IDEC Research Paper Series

IDEC RP 2000-1

Language of Politics or Politics of Language? Toward an Integrated Perspective

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March 2000

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ABSTRACT

The present paper is an attempt at the clarification of the relationship between language and politics. Previous studies involving both language and politics can be apparently divided into two major research fields: "language of politics" and "politics of language." However, a close examination of the differences between them will show that, in addition to the important and useful differences, these two fields have one critical underlying property in common, that is, they both involve a selection from linguistic alternatives. On the basis of the concept of the selection, we will propose an integrative model which enables us to understand the issue of "language and politics" in a unified way.

Introduction

There have been many studies dealing both language and politics.[1] It can be said that most of them aim at deeper understanding of some aspects of politics. Even if the author declares that the subject of his or her study is language or political language (Corcoran 1979: xi-xiii), and not politics proper, the study must perforce aim at "the comprehension of the *political* effects [our emphasis]" (Corcoran 1979: xiv). Of course, there are exceptions which are intended for other purposes[2]. In the present paper, we will limit our discussion to those studies involving language and politics which aim partially at least at the understanding of some aspects of politics.

It seems that these studies can be roughly divided into two broad categories. One group of them address the issue of "language of politics," while the other address the issue of "politics of language." The former deal primarily with political language or language used in politics or verbal behavior in politics, while the latter deal primarily with language politics or politics over language issues. It is obvious that politics over the selection of the official language of a state is a research theme quite different from the political function(s) of the language of political leadership. A

cursory look at studies listed, for example, in our appendix, may convince us that there are two distinct, well-established research fields. So far, however, few have paid serious attention to the distinction between these two research subjects, presumably because these two themes are apparently quite far apart in most of the cases. But they are not so distinct when, for instance, a speech made by a political leader becomes the point of an intense political dispute. Should we call such a case "language of politics" or "politics of language"? Therefore, we will first try to clarify the difference between these two phenomena to shed some new light on the relationship between language and politics.

Despite the apparent difference, a little more detailed examination of these two research themes will cast doubt about the validity of the permanent dichotomy. In a considerable number of cases, the boundary becomes blurred. In view of many ambiguous cases, it becomes difficult to stick to the distinction. Thus, though the distinction is sometimes self-evident, and very useful as well, it becomes doubtful whether they should *always* be clearly separated from each other. Moreover, the two categories have frequently been treated interchangeably by scholars, without any clear distinction. And, as we will see, it is not without reason. The existence of such ambiguous cases suggests two possibilities. The distinction advanced above may be quite wrong, or there may be some underlying properties common to both these phenomena.

No serious attention has been paid to the distinction and the commonality between the two areas, "language of politics" and "politics of language". The aim of the present paper is to explore the distinction and commonality between these two apparently distinct areas, and by so doing propose an integrated perspective on the intersection of language and politics.

For this purpose, we will first try to clarify the difference between these two subjects on the basis of earlier studies. Such clarification of the differences between the two will also help us to find a unifying perspective. Next, we will attempt to advance an integrated perspective on the basis of properties common to both areas. Such a perspective will enable us to deal with phenomena involving both language

and politics in a unified way.

1 Distinction between "language of politics" and "politics of language"

As far as we know, few earlier studies have attempted at the distinction or identification between the two areas in question, that is, between "language of politics" and "politics of language." It is sure that there are few who try to distinguish them categorically. Akira Kurihara (1989) and Michitoshi Takabatake (1997), for example, distinguish between the two. But in most of the studies no distinction has been attempted (de Landtsheer 1998: 5). Many earlier studies focused exclusively on either of the two, leaving the other out of consideration. For example, Doris Graber points out that, when verbal behavior occurs in a context which has political significance, it falls within the purview of the study of verbal behavior in politics (Graber 1976: 3), that is, "language of politics" in our terminology. The neglect may be due partly to the apparent difference between the two. It may be due partly to the difficulty or irrelevance of the distinction. Or it may be due partly to the fact that, except the use of physical force, politics, raging from small village politics to global politics, consists mostly of verbal behaviors. In a sense, politics is impossible without the use of language, whether to convey, convince, or conceal.

In what follows, we will first examine in what way these two subjects are different. But in order to do so, some terminological clarification concerning the term "language" is in order. The term "language" refers to various different things even in the context we are concerned with. It may refer to a very abstract category or class to which. all the separate languages like English and Japanese belong.

In addition to separate languages, however, there are such subcategories within the same language as standard, dialect, register, style and so on. The distinction between languages, between a language and a subcategory such as dialect, and between subcategories, seems extremely difficult (Comrie 1990: 2-3 and Hudson 1980: 24). Therefore, following Richard Hudson, we will refer to all of them as "language variety," and define it as "a set of linguistic items with similar social distribution" (Hudson 1980: 24). From this definition, it follows that English,

American English, Black English Vernacular, news media English, and so on are all language varieties.

There is more to it than that. Every language variety consists of unbounded inventories of words and sounds and syntactic, phonological and other rules combining them. We will refer here to these components of a language variety just as "components." Contrary to the assumption the modern linguistic science (Bloomfield: 1969: 21), we should regard script or writing system together with its components or letters, as another component of a language variety because these can also be a political issue (Fishman 1988).

