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'ABSTAND LANGUAGES' AND 'AUSBAU LANGUAGES'

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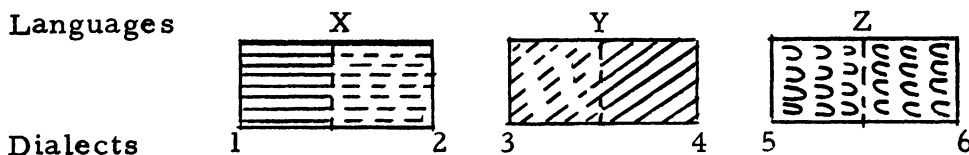
1. The concept of ausbau language
2. Near-dialectized sister languages
3. The future role of language-reshaping

1. Linguists like to look at the problem of drawing a boundary-line between language and dialect by defining these terms as relational concepts, with French, e.g., being a 'language' in relation to the 'dialect' of Picardy but a dialect in diachronic relation to Latin. In a book I brought out 14 years ago¹ I attempted to supplement the linguistic approach by a primarily sociological one when I introduced the concepts of Abstandsprache and Ausbausprache.

The term Abstandsprache is paraphrased best as 'language by distance', the reference being of course not to geographical but to intrinsic distance. The term Ausbausprache may be defined as 'language by development'. Languages belonging in this category are recognized as such because of having been shaped or reshaped, molded or remolded — as the case may be — in order to become a standardized tool of literary expression. We might say that an Ausbausprache is called a language by virtue of its having been reshaped, i.e., by virtue of its 'reshapedness' if there were such a word. Terms such as reshaping or remolding or elaboration, by focusing on deliberate language planning, help us to avoid a misunderstanding that the term development might lead to, namely that 'Ausbau' might come about by that slow, almost imperceptible and quite uncontrolled growth which we are wont to call natural.

Henceforth I shall use the terms Abstand language and ausbau language; it is not for me to suggest new English designations.

An Abstand language is a linguistic unit which a linguist would have to call a language even if not a single word had ever been written in it. Whenever linguists face the task of enumerating the languages of a large number of preliterate tribes, they have to decide which vernaculars they ought to list separately and which they ought to treat as belonging to a cluster of dialects which together form an indivisible linguistic unit. In a given case a linguist may find six types of speech which he arranges as follows:



By the manner in which I have marked off the six varieties I have tried to suggest degrees of intrinsic distance. It will thus be seen that there is a definite break between the languages Z (semicircles) and Y (lines and dashes). The linguist would not hesitate for a single minute to list the two separately. Conversely, there exists a definite similarity between languages X and Y (both of which are indicated by lines and dashes) and the linguist might have to ponder for years whether he should not lump them together under a single name. Nor would he always feel safe in grouping as mere dialects the speech forms bearing the numbers 1, 2 or 3 and 4, or 5 and 6.

Abstand language is a predominantly linguistic concept and I shall not now dwell on the problem of what criteria the linguists apply in measuring the intrinsic distance between languages. I furthermore propose to skip this problem in the present paper and for the moment to assume that linguists are in a position to apply final, reliable, and uniform criteria.² The concept of ausbau language is primarily a sociological one. As stated before it refers to languages which have deliberately been reshaped so as to become vehicles of variegated literary expression. Many of the leading tongues of the world, among them English, French, and German, are both abstand and ausbau languages, i.e., they are called languages both because of having been made over and because of their intrinsic distance from all other languages. But a great many other tongues fall into that category ('languages') merely by virtue of their being ausbau languages. If one asked whether a given language would be accorded that designation if its speakers had adopted a closely related standard language as their chief medium of literary expression, one would probably be surprised at how many would have to be classified as mere dialects (or clusters of dialects). Thus, e.g., it is my assumption that if the Icelandic language had been adopted by all speakers of Faroese dialects, the Irish language by all speakers of Scots Gaelic dialects, the Catalan language by all speakers of the Occitan (or Provencal) dialects, the Portuguese language by all speakers of Gallego (Galician), the Danish language by all speakers of Swedish dialects, that under these circumstances nobody would dream today of claiming that the clusters of Faroese, Gaelic, Gallego, Occitan, Slovak and Swedish dialects, respectively, because of their intrinsic distance, constitute independent linguistic units to be listed separately in language files all over the world.

