ESP within a new descriptive framework

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ABSTRACT: This paper introduces and defines four language planning terms (*status planning, corpus planning, policy planning,* and *language cultivation*) into the ESP literature. This nomenclature describes and categorizes the different planning phases involved in communicative curriculum design, implementation and maintenance. The utility of these terms as descriptors for the language teaching problem-solving process is then exemplified with reference to two language problems frequently encountered by ESP practitioners, namely the selection of: (1) a medium (or media) on instruction for use in the classroom, and (2) an appropriate standard variety of English and attendant standards of correctness expected of the learners. Finally, possible objections to the ideas expressed in this paper are discussed and refuted.

INTRODUCTION

In his book published over a decade ago, Munby (1978) downplays the importance of sociocultural context as a key implementational constraint on specialist course design.[1] In reaction, Swales (1980, 1985, in press), Holliday and Cooke (1982), Holliday (1984), C. Kennedy (1982, 1984, 1986a, b) and Markee (1986a, b, 1988a) have sought to broaden the English for specific purpose (hereafter ESP) movement's terms of reference. Typically, these writers draw on a variety of disciplines in the social sciences to discuss ESP problems: education, sociology, anthropology, management, language planning (LP), and development planning, to name but a few. Thus, we should expect a tendency to define ESP in interdisciplinary terms; and in Markee (1988a, b), I define ESP as follows:

> ESP is a form of Language Planning which functions as a technology of Development Planning at the other-than-national level; it characteristically uses problem-solving methods and techniques to promote the appropriate communicative development of individuals in particular contexts of implementation (Markee, 1988b: 13).

This perspective inevitably introduces a new terminology into the ESP literature with which many practitioners will not be familiar. This paper is a case in point. Its purpose is therefore to define and exemplify terms borrowed from the literature. This nomenclature will provide a reasonably precise framework for discussing the types and dimensions of planning involved in communicative course design, implementation and maintenance.

Such a framework is necessary because the ESP movement is only just beginning to emerge from the ideological wars of the late 1970s and early 1980s [see Johnson (1982)]. As the important article by Munby (1984) attests, the conflict between the product and process-oriented wings in ESP seems to be abating. However, this approach to second-language teaching still lacks essential terminology with which to carry on an informed discussion about the context of curriculum theory and practice.

This paper is organized into three sections, first, I will briefly define four terms borrowed from LP (*status planning, corpus planning, policy planning,* and *language cultivation*) and apply these to the four phases of ESP curriculum design; second, exemplify these terms by discussing two problems often faced by ESP practitioners, namely the selection of: (a)

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a medium (or media) of instruction, and (b) an appropriate standard variety of English and attendant standards of correctness expected of the learners; and third, discuss various objections that may be raised against the ideas discussed in this paper.

DEFINITIONS

Kloss (1969) originally coined the terms *status planning* and *corpus planning* to refer, respectively, to planned changes in: (a) the official position of one language in relation to that of another, and (b) the linguistic code and the consequent preparation of standardizing grammars and other reference works. However, this definition of status planning has since been expanded; it now includes the allocation of languages to different domains of use, including its utilization as a medium of instruction. For the purposes of this paper, the scope of these terms is further extended to describe the dimensions of the planning decisions made by ESP practitioners also.

I will also borrow the concepts of policy planning and language cultivation from LP to describe the types of planning that ESP practitioners engage in. As originally used by Neustupný (1974), these terms describe two different models of LP. Policy planning describes the model developed by Haugen (1966a–c, 1969), while language cultivation characterizes the model elaborated in the Neustupný paper already cited. Rubin (1973: 3–4) summarizes the differences between these two approaches to LP as follows:

> The problems included in the policy approval are: the selection of the national language, standardization, literacy, orthographies, etc. Problems included in the cultivation approach are: questions of correctness, efficiency, linguistic levels fulfilling specialized functions, problems of style, constraints on communicative competence.