2 Language of Politics

The term "language of politics" usually refers to political language, that is, language used in politics, or more narrowly, language used in politics with significant political function(s). According to the distinction made above between a language variety and its components, an overwhelming majority of the previous studies focus upon the use and function of components used in politics. They deal with the words, phrase, rhetoric, speech, discourse used in politics. Strictly speaking, here we should redefine the distinction and expand the notion of component to include such a stretch or string of components as discourse, speech and so on. However, since a further distinction among the components does not concern us here, and as Christ'l de Landtsheer (1998: 2) argues, is not of primary importance for the political language study, we will continue the use of the cover term "language component."

Among the language components, words and phrases, and their rhetorical nature have received the most of the attention. To be sure, sometimes the political significance and function of a pause in a speech may be studied (Heritage and Greatbatch 1986). But these are rather exceptions. Even when the studies allegedly deal with speech or discourse, it is often the case that actually only words and phrases are examined. A typical study of this kind first picks up given (set of) words and phrases, and then explores their political function or effect, intended or achieved. Thus, for example, Graber (1976: 57) shows that speeches made by political leaders

such as Mussolini, Roosevelt and Hitler were a means of mobilizing the people to war. And the research on the language of the Third Reich predominantly focuses on words and phrase (for example, Burke 1984, Mueller 1973: 25-34).

Other studies are interested in political rhetoric. A series of Paul Chilton's work have convincingly demonstrated that metaphors and euphemisms in dominant discourses played a great role in inducing people to accept militarization (Chilton 1982, 1987, 1990, Chilton and Lakoff 1995). For example, an euphemistic metaphor "A Vital Part of the West's Life Insurance" (Note here that the expression "life insurance" is an euphemism) was employed to gain the public support for the deployment of cruise missiles (Chilton 1982: 107). In the same way, Glenn Hook (1986) takes up security metaphors used by Japanese prime ministers such as "*harinezumi*" (hedgehog), "*tate to yari*" (shield and spear), "*fuchin kubo*" (unsinkable aircraft carrier), "*hoken ryo*" (insurance), and "*kaku arerugi*" (nuclear allergy), and concludes that these metaphors were effective tools of the militarization of Japan. Thus, these metaphors served the political purpose of Japan's governing elite. According to Hook, the metaphor "nuclear allergy" used by the Japanese prime minister Eisaku Sato was particularly effective in this respect. The metaphor helped to structure political reality in order to legitimize the existence of nuclear weapons and sow the seeds of doubt among the Japanese people in regard to their anti-nuclear sentiments (Hook 1984: 269). Though in a different context, Osamu Kayano (1987) also points out the importance of metaphoric ways of saying in traditional Japanese political negotiations.

Even nicknames perform the same function. The use of "Little Boy" for the uranium bomb and "Fat Man" for the plutonium bomb detonated over Hiroshima and Nagasaki respectively familiarized them as an amiable human stereotype and reduced the original horror. Many names of gods such as "Thor," "Jupiter," and so on are used for weapons, especially for missiles (Chilton 1982: 103). In this way, "nukespeak" (Chilton 1982) used by political leaders or the media has the function of legitimizing the existence of weapons, especially nuclear weapons.

From our viewpoint, these studies on metaphors, euphemisms, and nicknames used in politics illustrate two important aspects of political language. First, the

categorization of these language components itself presupposes existence of alternatives. The atomic bombs dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki could have been given other names than "Little Boy" and "Fat Man," respectively. Or, the Japanese prime minister Sato could have described the Japanese people's sensitivity to nuclear weapons in many other ways than the metaphor "nuclear allergy." Generally speaking, if there were only one way of saying the same thing, metaphors or nicknames would be impossible. The use of language components and their studies mentioned above implicitly presuppose the existence of alternative components, and explores in terms of an intended or realized effect why a particular component is selected and actually used. The existence of alternatives logically implies selection from them. Thus we can tentatively point out here that "language of politics" involves selection from alternatives or from "variations," to borrow a linguistic term. We will enlarge upon this later.

Secondly, "language of politics" itself can be a political issue, as in the case of prime minister Yasuhiro Nakasone's "unsinkable aircraft carrier." We will take up this point later in some more detail.

So far we have discussed the uses of language components mainly in security context. Their uses were intended for a particular political goal, such as the promotion of militarization, legitimization of nuclear weapons and so on. But in other cases the goals may be broader or vaguer. For example, Noriyuki Kawano (1999) argues that prime ministers of the postwar Japan frequently used the Japanese word "*heiwa*" (peace) in order to appeal to the Japanese public and recruit their sympathy and support. According to Takeshi Ishida (1989), the same word was used to justify war in the prewar Japan.

