

SPECIAL LANGUAGE MANAGEMENT – PARAMETERS AND CONSTRAINTS

Abstract

This paper deals with principles of language planning within LSP. Some initial theses are presented, a distinction is made between 'management' and 'planning', and five parameters of such planning/management are discussed. The paper firmly asserts that the free forces of the 'language market' should be constrained, and that language management is possible.

1 AIM AND SCOPE

The purpose of this paper is to deal with the ways in which language planning, or rather language 'management' as I shall put it, deserves theoretical discussion and semiotic underpinning like any other tenet or subfield of LSP. My point of departure is the following thesis: "Language management is always possible" (cf. Laurén & al. 2008, thesis 10, below). The concept of 'management' is used in a broad sense to include all sorts of steps constraining free language development. In particular, in the second part of my paper, I shall discuss the following five parameters of Special Language Planning (SLP):

1. Domain dynamics
2. Horizontal vs. vertical specialization
3. Convention and subversion
4. Indeterminacy

The acronyms LP (Language Planning) and LSP are well established and have a very precise reference. If nothing else is explicitly stated I shall in the following be using the convenient and not so established or precise acronym "SLP" for "Special Language Planning" in a broad sense referring to "language planning in an LSP context". This acronym will then be used to refer to LSP, Terminology and Terminology Planning as well as all other relevant aspects of LSP that imply prescriptive measures.

The background and main source of my paper is Laurén, Ch. & J. Myking & H. Picht in collaboration with S. Jónsson: *Insikter om insikt. Nordiska teser om terminologi och fackkommunikation* (= "Insights about insight. Nordic theses about special communication", Laurén & al. 2008). My initial thesis is one of a set of ten theses that read as follows:

1. Specialised communication is a cultural and semiotic phenomenon;
2. Specialised communication is a legitimate object of linguistic research;
3. Research in specialised communication (including terminology) should be considered a subdiscipline of linguistics just as socio- or psycholinguistics, etc.;
4. There are no fixed boundaries between specialised communication and other forms of communication;
5. There are, consequently, no fixed boundaries between terms and vocabulary & phraseology in general;
6. The relationship between a special subject field and its forms of representation is arbitrary, but not necessarily unmotivated;
7. Forms of representation vary according to communicative needs;
8. Conversion between forms of representation is always possible, but the outcome is not always predictable;
9. A special subject field has a conscious conceptual ordering (structuring), which changes according to epistemological development;
10. Both language usage and language system are subject to management (re-worded as already quoted).

Why is this thesis necessary, and how is it motivated? To some, this thesis is self-evident to the extent of being trivial; to others, the idea is controversial to the extent of being completely unacceptable. There is a conflict between the social relevance of LSP, which is generally recognised, and recent challenges from theoretical directions questioning the idea of 'prescriptivism', especially in terminology during the last decade (cf. Myking 2001). Whether trivial or unacceptable, this thesis is, I believe, crucial to the social rationale of SLP, and consequently its scope as well as its limitations should be explored. We maintain that LSP and Terminology always have had language intervention as their *raison d'être*; further, we maintain that this has always been generally accepted by practitioners within these fields of research. Nevertheless, the idea that language can be 'planned' has not yet been fully recognised, and the idea of LSP as a 'prescriptive' discipline is not generally accepted.

To the extent that LSP and Terminology have an integrated theoretical framework, language management must also be included in this framework. A joint theoretical effort must be made in broad and inclusive terms. The inclusive framework for joint theorising on language is semiotics; that is the reason why our theses as well as the five parameters to be discussed first and foremost are conceived of from a semiotic perspective.

2 TERMINOLOGY PLANNING AND 'PRESCRIPTIVISM'

The theoretical discussions within terminology during the past decade have to a great extent been framed by the dichotomy of 'descriptive' vs. 'prescriptive' (Myking 2001, Cabré 2003, Picht & al. 2006 and our joint work Laurén & al. 2008). Recent trends in terminology such as socio-cognitive terminology (e.g. Temmerman 2002) and socioterminology (e.g. Gaudin 1993) have criticised 'traditional' terminology for being biased towards prescription, thus making terminology a set of techniques or tools aimed at standardisation instead of analysis and theory aimed at producing linguistic insight.

This alleged theoretical antagonism should not, however, disturb our discussion here. It seems true that in certain recent directions of terminology there is no apparent ambition to integrate language planning into the theoretical framework. It is also a fact that from the ranks of "traditional terminology" we witness an increased interest in sociolinguistic issues to the extent that LP is reflected in normative documents (notably RaDT's position paper on "Domänenverlust" 2004 and ISO 29383 on Terminology policies, 2010).

On the other hand, upon a closer look, the interest in issues of language planning is not restricted to the alleged 'traditional' terminology, but is well incorporated into the seminal textbooks of Sager (1990, & al. 1980) as well as of Cabré 1999. At the corpus level, Sager's discussion of 'purist' vs. 'permissive' attitudes to term formation is one such noteworthy example. Language intervention such as the handling of synonymy and of translation is an essential issue of terminology irrespective of school. Even if some approaches seem less interested in language planning as such, it would not be correct or appropriate to accuse them of neglecting problem solving or the societal motivations of LSP and terminology.

