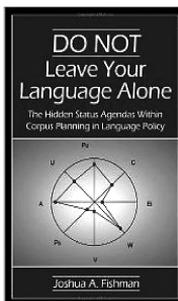


# *Do not Leave Your Language Alone*



*The Hidden Status Agendas Within Corpus  
Planning in Language Policy*

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Aspaldikoa da, soziolinguistikaren esparruan, corpus eta estatus izeneko alorren arteko sailkapena. Bi-bion arteko lotura estua ere nabaria izan da, hizkuntzaren plangintzaz jarduten denean.

Horiek berebiziko eragina izan dute, zer esanik ez, hizkuntza gutxieneko nahiz gutxituetan. Horixe da, izan ere, Joshua A. Fishman idazleak proposatzen duena liburu honetan. Haren hitzetan esateko:

*For those who still shake their heads astoundedly at the “spectacle” of serious societal contortions on behalf of their small, weak, little known, and, seemingly, very forgettable languages, it is a prerequisite of a productive life in the modern world to set aside Olympian detachment or disdain for the unfortunate and to at least strive toward critical identification with all those who think as much (as often, as deeply, as concernedly), if not more, of their languages of minor reach as we think of our huge one. Critical identification with that huge segment of humanity with which we have no direct kinship ties is a vital part of genuine, activated, emotional, and intellectual modernization of our students and it is my sincere hope that this brief exercise will contribute to that goal both directly and indirectly via an “excursion” taking only a month or two [XI. or.].*

Hitzak hitz, titulua bera ere esanguratsua da, oraingoan Fishman maisua corpusari buruz ari delako. Sarrerako argibideak eman eta gero, bigarren kapituluan argi erakusten du hark zein den bi kontzeptu horien arteko lotura:

*In the real world, status planning and corpus planning are more detached and isolated from each other than they should be from the point of view of optimal progress. But history is far from being directionally predictable, much less controllable, and these truisms too keep corpus planning and status planning from usually being just two sides of one and the same coin [17. or.].*

Fishmanek azalarazten du bere pentsamendua, ortogono baten bidez, lan-ardatz nagusiak zehaztuz. Lan-ardatz nagusi horiek bitarikoak dira, eta kapi-

tuluka garatzen ditu egileak. Hartara, garbitasun vs. jatortasuna (4. kapitulu-  
luan); bakartasuna vs. mendebaldetasuna (5. kapitulu-  
luan); klasikotasuna vs. orokortasuna (6. kapitulu-  
luan); “ausbau” vs. “einbau” (7. kapitulu-  
luan).

Kasu bakoitzean, azterketak adibide desberdinak eskaintzen ditu. Lauga-  
rren kapitulu-  
luan, ingelesa abiapuntu hartuta eta lehen puntuaren ikuspegitik,  
garbitasunaren eta jatortasunaren kontua jorratzen du:

*However, downward stylistic shifting in French can be mistaken for crudity and lack of education, whereas in English it signals comradery, friendliness, shared Gemeinschaft and relaxed enjoyment of the moment [see Fig. 4.2]. Truly, vernacularity rules the English waves! [37. or.]*

Bosgarren kapitulu-  
luan, aldiz, bakartasuna vs. mendebaldetasuna lantzen du, eta luze eta zabal barruratzen ditu euskara, estoniera, turkien errusiera, filipi-  
nara, txinera... horietan ikertzen direla kasuz kasu bakoitzaren egoera linguisti-  
koa. Ondorenez, begi-bistakoak dira “corpus planning” delakoaren esparruan:

*That is why corpus planning frequently entails oscillations and changes of direction, particularly so when (but not only when) the past is associated with a unique greatness that cannot be simply set aside to pursue the blandishments of modernity and globalization [60. or.]*

*If one looks a little deeper, below the surface of language-related rhetoric, one usually finds other societal fissures with which the corpus planning differences co-occur. When that is the case, language, being so symbolic of culture-group membership as a whole, may be easily and falsely blamed for the contentiousness in society more generally. Language is rarely the only or chief culprit in so called “language conflict”, whether or not the uniqueness foal is advanced, or the internationalization goal is pursued in corpus planning. This is also why, as much of the world moves ever further along the path of globalization, the historical and still emotional tug of uniqueness will probably never disappear entirely and, by its very presence, serve to temper and restrain globalization in various degrees [61. or.]*

Seigarren kapituluan, bestalde, klasikotasuna vs. orokortasuna (“panification”) aztertzen du. Bide beretik, eta aurrekinak azalduz, honetara iristen da Fishman:

*Classicization pertains to corpus planning that may be desired for the vernacular of an already united and recognized entity. Its classical poll pertains to the culture of a population that already recognizes its distinctive part communal, the classical, religion-imbedded, and religion-regulated maintenance of which is unquestioned (even by secular modernizers). Classicization varies in the degree to which (and in the speed with which) the currently spoken vernacular needs to be enriched by or displaced by the classical variety. Panification varies even more, however, and seeks to persuade diverse vernacular speakers of the relevance to their lives of a hypothetical classical with which it seeks to reconstruct and reconnect them. Obviously, the latter goal is a much more difficult task than the former and this may well explain why panification has had such a dismally low success rate [86. or.].*

Zazpigarren kapituluan, azkenez, laugarren ardatza dator, hots, “ausbau” vs. “einbau”:

*The efforts to overcome and decrease such similarity are called Ausbau (“building away” in German), while the efforts to foster and increase the similarity between the two (usually engaged in by the stronger party) are called Einbau (“building toward” in German). We start with the more common of the two, Ausbau, and then close this chapter with some examples of Einbau [91. or.].*