As we mentioned above, research on the language of politics has been predominantly concerned with language components such as words and phrase. Here, however, we must include research on language varieties as well. For example, in 1992, Fredrik Willem de Klerk, the then president of South Africa, broke the parliamentary custom of making a whole speech in English and used Afrikaans in half of his speech (Asahi Shimbun, October 14, 1992). The choice made between the two

separate languages, English and Afrikaans, had a clear political intention (and effect) of showing consideration for the future of the white Afrikaners. In this way, a choice of a language and a language variety itself can have a political function. We should not leave these cases out of consideration. Here we will take up and examine a few studies.

Murray Edelman's discussion (1964) is perhaps the subtlest of those dealing with the relationship between language varieties within the same language and their political functions. Edelman argues that American political elite have used four different language forms in order to achieve their political object, that is, the maintenance of their political status with the exclusion of the mass from the allocation of material benefits. In this case, the use of four language varieties serves the goal of the political elite.

Edelman classifies language varieties used by the American political elite into four forms or styles, and argues that they serve different political functions (Edelman 1964: 130-151). The four forms are "hortatory language," "legal language," "administrative language" and "bargaining language." Each of the forms has different meanings and functions to the elite and to the general public. We can schematically illustrate the features, meanings and functions of each language style in Figure 1 below. The hortatory language is a style mainly employed to appeal to the general public. The form is characterized by polysemy or ambiguity in meaning. The form is full of such words as "peace," "security," "prosperity" and "democracy," all of which are "essentially contested concepts," allowing the parties to interpret them differently (Connoly 1983: 10). Because of its polysemic or ambiguous character, the hortatory style is particularly suitable for recruiting and mobilizing the support of the general public. In the same way, Kayano (1987) emphasizes the importance of the polysemic nature of metaphoric way of saying in reaching consensus.

The legal language is quite ambiguous to the elite, and allows of a virtually infinite possibility of interpretation. In contrast, to the general public, the language is believed to be very strict and be defined uniquely. Because the legal language is produced through legislature, it assures the participation of the public, partially at

least. The administrative language differs from the legal language in that it should be understood unambiguously by the public due to its compulsory power. Finally, the bargaining language, used where the general public is excluded, has no vagueness for the parties concerned. As can be seen from this short summary and Figure 1, the polysemy or ambiguity of the language decrease when we go down from the hortatory language to the bargaining language. This difference in the ambiguity of the language varieties used correspond exactly both with the decrease of the political participation and involvement in symbolic interests of the public on the one hand and with the increase of the involvement with material interests of the elite on the other. Thus, uses of different language styles has enabled political elite to maintain their political power over the allocation of material interests to the exclusion of the public. Here again, we find the selection from available alternatives, language varieties in this case, has an important political function to perform.

Though "language of politics" studies involving language varieties are uncommon, Carol Myers-Scotton (1990) provides cases in which selection is more evident and deliberate. She proposes the concept of "elite closure." According to her, elite closure is a political strategy of elite to maintain their power and privileges to the exclusion of the masses through linguistics choices. It is usually accomplished by formally or informally using a different language variety from those known to the masses. Latin in medieval Europe and French in Prussian and Russian courts are cases in point (Myers-Scotton 1990: 25-26) . Decisions on official languages may perform the same function, especially when the declared official language is virtually unknown to the masses, as in the case of many newly independent states which adopt the former colonial language as the official language in the name of universal "unfairness" (Myers-Scotton 1990: 36), because every one must learn it.

According to Myers-Scotton, however, there is a subtler way of accomplishing elite closure. In many countries, elite know both an official language, usually an European language, and one (or more) of the indigenous languages. In this respect, Tanzania is an exception in that its official language is Swahili. But the pattern and means of exclusion is the same. In this situation, the language use of the

elite is characterized with code-switching between two languages, for example, between English and a native language, only one of which is available to the masses (Myers-Scotton 1990: 32). Code-switching is (usually frequent) switch back and forwards between language varieties in a stretch of utterance, conversation or discourse. In this case again, it is evident that the selection of a language variety has a clear political function.

Even from the very brief and incomplete examination above, we can provisionally hypothesize at this point that, even when the political functions and effects of political language are focused upon, the use of political language necessarily involves selection among alternatives, whether they are language varieties or language components. As far as the selection is made for some political goal, it usually, if not always, has some intended political goals and/or (un)intended political consequences. In this sense, the selection or its effect(s) is political. And, therefore, both the selection itself and its result(s) can be a point of a political dispute as well.

3 politics of language

"Politics of language" can be defined here broadly as politics over a language issue, politics with language as an issue, or simply politics about or over language. In most of the cases, language varieties are involved. But sometimes language components may be involved. The politics or political dispute may sometimes develop into a violent conflict.

The most important and hence most researched issue in this respect is that of the official language[3] in government, law, education. As Ronald Inglehart and Margarett Woodward pointed out long ago in a classical article (1967: 25), one's upward social mobility and life chance depends greatly upon the official language in a multilingual society, in addition to the pride and glory of language groups. The Habsburg Empire provides us with a number of historical examples such as the cases of Hungary, Czech and so son. In the present world, conflicts over the official language abounds both in developed and developing countries, as in the cases of Belgium, Canada, France, Spain, United States[4], former Soviet Union, India, Namibia,

Pakistan and many others. Since the issue is closely related to that of nationalism, there are a vast accumulation of research literature in this field as the appendix and Matsuo's select bibliography (Matsuo 1995) show.