The thesis we are dealing with, "language management is always possible", is a contradiction of the underlying opposite theses that "management of language is never possible" or "language can never be managed". I consider such theses to be definitely wrong from all theoretical or practical points of view: social motivations and inspirations for SLP in a broad sense are historical facts and intuitively self-evident, and terminologists are 'managing' language all the time, irrespective of their theoretical preferences or 'schools'. It seems fruitful, however, to discuss these joint issues in broader and more semiotically-based terms.

3 THE CONCEPT OF 'LANGUAGE PLANNING'

The concept of 'language planning' is well established and rather clearly delimited as referring to a well-established branch of the sociology of language:

all conscious efforts by planners to sustain language by positively affecting the structure or function of language varieties (ISO 29383)

Originating from the famous language planning model of Einar Haugen – Norm, Codification, Elaboration and Implementation – a number of models and modification have been put forward, in particular the distinction of Status planning vs. Corpus Planning by Heinz Kloss. The normative ISO document on Terminology Policies (ISO 29383) seems to have adopted a ‘canonical’ set of definitions and concepts that are sufficient to serve the purpose of the present discussion:

Terminology planning and language planning are two complementary concepts under a broader concept represented by the term communication planning.

Language planning is closely related to ‘terminology planning’:

terminology planning

planning activity, which can be either driven by language development or subject-field knowledge, and which develops terminology largely according to the needs and requirements of domain communication. According to ISO 29383, ‘language planning’ forms a subordinate concept of ‘communication planning’ and is a complementary concept to ‘terminology planning’. We could visualise the relationship by a simple hyponymical set:

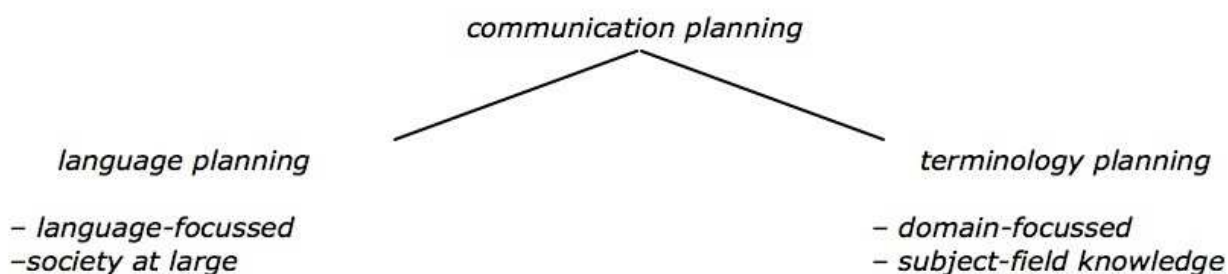


Figure 1. Communication planning according to ISO29329.

General language planning and terminology planning are quite interdependent – “The degree of interdependency between terminology planning and language planning is a result of the specific environment in which they are applied” (ISO 29383). There is nevertheless a common belief that the concept of language planning is more “political” and thus relates to overall ideologies and political conditions of a society, and, conversely, that the concept of terminology planning is more “technical”, dealing with specific tasks within specific and delimited sectors of a community. It is obvious that both involve corpus as well as status aspects and largely identical methodologies, and neither general nor terminological language planning is performed independent of some sort of political context. Given the concept of ‘management’ below, we can make the following brief summary of LP within the context of LSP by means of the convenient acronym of “SLP”:

- SLP is domain-oriented (status) and corpus-restricted (mainly lexicon);
- SLP focusses on the lexical and textual levels (terms & genres);
- SLP is policy-dependent and subject to political agendas.

SLP is in principle not restricted to the problem of English as the international Lingua Franca, although this is regarded as the major concern and key topic of most evolving national language policies, at least in Europe. Within models of dominance and linguistic hegemony, English can be replaced by a number of other languages, and there is a variety of challenges involving linguistic intervention. But again inspired by the Nordic Language Declaration it is possible to outline the main, generalised goal of current terminology planning as preserving the national language(s) as “languages that are complete and essential to society”. For a national language to be “complete and essential to society”, domain-related terminology planning is required. For a domain to be communicatively versatile, multilingual terminology work is required, and national language planning might provide support and inspiration. This does not imply that all terminologists feel explicitly motivated by language planning; such motivations are subject to interpretation and re-interpretation. Even within allegedly ‘transparent’ and ‘democratic’ language policies, e.g. the language policies of the Nordic region, practitioners of LP and LSP do not always communicate well (cf. Myking 2011).

