy which – being static and therefore rather inflexible – poorly adapts itself to ever-changing language needs.

Conclusions

After having discussed European, especially Belgian solutions to some of the problems caused by the existing multilingual situation, it must be emphasised that there is no general model for multilingualism that can be implemented in all cultures, for all countries and under all circumstances. The specific context of each multilingual situation must be mirrored in the regional and overall language policy of the respective country. Policy must be made to measure the language community in question in order to be able to correspond to the existing economic needs. The different examples presented here indicate quite clearly that a single politico-linguistic program for the solution of the language problems within a unified Europe is bound to fail. There are no general, overall solutions. Language policy must be adjusted to each specific case, situation and context.

Common efforts of allochthonous and autochthonous groups Despite the fact that allochthonous and autochthonous groups predominantly draw attention to the comparatively poor prestige of their languages and cultures as a common disadvantage with respect to the dominant group, up till now only little if any cooperation in the demand for linguistic rights is to be discerned in Europe on the part of these two groups. The need for this kind of cooperation, however, should be obvious, as comparable disadvantages require common solutions. Undoubtedly, the new, often socially-defined minorities such as the migrants, guest workers, returnees, expatriates, resettlers, refugees, emigrants and transmigrants come to the fore of European politics. All of these groups have given rise to a new consciousness among minority populations, resulting in a promotion of indigenous minorities rather than in their suppression. They also shared new trends such as a renaissance of dialects and minority languages. A new, regional consciousness, aimed at smaller units – like the 'small is beautiful' movement of the 1960s and 1970s – has succeeded in directing the attention of researchers, politicians and those in charge of cultural matters more and more to minorities whose sociocultural and also economical-political significance cannot be questioned any further in a culturally viable Europe.

Still, the attitude of majority groups towards linguistic and cultural minorities tends to be negative more often in the case of allochthonous groups than in the case of autochthonous minorities. Confrontations between indigenous minorities and dominant majorities on the one hand and migrants and dominant majorities on the other take place on different levels (social, political, economic, cultural), even as discrimination on the part of the majority makes itself felt in a similar form.

In contact linguistics, only few researchers have investigated both minority groups in one go – in spite of the positive effects that might be entailed by common action. In the Netherlands, Switzerland and France, autochthonous and allochthonous groups are described and analysed in entirely different ways, due to ideological reasons or reasons inherent to research. In Great Britain, for example, there is a lack of contact between those linguists concerned with the so-called 'decolonised' languages on the one hand and the researchers analysing the Celtic languages in Scotland and Wales on the other. Without any doubt, the apparent extralinguistic differences among conflict situations are a reason for this lack of cooperation. Therefore it is not surprising that there are hardly any proposals for conflict resolution that aim at neutralising similar linguistic conflicts among both groups.

Re-evaluation of the situation This field of contact linguistic research is a growing and constantly changing one. There are four obvious reasons which are described below.

First, the rural communities who preserved the language and other identity marks of their minority were mostly located at the periphery of the various European states and for this reason often considered as marginal in the past. If they wanted to participate in welfare and economic progress, they had to integrate themselves into the process of urbanisation and industrialisation. In the course of this process – if it took place – they often lost their particularities, including their language. Now, quite a few of these communities find themselves in the heart of a new Europe, as they are located along the borderlines and therefore lie on the new crucial contact axes. From a geographical and a geo-political point of view, they are hence no longer in a marginal position. Furthermore, it may well be that a supranational Europe will be much more prepared to tolerate regionalism than the former national states. This implies that these communities are now undergoing a process of shifts in social structure. This process must be analysed from a contact linguistic viewpoint. For a better understanding of what has been and still is going on in some of these communities, we should, above all, take a closer look at those groups of speakers who have managed to preserve their language and tradition. Minority groups such as the Catalans give a clear idea of what can contribute to the maintenance and promotion of a minority group. In this context, local and regional development deserves more attention.

Second, multilingualism in Europe's major cities is a rather new phenomenon. In some cases, it has already been examined more closely on an empirical level, in others, a lot remains to be done in order to improve the insight into contact-linguistic developments. In this area, research on prejudice incorporates linguistics, and problems and conflicts can arise from multilingual and multicultural contacts. These can be sociologically explained by attempts of the dominant group to secure social advancement for its members, but also by a feeling of being threatened as the arrival of other groups seems to blur their own identity.

Third, the problem of languages in the EU remains widely undiscussed and therefore unsolved. Whatever the solution will be – three, four, 11 or more working languages – the Europe of the future will not be monolingual. The entry of the Scandinavian neighbours – countries where English has always been favoured as a second language – and Austria to the EU in 1995 could possibly change the linguistic balance of power in Brussels, Luxembourg and Strasbourg and already has enlivened the debate.

Fourth, we must examine the language conflicts along EU borders to former Eastern-Bloc countries, where language seems to be developing more and more into a symbol of resurgent nationalism. Here, one has to distinguish between conflicts with historical roots and those which have been kindled artificially – for reasons related to the redefining of borders, the foundation of new states or for simply ideological reasons. Accordingly, potential causes for language conflict exist not only in Europe but all over the world as well. They frequently become noticeable as polarising tendencies: Beside cross-border associations (NAFTA in North and Central America, EU in Europe II), nationalism and regionalism are simultaneously growing (Euregio, the Alps-Adriatic region, newly founded states like Slovenia and Estonia, among many others). History has taught us the possible consequences of the suppression of conflicts. Therefore, we contact linguists should produce sensible contributions to the analysis, description and control of the complicated linguistic situations occurring every day in front of the researcher's eyes all over the world.

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Millennialism and media: language, literacy, and technology in the 21st century

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Abstract
Although millennial predictions of a new cyber world may be exaggerated, it is true to say that new online media are helping to transform language and literacy, and this has important consequences for language teaching. First, online communications and other forms of transnational media are providing non-native speakers of English in Kachru's 'expanding circle' countries with greater communicative opportunities, thus problematising traditional distinctions between speakers of 'English as a Foreign Language' and 'English as a Second Language' and strengthening the influence of non-native varieties of English. Second, digital media are changing reading and writing practices, giving rise to a new set of literacies incorporating onscreen reading, online navigation and research, hypermedia interpretation and authoring, and many-to-many synchronous and asynchronous communication. The computer thus becomes more than an optional tool for language tutoring, but rather an essential medium of literacy and language use. Finally, while the Internet is potentially the most democratic medium, it is simultaneously the most exclusive, with its use dependent on access to material resources, language, and education. This paper examines these changes to analyse the relationship of language, literacy, and technology at the turn of the millennium. It addresses not only 'what is the role of information technology in language teaching' but more importantly 'what is the role of language teaching in the information technology society?'

Millennialism and cyberspace

One of the most widespread and potent metaphors used to describe the Internet is that of 'cyberspace.' Cyberspace is viewed as a unique and totalising world, separate from earthly bodies and institutions. The notion of cyberspace thus falls squarely within the tradition of Western millennialism, which predicts the end of the world as we know it to be replaced by a radically new tomorrow (Agre, 1998). Here, for example, are excerpts of a 'Declaration of Independence of Cyberspace' by cyberguru John Perry Barlow:

> Governments of the Industrial World, you weary giants of flesh and steel, I come from Cyberspace, the new home of Mind. On behalf of the future, I ask you of the past to leave us alone. You are not welcome among us. You have no sovereignty where we gather.
>
> Our identities have no bodies, so, unlike you, we cannot obtain order by physical coercion. (Barlow, 1996)

There is power in the cyberspace metaphor for a simple reason: the development and spread of the Internet is bringing about radical changes in the way we communicate, study, entertain ourselves, work, and conduct business. However, these changes are not occurring in a separate world, outside of normal human existence and independent of human agency.

We are thus left searching for a different framework than that of cyberspace for understanding the impact of the Internet. Fortunately, as applied linguists, specialising in the study of human communication, we need not look far. For we know there have already been three previous developments in communication which have also had a revolutionary impact on human experience, and we can use those as a model for understanding what may be occurring today. And these are the development of language, writing, and print. Each of these developments radically changed the way humans processed, shared, and created information and knowledge. They were tied to dramatic changes in how people worked, learned, loved, fought, and produced. Most importantly, all these communications technologies existed within the context of human lives and institutions, not separate from them. There was never a distinct world of 'languagespace' or 'writingspace' or 'printspace' that humans entered into when these new technologies emerged. Thus our task is not to understand the brave new world of cyberspace, because no such world exists, but rather to understand how new information and communications technologies are helping to reshape the world we live in. And this in itself is a large and important task, and one that is especially important for applied linguists since it intersects so closely with issues of language and communication.