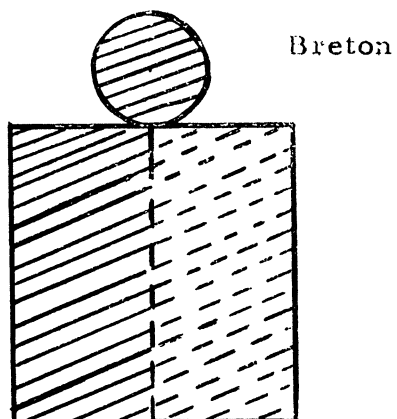
To get a clear notion of what ausbau language means we have to define wherein it differs not only from the abstand language but also from what William A. Stewart has dubbed the polycentric standard language. In the drawings below squares correspond to the spoken language, circles to the written standard. Under No. 1 we see what may be called 'the normal situation' as exemplified by the Breton language: a standard based on some of the spoken speech forms and neither subdivided in two major variants nor exposed to the competition of another standard based on other Breton dialects.

We now proceed to the polycentric standard language as illustrated by drawing No. 2, i.e., those instances where we have two variants of the same standard, based on the same dialect or a near-identical dialect. Serbo-Croatian is a case in point. The existence of the two variants must not prevent us from treating them as a single language, for there is difference between the two but no intrinsic distance apart from external features like script or spelling which have little or nothing to do with the corpus of the language. Moldavian and Roumanian also seem to be variants of the same standard language rather than two separate languages and according to some — but not all — experts, the same holds true for the relation between Persian and Tajik. Polycentric standards will be found where a language is dominant in two or more geographically separated countries (British and American English; Portuguese in Brazil and Portugal) and in speech communities which are still in the beginning stage of their modernization (Albanians, Basques, Kurds, etc.), or where political circumstances have brought about separated developments for two variants of one single language (Roumanian and Moldavian; Serbian and Croatian).

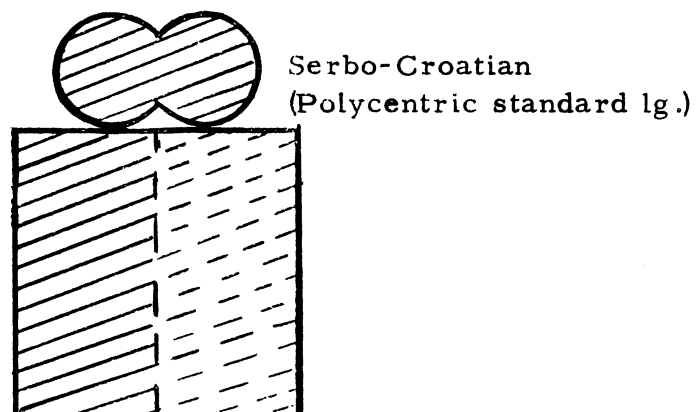
Drawing No. 3 illustrates the case of two ausbau languages which are not based on (spoken) abstand languages. We are dealing with dialects whose speakers would certainly be reported by linguists as constituting a single linguistic community if they were at a preliterate stage. They have, however, created two literary standards which are based on different dialects and therefore characterized by all-pervading differences which, while not necessarily excluding mutual intelligibility, yet make it impossible to treat them as one unit. Striking examples are the relations existing between Czech and Slovak, Danish and Swedish, Bulgarian and Macedonian. Of the last-named tongue H. G. Lunt writes: "That Macedonians should accept standard Bulgarian for their own use would demand far fewer concessions on their part than have been made by Bavarians and Hamburgers, by Neapolitans and Piedmontese, and even within Yugoslavia by natives of Niš in the Southeast and Senj in the Northwest."³ There could be no better illustration of what ausbau language means.