No general sociolinguistic model of hegemony seems to have incorporated aspects specific to LSP. This does not mean, however, that LSP is ‘neutral’ with respect to ‘ideology’. The broad public is entitled to

specialised information ("access to knowledge"), but may be prevented from it. Some professional communities have the power to maintain control over their language. It is also a well-known fact that many specialists have a sceptical attitude towards language management out of fear of cognitive and semantic dilution. Awareness of the fact that popularising is a type of functional code-switching is often not sufficiently developed. Conversely, it is often questionable whether general bodies of language planning have a clear awareness of the legitimate specific features of specialised communication.

4 (LANGUAGE) PLANNING VS. 'MANAGEMENT'

Categories and concepts that express goals and modes of work are needed and should be refined, and should at least not be misleading. Whereas language planning is a well-established and precise term referring to a well-defined linguistic subdiscipline, we need a term that can be used more broadly and loosely to cover a range of phenomena involving deliberate restrictions on "free language development", because restricting free language development is at the core of LSP. Our Scandinavian term is *styring*, corresponding to German *Steuerung* or *Lenkung* and more or less to English control or regulation and French *dirigisme*. Other English near-synonyms such as leadership or governance carry connotations of "top down" hierarchical control that do not conform to the main idea of this paper. I therefore choose the somewhat vaguer term management to deal with this idea.

The concept of 'management' is not identical or equivalent to 'planning' – there is no established linguistic discipline named "language management". We are aiming at a term broad enough to encompass all sorts of constraints on the "free forces of the language market". How, then, do we define the concept (or notion) of language 'management'?

Language policy is a social process involving human individuals acting intentionally on the basis of a framework of ideology and sets of values. To us, doing research into LSP (and SLP) means that the idea of "free market forces" should be refuted as counter-productive. Instead we maintain that rational and democratic management on the part of society is necessary and desirable. The concept of 'management' should, however, not be interpreted as hierarchical, top-down control, and not only as governmental control by means of legislation. Any counter-force to accidental, chaotic and arbitrary developments, any attempt at ordering by means of discursive negotiation, are examples of 'management'. The concept of 'domain dynamics', which I will return to in a moment, should be interpreted as a description of a collective intention, the sum of a variety of intentional processes. A sum of individual intentions may stimulate or provoke management as well as block it or slow it down.

Several factors promote language management, such as business needs requiring multilingual communication, political and cultural concerns for preserving a national culture, individual and collective identity-making, etc. Like all other conflicts, language conflicts also generate a need for management.

The factors slowing down or preventing management are the same as the factors promoting it. Shortage of resources is often an important problem, although there need not exist any correlation between the standard of living and the will to make language investments in a given society.

Lack of awareness of language management may be rooted in lack of general social and cultural awareness, but, in such cases more fundamentally in various types of hegemonic dominance by a language and/or culture. Anti-authoritarian reactions to language management (anti-standardisation, anti-purism) might also strengthen the hegemonic forces.

A discussion of the concept of management must also take into account the semiotic and structural constraints that can promote as well as prevent management. In LSP communication there is a semiotic drift towards linguistic efficiency as well as semiotic forces preventing such efficiency. The basic tenet of 'motivated structures' within cognitive or functional linguistics may be interpreted in favour of language-internal or pragmatic auto-regulation as well as of language-external management.

The concept of 'prescription' covers a wide range of combinations of three major sociolinguistic factors: 'acceptance', 'consensus', and 'authority'. Prescription is the tacitly agreed or explicitly performed measure of managing a language, determined by some configuration and intensity of these three factors. A gradient scale of prescription exists between the two extremes: 'free language development' and 'absolutely controlled languages' (cf. Picht & al. 2006).

Free language development in terminology occurs in the form of individual instances of primary term formation. The term creator strives to establish the relation between expression and concept by means of an explanation or a definition, authorised by his/her professional expertise and reputation. He or she will try to obtain peer consensus enhancing stability of communication. The next step will be acceptance or rejection by the relevant discourse community, which thereby will show its inherent authority.

In short: The essence of thesis 10 concerns the possibilities of, limitations on, and constraints on language management with regard to practical manifestations as well as theoretical considerations, including semiotic considerations. The concept of 'language management' may, according to this thesis, be defined in the following way:

Any intervention – irrespective of form, degree of intensity, initiator or domain – aiming at preserving, changing, reestablishing, further developing, harmonising or standardising language as a means of communication, and LSP in particular, by ensuring and enhancing special communication as a cultural manifestation in a given language (Laurén & al. 2008, transl. JM).

What we are aiming at, consequently, is a generalised and semiotic foundation of language management. This is the basis for discussing the five semiotic parameters that come into play whenever management is undertaken. It is therefore time to give an account of a principled, generalised and semiotics-based set of parameters applicable to a variety of normative activities.

5 FIVE PARAMETERS OF SPECIAL LANGUAGE PLANNING

The use of the term parameter is justified by the fact that it refers to dimensions, goals or strategic positions of Special Language Planning (but is also applicable to LP in general). It displays varying degrees of specificity:

Table 1. Five planning parameters according to the corpus/status distinction.