I suggest that there are at least three major issues of concern to applied linguists that are dramatically affected by the spread of the Internet, and those are literacy, international language use, and finally, second language learning and teaching.

Literacy

Literacy is frequently viewed as a set of context-neutral, value-free skills that can be imparted to individuals. In fact, though, being literate has always depended on mastering processes that are deemed valuable in particular societies, cultures, and contexts (see de Castell and Luke, 1986). Just as the spread of the printing press dramatically altered notions of literacy in Europe, and eventually the world, so will the spread of computers, the Internet, and information technology help change notions of literacy today.

Except there is one important difference. The Internet is spreading much more quickly than did printed works. In fact, the Internet is one of the fastest growing communications media in world history. It has taken the World Wide Web just four years to achieve an audience of 50 million users, compared to 38 years for radio, 16 years for personal computers, and 13 years for television (*Economist*, 1998).

According to the United Nations Development Program (1999), there may be 700 million Internet users in the world within three years, or more than 10 per cent of the world's population. The fastest growth of the Internet is outside the USA and Western Europe, and is occurring in countries like China, Indonesia, and Egypt. Indeed, by 2005 it is predicted that China will have more Internet users than Japan, Germany, France, or any other country except the USA (*Computer Economics*, 1999).

What is significant though is not only how many people have access to the Internet, but also how often, and how they use it. According to one remarkable statistic, some 3.4 trillion email messages were sent in the USA alone in 1998, or more than 10,000 email messages for every man, woman, and child in the country (eMarketer, 1999). One study has indicated that email has begun to pass face-to-face and telephone communication as a frequent means of business communication in the USA (American Management Association International, 1998) In fact, according to some industry estimates, the majority of business documents in the world are no longer printed out at all. This means that in a remarkably short time there has been a dramatic shift from the literacy of the page to the literacy of the screen.

Now, I'll venture that many people in this audience will doubt this, claiming that most people do all their serious reading from books, journals, print-outs, and other paper sources. But few will dispute that most writing is done on the computer. And the younger generation is learning to read from the screen as easily as our generation has learned to write from it. Over time, the screen itself might adapt, taking on features of the book, but the shift toward online reading and writing has already advanced quickly and the trend will certainly continue.

Let us examine then some of the specific literacy skills that are required by the extensive use of information technology, looking first at reading and research and then at writing and authoring.

Reading and research

As for reading, the psycholinguistic processes involved in decoding information differ from a screen and a page, and we thus have to change how we think about and teach tasks like skimming, scanning, and guessing words from context in online environments. We must also think more about how texts combine with graphics, images, and audio-visual content to communicate a message.

But reading is more than a psycholinguistic act of decoding letters and words. Rather it is a social practice that takes place in particular sociocultural contexts. And, seen in social context, the shift of reading from the page to the screen is even more significant. Reading from the screen is less a passive act of decoding a message from a single authoritative author and more a self-conscious act of creating knowledge from a variety of sources (Landow, 1992). Reading well from the screen involves skills such as:

1 Being able to find the information to read in the first place (through Internet searches, etc.).

2 Being able to rapidly evaluate the source, credibility, and timeliness of information once it has been located.

3 Being able to make rapid navigational decisions as to whether to read the current page of information, pursue links internal or external to the page, or revert back to further searching.

4 Being able to make on-the-spot decisions about ways to save or catalogue part of the information on the page, or perhaps the complete page.

Of course none of these skills are completely new. The need for critical, active, and interpretive reading was also important during the age of print. Nevertheless, the vast amount of information available on the Internet and its hypertextual organisation speed up changes in the nature of reading which were already occurring before, and make these kinds of critical reading skills all the more essential today.

Writing and authoring

Similar changes are occurring, and will continue to occur, in respect to writing. In much of the world, writing has been given little emphasis in education, and if emphasised at all, is seen as synonymous with the putting on paper of grammatically correct sentences. And indeed, this was sufficient for most learners' needs prior to the information revolution taking place since the 1970s. However, the rise of the informational economy, and the widespread use of computers and the Internet, significantly raises the profile of writing and the need for effective written communication. The new type of writing and authoring skills required include the following:

1 Being able to integrate texts, graphics, and audio-visual material into multimedia presentations.

2 Being able to write effectively in hypertext genres.

3 Being able to deploy internal and external links to communicate a message well.

4 Being able to write for a particular audience when the audience is unknown readers on the World Wide Web.

5 Using effective pragmatic strategies in various circumstances of computer-mediated communication, including one-to-one email, email discussion lists, and real-time online discussion.

I will illustrate the importance of new types of writing by briefly discussing a case which came up in an earlier research study I conducted (Warschauer, 1999). The study involved an ESL writing course in an Intensive English

Program in Hawaii. One of the students in the course was a graduate student from China. This student, who I will call Zhong, had previously conducted some research in China with co-researchers from Sweden. Agreements had been reached about who would have the rights of authorship on the data collected. Zhong was thus surprised to learn by email that his Swedish co-researchers were going to usurp all the data under their own authorship. Zhong attempted to write them an email message protesting the situation:

> Dear Svet:
> How about your decision for your mothers treatment. I am sorry I can not give advice because I do not know what cancer she suffered from. As I know, tumor hospital of our university is skilled in many types of cancer while Zhongshan hospital and Changhai hospital are good in primary liver cancer. Zhongshan hospital has special wards for foreign guests. If you can tell me and Hengjin in detail, we can supply more information about hospital and doctors.

As you can see, the first draft of his email message was highly inappropriate and would have failed to convey his message; indeed, it focused principally on the health of the Swedish colleague's mother and only discussed the disagreement in a vague manner far down in the message. Zhong worked with the teacher of the course intensively, over email, to complete two more drafts of the email message until it effectively communicated what Zhong wanted to say, as seen here.

> Dear Svet:
> When I received your email message of Nov 4, I was very surprised to see that you went ahead with your paper on maternal health care. As you must be aware after our discussion in Shanghai last September-October, when we distributed all the topics among us, the topic of maternal health care was incumbent on me for analysis and publication.
>
> In conclusion, I am afraid the only satisfactory solution I can see is to publish my paper with me as the first author.

As a result, the problem was resolved in a satisfactory manner. The types of writing challenges that Zhong faced were not solely due to the new medium of email. They were also due to the long-distance collaborative research in which he was involved. But, this, too, is part of the point. Reading, like writing, takes place not in a psycholinguistic vacuum chamber but in particular sociocultural circumstances. And the Internet, together with the broader informational revolution that it forms part of, is rapidly shifting the terrain of writing, as well as reading practices. Not all students will be performing sophisticated sociological research with international scholars for publication in scholarly journals. But many students will need to carry out some form of collaborative long-distance inquiry and problem-solving as part of their jobs and community activities. It will be incumbent on us to teach the writing skills necessary for these kinds of tasks. This includes both the pragmatics of written interaction as well as the hypermedia authoring and publishing skills needed for effective presentation of material (see discussion in Shetzer and Warschauer, 2000; Warschauer, 1999).

International language use

Zhong was a student of English as a Second Language. And indeed, many of the examples given above are applicable to literacy in English. This leads to the next question. Is the Internet an English-only phenomenon or a medium of multilingual expression?

As little as two years ago, there was widespread concern that the Internet was fostering linguistic imperialism. Some 82 per cent of Internet servers were in English, leading one Russian critic to proclaim that the Internet was becoming 'the ultimate act of intellectual colonialism' (cited in Crystal, 1997).

The new story today is how fast this is changing. According to recent estimates, the percentage of Web sites in English is already down to 54 per cent, and is expected to drop further to 41 per cent by the year 2005 (*Computer Economics*, 1999).

Does this mean the era of English-language privilege on the Internet is over to be replaced a Babylon of languages? Well, not exactly. The growth of non-English sites reflects the large number of uses of the Internet for local and national purposes. However, there seems to be no slowdown in the use of English on the Internet for international purposes. In fact, the number of English Web pages will double again in the next six few years – it will just not increase as quickly as the number of Web pages in other languages, which will triple. And according to one study, the number of 'secure Web servers', which are the Internet servers most frequently used for international business transactions, are overwhelmingly in the English language (The *Economist,* May 15 1999).

I would contend then that we are facing a situation of diglossia on the Internet. On the one hand, English is the main (but not exclusive) *lingua franca* used for global communication (with other major languages, such as Spanish, used for international communication in particular regions). Indeed the daily international communication made feasible by the Internet strengthens the need for a world *lingua franca*, and it appears that English will continue to play that role, at least for the foreseeable future. On the other hand, the multiplicity of channels made feasible by the Internet also allows for the full range of expression in other languages. Thus while English is most widely used for global communication, hundreds of other languages are now used on the Internet for local, regional, national, and international communication.