Finally, drawing No. 4 shows two different written standards based on clusters of dialects, and considered to constitute separate languages by virtue of their intrinsic distance. Random examples are Dutch and German, or Persian and Pashtu, or Tamil and Telugu.

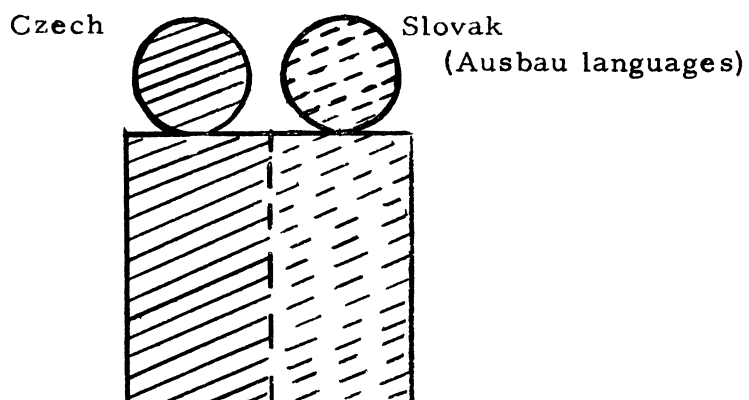
No. 1



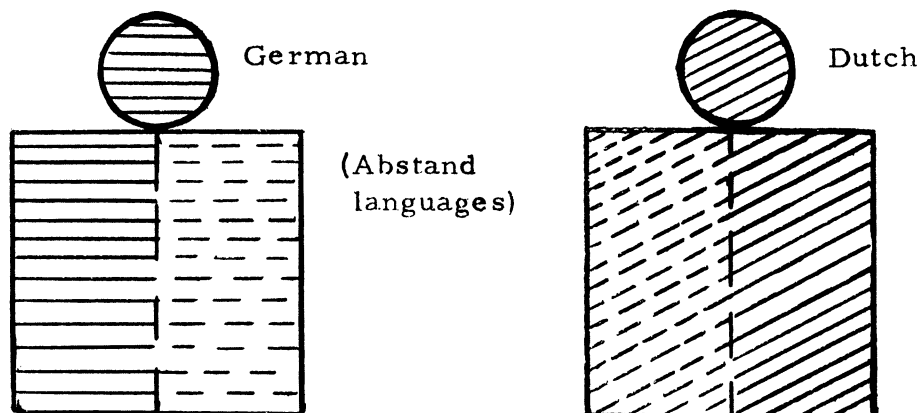
No. 2



No. 3



No. 4



It may be slightly confusing that within the approach that I have tried to sketch, the problem of intrinsic distance crops up in two different places. Distance underlying the concept of abstand language means distance between spoken tongues. But, in addition, there is a minimum distance between written standards which is requisite lest the two varieties be lumped together as mere variants of a single though polycentric standard. We might keep in mind, then, that the abstand (distance) language concept is derived from the spoken language, while the ausbau concept is derived from the written standard. The term ausbau is not applicable nowadays to the spoken language alone. There have been (and there may still exist) preliterate cultures where the capacity to memorize the spoken word is so great that oral agreements amounting to some kind of language planning were possible. But within the occidental orbit any conscious effort to reshape a language will have to concentrate largely on its written form. It is via the literary standard then that the spoken language too is transformed.