STATUS	1. Domain dynamics
	2. Parallel language use
	3. Horizontal vs. vertical specialisation
CORPUS	4. Convention and subversion
BOTH	5. Indeterminacy

5.1 DOMAIN DYNAMICS

The best-known and perhaps also the most important key concept in current language planning is 'domain loss', introduced around 1990 in the Nordic communities. It is important, however, to take into account that no social process can be seen as unidirectional or deterministic; domain loss is not the only possible outcome of status change. We have therefore placed domain loss in a context of 'domain dynamics' to account for the social and sociolinguistic complexity constraining language management. 'Domain dynamics' can be defined as

a set of processes of language status change caused by sociolinguistic and cognitive factors. (Laurén & al. 2008, transl. JM)

or, further,

The interplay of social, political, economic and cultural conditions existing at a certain point of time in a language community which is characterised by a will (directly or indirectly manifested) to maintain its overall cultural identity by a language (Gesamtsprache) that

can function in all areas of life, or the partial or complete abandonment of this identity, respectively. (Picht & al. 2006)

The important point is that this is not a unidirectional or deterministic process: Domains can be lost, but also conquered or re-conquered.

A fruitful use of these concepts requires a clear understanding of the key concept of domain. An apparent confusion regarding this concept can be seen e.g. in recent Nordic language policy documents. In terminology the key concept of 'domain' seems to be replacing 'subject field':

domain

scientific or technical subject field or other specialized field of expertise (ISO29383)

This concept has a long history in sociolinguistics and in the theory of language planning, and is currently the key word framing and dominating all discussions of language policy at least in Northern Europe. The concept suffers from indeterminacy; a perfect and commonly agreed definition does not exist. University language policy documents seem to equate 'domain' with 'subject field' without any thorough discussion. To some extent the way of defining it may have practical consequences: Are universities or enterprises domains, encompassing a diversity of subject fields? Are BA and MA levels within a university different domains or subdomains? We have proposed the following broad definition:

domain

Subject field or field of knowledge with corresponding linguistic and other professional communicative resources (Laurén & al. 2008, transl. JM).

The language in question has the required set of linguistic resources and is therefore able to function within the relevant domain. Further, a domain is a cognitive as well as social space forming a subculture within the society at large. A 'domain' is knowledge, knowledge is human, humans form society; any definition by means of the synonym 'subject field' must take into account that subject fields are developed and maintained by people. Consequently, a domain is also a space where individuals face problems of language choice. This is a complex and extended understanding of the concept compared to the traditional terminological definition coined by ISO, but the central role of the concept within terminology and also SLP as a whole is emphasized.

5.1.1 A TAXONOMY OF DOMAIN DYNAMICS

To account for the most important of these processes we have developed a taxonomy of domain dynamics:

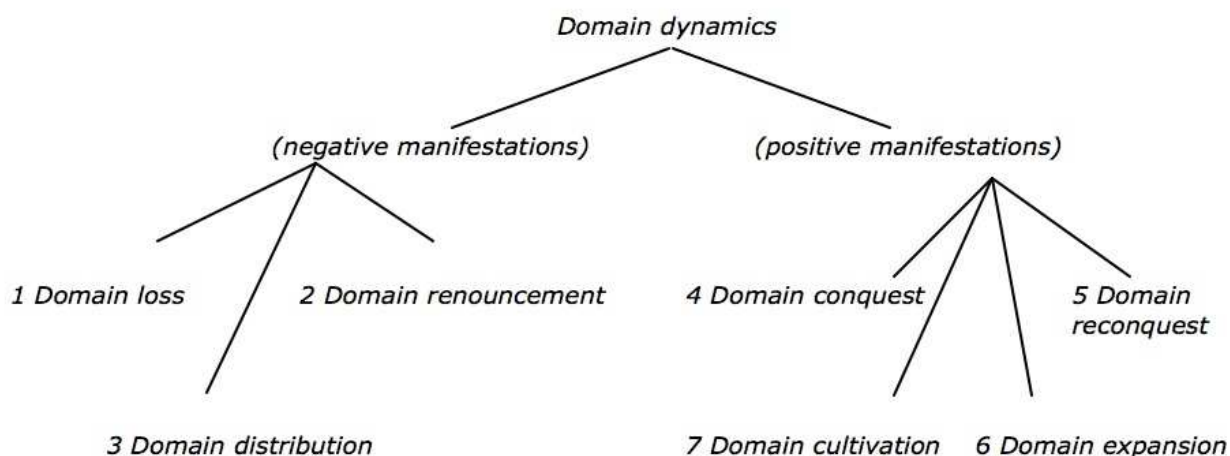


Figure 2. A taxonomy of domain dynamics according to Laurén & al. 2008).

We consider this taxonomy an open system; neither categories nor terms are fixed once and for all. The domain dynamics consist of a set of processes that we call status changes (cf. Kloss, status vs. corpus). These status changes group around a positive and a negative pole as we see it from our set of values. We are aware that our taxonomy also applies to general language, because general language, too, has its domain dynamics. With respect to this taxonomy, four concepts are of particular relevance as they display quite different connotations (the following definitions are based on Picht & al. 2006).

