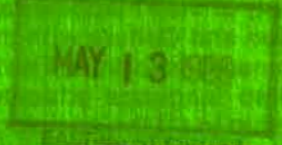




EAST-WEST CENTER
Honolulu, Hawaii

Language Planning Newsletter

DO NOT REMOVE FROM LIBRARY



EAST-WEST CULTURE LEARNING INSTITUTE

MARCH 1975 VOL. 1 NO. 2

c.1

Language Planning in China

By JOHN DeFRANCIS*



The attempt to observe language planning in the People's Republic of China is hampered by the dearth of published material in this area and by the difficulty of establishing contact with concerned individuals and organizations. The biggest unknown is the decision-making process. After the establishment of the People's Republic in October 1949 it soon became evident that a fundamental shift had taken place. The strong interest displayed in the thirties and forties for a reform emphasizing alphabetic writing of Chinese, including the separate writing of the main dialects, gave way after 1949 to a program that placed the greatest stress on simplification of the characters and promotion of a standard language while relegating a newly devised transcription, the *pinyin* system, to a secondary role in support of the traditional characters.

The rationale for this change and the mechanism by which it was brought about are only dimly appreciated. Before 1949 there were many private organizations, some of which received support from the Yen-an government, that engaged in activities in the general area of language and script reform. Many of these organizations died out during the course of the war against Japan and the civil war that followed it. After 1949 several of the organizations were re-activated and a number of individuals who had previously been prominent in promotion of Latinized writing resumed their publishing activities in these areas. In October 1949, Wu Yü-chang, a veteran of the Latinized writing movement, headed up a broadly-based unofficial organization devoted to studying various aspects of writing reform — the Chinese Writing Reform Association.

It appears, however, that the Ministry of Education had already come to a decision to give primary emphasis to simplification of characters and promotion of the standard language. To this end, it established a Bureau for the Promotion of the Standard Language. In December, 1951 the government established a Committee for Research on Chinese

Writing Reform. The groups that had been reactivated to promote Latinized writing, including the separate writing of the various Chinese "dialects," went out of existence and its members came out in support of the new official policy. These included Wu Yü-chang, who became vice-chairman of the Committee for Research Chinese Reform, Kuo Mo-jo, a vice-premier who was also head of the Chinese Academy of Sciences, Ni Hai-shu, T'o Mu, Ts'ao Po-han, and many others.

In 1954 the Committee, along with the Ministry of Education, jointly published a Draft Plan for Simplification. After nationwide discussion of the Plan a major conference on Chinese Writing Reform was called in October, 1955. An amended plan for simplification of the Chinese characters was approved, passed on to the State Council, and finally promulgated in January 1956.

Dialects versus standard language

In the area of promotion of the standard language, the Chinese Academy of Sciences sponsored a week-long Technical Conference on Problems of the Standardization of Modern Chinese in October, 1955. Although in previous years this subject was sure to evoke a good deal of sharp discussion about the problems of dialects versus standard language, there was no echo of this in the 1955 conferences, which saw even previous supporters of separate dialect romanizations fall in with the new line. The Chinese Academy of Science appears to have continued to contribute toward standardization through such units as its Linguistic Research Unit, Bureau of Compilation and Translation, and Committee on Translation and Publications, but little is known of the precise history or workings of these groups.

The task of developing a new transcription system was turned over by the government to a committee of experts who included representatives of various schools, such as the old Latinization (Wu Yü-chang and Ni Hai-chu) and National Language Romanization (Lo Ch'ang-p'ei and Li Chin-hsi). The first draft was published February 1956, submitted

(Continued on Page 5)

*Dr. DeFrancis is Professor of Chinese in the East Asian Languages Department at the University of Hawaii.

INSTITUTE: Philippine Summer Linguistic Institute

A Summer Linguistic Institute will be held at the Philippine Normal College in Manila April 14 - May 10, 1975 under the joint sponsorship of the Linguistic Society of the Philippines and the Department of Education and Culture with the cooperation of the PNC-Ateneo Consortium. The Institute aims to bring to Filipino language educators the most recent scholarship in (1) the sociology of bilingual education (2) language and nationalism (3) language policy and language planning, and (4) psycholinguistics. In addition to the Filipino staff, three international scholars will participate: Joshua Fishman, Richard Noss and Norman Segalowitz.