The relation between the polycentric standard language (as typified by Serbo-Croatian) and the ausbau language (as typified by Slovak in its relation to Czech) is not a static but a dynamic one. In some countries we observe a tendency to bring about a rapprochement. In Norway, e.g., no expert would have doubted at the turn of the century that Riksmål and Landsmål were different languages. Since then systematic efforts have been made to make them more and more similar so that today there are experts who hold that they should be regarded as two forms of one language, that is to say, of a polycentric standard language.⁴ Conversely, the policy in the Soviet Union is to widen the rift between domestic standard languages and their kin tongues abroad so that it is quite possible that some day Moldavian will be more than just a variant of standard Roumanian. (By the same token, incidentally, Tajik and Persian will drift more and more apart, and so will Turkish and the Turkic languages spoken in the Soviet Union.)

Perhaps I ought to say, at this juncture, a few words about the technique and the phases of planned language reshaping. But I am afraid that this is so complex a topic that it cannot be treated in a few paragraphs. In my book on 'Kultursprachen' several pages are devoted to it and I wish to emphasize at least one point I made at that time: that in our age it is not so much by means of poetry and fiction that a language is reshaped (and perhaps salvaged) but by means of non-narrative prose. It need not be — certainly not from the outset — scholarly literature of a high caliber, but at the very least popular prose (suitable for unsophisticated magazines and educational textbooks) seems indispensable. Achievements in the realm of information, not of imagination, lend lasting prestige in our age to standard languages old and new. Three levels of non-narrative prose (np) have to be distinguished, to wit:

Popular np (roughly corresponding to primary school level): primers, community development, devotional and/or political booklets, etc.

Sophisticated np (roughly corresponding to secondary school level):

literary criticism, summaries of essential findings of science, etc.

Learned np (roughly corresponding to higher education): intricate

presentations of research problems, procedures, results, original research on group-oriented problems, other original research work.

A question which I did not raise in my book was that of the sources to which to turn in order to enrich the vocabulary of the language. Basically, there are but two possibilities: to import words from other languages, or to utilize the native 'word-hoard'. The latter can be done in two ways: either by remolding and putting to new uses the morphemes (words, roots, etc.) of today's colloquial speech or by going back to older stages of the language; thus the present-day remolders of Hindi go back as far as to Sanskrit.

Much that is germane to these questions will be found in a book by Punya Sloka Ray, *Language Standardization*,⁵ and in the introductory chapter of Einar Haugen's book, *Conflict and Language Planning — The Case of Modern Norwegian*.⁶

As Haugen points out, linguistics prior to the 19th century was normative. Actually, linguistics started with a law-giver, Panini. Taken in this sense language planning is an old phenomenon. It is permissible, however, to distinguish between two kinds of language planning which, conceptually, are contrasted in spite of the occurrence of intermediate attitudes. We might call them conservative language planning and innovational language planning. Conservative planners are bent on correctness, purism, elegance; they select what to them seems best from among the existing forms of speech and if change is unavoidable they at least try to slow it down. Innovational planners are bent on change and their long-range goals (sometimes even their methods) are often revolutionary. This distinction is important because *ausbau* languages definitionally are the result of innovational and not of conservative language planning.

2. When at the beginning of this presentation I demonstrated how linguists have to break down preliterate languages which I labelled X, Y, and Z, I pointed out that the decision was certainly an easy one in the case of unrelated languages Y and Z but probably rather difficult with regard to kindred languages Y and X.

The relationship between two kindred languages may become even less transparent where both of them are spoken by literate populations. Here a curious phenomenon may appear which we may term the near-dialectization of a sister language — brought about, of course, by its sister.

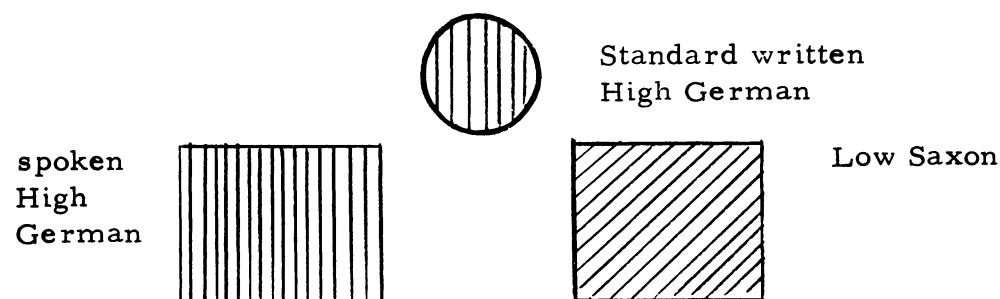
In order to clarify the issue, let us first look at a case which at first sight may look quite similar and yet does definitely not fall into this category. In the United States use of many Indian languages, perhaps the majority, is restricted to primary group functions which in countries like Germany or Sweden are typically the domain of