I will refer to some examples in Egypt, where I have been working the past two years and investigating Internet use. Almost all formal email communication in Egypt is in English, even when conducted between two Egyptians. At the same time, though, Egyptians have developed a romanised version of Egyptian colloquial Arabic as a frequent language of choice for informal email or online chat, complete with the use of numbers to indicate phonemes not easily expressed in the Roman alphabet. Romanised Egyptian colloquial Arabic occurs in online conversation not only in Egypt, but also among Egyptians living elsewhere in the world. Thus while English is used by

Egyptians to conduct business on the Internet, the Egyptian dialect of Arabic is used to fulfil other purposes, such as expressing cultural identity and reaching out for intimate communication.

What is the broader significance of what is occurring in Egypt, and many other countries, regarding language use on the Internet? First, the Internet is hastening the trend whereby a large number of people throughout the world, including in Kachru's (1986) 'expanding circle' countries, use English on a daily basis for finding information and communicating with peers and colleagues. We thus have a 'leakage' from the outer circle to the expanding circle, with many people in the expanding circle now using English as a second language rather than as a foreign one. This large and growing number of people throughout the world, including in traditional 'foreign language' domains, who use English as an additional language of daily communication, is slowly shifting the dynamics of the English language, with authority and control over the language devolving from first-language speakers to second-language and foreign-language speakers all around the world. Indeed, for one of the first times in history, there are more second-language speakers of a language than first-language speakers (Crystal, 1997). This trend was already occurring before the development of the Internet, but has been intensified by the Internet.

Interestingly, though, the spread of English is not necessarily privileging the native speakers of the language. The more widely English is used around the world, at least among those who are well-educated, the less special the skill of knowing English becomes. Thus in the 21st century, the monolingual business person or scholar in the USA or England may be at a disadvantage compared to a bilingual person in Germany, Egypt, Korea, or elsewhere where people are learning two or more languages.

Second-language teaching and learning

This brings us to our last and, for many people in this conference, most important question. What are the consequences of these changes for the field of second language teaching and learning? To address this issue, we must ask not only 'What is the role of information technology in language teaching?' but more importantly, 'What is the role of language teaching in the information technology society?' (paraphrased from Bossert, 1996) This is because all the above-mentioned changes in language and literacy influence the context of language teaching and thus affect our educational goals.

First, as I have noted above, an increasing number of people will need to use English on a daily basis as a language of additional communication rather than as an occasional foreign language. This will necessitate a change of attitude toward the language among teachers and learners. I was at a conference in Taiwan recently where one of the speakers asked, 'Why is it that our students learn in their English classes to talk about the British parliament but not about our local government institutions? Why do they learn to talk about British media and cultural artifacts, but not about our own media or culture?'

And indeed, why? English language educators need to develop activities that infuse learners with the understanding that English is their own language, not somebody else's, by allowing them to use the language for authentic communication about things important to themselves and their community, beginning at a young age. The changing role of global Englishes means that we will also need to take seriously the question of bi- or multidialectism, taking into account the needs of learners. It may be that Japanese university students hoping to pass the TOEFL exam will need and want to study only one dialect: standard American English. But primary students in Calcutta, secondary students in Hong Kong, or adult workers in Dubai may all need to master more than one dialect, for either productive or receptive communication.

A second point of concern to language educators is that educated citizens in the 21st century will need to use English not only for simple communication, but rather for the kinds complex negotiation, collaboration, analysis, critique, and construction of knowledge required by an information economy and society. In tomorrow's world, the standard language-based syllabi – formed by lists of structures of functions to be mastered – will not suffice. We can no longer practice TENOR – Teaching English for No Obvious Reason (Medgyes, 1986). Instead, we must practice principles of situated learning. In other words, engaging learners in the kinds of authentic tasks and problem-solving activities that they will actually need in the future (Collins, Brown, and Newman, 1989). Having our students carry out complex project work – involving negotiation, collaboration, goal-setting, meaningful communication, and development of challenging products – will prepare them for the kinds of English language usages which will benefit their future lives as productive citizens.

Finally, as discussed earlier, students will need to develop a whole new range of English language literacies, which involve emerging forms of communication, reading, and writing using online technologies. And this in a sense will be natural for the next generation, which at least in the developed countries, will be as familiar with computers as we are with books and journals. But just as growing up around print does not necessarily make one a good reader and writer, so growing up around computers does not ensure one can become an effective communicator in online realms.

If we want to facilitate our students' developing new electronic literacies, we have to break away from the notion that computers and the Internet comprise an optional tool to use in the language class, like a tape recorder. If I may paraphrase Poster (1997), the effects of the Internet are less like those of a tape recorder and more like those of Australia. In other words, the Internet is an important social environment, rather than a tool or thing. And it is becoming a major, in some ways the major environment in which people use English for reading, writing, and interpersonal communication. If we want people to know how to function in Australia, chances are we're going to have to take them there. And if we want people to learn how to communicate, read, and write in online environments, we're going to have to take them there as well.

How then do we put these various pieces together? I would suggest that most pedagogical frameworks currently practised or advocated are insufficient to allow students to develop the advanced communication skills required in the 21st century. Certainly this is true of linguistic syllabi, but even the proponents of task-based syllabi often focus their goals and means too narrowly. What we need instead is project-based learning, with students having the opportunity to engage in learner-centered collaborative projects, working together with their classmates and with others around the world, using a variety of technological means. These kinds of projects can nurture the kind of autonomous learning required for 21st century success. Following the recommendations of the New London Group (1996), I would suggest that such project-based learning incorporate the following elements:

1 *Immersion in situated practice.* In other words, practice in authentic communicative situations which are similar to those learners will encounter outside the classroom.

2 *Overt instruction*. Sophisticated communication skills usually do not develop through immersion in practice alone. Students also need the opportunity to step back under the guidance of a teacher or mentor to critically analyse the content, coherence, organisation, pragmatics, syntax, and lexis of communication. Linguistic elements are not ignored but are taught in context at the point of need.

3 *Critical framing*. Effective cross-cultural communication and collaboration, including making effective use of information found in online networks, necessitates a high degree of critical interpretation. The instructor's overt role thus should extend beyond narrow language items to also help students learn to critically interpret information and communication in social context.

4 *Transformed practice*. Based on overt instruction and critical framing, students can then raise their practice to a new level by working for a higher-quality outcome within a particular social context, or applying what they have learned in a new social and cultural context.

An excellent example of this type of pedagogical approach is provided by Kern (1996), who described an email exchange project between a class of secondary students of English in France and students of French in California. The students, who in both cases were mostly either immigrants or children of immigrants, used the Internet to discuss issues related to the immigrant experience in both the English and French languages. The teachers helped them to analyse the new language forms they were encountering in their communication, and also helped them to think critically about the immigrant experience from a cross-cultural perspective. This project involved a series of formal essays, concluding with an essay on what it really means to be French or American.

Currently, such types of projects are used infrequently in language classes. Few teachers have the regular access to computer laboratories to carry out such projects, even at the college level, let alone at the K-12 level. In addition, the students' language level is often too low for such work, or course schedules are too rigid due to system-wide required syllabi. But the price of computers will continue to fall and computers will become more common in schools. And students will become better at English as they begin to study and use it at younger ages, as is happening in many countries in the world.

Finally as seen by the English-French bilingual project, which focused on the learning of both languages, new pedagogical approaches need not be limited to the teaching of English. Indeed, the Internet is proving to be effective for linking together learners of minority languages and is being used extensively in language revitalisation programs in Hawai'i and elsewhere (Warschauer, 1998; Warschauer and Donaghy, 1997).

Conclusion

In conclusion, while the Internet is a new social environment, it builds on many other media developments of the 20th century. In particular the Internet extends the general media trend of the last few decades toward differentiation and stratification. Thirty years ago all of us in one country were watching the same two or three television networks and listening to a handful of AM radio stations. Even before the development of the Internet, we have in the last few decades gained access to a much greater variety of media, including dozens or even hundreds of cable television stations. And now the Internet, by creating an infinite number of channels, not just for receiving information but also for producing and publishing it, magnifies this trend (see discussion in Castells, 1996).

But it also magnifies the underlying social stratification. With greater media choices available, cultural and educational differences become essential in determining whether we can take advantage of these choices for our own personal and professional development. Education will play a key role in determining who becomes the interacted in the new networked society and who becomes the interacting – in other words, who has the language, communication, and technological multiliteracies required to become active shapers of the multimedia future rather than mere recipients of prepackaged choices (Castells, 1996). And language classrooms will be one important place where these new educational opportunities are found, or missed.