Negative manifestations:

(1) Domain loss: Loss of the ability to communicate in one's national language at all levels of an area of knowledge because of insufficient further development of the necessary means of professional communication. Examples: The publication policy of certain Nordic universities that rank a publication in English higher than one in the national language, although the content does not differ.

(2) Domain renouncement: Voluntary or forced abandonment of the possibility of using one's national language in professional communication in multilingual contexts. Example: Contracts between parties with different national languages are drawn up in English and only this version is valid. Translations are produced only for informative purposes and are without validity.

The manifestation of domain distribution is perhaps more ambiguous than negative:

(3) Domain distribution: The fact that two or more languages distribute domains in a community among each other resulting in (nearly) monolingual domains while the language community as a whole becomes bi- or plurilingual.

This development may be caused by deliberate decisions or by inherent dynamics (cf. the strategy of parallellinguism or parallel language use, Koskela & al. (2011, this volume)). Example: The international enterprise Scania has decided to use Swedish only at its head office in Sweden whereas the official language is English.

Of the positive manifestations we focus on domain conquest:

(4) Domain conquest: Development of the necessary means of professional communication needed for communication at all levels of a domain for which means of communication were previously lacking or only available to an insufficient degree.

One very illustrative example is the deliberate creation of Norwegian petroleum terminology (Myking & Sæbøe 2002). In educational contexts, a very practical example concerns ensuring the student's 'personal domain conquest': Without access to the concepts of the domain in question in the student's first language, the student will be unable to communicate adequately with his or her own language community, and the domain in question will not be sufficiently conquered.

Taxonomies of social facts are developed as descriptive tools; in this case the taxonomy is developed to describe domain dynamics as a social process. The taxonomy may be applied at the individual as well as the collective level, the two levels being linked by a simple causal connection. The question of term motivation always affects the interpretation of a term, and some of the terms in this taxonomy may appear questionable. Why, for instance, do we consider domain distribution a 'negative' manifestation? Why could it not rather be interpreted as "peaceful co-existence"? This depends on the point of view, but there are several problems connected to the implementations of strategies of parallel language use, as indicated below.

The language policy implemented at (Nordic) universities results in researchers not being able to communicate in their own field of research in their first language. Their "personal domain conquest" never occurs. At a certain point the sum of failing personal domain conquests might result in a collective domain loss within the entire language community.

Such cases of domain loss need not be intentional, but it seems almost taboo to discuss the negative consequences of Anglification. The fact that this type of monocultural anglification might harm the national competitiveness has not become an issue of public debate.

Domain dynamics is not, however, a concept solely linked to the problem of English. The case of Iceland demonstrates that the concepts on the positive pole – cultivation, expansion, conquest and reconquest – express a sociolinguistic dynamism that stretches over centuries. Icelandic functions as a scientific and specialised language as a result of domain expansion and cultivation, and in a historical perspective this is a reconquest of its status as a learned language (Jónsson 2007).

Finally it should be noted that the definitions of 'domain' given here are by no means unanimously agreed on. Ljosland (2008) points to the distinction between 'emic' vs. 'etic' definitions: 'emic' domains are domains as perceived by the language users themselves and delimited by norms; 'etic' domains are domains as conceived of by the researchers (or, in our context, the policy-makers) and delimited by language observation and knowledge of the emic domains. The design and implementation of language policies require both types of knowledge. No delimitations are "objective", and emic and etic domains need not coincide. As an example Ljosland points to the problem of determining whether "universities" are domains in their own right or, rather, bundles of domains. The definitions of domain loss etc. in this paper are clearly etic insofar as they rest on the criterion of terminology resources; emic definitions might have emphasised other aspects. Language users may make different language choices according to emic conceptions of situation types, which may be different or similar across subject-fields. Policy-makers may implement different strategies in different subject fields according to etic conceptions of a university as consisting of several domains. Such considerations are of vital and practical importance to all policy-makers.

5.2 PARALLEL LANGUAGE USE

The concept of 'parallel language use' is a neologism probably dating from 2001 and at present totally dominating Nordic public discourse about language policy. It is presented as a solution to the problem of domain loss, and is defined in the following way by the Nordic Language Declaration:

The parallel use of language refers to the concurrent use of several languages within one or more areas. None of the languages abolishes or replaces the other; they are used in parallel.

Cf. further Koskela & al (2011, this volume); I will leave the elaboration of this concept to them and only briefly outline some problems: parallel language use is sometimes interpreted as giving up some domains and abandoning others, in which case a state of domain distribution may occur that is harmful to multilingual communication within that domain. Examples: giving up a language at the postgraduate level, if the postgraduate level is defined as a domain; leaving the domain of astrophysics monolingually English, if a domain is defined as a 'subject field'. It is also a problem that the notion of 'parallel' almost always seems to include English, and that the question may be raised whether the concept applies to persons, institutions or simply to practices. At least to some extent the static presence of English and the risk of harmful domain distribution make the notion of 'parallel' "elusive" (Laurén & al. 2008).