regional dialects. Yet in spite of this dialect-like position these languages are considered neither by the linguists nor by the speakers themselves to be 'mere' dialects. Every Ojibwa would deny (and quite correctly) that his mother tongue is less than a language.

But we have other abstand languages which fate has also largely relegated to dialect-like primary group functions and which the speakers, or at least a huge majority of them, feel to be mere dialects of an all-powerful literary language. This is possible because of the proximity between the two abstand languages, the ruling one and the submerged which from now on we shall call near-dialectized — as distinct from fully dialectized vernaculars. Complete dialectization can take place only in the case of a redialectized ausbau language which if it had remained unstandardized or even unwritten, would not be held to constitute an autonomous linguistic system. If e.g. Slovakia would replace standard Slovak by standard Czech then it would be correct to call Slovak 'dialectized'. This is what happened in Scotland after the speakers of the ausbau language called Scots (or Lallans) adopted English as their sole medium for serious literature.

Near-dialectization is the relationship obtaining, e.g., between Standard German and Low Saxon or 'Sassisch'; French and Occitan (commonly but erroneously called Provençal in most English language writings); French and Haitian Creole; Italian and Sardinian; Polish and Kashubian; Hindi and Rajastani or, for that matter, Hindi and Avadhi or Braj Bhasha (cf. below).

By using the same symbols as above we arrive at the following picture:



There is a significant difference between the situation (both past and present) of Low Saxon and Occitan on the one hand, and of Sardinian and Creole on the other. Low Saxon and Occitan⁷ have known a time when they not only exercised absolute and exclusive control over the territories where they were spoken natively, but when they also spread as second languages to other parts of Europe; the Swedish language, e.g., will probably never shed the traces Low Saxon linguistic dominance has left in its vocabulary. Later on both speech areas adopted kindred languages — French and German — as their media of literary

expression and around 1750 we find a seemingly stable diglossia in southern France and northern Germany. Since then, however, due to the onslaught of compulsory education and many other factors, the local tongues have steadily lost ground both vertically and geographically, and today a large part, probably a majority, of the population groups in question speak only French and German, respectively. Avid attempts to stem the tide by means of a rejuvenated literature in the vanishing tongues were not of lasting avail, chiefly because they concentrated on the sphere of *belles lettres* without sufficiently taking into account the sphere of non-fictional prose. While Low Saxon has all but been abandoned as a medium of written non-narrative prose some members of the Occitan intelligentsia are still putting up a stiff fight against the monopoly of standard French.

Sardinian and Creole offer a striking contrast, and that in every respect. They cannot boast of a prestigious past nor of a present-day literary output of significant caliber (while after all one of the neo-Occitan writers won the Nobel prize -- Frédéric Mistral). But neither do they seem to be menaced by extinction and that perhaps precisely because of the high degree of illiteracy and overall backwardness among their speakers.

Yet there is a common denominator to the present situation of Occitan, Low Saxon, Sardinian and Creole. Except for a small minority among the elite — a minority more active and alert among the Occitans than among the three other groups — the speakers of these languages are willing to put up with their present status. They feel and think and speak about these languages in terms of dialects of the victorious tongues rather than in terms of autonomous systems. To some extent these two features — acceptance of the social status of the mother tongue and underrating of its linguistic status — may be interdependent.