As Einar Haugen (1972: 251-252) points out, the selection of the official language is the most important issue. In order to establish or change the official language, a selection should be made from the candidates, from dialects, from native languages, or between international and indigenous languages. And, in most of the cases, the selection favors one group and disadvantages others (Haugen 1972: 251).

Language conflicts are not limited to the choice of an official language. It may sometimes involve the whole or the part of the alphabet or writing system. Let us here examine this less well-known area in some detail. Perhaps the most famous case is the rivalry between Hindi and Urdu. The communal antagonism between Hindus and Muslims in the British India finally leading to the partition of the subcontinent also led to the differentiation of the two languages in their vocabularies and scripts. Hindi was enriched through Sanskrit and written in Devanagari, while Urdu depended overwhelmingly upon Perso-Arabic words and script (Campbell 1991: 571, 1425, Shackle and Snell 1990: 7-11). Though on a smaller scale, a similar conflict was repeated in Punjab in India. The religious and linguistic rivalry between Punjabi-speaking Sikhs and Hindi-speaking Hindus resulted in the division of the original Punjab state at the independence into the two new states, Punjab and Harjana, The Sikh Punjabis now write their language in a particular script, and the official language of the state is "Punjabi in the Gurmukhi script" (Dale 1980: 10). There are many other "script conflicts," that is, conflicts over the writing system. To mention a few, the "Alphabet War" in Galicia under the Habsburg rule (Subtelny 1988: 513-514), the attempt at the introduction of the Perso-Arabic script into the Bengali language (Musa 1996: 75), the selection of the script for Albanian (Trix 1997), and for Galician (Henderson 1996) are among them.

In an extreme case, only one or a few of the letters can be a point of an intense conflict. During the time of independence movement of Bangladesh, the banners and graffiti of the movement showed, "One letter of the Bengali alphabet is

equal to a life of a Bengali" (Musa 1996: 76). Though this may seem an exaggeration, similar cases are not uncommon. Since 1953, Romania began to change the letter "â" to "î," since both are phonetically equivalent. But this change de-emphasized the Latin nature of the Romanian language, and, though unsuccessful, a strong movement against it was organized. One prominent leader of the movement declared, "When the â was dropped, it was not only a letter which was dropped, but also a part of our history" (Ermatinger 1992: 185). A single Ukrainian letter provides a similar case of conflict. In 1933, a Ukrainian letter similar to the Cyrillic г was banned as part of the Soviet language policy. Since then, the use of the letter was treated as "nationalistic deviation" from the Marxist-Leninist orthodoxy. To Ukrainians, the destruction of the Ukrainian language under the Soviet policy was tantamount to the Chernobyl disaster, and the banning of the letter was quite symbolic of it. So, the re-introduction of the letter after independence was regarded as a victory over the Soviet policy (Krouglov 1997: 14, 16, 21).

Whether language issues are politicized or not depends mainly upon the internal and external political situations and upon the power relationships of the groups involved. For example, the conflict over the choice of the alphabet for Albanian reflected both domestic and international predicaments in which Albanians were placed in the early twentieth century (Trix 1997). But the international environment did not much influence the selection of the southern dialect, Tosk, as the basis of the official standard language in the communist era, but the southern origin places of the majority of the leaders clearly influenced the decision (Byron 1976: 59-72). Thus, a change in the political climate sometimes politicizes a new language issue or rekindles an old one. In Macedonia after the collapse of the communist regime and the introduction of the multiparty system, the treatment of the single letter representing the schwa became politicized suddenly. First, the opposition attacked the former Yugoslav communists who decided not to use the letter, but the parties to the dispute were transformed into "Serbophiles" and "Burgarophiles," because while the standard Bulgarian language has this sound, the standard Serbian language does not (Friedman 1993: 171-172).

As can be inferred from the above examination, the selection from language varieties or language components frequently influences and is influenced by the power (or interests) and identity of the parties concerned (Dua 1996: 2, Haarmann 1990: 4, 8). In this respect, the selection of language variety or components for public purposes is not a scientific and impartial enterprise (Calvet 1998: 153, Schieffelin and Doucet 1998: 285). As Fishman (1988: 1648) argues, we should consider advantages and disadvantages which the selection brings or is believed to bring to the parties. Whether it leads to a conflict or not, therefore, the choice becomes of great political significance. Hence, the term "politics of language." The selection or its political effect may not develop into a political conflict, in many of the cases due to the great asymmetry of political powers of the parties involved. But the importance of the selection and its effect cannot be denied even in these cases.

So, let us examine the cases which do not lead to a political conflict but have a great political significance in terms of power and identity to the parties in question. The selection may be intended for the domination over or oppression of other groups, or it may be aimed for the autonomy or for the establishment of the separate identity of a group. Since the cases of the selection of the official language are rather well documented, we will again take up the less known cases of the script selection. For one thing, the intentional or deliberate nature of the selection is more visible in the case of script because the relationship between a language (variety) and a writing system is not inherent. but conventional and arbitrary in that there are plural possible ways of writing a language (variety).