CONFERENCE: African Linguistics Conference

The Sixth Conference on African Linguistics, held April 11-13, 1975, at Ohio State University included many papers of interest to language planners. Among these are the following:

Istvan Fodor (U. zu Koln) "Language Reform of Past Times and in Some African and Asian Countries"

Paul Kotey (U. of Florida) "The Official Language Controversy: 'Colonial' vs. Indigenous"

Eyamba G. Bokamba (U. of Illinois) "Authenticity and the Choice of a National Language: The Case of Zaire"

C.J. Emeka Okonkwo (Suny, Buffalo) "A Functional-oriented Model of Initial Language Planning in Sub-Saharan Africa"

Maurice Tadadjeu (Georgetown U.) "Language Planning in Cameroon"

Joshua A. Fishman (Yeshiva U.) "Language Planning: Some Recent Theoretical and Empirical Developments"

Joyce A. Okezie (Suny, Buffalo) "Language Planning and Literacy Development: An African Example"

Ayo Bamgboe (U. of Ibadan) "Mother Tongue Education in West Africa"

WORKSHOP: Can Language of Social Science Be Planned?

A workshop/panel sponsored by the Committee on Conceptual and Terminological Analysis (COCTA) of the International Political Science Association will be held during the 71st Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, on September 2, 1975, in San Francisco on the topic: Can the Language of Science be Planned? The members of COCTA are exploring the methods, conditions, and limits of terminological standardization in the social sciences. For information:

Jonathan Pool, Dept. of Psychology
McGill University, POB 6070, Station "A"
Montreal, Quebec H3C 3G1, Canada

Editor — Joan Rubin
Associate Editor — Bjorn Jernudd
Editorial Board

M. H. Abdulaziz Monsur Musa
Joshua Fishman Jirı Neustupny
Bertil Molde

CONFERENCE: Third International Conference of Nordic and General Linguistics

The conference will be held at the University of Texas, April 5-9, 1976. Papers of interest will be on the following topics: (1) Bertil Molde and Finn-Erik Vinje will give papers on language problems and language planning in Scandinavia (2) Folke Hedblom and Mogens Baumann Larsen will give papers on Nordic ethnicity and bilingualism in North America (3) Claes-Christian Elert and Nils Erik Hansegard will give papers on Scandinavian as a Second Language: ethnic minorities and foreign workers (4) Bengt Loman and Kristian Ringgaard will give papers on spatial and social variation in language. Further information about the conference can be obtained from:

Dr. John Weinstock

Dept. of Germanic Language
University of Texas
Austin, Texas 78712

CONGRESS: Fourth International Congress of Applied Linguistics

The Congress will take place at the University of Stuttgart, August 25-30, 1975. Sections of interest include: language planning, sociolinguistics, bi- and multilingualism, translation. Further information can be obtained by writing to:

AILA Secretariat

Prof. Dr. Gerhard Nickel
700 Stuttgart 50
Hallschlag 151
Germany

MEETING: UNESCO Meeting of Experts on the Use of Mother Tongues in Literacy Programmes in Africa.

This meeting was convened by UNESCO in Bamako, Mali on September 30 - October 4, 1974. The aims of the meeting were: (1) to provide information on the experiments carried out over the preceding decade, (2) to analyse the main problems arising from the implementation of the ten-year plan for the study of oral tradition and the promotion of African languages (3) to propose practical solutions which might be considered in programs of study and research programs at national and international levels. Participants were unanimous in emphasizing the important function of African languages in the actual process of economic, social and cultural development of the respective countries, more especially their use throughout the educational system as a whole. The documents of the Bamako meeting will be published shortly.

SYMPOSIUM: Linguistic Diversity and Language Planning in the Pacific Area

George Grace of the University of Hawaii has organized a symposium on linguistic diversity and language planning in the Pacific area for the 13th Pacific Science Congress which will be held in Vancouver on the 19th of August. The Congress is scheduled for August 18-29, 1975.

Sociolinguistic Survey of Maori Language Use

By Richard A. Benton*

Since the New Zealand government took over primary responsibility for Maori education in the 1870's, language planning in New Zealand has consisted largely of ad-hoc attempts to absorb the Maori speaking population linguistically and socially into the dominant English-speaking European based society.¹ The linguistic aspect of this policy appears to have met with considerable success — whereas almost all the 42,000 Maoris (about 6% of the total population) enumerated in the 1896 census would have been native speakers of Maori, a high proportion of the quarter million or more Maoris² (approximately 8% of the total population) now resident in New Zealand are probably monoglot speakers of English, and the Maori speaking population is almost completely bilingual in English.