Near-dialectization is one of the possible configurations underlying what Ferguson has dubbed diglossia; the two other possibilities being the pairing of a standard with a genuine dialect and the pairing of two superposed varieties of the same standard.

It is this twofold acceptance which justifies our speaking of near-dialectized languages. Catalan under Franco has been restricted, especially during the first two decades, to the role of a mere provincial dialect. But the speakers of Catalan never accepted this status, they still consider their mother tongue a full-fledged language, and a classification of languages which ignores the desires of the linguistic community, basing its conclusions exclusively on external phenomena forcibly brought about by a semitotalitarian government would be both immoral and unscientific. Catalan is not a dialectized language.

Acceptance of dialect status by the speakers of an abstand language seems possible only because of the closeness of the two languages in question. They may not be mutually comprehensible but they are probably always mutually 'recognizable'; monolingual speakers of the one language, while not able to grasp the meaning of what is said

to them in the other, recognize single words and an overall similarity between the two tongues.⁸

The existence of near-dialectized languages poses a problem to the statistician for which often there seems to be no satisfactory solution. If France should take a language census — an undertaking she hitherto has shied away from — only two solutions seem possible with regard to speakers of Occitan and both would tend to give us a warped picture. If Occitan is treated as a separate language (which we know it actually is) we would be compelled to construct a separate linguistic community the members of which would have to be deducted from the total of native speakers of French. Anyone who is familiar with the degree to which the remaining speakers of Occitan have become bilingual will admit that this would be a not very satisfactory solution. But neither would be the other alternative of omitting Occitan by treating its speakers as 'normal' members of the French language community. Precisely the same difficulty arises with regard to Low Saxon and Standard German.

The observation that a language may become near-dialectized in favor of a more powerful kindred tongue has led to attempts to bring about this outcome by coercive measures and against the will of the speakers of various threatened languages. The case of Catalan has been mentioned above. In the last century the Imperial Academy at St. Petersburg issued a statement to the effect that Ukrainian ('Little Russian') was not a separate Slavonic language but just a branch of Russian; on the basis of this opinion the Czarist government felt justified in prohibiting the publication of periodicals and books in Ukrainian.

The situation may become more complicated by disunity among the speakers of a language. In the case of Catalan there are indications that resistance to Franco's efforts at 'dialectizing' is greatest in Catalonia proper while among the numerous speakers of Catalan dialects on the Balears and in the province of Valencia there seems to be more readiness to acquiesce to an inferior status of Catalan. Gumperz reports that among the speakers of Maithili, an abstand language which linguistically is closer to Bengali than to Hindi, those living in Nepal favor the adoption of Hindi as their literary language while those living south of the border would rather prefer to see Maithili reshaped into a cultural tongue.⁹ Among the speakers of Punjabi some, largely Sikhs, maintain that it is a separate literary medium, while others, largely Hindus, seem to be willing to adopt Hindi. The latter language has relegated a number of formerly independent kin-tongues to the status of dialects, whether we follow Gumperz in speaking of Braj Bhasha and Avadhi or whether we adopt Grierson's concept, labelled 'constructs' by Gumperz,¹⁰ of Bihari and Rajastani.

Similarly speakers of Marathi are inclined to consider Konkani a mere dialect of their mother-tongue. In Goa however, because of

centuries of political separation, Konkani has assumed the dignity of an independent language. Fear of forced dialectization was among the contributing factors, when on January 16, 1967, a majority of Goanese voters rejected the proposed merger of the territory of Goa with the state of Maharashtra.

With regard to dialectized languages as well as to other aspects of the complex of abstand and ausbau languages, India seems to be a particularly fertile field for future research and at the same time in particular need of final sociolinguistic classification and stratification. The relationship between Mandarin Chinese and its kin-tongue in Southern China (Cantonese, etc.) might also be re-defined in terms of abstand language, ausbau language, and near-dialectized language. The present writer, however, is not equipped to explore these fields; he would feel content should some of the categories he has tried to introduce prove to be helpful.