For present purposes, however, these terms do not describe two different models. Rather, following Haugen (1983), they refer to the different phases of a unified model of LP (and by extension ESP) which addresses the full range of language-related problems outlined by Rubin. More specifically, in this paper Haugen seeks to reconcile the model of LP presented in his earlier writings with subsequent developments in the field. That is, he attempts to show that his classic model can be reconciled with that of his chief rival Neustupný (1974, 1978); that the distinction drawn in Kloss (1969) between status planning and corpus planning fits into his paradigm; and that the need for evaluation predicated by Rubin (1971) can also be accommodated within his model.

As shown in Fig. 1, the classic form of Haugen's model consists of four types or phases of planning. These include the selection of a norm or standard language, its codification, implementation and elaboration. The first two phases focus on form, whereas the last two focus on function. Furthermore, selection and implementation have a societal orientation and are external to language, while codification and elaboration have a linguistic orientation and are internal to language.

	Norm	Function
Society	(1) Selection	(3) Implementation
Language	(2) Codification	(4) Elaboration

Fig. 1. Haugen's classic model of language planning.

Form (policy planning)	Function (language cultivation)

	Form (policy planning)	Function (language cultivation)
Society (status planning)	(1) Selection (decision procedures)	(3) Implementation (educational spread)
	(a) Identification of problem (b) Allocation of norms	(a) Correction procedures (b) Evaluation
Language (corpus planning)	(2) Codification (standardization procedures)	(4) Elaboration (functional development)
	(a) Graphization (b) Grammatication (c) Lexication	(a) Terminological modernization (b) Stylistic development

Fig. 2. Haugen's revised model of language planning.

Neustupný (1974) calls this model a policy approach to planning and notes that this is typically practiced in less developed countries. To this model Neustupný opposes his language cultivation approach,[2] and notes that it is typically practiced in the older developed countries. Furthermore, he claims that "acceptance of one of the approaches frequently excludes the other approach" (1974: 39–40). However, Fishman (1974: 16) argues that the two models are not necessarily antithetical and reconciles them by arguing that language cultivation is really a fifth phase in the LP process. More specifically, he believes that "cultivation . . . involves the *iteration* of each of the above processes first spelled out by Haugen, but for more specific or additional functions (e.g., popular non-fiction, belles-lettres, bible translation, informal-polite conversation, etc.)" (emphasis in the original).

Haugen (1983) offers a reconciliation of his own (summarized in Fig. 2) that is more far-reaching. First, he equates the selection and codification phases of his original model with policy planning, and the implementation and elaboration phases with Neustupný's concept of language cultivation. Furthermore, he incorporates Kloss' status planning/corpus planning terminology into the revised model by positing an equivalence between language-external or societal planning factors with status planning. Similarly, language-internal planning factors correlate with corpus planning. Haugen is therefore able to categorize each of the four phases in the original model in terms of a four-cell matrix formed by the intersection of policy planning and language cultivation on the vertical axis with status planning and corpus planning on the horizontal axis. That is, he regards the selection phase of LP as an example of status-orientated policy planning. This preliminary phase of planning involves the use of decision procedures that focus on identifying language problems and allocating norms. Codification is an instance of corpus-oriented policy planning. This entails the use of standardization procedures focusing on the graphization (Ferguson, 1968), grammatication and lexication of a language (i.e. its orthographic, syntactic and lexical development). Implementation typifies a form of status-oriented language cultivation. This stage of planning is concerned with the educational spread of the language innovations chosen for dissemination in the selection phase and concentrates on the utilization of

correction procedures and the evaluation of learning. Last, elaboration exemplifies a type of corpus-oriented language cultivation. This final phase entails the functional development of a norm and focuses on the terminological modernization and stylistic development of a language.