There is no reliable information, however, about the number of Maori speakers remaining in any of the major areas of Maori population, and still less about the social dimensions of language use in Maori speaking families — who speaks what to whom, and when. Although the Maori language itself has been studied assiduously from the beginning of European contact, surprisingly little is known about local variations in phonology, syntax, and vocabulary. While dialectal variation is known to exist, it poses few problems for communication between adult speakers, and thus has never been subjected to intensive, systematic study. Similarly, although after 150 years of contact with English, and the evolution of a bilingual speech community, it is likely that English has had some effect at least on conversational Maori. Little attention has been given to the differences assumed to exist between casual conversational Maori and more formal, oratorical styles. In recent years, the existence of 'Maori English' as a dialect of New Zealand English has been assumed by some writers³, but published studies of English spoken by Maori children have concentrated on deviations from standard English; no work has been done on the English speech of Maori adults.

Countless Opinions

Thus while countless opinions have been expressed on Maori language use, and the language used by Maoris, no comprehensive body of empirical information can be referred to in order to support or disprove any of the many hypotheses advanced. The lack of accurate information has not deterred language planners from acting on their

own intuitions, however. A recent handbook for teachers, for example, states that 'semantics is [sic] important for Pakehas [N.Z. Europeans] but not very important for Maoris' (Simpson 1971:42), and language programs have been devised to enrich and extend the apparently limited repertoire in English controlled by most Maori children.⁴ At the same time, teaching of the Maori language has increasingly been proceeding on the assumption that most Maori students are native speakers of English, and materials preparation has thus concentrated on a second language approach⁵, with little to challenge or extend a native speaker who should happen to want to study the language at school. In the interests of economy, dialect differences have been ignored to a large extent, with the result that official text books have met with severe criticism by parents in many Maori communities.

Three kinds of investigations

In an effort to provide a factual basis for language planning decisions which are likely to have a profound influence on a rapidly growing segment of the country's population, the New Zealand Council for Educational Research launched in 1973 under my direction a socio-linguistic survey of language use in Maori households and communities. The survey involves three kinds of investigations:

- (1) A census of language use, covering about 5,600 households in all the major areas of Maori population in the North Island;
- (2) Small scale studies of language use, focussed on communicative competence and language dominance in various domains, and also on attitudes towards English and Maori, which will involve a small sample of informants drawn from households visited during the census; and
- (3) studies of the syntactic, lexical, and phonological aspects of English and Maori, spoken and written, by individuals of various ages and in a variety of social settings.

Large-scale surveys involving teams of interviewers are expensive and time consuming, and, in this cost-conscious era, are being replaced by in-depth studies of individuals or small groups. In the New Zealand situation, however, some kind of preliminary survey seemed essential, simply because no reliable information was obtainable from which one could make valid generalizations about lan-

¹For a discussion of language policies in relation to the Maori education see Barrington and Beaglehole 1974:41-43, 132-135, 205-208, and Benton (to appear).

²In New Zealand the term 'Maori' is about as difficult to define as the term 'word' in linguistics: statutory definitions range from any descendant of a Maori (Maori Education Act 1961) to persons of 'half or more Maori ancestry' (Adoption Act 1948). For the purposes of our survey a Maori is any person who claims membership of a Maori tribal group together with any descendants of such a person resident in the same household.

³See for example Bender 1971:47-49.

⁴For example, Lopdell 1972.

⁵As e.g., Waititi 1962, the standard introductory text book for secondary school pupils.

*Dr. Benton, Senior Research Officer, New Zealand Council for Educational Research, Wellington, is Head of the Maori Unit.

guage use in Maori communities on a county basis, let alone a regional or national one. No question about native language or knowledge of Maori is included in the national census, so even estimates of the number of speakers of the language could only be the products of informed guesswork or, more often, wishful thinking. At the same time, with an ever increasing concern about Maori 'language problems' on the part of school authorities, and an increasing demand for the Maori language to be taught in schools, there was clearly a need for information about the status of the language, and whether this differed from one community to another.