5.3 HORIZONTAL VS. VERTICAL SPECIALISATION

It is a well-known insight of the theory of LSP that LSP occurs at different levels within a domain and with different degrees of knowledge complexity. Kalverkämpers model establishing gradient scales of "LSP-ness", of "Fachlichkeit" vs. "Fachsprachlichkeit" respectively, is perhaps the best-known expression of this insight (cf. also Hoffmann 1976). In combination with the concept of domain distribution this parameter affects the principle of parallel language use. With regard to domain dynamics and parallel language use, two approaches to policy specialisation are possible: a) 'Horizontal specialization' – some domains are left alone while language policy concentrates on other domains deemed more "strategically important", or quite simply "easier" to protect from domain loss, or more easily accessible to domain conquest, respectively. b) 'Vertical specialisation' – all cognitive and communicative levels within a domain need the same communicative versatility.

Is complete horizontal and vertical parallelism of language use possible or feasible? At which level(s) within a given domain or sets of domains should a language policy be targeted, and with which level of ambition; does every square inch of a scientific domain have to be linguistically covered in parallel?

Horizontal specialisation is, on the one hand, compatible with the view that "a domain is a subject field". domain distribution of language(s) may exist in domains at equal levels, cf. the traditional horizontal taxonomy of technolects. Within universities, this allows for peaceful coexistence of astrophysicists being left alone with their English, lawyers with their national language, and most other disciplines trying to cope with some intermediate position. Vertical specialisation, on the other hand, corresponds to the view that "within domains, there are different levels of knowledge and skills". If domains are viewed as distinct levels of specialisation, either in a field or institution, this may result in domain distribution of languages according to elementary vs. advanced levels. There is practical evidence that university policies encourage the use of English at PhD level, and of national language at BA level, resulting in a language deficit insofar as owing to lack of linguistic resources and competence, advanced matters cannot be communicated in the national language.

In terminology and also in LP theory there is a strong tradition supporting the main principle that language resources should be developed to serve all levels of specialisation. A terminological database may fulfill this requirement more easily than an individual human being: developing and storing a complete set of national equivalents is not the same as one individual being able to communicate at all levels. There is no tenet of LSP stating that full vertical specialisation of language is impossible, and this will also have to be the fundamental tenet of SLP policies: anything that is not impossible, is possible.

The principle of parallel language use in SLP must, accordingly, be defined as "complete vertical specialisation within all subject fields", even though there will of course always be practical constraints on the application of the principle.

5.4 THE SEMIOTIC STRUGGLE: CONVENTION AND SUBVERSION

Failure of management is often attributed to individual incompetence or lack of resources; or, failure at the corpus level may be explained by an inherent linguistic resistance towards being 'managed'. In our view, the latter is an example of false ideology that may often be used as an excuse for not doing anything. Failure of success should in our view not be used as a reason for supporting the the idea of 'free language development'. Language-internal forces should of course not be completely neglected, and it seems that both aspects can be described and explained by Ramirez' (1995) semiotic dichotomy defining langue/convention as oppression, parole as subversion:

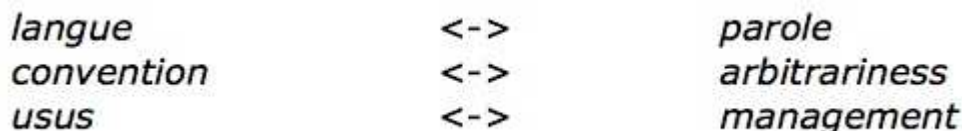


Figure 3. Three semiotic parameters.

Two questions arise: Are such constraints on management language-internal? Or are they purely psychological?

All practitioners of SLP know very well that management is not always successful, and that its effects are very difficult to predict. The "leave your language alone" attitude is rarely accepted in LSP communication, but nevertheless, conflicts between official language bodies and language attitudes in the general public appear to be a universal phenomenon both at the corpus and status levels. A paradox exists insofar as attempts at ordering often result in increased disorder. This is well-known in terminology where secondary term formation often results in an increased number of synonyms and terminological pairs. 'Official' language bodies tend to favour systematic and morphologically transparent equivalents in order to exploit indigenous resources. This is psychologically important because it contributes to strengthening the social status of the national language and also to ensuring that new terms can be correctly incorporated and learnt. This 'purist' attitude need not be consequent nor strict (Sager 1997, 41), and the complementary 'permissive' attitude may also require measures of management in order not to be counter-productive.