From an ESP perspective, this conceptual framework allows us to classify the different phases of ESP course design in a similar fashion. This classification comes in weak and strong forms. In the weaker version, the two preliminary phases in ESP course design, i.e. identifying and analyzing learner's psycholinguistic and sociolinguistic needs, and designing communicative syllabi and materials, involve policy planning decisions. The subsequent phases of pedagogic implementation and evaluation entail language cultivation decisions. In this construct (outlined in Fig. 3), status planning and corpus planning decisions permeate all of these problem-solving phases.
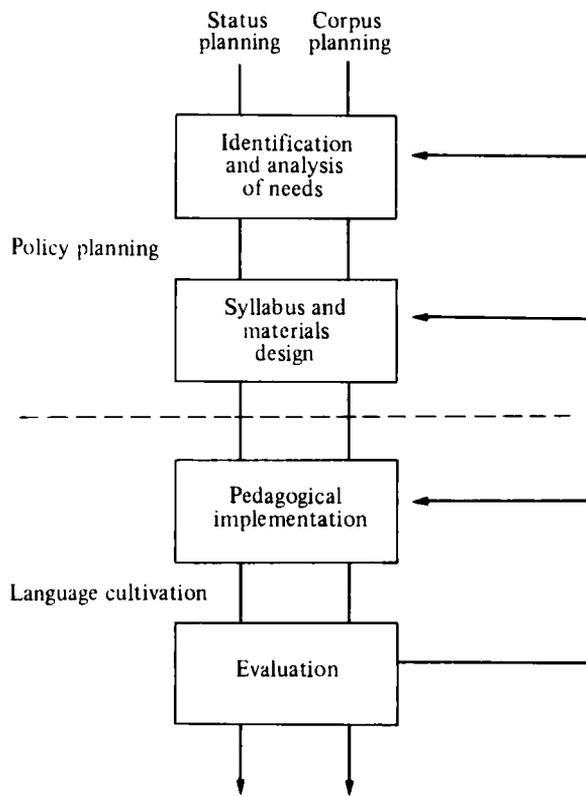

Fig. 3. Types and dimensions of planning involved in ESP course design.

A stronger form of this classification is also partly sustainable. Status-oriented policy planning in ESP involves the identification and analysis of the pedagogical strategies, linguistic functions, forms and skills that are relevant to learners' psycholinguistic and sociolinguistic needs in particular domains of language use and contexts of implementation. Corpus-oriented policy planning consists of the specification and organization into a curriculum of the pedagogical methods and techniques, and the discoursal, syntactical and lexical features relevant to learners' needs. It also includes the implementation of these

decisions in the shape of pedagogical materials. Status-oriented language cultivation entails all aspects of pedagogical implementation, in particular those teaching acts involving correction and other evaluation procedures. However, from this point on, the stronger form of the typology breaks down. The summative evaluation of ESP programs is not directly equivalent to elaboration and cannot be cited as an example of corpus-oriented language cultivation. Furthermore, the summative evaluation of ESP programs does not fit in this cell of the matrix because it involves more than the evaluation of corpus-oriented planning decisions; it also examines the effectiveness of status planning decisions. Nonetheless, this stronger form of the classification is quite useful as far as it goes (see the following section for specific examples).

This latter classification provides ESP practitioners with a reasonably precise descriptive terminology for discussing not only the context of but also the actual design and implementation phases of ESP planning. Furthermore, it makes explicit the fact that these phases have different goals and priorities. Policy planning is characterized by a quantitative orientation to planning, which provides an overall blueprint for action to meet the psycholinguistic and sociolinguistic needs of groups of learners. However, language cultivation is concerned with enhancing the quality of learning. It is typified by an interest in those factors that constrain practitioners in their efforts to help individuals improve the level of their communicative competence; that is, it focuses particularly on the learning process involved in achieving the end product of correct language use and usage. This terminology therefore cuts through the controversy surrounding the different conceptions of learner-centeredness that continues to bedevil ESP work. Because these terms are value-free for ESP practitioners, they encourage us to accept that neither 'syllabus design' nor 'methodologically-driven solutions'[3] to communicative incompetence are inherently superior to the other. It is inconceivable that language cultivation can be carried out successfully without policy planning. Conversely, policy planning that ignores or downgrades the importance of language cultivation constraints on course design is bound to be incomplete. This is a criticism from which Munby's revised (1984) model is still not immune. Thus, policy planning and language cultivation are complementary aspects of the planning process; a principled approach to communicative course design and implementation must therefore draw on both of these types of planning and assign them their due level of importance. The same general points can be made with respect to the status planning/corpus planning dichotomy. As Fishman (1983: 382) puts it, status planning and corpus planning are "two interdependent sides of a single coin". Thus, status planning cannot be considered apart from corpus planning nor can it be viewed as being in any sense less important than corpus planning, as Munby (1984) still seems to imply. Finally, the stronger form of the classification indicates the extent to which status planning and corpus planning decisions are integrated with policy planning and language cultivation decisions in the overall policy-making process, at both macro- and micro-levels of LP.