Sensitive to variations

The basic problem was to design a survey which would have comprehensive coverage, be sensitive to variations between individuals and communities, and which at the same time could be accomplished in a reasonable time by a small permanent research staff at a minimal cost.

The approach adopted by Joshua Fishman and his associate in their study of language use in a Puerto Rican neighborhood in Jersey City (Fishman et al. 1971) seemed to be an excellent model for the New Zealand situation, combining both general surveys (although on a much smaller scale than we envisaged) with studies of individual informants who could reasonably be assumed to be representative of larger segments of the subject population. Fishman's study was particularly appealing as it involved the researchers personally with the community they were studying, an ingredient essential to the success of any similar undertaking among Maoris in New Zealand.

A successful start was made to the census taking phase of the project in Whangaroa County in the far north of New Zealand in August 1973. This particular locality was chosen because it was the smallest county with a high proportion of Maoris in the popu-

lation (712 out of 1950 persons at the 1971 census), and relatively familiar territory to the principal investigator.

By January 1978 we should have completed our census, covering 21 geographic counties and two major urban complexes. So far almost 2,000 households have been approached successfully, and we are slightly ahead of schedule with no cost overruns. Excluding the salaries of the NZCER Maori Unit's permanent staff (two anthropologically oriented linguists and a secretary, who have, perhaps unfortunately, many other tasks besides conducting socio-linguistic surveys), the cost of fieldwork (including wages, accommodation, rental cars etc.) has worked out to about NZ\$12-per household. The total cost of the census will thus be in the vicinity of NZ\$70,000, spread over four and a half years. So far, direct government finance has not been forthcoming, but adequate support for the project to date has been obtained from non-government sources.

Survive as a vernacular

Preliminary analysis of the data assembled so far has revealed a complex and varied situation. It is clear, however, that there are still areas where Maori is the lingua franca of the whole community, and that the language continues to play an important role in certain domains even in communities where it is no longer used as a primary means of communication within the family. It is also clear, however, that if the language is to survive as a vernacular for another generation, steps will have to be taken to give the language greater status within the schools in the remaining Maori-speaking areas.

Quite apart from the basic linguistic data, the census is providing us with a wealth of information about individual attitudes towards various language questions in the form of comments made spontaneously by informants on language related topics in the course of the interview. It has also enabled a significant number of young Maoris, who have assisted in the project as fieldworkers, to gain first hand experience of a social science investigation among their own people. □

EDITOR'S NOTE

Another closely related study of the Maori Unit is a survey of the self-concept of Maori and non-Maori pupils in North Island schools. The questionnaire used consists of three parts: questions concerning ethnic identity, a self-concept inventory, and questions relating to the individual's reaction to schools, teachers, and various ethnic groups. The field work has been completed by P. Ranby.

It is also of interest to note that an Advisory Committee on Research into Maori Schooling was set up in 1972 to advise the Director of the Council and the Director-General of Education on matters pertaining to research policy and priorities in this area.

— from the Maori Research Unit Bulletin

REFERENCES

- Barrington, J.M. and T.H. Beaglehole, 1974: *Maori Schools in a Changing Society* (Wellington: N.Z. Council for Educational Research)
- Bender, Byron W., 1971: *Linguistic Factors in Maori Education* (Wellington: NZCER)
- Benton, Richard A., (to appear): 'Problems and Prospects for Indigenous Languages and Bilingual Education in New Zealand and Oceania' in *Current Trends in Bilingual Education* edited by Bernard Spolsky and Robert Cooper (Publisher uncertain at time of writing).
- Fishman, Joshua A., Robert L. Cooper, Roxana Ma, et al., 1971: *Bilingualism in the Barrio* (Bloomington: Indiana University)
- [Lopdell, Ann] 1972: *Language Programmes for Maori Children* (Wellington: Department of Education)
- [Simpson, Myrtle] 1971: *Maori Children and the Teacher* (Wellington: Government Printer)
- Waititi, Hoani R., 1962: *Te Rangatahi 1* (Wellington: Government Printer).