Turkic languages in the Soviet Union from Central Asia to the Crimean Peninsula underwent changes of the alphabet twice in accordance with the Soviet language policy. In the late 1920s, Arabic script for these languages was replaced by Latin script. "Arabists" were criticized, arrested and even executed as "bourgeois nationalists" or under other anti-revolutionary categories. Next, the Latin script was in its turn replaced by the Cyrillic script in 1938. As a result, Turkic and other non-Russian languages became closer to the Russian language in form at least, and worse they became much closer in content especially when a vast number of political

and technical terms are borrowed from Russian. As many scholars argue, the introduction of the Cyrillic alphabet was to promote assimilation to the Russian language, or Russification, and hence the subordination of the non-Russian nationalities in the Soviet Union (Fierman 1985, Lazzerini 1985, Olcott 1985).

On the contrary, a non-dominant group can adopt a distinctive script as a symbol of their separate identity. The case of the Albanian alphabet above is an example of this. As a historical example, we can cite the case of the so-called Ardelean School, Romanian scholars in Transylvania. Though Romanian belongs to the Romance language family together with French, Italian and others, it was often regarded as a Slavic language due to the influence of the surrounding Slavic languages. In order to demonstrate the separate identity of Romanian and its Latinity or affinity with Romance languages, they substituted the Latin script for the Cyrillic one, in addition to the replacement of Slavic words by Romance ones (Mallinson 1990: 295, Rogers 1981: 233). Their choice was motivated by the desire to establish the Latinity, that is, the separate identity of the Romanian language and nation. Similar efforts for the establishment of separate identity through a script can be found in many parts of contemporary India, as is seen in the words of a tribal leader: "A language is mother, a script is father" (Singh and Manoharan 1993:28).

In this section, we have so far dealt with phenomena usually fitted in the category of "politics of language." As we suggested above, however, language used in politics can be a point of a political dispute. In such a situation, the language of politics turns into the politics of language.

The Japanese prime minister Yasuhiro Nakasone used the term "*fuchin kubo*" (unsinkable aircraft carrier) in an interview with the *Washington Post* during his 1983 visit to the United States. Hook points out the metaphor evokes the similarity between a country (Japan) and military hardware (an aircraft carrier) and it suggests that Japan as an unsinkable aircraft carrier should patrol the straits near Japan in order to defend the United States and Japan from the Soviet Union (Hook 1986: 39-40). The expression itself gave a rise to an intense dispute, and suffered from severe criticisms from various quarters.

In 1982, in new high school textbooks certified by the Japanese Ministry of Education, "*shinryaku*" (aggression) was changed to "*shinshutsu*" (advance) with reference to the activities of the Japanese in East and Southeast Asia during the Second World War. The change raised a rally of protest from Asian countries as one aspect of the "revival of Japanese militarism." Chinese and Korean governments lodged formal protests with the Japanese government. Moreover, the attempt by the Japanese government to legitimize the use of "advance" was severely challenged domestically. Thus, the expression became an internal and international political issue (Hook 1984: 98-101). The language of politics turned into the politics of language in this case again.

Of late, the US-Japan Guidelines for Defense Cooperation were announced in an efforts for re-affirming and strengthening the alliance between the two states. The Guidelines contain the expression "*shuhen jitai*" (situations in areas surrounding Japan). It became an issue of a domestic and foreign political dispute whether "the area" includes Taiwan and Korea.

From these examples, it is obvious that political language itself can be a political issue. Our proposed distinction between "language of politics" and "politics of language" does not hold in these cases since these examples involve both.

4 Toward an Integrated Perspective

As we have shown above, the proposed distinction between "language of politics" and "politics of language" is quite useful for the understanding of some aspects of the interface between language and politics. There are, however, cases where a stretch of political events involves both aspects. In view of these cases, for the deeper understanding of the relationship between language and politics, we should explore properties common to both aspects, without denying the usefulness of our initial distinction. What follows is our attempt to provide a perspective which will enable us to see the varied phenomena involving both language and politics in a unified way.

First of all, the selection from language varieties or language components

constitutes the essential part of the phenomena. For example, the importance of metaphors and rhetoric in the language of politics implies that there are other ways of saying the same thing. The Japanese Ministry of Education was faced with the choice among "advance," "aggression" and "incursion" and chose the first. Prime minister Nakasone could have used the expression other than "unsinkable aircraft carrier." The Irish organizers of the first "boycott" movement could have used "social excommunication" or "ostracism" instead of the neologism "Boycott" (Connoly 1983: 185). Conversely, if there is only way of describing the Japanese people's sensitivity (or hypersensitivity) to nuclear weapons, prime minister Sato could not have used the expression "nuclear allergy." Moreover, even when the political languages in question are language varieties, there is always a possibility of selection, as the studies of Edelman and Myers-Scotton have shown.

[And this possibility of choice is the basic raison d'être of sociolinguistics (Fasold.1984: 180) And Martin Pütz (1997: ix) says, "speakers constantly make choices when using language," though he seems to pay attention only to language varieties.