So as language educators, as teacher trainers, and as researchers, it is incumbent upon all of us in the field of applied linguists to understand how language, literacy, and education are evolving. Global society is not entering a mythical realm of cyberspace, but people are beginning to communicate, read, write, and learn in new and different ways. The relevance of applied linguistics in the 21st century will depend in part on whether it can fully come to grips with these changes. Working together we can help build a world where our children learn, in many languages, not only how to surf the net, but also how to make waves (Shneiderman, 1997).

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Language and ecology: ecolinguistic perspectives for 2000 and beyond

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Abstract
'Classism, growthism, destruction of species, pollution and the like – are not just problems for the biologists and the physicists. They are problems for the applied linguistic community as well.' With these words Michael Halliday ended his talk on 'New Ways of Meaning' at the 1990 AILA conference in Saloniki (1992:91). At the same conference, the term 'ecolinguistics' was first introduced into the debate on language and ecology by a group of enthusiasts around Frans Verhagen. In the meantime, applied linguists have taken up the problems Halliday mentioned, while others have formed a scientific commission for language and ecology within AILA, and have organised a number of workshops and symposia on the topic (one of them taking place at the Tokyo conference 1999). Other events will follow. It is thus a thriving field whose perspectives for 2000 and beyond are now to be discussed.

What is ecolinguistics?

To give an overview of ecolinguistics, I begin with three main principles of ecology, which are also those of ecolinguistics:

- recognising, defending **diversity** (the overall principle)
- recognising **mutual interaction**
- perceiving **wholeness** and **unity** rather than fragmentation

The formula 'diversity + interaction = wholeness and unity' can be said to summarise ecological thinking – if in a somewhat simplified way. Among the topics in linguistics which can be dealt with from this ecological perspective are the following:

- linguistic diversity (its causes, forms, functions and consequences)
- threatened languages (the documentation and salvation of small and endangered languages)
- the relation between biological and linguistic/cultural diversity
- ecocriticism: finding ecological and unecological elements in the language system (grammar); processes of deep ecologisation
- ecocritical discourse analysis: texts about environmental issues; ideologies (growthism, anthropocentrism, racism, sexism…) in discourse; surface ecologisation in texts
- teaching ecoliteracy (i.e. knowledge about the interconnectedness of the world)
- establishing theories of language based on principles of ecology.

(see Door, Bang, 1996; Finke, 1996)

In this paper, the following topic areas will be selected for discussion:

- the ecology of language(s) – diversity, language endangerment etc.
- ecological and unecological elements in the language system
- ecocritical discourse analysis.

The ecology of language(s)

The discussion of this topic takes us 30 years back to 1970, when Einar Haugen, in a now famous talk, defined language ecology in the following way:

> Language ecology may be defined as the study of interactions between any given language and its environment. (Haugen, 1972:323)

By using the analogy from ecology and environment, Haugen created a metaphor with which a new approach to multilingualism and language diversity was made possible. Haugen, who himself had already found an allusion to ecology in a paper by Voegelin and Voegelin (1964:2), explains the use of this metaphor in the following way:

> Ecology suggests a dynamic rather than a static science, something beyond the descriptive that one might call predictive and even therapeutic. What will be, or should be, for example, the role of 'small' languages: and how can they or any other language be made 'better', 'richer', and more 'fruitful' for mankind? (Haugen, 1972:329)

Haugen's paradigm was meant for the interrelation of languages in the human mind as well as in societies and is thus also applicable to such topics as multilingualism and language attrition. The paradigm, however, was and still is chiefly used for the topic addressed in the second part of the above quotation, i.e. the situation of languages competing with each other in a society, community or country, even the whole world. Taking up the Haugenian metaphor, William F. Mackey writes:

> Just as competition for limited bio-resources creates conflict in nature, so also with languages. If a small fish gets in contact with a big fish, it is the smaller which is more likely to disappear. (Mackey, 1980:35)

Norman Denison uses a similar comparison when he writes:

> … there has, over the past decade or so, arisen a tendency to extend the feeling for threatened biological species to a similar concern for threatened varieties and traditions of spiritual and material human culture, including linguistic varieties and traditions. (Denison, 1982:8)

Around the turn of the 21st century, language ecology of the Haugenian tradition more and more concerns itself with the situation of many of the world's languages, which parallels that of many species of animals and plants, i.e. the danger of becoming extinct! The ecology of language(s) thus merges with the movement for the salvation of endangered languages, which is gaining strength at the same time.

Unless action is taken to support and foster linguistic diversity, some scholars have estimated that perhaps 50 per cent of the extant languages – conceivably as many as 90 per cent – may become extinct, or doomed to extinction, as native tongues at the end of the 21st century. This is from the Internet page (1999) of an organisation called Terralingua (based in Geneva, Roskilde and Hancock, Michigan), whose aim is to:

(1) support the perpetuation and continued development of the world's linguistic diversity, and to

(2) explore the connexions between linguistic, cultural and biological diversity through research, information, applied work and advocacy.

Terralingua is just one of many organisations which try to preserve linguistic diversity and study its relation with biological diversity. One of them is in Tokyo, called The International Clearning House for Endangered Languages (founded in 1994), which, among other languages, concerns itself with Ainu, spoken (formerly?) by some inhabitants of Hokkaido, and the dialects of the Japanese language, which are also in danger of disappearing (see AILA 1999 symposium 6.026 on this topic).

Europe, too, is among the areas concerned. Tapani Salminen from Helsinki, in the *Unesco Red Book Report on Endangered Languages*, writes that of ca. 135 languages in Europe: 13 are extinct; 9 nearly extinct (tens of speakers, all elderly); 26 seriously endangered (practically no children); 38 endangered (children, but diminishing use); 6 potentially endangered (no official status); 44 not endangered.

Since at AILA 1999 several symposia concern themselves with 'language endangerment', the discussion should perhaps not be carried any further at this point except for the following remarks: from the ecolinguistic point of view the languages of the world form an ecosystem which is in danger of becoming destabilised for economic reasons. All efforts directed at maintaining this equilibrium are welcome from the ecolinguistic point of view. On the other hand, on a higher level, one might ask: can outside organisations like the ones mentioned help languages to survive? Do they even have the right to interfere?

Quite apart from the topic of threatened languages, linguistic diversity – as long as it still exists – is an interesting object of research in itself. Why, for instance, one might ask, is Melanesia the country with the world's greatest linguistic diversity (750 Papuan languages plus 400 Austronesian languages)? Or should one ask, as Don Laycock does (1982) why there are so few languages, relatively, in Europe, Asia, or Africa?

What are the pressures towards (language) diversification (see also Harré, Brockmeier, Mühlhäusler, 1999:139 f.)? Are they 'the inbuilt mechanisms of linguistic change that will, unchecked, make the speech of two separated communities of the same original language mutually unintelligible in approximately 500 years…'? (Laycock, 1982:32) Or is linguistic diversity connected with the amount of rainfall an area gets – drier areas needing a common language more urgently to share food supplies (anthropologist Daniel Nettle, reported by Glausiusz, 1997)? What role do such groupings as women and men, children, adults and old people play in the creation of language diversity?

The natural diversity of language is almost incredible. Laycock writes:

> My personal observation in [an area of] Papua New Guinea suggests that the maximum number of persons in that country speaking exactly the same dialect of any language is about five hundred. In every village of more than five hundred people, there are at least two identifiable hamlet dialects; and every language which is spoken in more than one village tends to have a recognisable form of speech for each village. (Laycock, 1982:32)

'It wouldn't be any good if we all talked the same; we like to know where people come from' is reported by Laycock as a cause of the diversity given by the inhabitants of Papua New Guinea themselves. But diversity of languages may also have functions connected with the maintenance of peace and stability. One question which has as yet not found an empirically based answer is the following: is peace more likely with many languages (of different 'sizes') or with just a few big ones?

To conclude the first part of this paper, here is a story reported by Peter Mühlhäusler (1996b:127, quoted from Milner, 1984:18), which illustrates the relation between linguistic and biological diversity:

> One day … as I scanned my Fijian newspaper, I came across the word *elikoputa*. Five syllables, so it sounds like, and it is, a loan-word from English. It seemed to me that one could do a little better than that. It was the time of year when there are a lot of dragon-flies about in Suva. Could one not use the Fijian name for them, cecewai, for a helicopter? After all, the resemblance is striking. Full of my ingenuity, I went to see the Fijian editor, who listened to me gravely and politely. He said that he would consider my suggestion. Full of a sense of achievement, I mentioned this idea to Dr Paul Geraghty of the Fijian Dictionary Project. He smiled. 'What you don't realise', he said to me, 'is that like

> you, Fijian boys have also seen the resemblance between a dragon-fly and a helicopter. But you're too late. They call dragon-flies elikoputa.'