Kroaziera, yiddisha eta bestelakoak erakusten dira kapitulu honetan, eta ondorioak honexek dira:

*In this respect, corpus planning is not different from any other toll that enhances human control over the environment; every increase in human power requires a corresponding increase in human responsibility relative to the uses of that power [102. or.].*

Zortzigarren kapituluan, ardatz horien arteko independentzia vs. interdependentzia aztertzen da. Izan ere, Fishmanen hitzetan:

*Languages foster sociocultural interaction within cultures and between cultures. As a result, they satisfy and express both acts of independence and of interdependence. The bipolarity of corpus planning is implemented (no necessarily equally, but nevertheless, without fail) in order to provide all languages with all possible opportunities for successful multidirectionality. They are complex tools for complex communities and, as a result, are ready both for navel gazing and for star gazing, even if one is engaged in daily by all, and the other is engaged in rarely by few. The directional inequality of cultures is a fact of existence, but it has, therefore, consequences for languages that corpus planning may be utilized to “correct”, either direction being available for further elaboration at any time that any subgrouping of users so requires. As a result, languages are not functionally equivalent at any particular time, just as they are not culturally equivalent, but they are potentially all repairable wherever gaps in attained versus desired functionality are recognized and the repair of these gaps is authoritatively undertaken. [112. or.].*

Bederatzigarren kapituluan, beharbada, ordu arte azaldutako ardatz horien interaktibitatea erakusten da argiro, gizartez gizarte desberdin dena, bestalde. Bide beretik:

*Corpus planning proceeds to serve cross-functional purposes, such that western sports and pop-culture interests, Eastern philosophies, and modern econotechnical pursuits are all available to the very same public (thereby calling upon vernacularization, classicization, and internationalization) without any implied or experienced incongruity. Ethnolinguistic establishments and their language “authorities” need not be internally conflicted or in complete “disarray” in order to adopt quite different corpus-planning directions (neither in polar opposite terms nor in dimensional terms) for the various functional pursuits of modern-day life. [116. or.].*

Hitzak hitz, argigarri oso honako hauek:

*Corpus planning reflects the political culture that inevitably dominates it (just as do educational planning, industrial planning, business planning, school planning, demographic planning, and all other types of authoritatively sanctioned and conducted planning), as to exactly what are to be taken as real incommensurables and opposites (and when). Could corpus planning really do otherwise and would it be any more (or less) successful if it did? A greater or lesser decisional inconsistency may be its saving grace, its human grace. [117. or.]*

Azkena bada ere, Fishmanen proposamena honetara dator: “corpus planning” deiturikoak, hizkuntzaren aldetik baino, gizartearen barrutik du bere zeregina. Beraz, teknika eta lanbidearen gainetik, badira horretan ere politikak eta ideologiak azpimarraturiko baldintzak:

*Bluntly put, should the researcher begin with purely linguistic variables such as nasalization, pluralization, and vowel-harmony, for example, or with ideological and political variables that characterize the local modernization process per se, such as Ausbau, uniqueness, and vernacularization? Given that the investigator is invariably trying to account for as much variance as possible in the acceptance of corpus-planning proposals, our current discussion leads to the conclusion that broad-based, widely subscribed to societal dimensions should be considered first. They are much more likely to account for appreciably more variance in “acceptance” (and therefore, in liking, learning, and using corpus-planning “products”) than will variables that are of a much narrower nature insofar as “man-in-the-street” implementation awarenesses are concerned. If thousands of man-in-the-street advocates are willing to (and sometimes even do) attend a week long symposium on the minutia of corpus planning for their own “beloved language”, one can be sure that this is so not because they are really interested in the technical details of corpus planning but, rather, in the social change that corpus planning implies. [120. or.]*

Labur-zurrean, eta soziolinguistikak hasieratik bertatik azaleratu duen kezka berriro sartuz, Fishmanen ondorioak honetara datoz:

*The major conclusion that we seem to have arrived at is that corpus planning is full of intimations of status-planning goals and aspirations. There is no (and there can be no) sharp division between these two pursuits when they are both addressed from the point of view of intrasocietal definitions of what it is that corpus planning is really about functionally speaking, insofar as the wishes of its sponsoring community and their authorities. It raises the question, at every turn, of not only how corpus planning is conducted and by whom, but of the larger agenda, the socio-cultural agenda to which language planning as a whole inevitably contributes and from which it derives the popular legitimization upon which its actions can be based. [124. or.].*

Liburu honek, itxieran, bi eranskin (*Questions for class discussion or written assignment*, 127 eta 128. orrialdeetan, eta *A terminology committee at work*, 129.etik 147.erakoetan) eta erreferentzia bibliografikoak (149.etik 151.erako orrialdeetan) jasotzen ditu.

Horrela biribiltzen da gurean ere gogoetarako gai dena, hots, euskararen gaineko corpus-plangintzaren nondik norakoak zehazteko unean, kontuan hartu beharrekoa.

Gonbit ederra egiten digu Joshua A. Fishmanek berak, liburuaren azalean irakurleari esaten dionean:

*Invitation to Language Planning:  
Exactly 56 typos have been INCLUDED in this book.  
Can you find and correct them ALL?  
Can you adopt more than one  
DIRECTIONAL APPROACH?!  
Which approaches have you used?  
Enjoy! Joshua A. Fishman.  
Bakoitzak aukera dezala berea!*