TWO PROBLEMS IN ESP COURSE DESIGN

I will briefly discuss below two status-related policy planning and language cultivation problems in ESP course design. In earlier discussion on this topic Cobarrubias (1983), Ferguson (1983) and Rubin (1983) all comment that much more is known about corpus planning than about status planning. Indeed, as Fishman (1983: 382) also remarks, "the complexities and subtleties of status planning still evade parsimonious conceptualization,

particularly in the USA and other more democratic and decentralized settings where organized identity planning and culture planning are also unknown''. A similar situation obtains in ESP, irrespective of the context of implementation of an operation. Practitioners have traditionally overwhelmingly concentrated on discussing such corpus-oriented policy planning decisions as the linguistic variables (i.e. the sequencing and grading of selected language forms, functions and skills) involved in the preparation of communicative materials. Since this area has already been sufficiently discussed, I will exemplify and analyze two practical problems in second-language teaching to indicate what kinds of language-related problems fall under the rubric of ESP status-oriented policy planning and language cultivation. Furthermore, I will discuss the unexpectedly complex nature of the decisions that may be classified in the way suggested by this article. The two problems discussed are: (a) the selection and implementation by practitioners of English and/or another language as a medium of instruction in their classrooms, and (b) the articulation of the standards of language correctness expected of learners.

Medium of instruction: selection and implementation
    The selection and implementation of a medium of instruction in an ESP operation is a clear example of a status-oriented policy planning decision. Munby (1978, 1984) deals with the problem of selecting a variety of English as a medium of instruction under the "Dialect" parameter of his model. However, he does not consider the possibility that a language other than English might play a highly significant role in ESP instruction. In addition, he does not indicate how complex the selection of a medium of instruction can be nor does he spell out the range of other status planning factors involved in such a choice.
    The freedom of ESP workers to make far-reaching status-oriented policy planning decisions of the type under discussion is limited. For example, where English has the status of a language of wider communication, it is often mandated by law as the sole official medium of instruction, particularly at the tertiary level of education. However, this does not mean that practitioners do not have some room for maneuver in deciding the extent to which English and/or the mother tongue are used as media of instruction.
    Thus, in Sudan, the Khartoum Polytechnic Act passed in 1975 by the People's Assembly mandated English as the official medium of instruction of this technological university. Since secondary schools are Arabic-medium, the cost to learners of pursuing their education at the tertiary level is high; as Andrews (1984) notes, the transition from Arabic-medium instruction to English-medium education is a difficult one. The status-oriented policy planning solution employed by Markee (1986a) sought to minimize these costs and improve potential educational benefits by providing for the differential use of English and Arabic in the classroom: (a) between different interlocutors, and (b) with respect to different language skills. In order to minimize anxiety, learners could utilize either Arabic or English when·communicating verbally among themselves; but when they were addressing the instructor, they had to use English, not least because of his limited competence in Arabic. However, when writing, they had to use only English. Again, this was due in part to his own lack of Arabic competence; but it also had a more principled motivation in that all end-of-year examinations were still written in English. This requirement therefore gave the learners some writing practice in a predominantly reading-oriented course.
    The use of two media of instruction was technically illegal; but this was not a major issue as the "English-only" policy prescribed by the Polytechnic's charter was honored more in the breach than in the observance by the technical instructors. The dual-medium