3. Languages, as implied by the very concept of ausbau (reshaping), may change not merely because of those slow processes which we are prone to call natural. To a large and increasing extent language change is the result of innovational language planning.

Innovational language planning, whether done by individuals or — rather more frequently — by teams, is a legitimate, permissible, and (in many cases) a necessary way of changing a language. I am not sure whether to American scholars this sounds like a banal truism. It certainly is not a truism in Europe. Early in 1964 a leading German linguist stated in a public lecture that while in Communist-dominated East Germany the language is being manipulated from on high, nothing of this kind would be permissible in the free world where languages grow and change according to the bent of their speakers without any interference from 'above'. This rather romantic view does not do justice to the exigencies of the age we live in.

Ours being an age of rapidly increasing interdependence and interaction between all parts of the globe, no language can hope to live on in secluded, sheltered isolation. In terms not of years but of decades (or at most one or two centuries) this may mean that with regard to each single linguistic community either the speakers themselves or the governments in question must come to a decision as to whether the language is to persist or die.¹¹ For hundreds of languages and linguistic communities this will mean to sink or swim, or, to use another alliteration, to shed — as a tree sheds its leaves in fall — or to shape. They either will reshape their language or its usefulness will become more and more restricted until perhaps they may have to abandon it altogether.

Even now we may observe a worldwide tendency among smaller linguistic groups desirous of preserving their inherited tongues to resist assimilation and to remain loyal to inherited tongues by means of planned unification and enrichment which makes them more applicable and thereby

more useful in various domains of human endeavor. This movement started in 18th and 19th century Europe and was greatly enhanced by the linguistic policy of Communism. It should be noted that, outside the Soviet realm, this tendency makes itself felt in a highly fragmented manner, there being no central coordinating agency or agencies, some first significant steps of UNESCO notwithstanding.¹²

Actually, this tendency to reshape languages may be called a countertrend and corollary to the powerful trend now sweeping the globe to increase the use of second languages, whether they be international languages or ordinary languages of wider communication.

This trend must be considered as basically wholesome and necessary. It is all the more powerful since there are beginnings of top level coordination — witness, e.g., the international meetings of specialists held since 1960 in which the Center for Applied Linguistics has taken part. But it seems still to be an open question to what extent these second languages are meant to supplement or to fully replace local languages.

In a great number of countries, the multiplicity of local languages — just think of the roughly 80 languages spoken by the five million inhabitants of Cameroon — makes it obvious that a majority of them will be neglected by the public school system. In the long run these are likely to be completely replaced by the languages used in the schools. Here the very important problem arises whether the primary schools should use the country's official European language or a regional lingua franca. Belgium made four African tongues the vehicles of instruction in the former Congo colony while the government of the independent State of Congo-Leopoldville has ordered all of them to be replaced by French. There are a number of sub-questions involved such as the availability of teachers and textbooks, the degree of amity or enmity hitherto prevalent between native speakers of the lingua franca and the minor tongues, etc. The one decisive question however — and one which can be answered only on the basis of extensive experimentation — is whether school children in Africa and Oceania learn faster and better when instructed in a language which while not their mother tongue is structurally akin to the latter than when instructed in the language of former white rulers.¹³ There are many indications that this is the case; witness, e.g., the eagerness with which natives in parts of eastern New Guinea, instead of studying and adopting standard English, take to Neo-Melanesian (Pidgin English), a language which while lexically largely derived from English, conforms to the structural patterns of native languages.

Scholars — linguists as well as sociologists and other experts — can do much to make possible or to facilitate judgement on general and/or specific relevant issues. Here are some of the tasks they might set themselves:

(a) To make their colleagues as well as laymen more aware of the fact that languages do not just grow and wither like plants and that

in a great many cases they can be, are being, or ought to be adjusted to requirements of our times; also of the fact that all languages are equal in that they are equally perfectible, including creolized languages and the languages of obviously backward tribes.