'With the world opening up, languages are losers' the *New York Times* wrote in May this year. 'The big languages have become much more attractive because what they offer now is access to the whole industrial economy' (Nettle, reported by Glausiusz, 1997; see also Mühlhäusler, 1996a). And this is of course the problem with both linguistic and biological diversity. The forces of industrial economy work against them. But there is hope: the principle of tension will come to the rescue to save some of this diversity. Tension is a fundamental human need which will prevent everything becoming the same. Tension in all areas of life is intimately connected with diversity and interaction. The role of the tension principle (as an ecological principle) would be worth studying in greater detail both inside and outside linguistics.

As has been shown, a great number of research tasks concerning linguistic diversity and the dangers of its getting lost await the ecolinguist of the Haugenian tradition in the 21st century. In addition to the topics mentioned, the development of an international English, code-switching, pidginisation and creolisation are topics which can be seen in the wider context of an ecology of languages. Generally, the role of diversity, interaction and tension in the negotiation of conflict and peace will have to be investigated in the 21st century in the context of an ecology of language.

Finding ecological and unecological elements in the language system: a fragmented or a holistic view of the world?

Since Michael Halliday's ground-breaking talk at the 1990 AILA conference in Saloniki, 'holism or fragmentation' has been an important topic within ecolinguistics. The three questions to be answered are the following:

- To what extent does the language system (for Halliday 'the grammar') contain elements which are ecological or unecological?
- To what extent do these linguistic facts influence people's thinking and acting?
- 'How can language be used to shape a bio-centric worldview away from an excessively anthropocentric and mechanistic worldview?' (Verhagen, 1993:117)

Halliday himself strongly supports the influence of language on belief systems; his repeatedly used phrase 'language construes the world' gives evidence of this. But the world also construes language, and there is a continuous cycle of influences between them, an ecological interaction, so to speak. Ecolinguistics here opens a vast field for fundamental research (*'Grundlagen-forschung'*) on the extent to which language influences our thinking and thinking our language. For the moment – since we have not yet got this research – I will assume (with Sapir, Whorf, Hayakawa, Halliday, Lakoff, and Johnson) that the influence is there and is mutual, without being quantifiable.

The following is a list of qualities of the language system (in particular the English language system) which may contribute to unecological thought and action. The list is compiled from work by Halliday, Goatly, Chawla, Mühlhäusler, Raglon and others.

- separation of agent, experiencer, affected, action, object and circumstances (Goatly, 1996:547)
- categorisation of phenomena into processes and things (Goatly, ibid.) contrasts (big vs small, mountain vs valley, nature vs culture, Raglon, 1991)
- causality (teach, cure, kill, show), which expresses superiority (Mühlhäusler, 1994)[1]
- possessive pronouns (my dog, my land) (Mühlhäusler, 1994)[2]
- time words and tense systems (Chawla, 1991).[3]
- separation of humans, animals, plants
- pronominal system (Halliday)
- different words for dying, eating, offspring…
- exclusion of certain collocations for non-animates
- classifying systems for the different species
- writing systems, which favour fragmentation
- uncountable nouns for energy, air, water… suggesting unlimited resources (Halliday, 1992)
- anthropocentrism (see below)
- growthism, sexism, classism, ethnocentrism
- the growth word serves as the neutral term (how fast is the car, how big is the house, how long is the journey… Halliday, 1992)
- growth with agreeable connotations (the more the merrier…), shrinkage disagreeable
- metaphors (the rape of Mother Nature, virgin forests… see Berman, 1994 on eco-feminism).

Most items on this list could be subsumed under the theme of fragmentation, a recurring topic in investigations on language and ecology. Fragmentation occurs on several levels: language offers a fragmented picture of the world, since it separates Agent from Experiencer, Agent from Action, Object from circumstances and so on (a really ecological language, it is argued, would have a mode with which activity could be expressed without this separation); it also separates humans from animals, living beings from 'lifeless' matter, and splits up the world into parts of contrasts, and so on. Even anthropocentrism and growthism, which will be treated separately below, could be regarded as manifestations of fragmentation. The different forms of fragmentation will now be discussed in more detail.

A process of fragmentation

Let us first look at an example sentence, which shows that what is really one process consists of agents, and action, experiencers and place:

The foxes nearly eradicated the rabbits in Newfoundland.

agent – action – experiencer – place

The grammar of our Standard Average European (SAE) languages expresses agents, processes, experiencers and other 'elements' separately instead of blurring these distinctions and showing processes in the world as one interrelated system. Consider also the following two examples:

The hunters killed the seals.

Ten people climbed the mountain.

These sentences are 'transitive', i.e. a 'doer' is expressed separately from 'that to which something is done'.

The following critique of transitivity is taken from research by Goatly (cf. 1996, 1997). According to him, transitivity is not consonant with a view of the world as one Gaia where processes are not fragmented but interrelated in a global network. Transitivity congruently expresses the Newtonian world view, which holds (adapted from Goatly, 1996:544):

'that nature is passive and controllable' by humans

'that man is outside the nature or matter he describes and acts on'.

But these pillars of Newtonian science are now shaken by modern scientific theory, in particular by thermodynamics and self-organisation theory; chaos theory; relativity theory; Heisenberg's theory of wholeness (cf. his title *Der Teil und das Ganze*); and Gaia theory (Lovelock, 1988).

Deep ecologisation

What Goatly suggests is that 'there may be resources developing or developable within English grammar' which do justice to new scientific world views (1997:250). Among these resources could be the following, which will be discussed in this order: nominalisation, existential constructions, ergative constructions, reciprocal verbs.

Nominalisation When instead of saying, 'the foxes reduced the number of rabbits' we say, 'this reduction', we eliminate the AGENT, the PATIENT, the TENSE, the MODE, and only express the process! Thus, nouns can realise processes without fragmenting them and without expressing time and mode or external cause. On the other hand, nominalisation may be an all too simple way of avoiding saying what really happened: in texts on the environment, 'the killings', 'meat production' 'animal experimentation' and other nominalisations palliate over the cruel treatment of nature through humans.

The existential construction, together with nominalisation, helps to express process without agent, e.g.:

There was an increase in food production.

Another linguistic device which may show process rather than agency is the ergative construction (see also Gerbig, 1993):

The earth warmed.

The ozone layer depleted.

Here a reality is construed 'in which energy is not simply imposed on an inert nature from the outside to produce change, as in the transitive Newtonian model, but in which nature provides its own energy, and its own propensity for spontaneous change.' (Goatly, 1996:552).

Reciprocal verbs, too, deemphasise cause and effect and abolish, 'as it were, the distinction between Agent and Affected' (Goatly, 1996:550). Examples (from Goatly): meet, touch, interact, collide, fight, clash, marry. Other verbs such as to warm, to influence, hit, feel, increase do not yet allow a reciprocal meaning (they may, however, at some point in the future). Notice the unacceptability of:

Increasing traffic and the atmosphere influence.

The possibilities mentioned already exist in English, but they may widen their applicability. Goatly suggests that languages may develop, as part of an adaptive process, more and more ways in which ecological ideas such as the interrelatedness of processes are expressed in the grammar, and that the fragmentation which at present is contained in parts of English grammar, will be mitigated. This 'deep ecologisation' of language, as one might call it, may in the long run contribute to more ecological thinking and greater awareness of ecological facts and problems.

The question is: will deep ecologisation take hold of the SAE languages or will unecological qualities of our languages be adopted elsewhere, as Chawla (1991:262) fears: 'Alarmingly these language habits [i.e. of fragmentation] are now being adopted by other cultures, as the language of technology, the English language, becomes a world language.' One could speak of two opposing forces which govern language change: the ecologising forces which lead towards showing the world as one process, and the forces which lead to fragmentation. Which of them will be the stronger one?

The anthropocentrism of language

Another important unecological feature of language systems is their anthropocentrism. One could argue that it is an obvious and unavoidable fact that languages are anthropocentric, i.e. represent the world from the point of view of humans: after all, languages are human communication systems which mirror the possibilities (and limits) of human cognition.

However, ecolinguistic criticism of 'anthropocentrism' focuses on the fact that languages not only show the world as humans perceive it, but interpret it so as to show the usefulness of each part of nature for humans. We speak of beneficial plants as opposed to weeds, of waste land, arable land, land uses, inhabitable areas, hostile parts of the world: all these designations show an interpretation of the world as something there for human use (for more examples see Fill, 1993, ch. 6).