Following, then, the ideas of (Ramírez 1995) we may conclude that active language management rests on the Saussurean semiotic thesis of the arbitrary sign. Ramirez analyses the semiotic pairs of 'arbitrariness vs. convention' and 'langue vs. parole' in terms of power and freedom of action applied to

systems of norms. According to Ramírez, 'la langue' means description and addresses the past, whereas 'parole' is innovative and looks to the future. Langue is established norm whereas parole is action and thus impossible to grasp. According to Ramírez, most language theories address the langue and avoid parole and thus "without knowing it, subject themselves to the perspective of power (transl. JM)". Instead of consensus, convention is the result of innovations that are imposed upon signs. Langue is an instrument of power that is difficult to change, and change can only take place on the level of parole, where "everything" is possible: creativity, innovation – i.e. anything that may be subsumed under the concept of 'management'.

The idea of arbitrariness interacts with the principle of convention, linking expression and content to make signs valid for communication. Arbitrariness and convention form an operative pair of which the two members have a complementary function: Arbitrariness is a prerequisite for linguistic freedom of choice, including the possibility of management. In cases of failure as a result of optimism, this is a non-intended result of management. Convention means 'habit', which is a static factor and thus an obstacle to impulses of management.

Official language bodies, including terminological ones, introduce changes at the level of parole, whereas the users or the general public react to the suggestions because being restrained by the power of the convention or 'langue'. Any rational calculus of these reactions is futile. The main challenge to this semiotic balance is over-estimating arbitrariness ("everything is possible") and under-estimating convention ("the language structure prohibits") – thus resulting in unfounded optimism on behalf of management. It is not easy to identify the border line between system immanency and psychology in such cases. Does the language itself react, or do language users react?

The lexical level is the linguistic level at which convention is most often challenged, and it is also the level at the top of awareness, drawing most attention. From this point of view, terminological neology management and standardisation is the main semiotic battlefield between arbitrariness and convention. In this battlefield, all theories or 'schools' of terminology take part in some way or another. They are, consequently, performing activities of management whether they define their approaches explicitly in terms of language planning or not.

By combining the dichotomies of 'langue' and 'parole' with the dimensions of power and action, Ramirez is also able to transfer the same dialectics from the system level to the social level. Our concept of 'domain dynamics' illustrates this: Domain renouncement and conquest are actions at the level of parole performed by people. Consequently, domain loss is also a result of actions, i.e. the sum of linguistic choices to abandon the use of the mother tongue in question. Linguistic and cultural hegemony represents a system of internalised power, and the attitude of "leaving your language alone" means accepting this power. Attempting management means provoking rejection or even scorn. Loans are introduced into a language community by the free linguistic market, whereas management is perceived of as bureaucratic or authoritarian when attempts are made at regulating this market.

Purist solutions may be rejected or ridiculed by the language users because the adaptation procedures may be perceived as "made up" or "artificial" or "comic" for another reason. Some examples: In Norway we have examples indicating that a modest phonological-orthographical adaptation is more often attacked than are transparent alternatives or even direct loans. Mona Baker quotes similar instances from Arabic, and also Icelandic provides such examples. The concept of 'telephone' in Arabic is named *irzīz* ("the sound of rain") and not accepted, in Icelandic *sími* ("thread") is completely accepted and conventionalised. In Arabic the term *quitār* 'train' (lit. "camel caravan") was easily accepted. In Icelandic the identical concept of 'train' is identically or at least analogically motivated: *lest* 'train', lit. 'train of horses carrying load' (cf. 'last' = "load"). Archaisising solutions of this and similar types could of course be considered an expression of ideological 'philologism' (cf. Jónsson 2007 and Laurén & al. 2008). Norwegianisation of the type *bacon* > *beiken* created public outrage in 2002 and was rejected as an example of pure 'philologism'. The problem seems to be that public opinion considers regularised word pictures to be unusual and hence by definition 'perverted'.

The resemblance or dissimilarities of the Arabic, Icelandic and Norwegian linguistic cultures should of course not be exaggerated on the basis of selected examples, but at a general level such examples nevertheless reveal striking parallels. Apparently, in the introduction of neologisms one example that attracts negative attitudes risks putting the acceptance of an entire package in jeopardy, and it would be useful to be able to predict or 'calculate' such negative attitudes in order to avoid them. The problem is, in our view, not structural, but psychological and hence semiotic – the challenge of convention and the

calculus of the irrational. If we accept the idea of conscious language planning and management in society, we also have to accept irrational reactions and single failures.

5.5 INDETERMINACY

We then return to the same main problem – calculating semiotic obstacles to and constraints on management in order to overcome them. Calculating irrationality means calculating what Robert de Beaugrande termed ‘indeterminacy’ (Beaugrande 1997) and this is a fact of pragmatics rather than of system immanency: The language user is the center of the problem, but the internalised linguistic norm system constrains and restricts the user’s freedom of action.