(b) To isolate and to describe the basic techniques and phases of language-reshaping and to make the findings accessible to those nations and speech communities which are only now becoming aware of this problem.

(c) To evaluate the advantages and shortcomings, the pros and cons of language maintenance and language shift among small linguistic communities. One task might well be to determine a minimum size below which planned language survival seems unreasonable or impossible. (A Swedish expert, Petrus Laestadius, claims that it takes at least 20,000 speakers of a language to maintain it as 'a principal language' in schools and otherwise.)¹⁴

(d) In all cases where the scholars themselves, or the linguistic community in question, or the government concerned decide in favor of language replacement: to design, or to evaluate and to recommend methods suitable to bring about the desired shift in the least undesirable manner. This may lead to the realization that in a great many instances the long-range goal of eliminating a minor language is fully compatible with having this language taught, and used, during the first two years in the primary grades. The apparent detour via the mother-tongue may conceivably turn out to be a shortcut to assimilation.

I shall conclude by quoting from the opening address delivered by Congo-Brazzaville's minister Faustin Okomba at the 1962 Brazzaville Symposium on Multilingualism:¹⁵

"Each state is fired with the same hope: African unity. Each state is filled with the same fear: loss of its spiritual originality."

If instead of African unity we speak of world unity these words turn out to be applicable to a considerable portion of the world's inhabitants. Okomba's words indicate that we are dealing with a deeply felt need which we can meet adequately only if fully aware of the possibilities and complexities of planned language reshaping and unfolding.

NOTES

#. 1 and 3 are slightly enlarged versions of oral presentations I gave on July 6 and 7, 1964, at the Bloomington, Ind., Seminar on Sociolinguistics. 2, which deals with 'dialectized languages', has been added for the purpose of this paper.

1. H. Kloss, *Die Entwicklung neuer germanischer Kultursprachen* . . . Munich, 1952.

2. As for the actual state of things see S. A. Wurm and D. C. Leacock, *The Question of Languages and Dialects in New Guinea, Oceania* 32.128-42 (1961).
3. AL 1:5.22 (1959).
4. E. Haugen in AL 1:3.8-21 (1959).
5. The Hague, Mouton, 1963.
6. Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1966.
7. Cf. K. Brobst, *Fragen des Werdens von Kultursprachen, Volksforschung* 7.1-12, Stuttgart (1944).
8. William Bright, when I orally broached to him the concept of 'recognizability' as a possible supplement to 'intelligibility' gave a striking example from his own experiences. He once played tape-recordings of Navaho texts to Indians belonging to the same linguistic family but not familiar with Navaho and up to then fully unaware of the existence of these linguistic relatives. They declared that they felt the Navaho texts to be close to their own tongue without being able to translate the text — they constantly felt like being on the verge of understanding the meaning without succeeding to do so.
9. Gumperz in Charles Ferguson and John Gumperez, eds., *Linguistic Diversity in South Asia, Supplement to IJAL* 26, No. 3 (1960), p. 13; see also his *Remarks on Regional and Social Language Differences in* Introduction to Indian Civilization, Chicago, 1958, pp. 31-38.
10. Gumperz, *Linguistic Diversity in South Asia*, p. 96.
11. Cf. William E. Bull, *The Use of Vernacular Languages in Education in* Dell Hymes (ed.); *Language, Culture and Society*, New York, 1964, pp. 527-33, reprinted from IJAL 21.228-94 (1955).
12. Cf. e.g. the Bamako (Mali) Conference for the unification of alphabets of certain languages, Feb. 28 - March 5, 1966.
13. This is the view held by S. A. Wurm in *Oceania* 31.136 (1960).
14. R. G. P. Hill (ed.); *The Lapps Today*, Paris, The Hague, 1960, p. 50.
15. *Colloque sur le Multilinguisme, Symposium on Multilingualism*, Brazzaville, 1962, p. 14.