solution adopted was the only truly viable alternative. The reading skills orientation of the ESP courses that were developed implemented to the fullest extent possible a moribund national language policy that had largely been overtaken by events. At the same time, the implementation of this macro policy was designed at the micro-level of planning to be maximally beneficial to the students in an educational as well as a linguistic sense. That is, the dual-medium policy encouraged them to participate in English classes to the best of their abilities; it also helped them to value the quality of the English instruction they received more highly than they would have done otherwise.

Standard languages and standards of correctness

A related issue which can also have a significant impact on program design decisions concerns the selection of an appropriate standard variety or norm of English as a medium of instruction. In turn, course planners will have to consider what standards of correctness will be deemed adequate in a particular context of implementation. There is a qualitative difference between the question discussed in the previous subsection and the one that is addressed here. The former is a policy planning problem pure and simple. In contrast, the issue of selecting a particular variety of English as a medium of instruction and · determining standards of correctness is essentially a language cultivation problem which acts as a constraint on policy planning.

The correction of learners' errors has traditionally been regarded as one of the main functions of instructors; but this language cultivation task is an unexpectedly complex activity. For example, correction does not seem to have such effect in terms of directly improving the accuracy of learners' language performance. Furthermore, the issue of correcting learners is complicated by the unprecedented spread of English throughout the world. Kachru (1982a, b, 1983a, b, 1984, 1985), among other scholars, claims that this phenomenon has given rise to regional norms or standard non-native-speaker varieties of English such as Indian English, Singapore English, Nigerian English, etc. We may therefore justifiably ask what the notion of correct English in and out of the classroom really means.

Kachru (1985: 15) provides a partial list of 10 major English-using countries in the world, based on the estimated total numbers of fluent speakers of the relevant educated standard variety of English utilized in these countries. This list suggests the extent to which this language has become internationalized:

USA	234,249,000
UK	56,124,000
India	27,920,000
Canada	24,907,000
Australia	15,265,000
Bangladesh	3,786,000
Nigeria	3,564,700
Pakistan	3,528,800
Tanzania	789,480
Kenya	714,000

It is particularly instructive to realize how influential India has become as an international English-using power. Kachru reminds us that it is the world's third largest publisher of English language material. Furthermore, India (among various former British colonies) exports its particular variety of English to other LDCs through the activities of expatriate

teachers of English, engineers and doctors. Such individuals work in large numbers in the Arab Gulf States, for example. The conclusion he draws is thought-provoking:

> The teaching of English has, therefore, become everybody's business: it has developed into an international commercial enterprise and every English-using country is capitalizing on it in its own way . . . The second issue has pedagogical implications. In the international context, one must ask: What does the term *communicative competence* mean for English? In other words, competence within which context or situation? The question is especially applicable to the institutionalized varieties of English (Kachru, 1985: 28, emphasis in the original)

Kachru's discussion shows how complex and controversial the issue of deciding what constitutes a standard language is. It is also a forceful exposition of the argument for treating 'ESL' varieties of English on a par with British, American and other native-speaker norms. More specifically, he claims that these ESL varieties constitute viable models for pedagogical purposes. However, other scholars [notably Prator (1968)] have equally vigorously argued the case in favor of maintaining traditional native-speaker standard varieties as teaching models. The rationale for this position is to preserve the long-term homogeneity and thus the intelligibility of this language as a useful international medium of communication.

In what G. Kennedy (1985: 7) calls a "delicious irony", Quirk (1985) adopts a position that is remarkably similar to the one advocated by Prator. The deliciousness of the irony to which Kennedy refers stems from the fact that, in concurring with Prator, Quirk is essentially agreeing with what was originally conceived as a polemical attack on the views of Halliday *et al.* (1964). These views Prator dubbed the "British heresy in TESL"; it consists of promoting the doctrine of regional varieties of English.[4]

We could probably go on *ad infinitum* quoting different views on this subject without ever exhausting the full range of people's beliefs about this issue. However, these different opinions do not give practitioners much guidance with respect to how they should deal with the problem of language correctness; particularly, as Quirk implies, in LDCs. Nor, to return to Kachru's question, do they provide us with any concrete answers regarding what teaching for communicative competence means in regard to English.