Malaysian Government Inaugurates 'Unit Bahasa'

In January, 1971, the Malay government implemented its policy to make Malay the language of education starting with grade 1 in Malay for all students and making Malay the language of successive grades each year until the entire education system is through the Malay medium. To facilitate this program, a Unit Bahasa has been organized within the Ministry of Education in Malaysia with a number of objectives. Listed below are some of the objectives of the Unit:

- To devise a school curriculum of Bahasa Malaysia instruction which will provide, at every level, the means to use spoken and written Malay as an effective tool for the understanding of other subjects taught in that medium and at those levels.
- To improve and disseminate methods of teaching Bahasa Malaysia
- To devise a school curriculum of English language instruction so that desired levels of competence may be achieved by the average pupil at these levels and to improve and disseminate methods of teaching English as a second language.
- To project the language needs of Malaysia as far as possible into the future.
- To explore and exploit every possible means of relating the various language curricula to one another and to other school curricula.
- To direct all research towards fulfilling these objectives.

The Unit is currently carrying out research on language teaching, reading and bilingual education. The first issue of a newsletter entitled *Berita* appeared in February of this year. All requests for further information should be directed to:

Unit Bahasa
Curriculum Development Centre
Ministry of Education
Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia

THE EAST-WEST CENTER is a national educational institution established in Hawaii by the United State Congress in 1960. Formally known as "The Center for Cultural and Technical Interchange Between East and West," the federally-funded Center is administered in cooperation with the University of Hawaii. Its mandated goal is "to promote better relations and understanding between the United States and the nations of Asia and the Pacific through cooperative study, training and research."

Each year about 1,500 men and women from the United States and more than 40 countries in the Asian/Pacific area exchange ideas and cultural insights in programs conducted by the multi-national East-West Center staff dealing with problems of mutual East-West concern. Participants are supported by federal scholarships and grants, supplemented by contributions from Asian/Pacific governments, private foundations and other agencies.

Center programs are conducted by the East-West Communication Institute, the East-West Culture Learning Institute, the East-West Food Institute, the East-West Population Institute, and the East-West Technology and Development Institute. Open Grants are awarded to provide scope for educational and research innovation.

China . . .

(Continued from Page 1)

to the people for their reactions, and subsequently revised. The revised *pinyin* scheme received official approval from the National People's Congress in February, 1958.

Information about the various activities in the general area of language planning was disseminated in official pronouncements and reports and in semi-official publications and by individual writers such as those already mentioned. To these may be added the names of Chou Yu-kuang, Cheng Hsin-lin, Wang Li and Lü Shu-hsiang. Some material of a more scholarly nature was available in *Zhongguo Yuwen* (Chinese Language and Literature) before it suspended publication at the time of the Cultural Revolution. It has not resumed publication and little information, scholarly or otherwise, has been available for a decade or more. In May 1974, however, the newspaper *Guangming Ribao* began to devote a full page on the 10th and 25th of each month to problems chiefly in the area of promoting the simplified characters and the standard language. It appears that many little groups have been organized in educational institutions, communes, and other organizations to consider concrete implementation of one or another aspect of the reforms that have taken place, but there is no clear indication of centralized or carefully organized planning. With the meager literature that has become available there are tantalizing passages that denounce Liu Shao-ch'i as retarding the use of *pinyin* and that seem to suggest that the last word has not yet been pronounced on the fate of the transcription and the general direction of language planning. The material needs careful study to determine the direction that such planning is taking and to keep abreast of the many new names that are beginning to figure in discussion of the matter.

A number of linguists from the United States and other countries have visited China in recent years and have obtained some additional information about developments in the area of linguistics and language planning. The observations of the American Linguistics Delegation, which met with members of the Committee for Language Reform in the course of its visit to the People's Republic of China in the Fall of 1974, will be available in a report scheduled for publication by the University of Texas in late 1975. This volume is entitled *Language and Linguistics in the PRC*. □

GENERAL REFERENCES

Dayle Barnes, "Language Planning in Mainland China: Standardization," in Joshua A. Fishman, ed. *Advances in Language Planning* (The Hague: Mouton, 1974), 457-477.

John DeFrancis, "Language and Script Reform [in China]," in Thomas A. Sebeok, ed. *Current Trends in Linguistics II* (The Hague: Mouton, 1967), 130-150.

Constantin Milsky, *Préparation de la réforme de l'écriture en République populaire de Chine 1949-1954* (The Hague: Mouton, 1974).

Readers Invited to Contribute: The editor invites readers to send in news which they would like to share with interested language planning practitioners and scholars.

Advances in Language Planning. Joshua A. Fishman, ed. The Hague: Mouton, 1974. 590 pp. Dg 23. (paper).