Fasold, Ralph (1984), *The Sociolinguistics of Society*, Oxford: Blackwell

Pütz, Martin (1997), "Language Choices: Contact and Conflict? Introduction," Martin Pütz (ed.) (1997), *Language Choices: Conditions, Constraints and Consequences*, Amsterdam: John Benjamins, ix-xxi

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The logical prerequisite for selection is the existence of alternatives. Linguists call them "variations," which are a set of alternative ways of saying the same thing. And if we extend the notion a little to include language varieties as well as language components, we can treat the choice among the alternatives uniformly. Of course, it is quite doubtful whether various variations express exactly the same thing. Here we simply assume that they are linguistically equivalent., but that, as sociolinguists argue, they are not equivalent socially, but have different social significance. More importantly, they are obviously not equivalent politically, that is, from power (or interest) and identity perspectives. For, as we have seen, the selection

usually favors some and disfavors others. The difference in the value or significance of the variations or alternatives to the parties concerned necessarily lends importance to the selection, and hence unavoidably gives rise to the politics over it, that is, the politics of language.

On the other hand, the selection, if it is a political decision at all, has some political effect or consequence, whether it is intended or not. In this sense, we can speak of language of politics. Though the previous studies on this subject are mostly concerned with language components, especially words and phrase, we have shown that sometimes the selection of language varieties are involved. Broadly speaking, if it is of some political importance, the selection is accepted or opposed unless it passes unnoticed as in the case of the four language forms in American politics. Some may oppose its intended goal and others may oppose its actual or imagined effect. Thus, the selection actually made also gives rise to a politics of language.

In our discussion, the selection from a wide range of linguistic resources occupies the central place, but it does not constitute the logical starting point. As we suggested above, each of the alternatives is associated with different political significance to different groups concerned. In other words, each of the alternatives and hence the selection from them have different political effects upon different group. Therefore, we must first consider the relationship between linguistic alternatives and their political significance.

First of all, we must assume that there are groups with different political interests or goals. If these political groups were equipped with completely the same set of linguistic resources, that is, an identical set of language varieties and components, language would have no place in politics, because language would have no political significance in that it would be indifferent to the groups in question. Hence, another assumption will be required. We must also assume that these political groups are equipped with different sets of linguistic resources, that is, different set of language varieties and language component, even with a great amount of overlapping in the resources. The political significance of linguistic elements in question does not depends upon their linguistic importance. Not only full-fledged languages, but even a

single letter or pronoun can be a serious political issue.

Consequently, under our assumptions, each group has language varieties or components distinct from those of at least one of the other groups. We will refer to these linguistic resources as distinctive linguistic resources. And we assume next that some, if not all, of these distinctive linguistic resources are associated with particular political values, such as interest, expectations, or goals. If this weak assumption does not hold, differences in language will have no place in politics, because they do not have any political significance.

These assumptions constitute the starting point for our model which is intended for an integrated understanding of "language and politics" issues. They are schematically illustrated in the upper part of Figure 2 below. In the figure, one proceeds downward from the top to the bottom. Prior to selection, the figure shows that there are political groups with different linguistic resources which are associated with different political interests, expectations, or goals.

Within this framework, we can easily explain why the selection from linguistic alternatives matters. Different choices are expected to allocate resources, or rewards and punishments, differently to the groups in question. Hence the process of the selection can become a political issue, when it is open to the groups concerned like the decision of the official language or the writing system. If the process of the selection is not open or public, it may not be a political issue at this stage at least. As we have seen, most of the studies on political language neglect this stage understandably because the process of the selection is not open but informal or private. And perhaps this is why such studies are called "language of politics" research rather than "politics of language" research.

Once the selection is made, there follows another stage. According to our assumptions, the selection allocates political values, whether symbolic or material, or whether actual or imagined, differently to the groups. Such different consequences naturally produce different responses from different groups. Unless they are unnoticed, ignored, or accepted, the effect(s) can be a political issue at this stage as well. And here again we find "politics of language" phenomena.

In sum, our model consists of three parts or stages: pre-selection background(s) or intention(s), process of selection, and post-selection effect(s). This model can explain the vexing difference between "language of politics" research and "politics of language" research. The "politics of language" studies have dealt mainly with the process of selection, with considerations of the other two parts. On the contrary, the "language of politics" studies have mainly tried to link the effect with the intention, usually leaving the selection in a black box.. Our model suggests that both traditions of research lack a perspective on the entire process of the phenomena such as given in Figure 2.

5 Conclusion

In the present paper, we proposed a model for what should be called "language and politics" connection which provides an integrated perspective on diverse phenomena involving both language and politics. Our model consists of three parts: goal-associated linguistic resources, process of the selection, and effect(s) of the selection. The models explains the difference and the commonality between the "language of politics" and "politics of language" phenomena. In addition, it also reveals what is missing in the previous research on the subject. In order to fully understand the phenomena in question, we should take the whole process into the consideration. Many new research themes suggest themselves immediately. For example, we should answer the following questions:

What is the relationship between the goals, intentions, or expectations and the selection ?