But the anthropocentrism goes deeper. For instance, our languages do not have a word for 'a not economically useful, un-marketable … plant contributing to natural balance (in other words, a positive weed)' (Mühlhäusler, 1983:73). Hunters name the body parts of animals from things: they speak of mask, brush, slot, pads, the quarry, trophies, the bag, and harvesting (killing). They use names of inanimate objects thus making it easier to kill animate beings.[4] Neither does the meat of animals, in English, contain the animal name (cf. calf – veal; cow – beef etc.). We euphemise our killing and multiple use of animals to make it easier for us to continue with this practice, when we speak for instance of meat 'production', 'plant protection', 'harvesting' natural resources, 'wildlife management', 'developing' an area, and so on.

Beth Schultz (1992:7 f.) has collected a list of 'exploitative words' (left) and corresponding alternatives of 'non-exploitative language' (right), e.g.

developing an area – building a house, factory
land reclamation – wetland drainage
production forest – forest used for industry; forestry
sterilised land – land protected from destructive exploitation
a resource – a forest, land, an ocean, a river, water, and so on.

The word environment, too, could be re-named more ecologically 'convironment', stressing togetherness and non-separation.

Growthism is a special manifestation of anthropocentrism. 'How big is the house,' we say, not 'how small', 'how fast is the car,' not 'how slow.' 'This town has just over 30,000 inhabitants,' we state condescendingly. 'We've made the concept of small really big', an advert for mobile phones reads: even smallness is only good when it's big!

Ethnocentrism is related to anthropocentrism: we speak of a 'wilderness' and mean perhaps an area cultivated for thousands of years by a group of people, thus transferring our standards to the whole of humanity (cf Penman, 1992).

We also transfer our notions of beauty to all other cultures – and to nature. A lion for us is more beautiful than a hyena. Beauty itself is an anthropocentric, in many cases androcentric notion, intimately connected with the growth of everything human.

It is to be hoped that (perhaps as the result of growing language awareness) languages will develop in the direction of 'the decentering of humanity' (Goatly, 1996:556), perhaps by allowing more equations like 'small is beautiful'. This 'deep ecologisation' of language stands in contrast to the 'surface ecologisation' of discourse which will be dealt with in the final section of this paper.

The study of ecological and unecological elements in language will provide research possibilities at least for the next hundred years: different languages will have to be compared with regard to their ecological and unecological grammar; in particular, the s.a.e. languages will have to be contrasted with African, Asian, native American, Aboriginal and Pacific languages; language change will have to be scrutinised with regard to its leading away from or towards fragmentation; the effect of grammar on thought in general will have to be researched into; differing degrees of anthropocentrism are to be explored in the languages of the world, as well as different forms of categorising and classifying nature (see Harré, Brockmeier, Mühlhäusler, 1999:147-57): all this should be done not so much to bring about change but rather to create an awareness of different possibilities. I can agree with the following statement by Mühlhäusler:

> I do not wish to claim that [distinctions made by other languages] should be introduced into English and other SAE languages by acts of planning. However, it would seem important to be aware of the many possibilities, i.e. ways in which languages other than the ones familiar to most Europeans emphasize and deemphasize aspects of the environment. (Mühlhäusler, 1983:77)

Spoken and written discourse on ecological and environmental issues; ecocritical analysis of 'Greenspeak'; green ideas in advertising

Even before critical linguistics, ecolinguists criticised the language used in texts on the (so-called) environment, on animals, plants, food, and on ecological problems. However, since the advent of critical discourse analysis, this part of ecolinguistics can now be seen as an extension of it, for which the term 'ecocritical analysis of discourse' can be suggested. The discourse to be criticised concerns 'the ways in which issues of the environment are presented, be it in written, spoken or pictorial form', for which Harré/Brockmeier/Mühlhäusler (1999:vii) have coined the term 'Greenspeak'.

From the many topics of ecocritical discourse analysis, I would like to pick that of surface ecologisation, i.e. the process of superficial greening which we have seen taking place in genres such as advertising, political speeches, and commercial articles over the last 30 years.

What has happened is that in the 1970s, 1980s and early 1990s, public discourse has taken more account of the fact that consumers (and voters) have become environment conscious and ecology sensitive. Thus, instead of advertising a product from the nature-defying, technology-centred side, which was done earlier, companies now emphasise the environment-friendly nature of their products and bring in technical terms from ecology and environmentalism, like recycling and bio-diversity (cf. Howlett, Raglon, 1992). To what extent this surface ecologisation of public discourse is a type of manipulatory use of language and to what extent power is exerted, could be the subject of further research.

If one were to make a statistical analysis of this ecologisation, say, count the number of green advertisements for each year in for instance *Time* or *Newsweek*, one would probably find a steady increase up to the mid-1990s and then a stagnation and slight decrease again. This mirrors the development of public awareness of ecological problems, the rise and (more recently) slight fall of public interest in environmental issues.

To give an example, the development of expenditure of the state on environmental research in my home country, Austria, shows a sharp increase from 1988 to 1993, a further slight increase to 1994, which marks the peak of this development, and then a slight decrease again with figures becoming stabilised on a high level – but not as high as the peak year 1994. Similar curves will be found for all developments concerning public interest in ecology and environment. There is certainly a correlation between these changes in public attitudes and awarenesses and the degrees of surface greening in language – a relation which could be another topic for ecolinguistic research in the next century.

The following seven examples of surface ecologisation (1, 3 and 4 taken from Eiletz, 1998) show various linguistic strategies used to make products appear greener – products, in most cases, which are not particularly environment friendly in themselves. The texts also in a way 'exploit' the idea of nature by using it as attention attractor.

Example 1 A car manufacturing firm advertises its product with the headline: 'Our most original ideas are RECYCLED' (*Time*, 15 December 1997). The headline shows RECYCLED in capital letters, with the contrast to original producing a pun on recycled: its ecological meaning ('re-using resources') and its transferred meaning ('using something again, copying it') are both present in the headline. In the picture below the headline, a field of flowers reflected on a car acts as attention attractor. In the body copy itself, the environmental terms in capitals stick out: we read that the body of the car is '100% recyclable – light-weight aluminum shell – just as strong as steel, but gentler on the gas pump'. The outcome is that the car is 'safer for the environment'. The firm claims to be selling 'environmentally responsible cars which combine even better fuel economy and high recyclability – powered by the latest technology'.

This advertisement, like many superficially ecologised texts, shows a combination of 'technological appeal' and 'green language' – a strategy called 'greenwashing'. The idea is to suggest that state-of-the-art technology is by no means damaging to the environment but, on the contrary, carries advantages for the natural environment as well as benefits for the user (Eiletz, 1998:138-140).

Example 2 Airlines frequently use nature as attention attractor, as in the following example by Austrian Airlines. The headline is 'Like a smile in the sky'. The attention attractor, or picture, is of a flower with petals flying off. The airline company here offers a 'natural' attention attractor (the flower) which creates associations with the sequence 'she loves me, she loves me not …'. The petals flying off the flower are all linked with particular destinations of the airline. The 'smile in the sky' is a smiley face produced by the exhaust fumes of an aeroplane.

Example 3 The following advertising example, along with examples 4 and 5, show a paradoxical combination of 'greenness' with 'growthism'. Surface ecologisation manifests itself in the fact that under a tarnish of greenness the idea that 'growth is great' and 'big is beautiful' becomes apparent. The headline reads 'Today, when you think of Indonesia, think BIG'. The picture is of a rain forest and undersea garden. (*Forbes*, 26 February 1996)

This advertisement relies on the readers' love of nature, but also of growth and size. It is nature that is advertised – but BIG nature! In the body copy we read: 'Indonesia's tropical forests are the world's third largest, and its coastline is the world's longest. Its forests are bigger than all of America's National Parks and Forests combined … Its 50,000 mile shoreline surrounds over 17,000 islands where the world's largest shallow waters cover spectacular undersea gardens …' The advertisers are suggesting that people visit a rain forest more eagerly when it's the world's third largest and prefer a coastline which is the world's longest.

Example 4 An advertisement for a consulting firm carries the headline, 'Who says you can't be big and nimble?' The picture is of an elephant tight-roping over a tree-bridge. (*Forbes*, 4 November 1996)

In contrast to example 3, this advertisement at first seems to draw the concept of size into question. The body copy begins: 'It's a nearly universal paradox. Success produces growth. Growth increases organisational size. And size becomes an inhibitor to future success …' But finally it turns out that size is all right – as long as it's nimble: 'So even a massive, far-flung enterprise can have the balance of a small one.'