It is entirely appropriate that this book be reviewed in the first volume of the language planning newsletter, since both are directed to the same audience — language planners. In fact, theoreticians and scholars in sociology of language looking for new theories in language planning will not find the book suitable for their needs. Of the twenty-four articles included in the collection, only five are published for the first time, and only one of these is included in the section on theoretical studies. Most of the remaining articles are reprinted from volumes of *Current Trends in Linguistics*, usually available as reference works for university personnel, but rarely accessible to planners in other institutions or to students in the increasing number of courses related to language planning.

Practitioners in language planning agencies and those who train language planners around the world will, therefore, find the book a necessary addition to their libraries and textbook selections. Major contributions of the book for these two groups are an overview of the history of language planning and a clear-cut discussion of debates within the field over terms and the state of methodological and empirical expertise; these contributions are reinforced by a presentation of essays which update and rework studies found in earlier collections on language planning. In Fishman's preface and introductory article, "Language Planning and Language Planning Research: the State of the Art," the relationships in both content and purpose of this book to two other collections (Fishman, Ferguson and Das Gupta 1968; Rubin and Jernudd 1971) are clearly established. Language planners will recognize that Fishman views these two earlier collections plus the current volume as basic library resources for language planners. Fishman has been careful to select essays which build on and advance earlier studies, and he has not duplicated any articles found in either of the two earlier collections.

Section I, entitled "Theoretical Studies," includes a new article by Francis X. Karam, which places the entire field of theoretical studies in perspective for the language planner and prepares the reader for the methodological and empirical bent of the sections which follow. Section II contains language policy studies in developing nations and regions drawn from *Current Trends in Linguistics*. Codification, cultivation and elaboration studies, presented in Section III, provide data on developed and developing nations; a new article by Jack Fellman on the role of Eliezer Ben Yehuda in the revival of the Hebrew language will be welcomed by planners who have missed the historical perspective in many other research reports. The final section includes studies of implementation, evaluation and feedback in Canada, Israel, and Ireland; language planners in developing nations will wish their nations had been represented here, for this is an area in which planners are currently most anxious for guidance.

The prime importance of Fishman's volume is that it provides a concise, yet wide-ranging collection of articles on language planning in an age of narrow monographs and specialized journal articles. The book does not lend itself to the view that questions of typology or methodology are final. If there is to be such a thing as a coordinated, integrated approach, it will result from increasing comparative and historical work in both developed and developing nations and by both theoreticians and practitioners. Fishman's book does not make the task appear an easy one, but it will do much to convince language planners the task is worthwhile. □

Fishman, J. A., C. A. Ferguson and J. Das Gupta (eds.)

1968 *Language Problems of Developing Nations* (New York: Wiley).

Rubin, J. and B. Jernudd (eds.)

1971 *Can Language be Planned?* (Honolulu: East West Center and University Press of Hawaii).

Reviewed by Shirley Brice Heath
Winthrop College

CORRECTION

The papers on Industrialization, Urbanization and Language presented at the VIIIth World Congress of Sociology will not be edited by Everett C. Hughes and Edgar C. Polomé. Edgar C. Polomé will prepare a special number of the *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* on the topic "Rural versus Urban Multi-lingualism."

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF LANGUAGE PLANNING IN PREPARATION

The East Culture Learning Institute is preparing an annotated bibliography of language planning which it hopes to bring out in the Spring of 1977. Readers who have articles they would like to see included should send an offprint to Joan Rubin, Culture Learning Institute, East-West Center, Honolulu, Hawaii 96822. Articles once annotated will be placed in the CLI materials resource center for use by all language planning practitioners and scholars.

CALL FOR INFORMATION ON LANGUAGE PLANNING AGENCIES

Several of our readers have already begun sending information about the activities and publications of their language planning agencies or institutions for the directory described in Vol. 1, No. 1. These will be incorporated into the directory of language planning agencies which the East-West Culture Learning Institute is preparing. All brochures, magazines, bulletins will be placed in the CLI materials resource center for use by all language planning practitioners and scholars. Joan Rubin would welcome any and all information about other organizations who wish to be included in the directory and represented in the Institute materials resource collection.

Copies are available free of charge. All correspondence should be addressed to:

Joan Rubin, Editor, Language Planning Newsletter
Culture Learning Institute
East-West Center
Honolulu, Hawaii 96822