What is the relationship of linguistic resources with the goals, intentions, or expectations and the selection ?

Which kind of selection affect the result in what way ?

What factors influence all or some of the above relationships ?

What parties are involved in all or some of the above relationships ?

Notes

(1) For example, the database of the National Center for Science Information Systems, Union Catalog in Japan, contains more than 350 book titles in European languages which deal both with language and politics. Parts of the result of the retrieval are given in Appendix, together with those found in other databases.

(2) Some are dictionaries and explain the meanings and usage of words, terms and concepts used in actual politics and/or in the political science. Others deals with "language and politics" in literary texts.

(3) We will not distinguish here between an official language and a national language, though in some polities like India and Switzerland, these two are constitutionally distinguished. Nor will we make any distinction among the levels of administrative unit even when the country in question is a federation like the former Soviet Union, former Yugoslavia, India and Canada, and there are different levels of official languages.

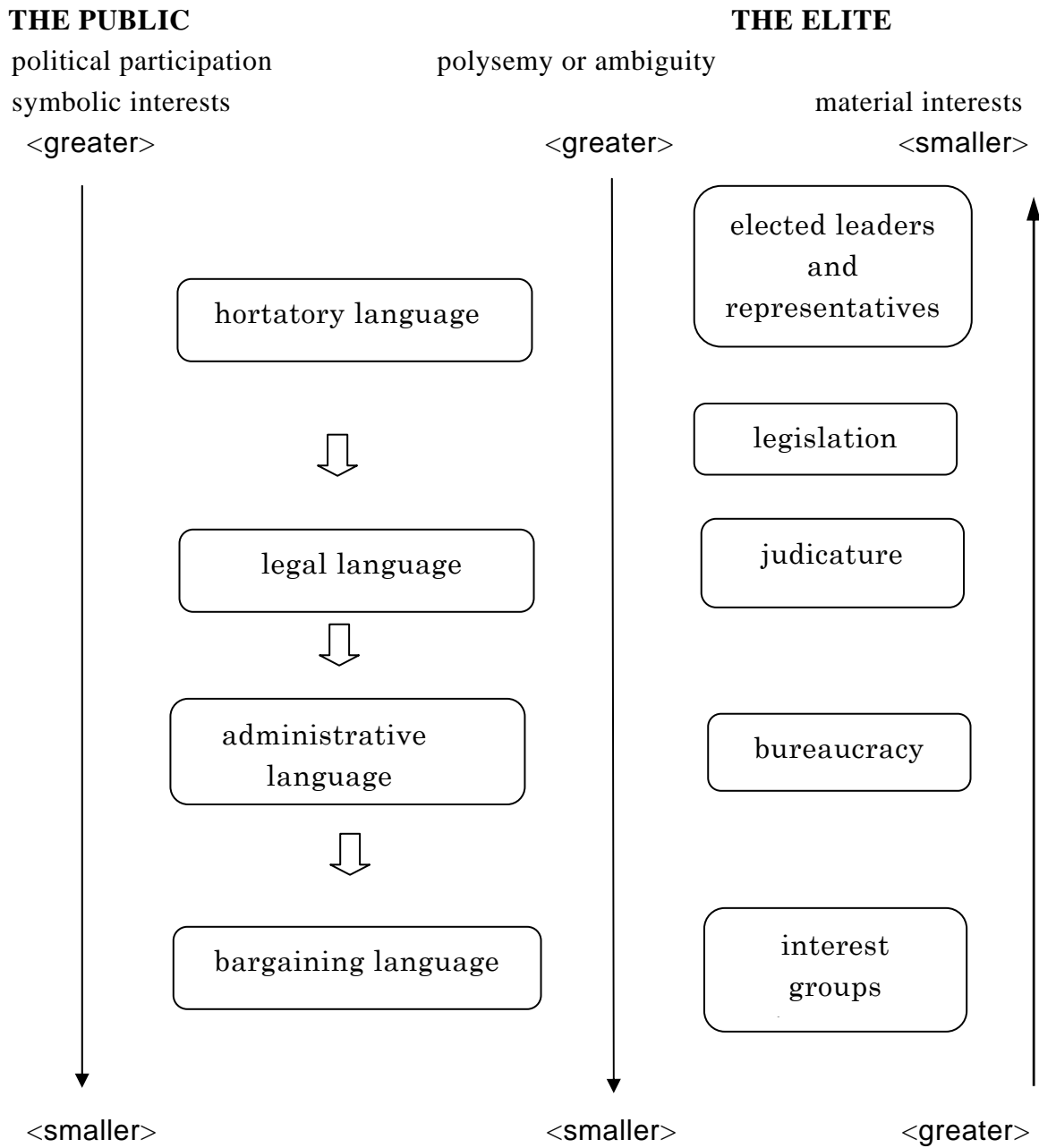(4) Cf. bilingual education debates and English-Only debates.