Example 5 An advertisement for a mobile phone carries the headline, 'We have made the concept of small really big.' The picture is a giant size phone-user standing in a street. (*Time*, 18 May 1998)

The message of this advertisement is that small is beautiful, but only when it's big, a message supported by the body copy: 'No other GSM phone is as small … yet so big on performance.' The phone offers 'the world's longest standby time and more talk time than any phone in its class.' 'As you can see, the benefits are bigger than ever.' Growthism and anthropocentrism are particularly apparent in the picture, which suggests Man is the centre of the universe and he is really big.

These examples (which could be multiplied) show that advertisers in the 1990s use nature as an attention attractor, use environmental terms with positive associations, and wish to create an image of environment friendliness and ecological care.

Ecocritical analysis, however, reveals the growthism and anthropocentrism which is hidden beneath the surface. The line taken in such texts is to show that care for the environment can be combined with profit making and highly economic aims. The ecolanguage used only thinly disguises the fact (which the firms more or less openly admit) that they (naturally) not only want to sell, but want to grow and reap the rewards of being environment friendly by expanding so much more.

This attitude – showing environmental care on the surface, but in reality caring only for maximum profit and expansion – is also manifest in the ambiguous use of the word 'sustainable' in modern economic discourse. Sustainable is an environmental term denoting a use of nature which leaves the same resources to the next generation that we have today (cf. Penman, 1992).

The following examples illustrate the exploitation of this word, which – without the reader noticing – acquires a more economic, growth-oriented meaning:

Example 6 The following copy is taken from an advertisement for Shell.

> Time and again at Shell we're discovering the **rewards** of respecting the environment when doing **business**. If we're exploring for oil and gas reserves in **sensitive areas of the world**, we consult widely with the different **local and global interest groups**. **Working together**, our aim is to ensure that **bio-diversity in each location is preserved**. We also try to encourage these groups to monitor our **progress** so that we can review and improve the ways in which we work. **We see this process as an important investment in our goal of sustainable development, balancing economic progress with environmental care and social responsibility**. It won't happen overnight. But lessons like these are helping us move forward – with careful steps. (The *Economist*, 27 March 1999, pp. 44-5, emphasis mine)

The text shows an interesting mixture of ecological terminology (respecting the environment, sensitive areas of the world, bio-diversity, sustainable development) and economic vocabulary (rewards, business, monitor our progress, investment, economic progress). The word 'sustainable' is used ambiguously with both an ecological and an economic meaning being possible. The 'investment' in the goal of 'sustainable development' not only involves 'environmental care' but also 'economic progress' and 'social responsibility'.

This double use of 'sustainable' – which thus almost assumes the meaning of 'sustaining growth' – is even more evident in the next example, an excerpt from a speech by the chief executive of BP given at Stanford University.

Example 7 The following body copy uses the idea of sustainability.

> **Real sustainability** is about simultaneously being profitable and responding to the reality and concerns of the world in which you operate. … To be **sustainable**, companies need a **sustainable world**. That means a world where the environmental equilibrium is maintained, **but also a world whose whole population can enjoy the heat, light and mobility which we take for granted and which the oil industry helps to provide**. (*New Statesman*, 20 June 1997, emphasis mine)

The concept of sustainability developed here is further removed from its original ecological meaning. Maintaining the environmental equilibrium is only a side issue: 'real sustainability' is something companies want to have: a sustainable world is one where the products of the oil industry spread to the whole of the world, so that profits are not only sustained but enhanced. The text illustrates what Beth Schultz writes about this term:

> The phrase 'sustainable development' came into common use after the

> publication in 1987 of Our Common Future (the 'Brundtland Report'). However, the commercial users of the environment hijacked the phrase by interpreting it to mean 'sustained development', which is clearly unsustainable… (Schultz, 1992:2)

To unmask surface ecologisation is just one of several tasks that ecocritical discourse analysis sets itself. Another one is the analysis of scientific texts on nature and environment, in which one frequently discovers a passive picture of nature; animals are reduced to mere objects of research which are there only to furnish data and experimental results (for a discussion of this topic see Kahn, 1992 and Fill, 1998). Quite generally, the task of ecocritical discourse analysis is a discourse-ethical one: to watch the use of environmental terminology, the use of metaphors and euphemisms, and to show the ideologies and ethical concepts contained in the language on environmental topics and ecological issues.

Summary

In summing up this paper I would like specifically to point out those areas of ecolinguistics which are most promising for young linguists looking for interesting fields of research.

One of these is linguistic diversity and diversification. The causes, forms and functions of linguistic diversity – and indeed cultural diversity – still await closer scrutiny with modern approaches like self-organisation theory or chaos theory. The connection between linguistic and biological diversity is another open field for research. This research should tell us more about how diversity developed and what its functions are, but might also contribute to preserving both diversity of languages and cultures, and diversity of biological life forms. Finally, the exploration of diversity and diversification may be a contribution to conflict and peace studies: is diversity, one might ask, in all cases a good thing? Does it lead to peace or conflict? Are diversification and unification irreconcilable opposites, or are they universal principles which cooperate in an ecological way?

Another topic to be investigated in more detail concerns the language system, the grammar, and its influence on our thinking in matters ecological. Is there a development of our languages towards what Goatly calls more consonance with ecological ideas in modern science – or are formerly consonant languages moving towards fragmentation? Is there a tendency towards more awareness of the general anthropocentrism of language, and of the specific anthropocentrisms of the particular languages? How can languages be contrasted with regard to ecological and unecological elements in their grammar?

The third topic treated in this paper, ecocritical discourse analysis, offers research opportunities concerning texts on ecology and economy, on the environment and on nature in general. Questions to be asked are: do texts (metaphorically) 'exploit nature' or explore it? Do modern texts (literary as well as non-literary ones) express an understanding of ecological networking or is the old growthism, sexism, ethnocentrism, racism, anthropocentrism only hidden under the surface? The 'deep ecologisation' and the 'surface ecologisation' of language need to be explored more profoundly than has been done so far.

Finally, the topic of ecoliteracy, i.e. understanding the networking interrelations in our world, has to be addressed. The question of how to teach ecoliteracy is one which might interest teachers on all the different levels of instruction.

Exploit or explore – that is indeed the question. Ecolinguistics is on the side of those who explore – diversity and interaction, wholeness and continuity, sustainability and bio-centrism. There is enough exploration to be done in these fields for a hundred years to come.

Notes

1 Mühlhäusler writes: 'However, there is a very different, equally valid way of looking at what goes on in the classroom or in a doctor's practice, as seen in languages such as Wintu, an American Indian language spoken in California, which favours comitative, or 'being with' interpretations. In a Wintu's perception, the doctor takes part in the patient's recovery and the teacher shares the learner's learning progression. It is not at all clear that a causative view of these matters necessarily leads to better teaching or healing practice.' (Mühlhäusler, 1994:20)

2 Mühlhäusler writes: 'Interestingly, to express the notion 'my land' in Barrai [Papua New Guinea], one uses the pronoun for mutual control suggesting interdependence, the need for balance and cooperation between people and the land.' (Mühlhäusler, 1994:21)

3 Chawla writes: 'In the English language, years, centuries, and decades are nouns; they are pluralized and enumerated as if they are touch-and-see objects. In this way, subjective experience of real time has been lost, for no consciousness of being earlier and earlier or later and later is suggested when these words are used.' (Chawla, 1991:255)

4 The language of hunting would be worth investigating from a discourse critical point of view; the naming processes in this special language, and the metaphors used (e.g. harvesting) make this language a special case of anthropocentric code.

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Notes for a definition of applied linguistics in the 21st century

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Abstract
The following notes, prepared for the panel presentation at the AILA Conference in Tokyo, 6 August 1999, were co-developed by Tim McNamara and Chris Candlin as a personal position statement about the nature of applied linguistics, current and future. These notes are included here as the final paper in this volume to present a thought-provoking view of how applied linguistics might continue to develop in the 21st century.

Language learner styles and strategies

- Style and strategy inventories will be a regular feature of language instruction (data will be gathered via the computer – inventories found on the Web), with teachers providing instant mappings of learners in a given group.
- Research will fine-tune the instructional package, which will become tailor-made according to the learners' style, strategy, preferences, and strengths, with modules available on the Web.
- Investigations will have produced more accurate descriptions of how language processing takes place for learners with different style and strategy configurations, across modalities, and especially focusing on reading and writing tasks. Such studies will include neurolinguistic studies of blood flow, to pinpoint anatomically just what sectors of the brain are activated by given language tasks.