The concept of ‘indeterminacy’ has played a very important role in the philosophy of science of LSP, and it has been assigned a number of meanings and has been used with reference to a variety of phenomena (see Antia (ed.) 2007, in particular p. XVI). Indeterminacy is often linked to or even identified with vagueness, which should not imply that language policies are vague, only that the outcome of policies is often uncertain or unintended. (On the metalevel indeterminacy also – evidently – affects our own difficulties conceptualising ‘management’.) To Beaugrande, indeterminacy is linked to complexity within a model of how to maximise a scientific model’s control of its domain (1997: 92). The opposition between determinacy and indeterminacy as a design parameter of such a model constitutes the following concise dichotomy:

Determinacy versus indeterminacy: whether decisions among competing alternatives are clear or unclear (Beaugrande 1997: 88).

If we try to apply this dichotomy to prescriptive actions such as language management and policies, the concept of indeterminacy seems fruitful to apply to the relationship between goals, means and effects, but also to other parameters concerning how to address and implement a successful policy. Determining the strategic potentials of language domains and selecting them for active implementation of language policy involves indeterminacy, and so does calculating the degree of success.

The complex and open relationship between language, culture and society does not allow for total control of actions and effects; to some, this is a reason for resisting active management. We sometimes hear the argument that only successful measures should be applied, and since we are not sure about the success, we had better drop the measures. This would mean giving the free forces of the language market free rein, a position already refuted above.

There is always the risk that the saussurean idea of system immanency may result in over-emphasising the idea of “one system – one language – one monolingual society”, both language and society being perceived of as idealised abstractions. The discipline of sociolinguistics – in a broad sense – has offered theoretical and descriptive tools to overcome this limitation and include the dimension of power and conflict into models of language planning.

The main goal of language planning is twofold: equal access to language, and hence access to knowledge, for all. This democratic and anti-hegemonic ideal is – or should be, at least – common to LSP and LGP, and consequently the potential degree of success is also identical to both registers.

The best kind of success that can be hoped for, irrespective of type of language policy, is probably what may be referred to as ‘partial success’. This is because partial success demonstrates the absence of a total hegemony at the status level – within domain dynamics – and also at the corpus level, within term harmonisation and other forms of normalisation and standardisation. Impulses of management at the level of parole are the success criteria, because they represent a constant challenge to the static level of langue. These impulses are produced by the language users and may cause effects as well as (unforeseen) side-effects because many conflicting interests and many types of management impulses co-exist. This interplay is complex, but not more complex than other sectors of society.

One important example of ‘successful’ management in a macro-perspective is the policy of Francophonisation in Quebec from the 1970s onwards, or the Icelandic language policy. One example of ‘partial’ success within a more restricted domain is the creation of a Norwegian petroleum terminology (e.g. Myking & Sæbøe 2002). Partial success also corresponds to the common micro-pragmatic principles

of human communication as outlined by Grice, i.e. the interplay of conversation maxims (quantity, quality, relation and manner) that cannot always be met simultaneously.

We maintain that thesis 10 is still valid, but needs rephrasing and an important addition: Management of language structure and use is possible, but with no guarantee of achieving the intended result.

6 CONCLUSIONS

It is time to draw some conclusions. This paper argues that the main goal of domain-protecting SLP must be the establishment of ambitious parallel language strategies. We can sum up the implications of our five parameters in three general statements:

1. Speaking in terms of domain dynamics, the main goals refer to active domain conquest and prevention of loss. It is possible that too much discussion has been centred around the negative aspects of domain loss, and that a positive shift of focus towards domain conquest would be more productive.
2. In terms of parallel language use, the practice aims at context-flexible parallel configurations, the place of a lingua franca within such configurations being a matter of political, social or cultural hegemony. Combined with the parameter of specialisation, we make the following claim of an 'ideal' language policy: "Complete vertical and parallel specialisation within a domain, adjusted for social relevance"
3. Further, speaking in terms of semiotic struggle and indeterminacy, we arrive at a modified version of our initial thesis 10: "Language management is always possible; its outcome is, however, unpredictable."

Is this just naïve idealism? Despite all limitations of these principles, language is still a 'contract' that, like all other contracts, can be (re)negotiated – in ideal cases based on consensus, but, more realistically, through conflict of interest, taking the dimension of dominance and power into account. Democratic consensus requires democratic participation in society rather than authoritarian governance from above. This is at least the ideal of our so-called 'Nordic' model, in which the idea of democratic and transparent language planning is rooted – and consequently also the idea of management in a variety of forms.

The consequence of our thesis is not a presupposition that the intended goals are achievable. Management of domain dynamics by means of language planning and policies must be considered an "input" from society. Precisely as in economics, there is no one-to-one relationship between input and profit. This is why it is justified to state that "partial success" is the best success, because it demonstrates that hegemony is challenged.

Combining a tough ambition of managing corpus and status (= domain dynamics; parallelism; vertical specialisation) with sound and rational modesty with regard to the potential for success (convention/subversion; indeterminacy), we should adopt the "No fixed boundaries" approach. As I see it, the element of 'management' is a common denominator: Just as there are no fixed boundaries between general and special language or between general words and terms, there should be no fixed boundaries between theoretical and methodological directions within LSP or between practitioners of general and special language planning.

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