THE PUBLIC   **THE ELITE**

political participation   polysemy or ambiguity

symbolic interests   material interests

  <greater>   <greater>   <smaller>

```
┌──────────────────────┐         ┌──────────────────────┐
│                      │         │   elected leaders    │
│  hortatory language  │         │        and           │
│                      │         │   representatives    │
└──────────────────────┘         └──────────────────────┘

         ⇩                       ┌──────────────────────┐
                                 │     legislation      │
┌──────────────────────┐         └──────────────────────┘
│   legal language     │
│                      │         ┌──────────────────────┐
└──────────────────────┘         │     judicature       │
         ⇩                       └──────────────────────┘

┌──────────────────────┐
│    administrative     │        ┌──────────────────────┐
│     language          │        │     bureaucracy      │
└──────────────────────┘         └──────────────────────┘
         ⇩

┌──────────────────────┐         ┌──────────────────────┐
│  bargaining language  │        │     interest         │
│                      │         │     groups           │
└──────────────────────┘         └──────────────────────┘
```

<smaller>   <smaller>   <greater>

Figure 1   Four Language Styles in American Political Elite

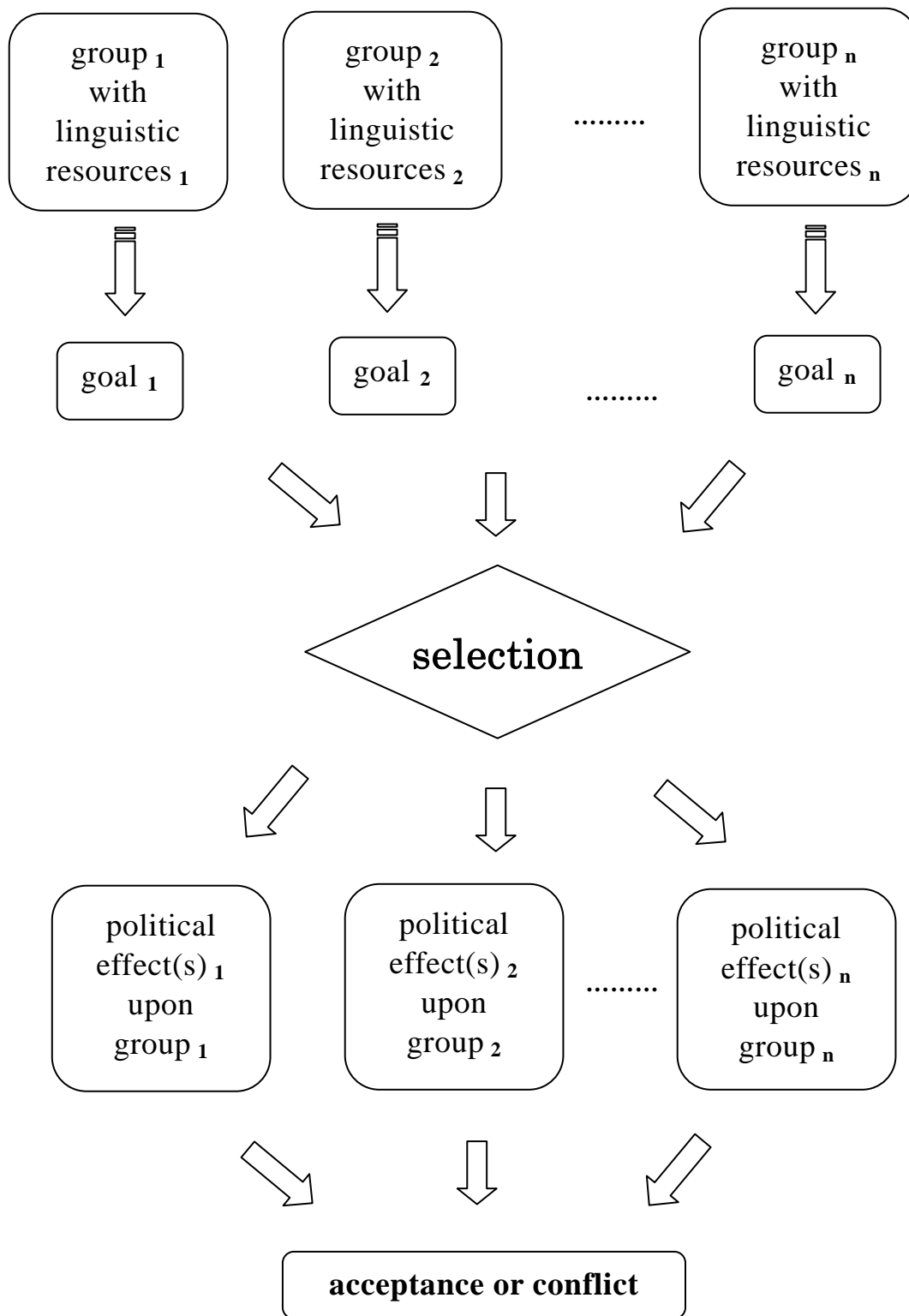Source : adapted from Edelman (1964), chapter 7

Figure 2 An Integrative Model of "Language and Politics"

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Appendix
Select List of Books Dealing with Language and Politics

Note: The following list is not intended to be complete or exhaustive. It is intended only to be symptomatic of the issues discussed in the text.

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