Bilingual and immersion education

- Research will demonstrate definitively the benefits of learning subject matter through languages other than the dominant language of the society, including non-use of English in the USA in immersion and other bilingual education formats.

- Magical methods will have been researched and validated for combining form-focused and communicative approaches in elementary, middle, and high school classrooms.
- Research centres will have generated computerised short-cuts to literacy, involving numerous mnemonic devices and other linking methods to assist learners in gaining control of writing systems that are foreign to them (Japanese, Chinese, etc.). By the middle of the 21st century, such methods will be commonplace and will be included along with word processing programs.
- Vocabulary corpuses will have reached new heights of sophistication and utility, and thanks to ingenious ways of researching the best means of vocabulary acquisition, learners of all ages will be receiving vocabulary learning packages catering to their levels and needs.
- The teacher will be in far more of a facilitator/coach/support role than today, thanks to the host of studies identifying precisely which types of individualised instruction are most beneficial to which learners.
- The role of alternative forms of language immersion will be greatly enhanced through research efforts. So, for example, the concept of the immersion language village (as developed by Concordia in Minnesota) will have spread the world over, so that summers will be spent acquiring language in fun, non-bookish ways.

Language assessment

- By the second decade of the 21st century, we will have clarity as to the ultimate benefits of computer-adaptive language testing. It is likely that there will exist tests with different tasks for different people in all modalities, including speaking and writing, with online feedback instantaneously.
- Innovations in computer aided testing will be possible because rating scales will have reached a new level of sophistication. These multitrait scales will be adapted to each and every task, so that it is unlikely there will be two the same. Their levels of reliability and validity will be awesome by today's standards.

Language pragmatics/speech acts

- Research in the 21st century will have attained new means, for example of defining and describing pragmatic ability, especially speech act behaviour, so that language educators will have a firm handle on just what natives know how to do pragmatically. The research studies will be have been conducted primarily by natives of the given languages and cultures.
- Language instructors will be able to teach this information in highly efficient ways, thanks to a multitude of research studies on the teaching

of pragmatics – with a focus on speech acts. This information will be a solid feature of instructional materials which will be largely on the Web.

Research methods

- Our tools for collecting research data will achieve quantum leaps in sophistication. It will be possible to collect vast quantities of data in unobtrusive ways.
- Data analysis will be effortless, as new data analysis programs will process data almost instantly and accurately. Transcriptions will be done by the computer and computer analysed.
- Research will have demonstrated many times over that any instructional innovation is only as innovative as the learners let it be. Highly enhanced means of research, such as through finely-tuned forms of verbal report among other techniques, will help to reveal just how learners are actually relating to each instructional program.

Capturing the dynamic of applied linguistics

Applied linguistics as a field has been in existence for approximately 50 years. During that period it has seen considerable expansion and rapid evolution. From the beginning, attempts were made to define the nature of the discipline, and regularly since that time the field has worked to extend and refine its definition, its *raison d'etre* and its goals. However, such attempts and their results have been occasional and spasmodic. Most recently, and set in the specific applied linguistic context of a debate about the nature of second language acquisition as a field within applied linguistics, this issue of definition has been set within a broader discussion about appropriate epistemologies for the field of applied linguistics in general.

This issue of the definition of the field can also be viewed from another perspective, that of the increasing diversification of its application and engagement. From a starting point in second language education, applied linguistics has now expanded considerably, as the 20 or more Scientific Commissions established within its international body, AILA, bear witness. A further example of this search for self-definition is the multiple locations which host applied linguistics within the academy, in humanities, in social sciences, in education, and in science and technology. Moreover, such a search is not restricted to the traditional and original European and North American heartlands of applied linguistics but increasingly is diversified geographically. Among the 35 or so national and regional affiliates of AILA there are more than 8,000 members working in a range of areas. A glance at the titles of books within publishers' series devoted to applied linguistics further reinforces this sense of diversity.

How then to capture at all, even descriptively, this dynamic? At its heart lies a critical relationship of praxis between contributing research and its theories, issues, and questions arising in realworld communicative practice. Fields in which such questions and issues arise include *inter alia* language education, translation and interpreting, stylistics, language acquisition, both first and second, language assessment, program evaluation, language planning and policy, language and the media, literacy, language pathology, institutional discourses, language and social identities, forensic linguistics, special purpose languages, lexicography, contrastive linguistics, language in social life. Sources of theory contributing to the illumination and explanation of these issues and questions are similarly diverse. They include: linguistics, education, psychology, sociology and social theory, anthropology, literary and cultural theory, philosophy, and measurement, among others. On this view, applied linguistics lies at the heart of the engagement of theory with practice. In this, applied linguistics as an academic endeavour most resembles other professionally-focused academic fields such as medicine, law, and engineering. What is distinctive about applied linguistics is that language is at its heart, as goal and as means, and it is so because it is language which lies at the heart of the problems with which applied linguistics is engaged.

To say this, however, runs the risk of defining applied linguistics in the terms set by the areas of application with which it is engaged. To do this without determining what applied linguistics itself represents theoretically and in terms of methodology, is to miss its true originality and distinctiveness. We need to make a stronger argument, one which places applied linguistics in the context of broader and contemporary intellectual debates about disciplinarity.

In this debate, the idea of single metatheory as defining of an academic discipline has been radically challenged, to be replaced by a requirement on any field that it permit and accommodate the coexistence of contradictory paradigms, with their distinctive and overlapping discourses. It is in terms of this requirement that applied linguistics presents a canonical case of interdisciplinarity. These challenges to the notion of unitary disciplines illuminate the character of applied linguistics, marked as it is by diversity, plurality and lack of an overarching single theory and set of procedures. Applied linguistics occupies essentially that pluricentrist position characteristic of the postmodern intellectual condition. It is this which best makes applied linguistics adaptive to change, resilient, and accommodative of contradiction, and positions it to address the challenges of new issues and problems in language and its use.

On this reading, and in my view, the apparently fragmented nature of the field, as seen by some commentators, is not a negative but becomes in fact the source of strength of a vibrant, dynamic, and responsive applied linguistics. In essence, this view reflects a position taken by Chris Brumfit of the UK in a plenary presentation at the 1996 AILA World Congress, but is also one reflected in many contemporary writings on applied linguistics, for example, by Pennycook, Candlin, Rampton and others.

One example of this lies in the discussion within applied linguistics about directionality. At the outset, applied linguistics was defined essentially in terms of the application of insights and descriptions from a single source discipline, namely linguistics. Over time, not only has this unitary source been challenged, as we see above, but so also has the issue of directionality itself, though perhaps it slumbers still. Current thinking in applied linguistics now strongly emphasises the bidirectionality of theoretical contribution and the mutualities between applied linguistics and its source disciplines, and between such multiple theories and the diversity of practices in which applied linguists are engaged. It is not at all surprising, in this context, that the titles of two major applied linguistics Association meetings in the USA and the UK in the year 2000 talk in terms of 'boundary crossing' and 'change and continuity' in applied linguistics. For it is in the process of application that opportunities arise for theoretically relevant contributions to be made to the source disciplines themselves. But in the view I take here, this position on bidirectionality is necessary but not sufficient. As such it cannot stand as a definer of the field. The debate to date about the status of applied linguistics has been one surrounding issues of disciplinary autonomy. What I argue for moves beyond this position to one where the theoretical diversity and interdisciplinary applicability of applied linguistics, far from raising issues of its dependency and insufficiency, in fact constitutes its claim to significance and legitimacy in the context of the current academic condition to which I refer.

It is against this background, therefore, that a debate to capture the diversity of applied linguistics and also highlight its central tenets, could not be more timely, and in two senses: first, in relation to the definition of applied linguistics itself as a field, and, second, in terms of the larger discussion of disciplinarity, where applied linguistics presents a criterial case. The intellectual heart of the challenges facing AILA becomes thus one of problematising the nature of the discipline of applied linguistics by adopting a historical and socioculturally grounded perspective on its intellectual and practical development, and by interrogating the stages and movements in terms of concepts and methodologies within that development at each point. The ongoing provisionality of applied linguistics revealed through this process will, in my view, represent, from a postmodern perspective, the strength and wider relevance of the field. At the same time, a focus on methodologies and modes of practice within our pluridiscipline will emphasise the community of practice which is applied linguistics, at one time diverse, yet still identifiable and collegial, as is manifest in our Congresses and our affiliate meetings and our publications. In my view, the current explosion of interest and growth in applied linguistics is a direct consequence of this interdiscursivity, gaining from a recognition, as Brumfit put it so well, of 'difference within a context of similarity'.

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