Rutherford (1980) claims that the issue of teaching sentence-level grammar has tended to take a back seat in communicative approaches to language teaching. Arguably, this comparative lack of interest in teaching grammar has led to a concurrent lack of interest in correct grammar. Latterly, however, the orthodoxy of concentrating so much on the suprasentential elements of communication in ESP instruction has come to be questioned. For example, acknowledging the general thrust of arguments presented by Canale and Swain (1980), Munby (1984: 56) remarks that "grammatical competence, as a part of communicative competence, must not be undervalued in communicative approaches to language teaching". Thus, teaching for communicative competence must involve the adoption of a particular standard variety of English as the medium of instruction. The norm selected can be either a native-speaker or an ESL variety of English, according to what is appropriate to the context of implementation. The standards of discoursal and grammatical correctness expected of learners are specified in relation to the norm selected as the medium of instruction. However, even once these conditions have been satisfied, the standards of language correctness will vary according to whether the primary focus of a lesson is on fluency or accuracy (Brumfit, 1979, 1984a, b); and, by extension, on whether learners are being taught or formally evaluated through tests and examinations.

However, selecting relevant standard varieties and specifying the standards of correctness that are appropriate in a particular context of implemention is difficult. Indeed, there are no clear-cut answers to these questions. Practitioners of all backgrounds must be sensitive

to the variety of English that is most widespread in the context of implementation in which they are working and attempt to make adjustments accordingly. (However, it is probably inevitable that teachers who speak native-speaker varieties of English will unconsciously teach their own norms of English, as will practitioners who speak ESL varieties of English.) In addition, practitioners will need to determine what constitutes an adequate standard of communicative and linguistic competence for their learners irrespective of the particular norm. This process too involves compromises. More specifically, the compromises practitioners may have to make will be political as well as linguistic. Often, the political criteria will outweigh the linguistic ones in importance.

The standard variety against which the students' standard of communicative and grammatical competence was judged at Khartoum Polytechnic was what we may impressionistically call educated Sudanese Standard English.[5] This form of English is akin to other regional varieties of African English. The justification for this choice was that this variety was the standard that the students had been taught at secondary school. In addition, it was the norm utilized by the Sudanese faculty, with whom the students had far more contact than with the expatriate speakers of British English on the campus. It was therefore unrealistic for the English Language Unit to set out consciously to teach a linguistic norm that was different from the one the learners had been previously taught or which our Sudanese colleagues themselves used to teach.

The entry level of competence of students beginning their studies at the Polytechnic was low. Although the level of their receptive skills improved considerably during the course of their studies, their performance in the writing skill in particular remained low. The following essay written by a student during the end-of-year examinations is a typical example of the standard of written English of most learners after 1 year of English-medium instruction in science and technology supplemented by the ESP courses provided by the English language Unit:

> Any one in his life must go to the infront, and comes from stage to the other one . . . I came to the polytechnic in this year and I am afired from the study in the polytechnic is pure English Langutish and in high secondary school the study with Arabic and the English Langutish is neglgable . . . I came to the polytechnic and immediately study with English, we nearly about month do not know any thing, after that you know what teachers said (Markee, 1986c),

For some native speakers of English, this example of 'English' will be difficult to understand. This example of student writing is not offered in a spirit of ridicule but to illustrate how the English Language Unit tried to deal with such language in as principled a way as possible. From an educational perspective, it is impossible to defend the quality of written English exhibited in the quoted essay as being in any sense acceptable: this piece of writing violates the norms of Sudanese Standard English as surely as it does those of native-speaker varieties of the language. Consequently, the student scored one point out of a possible 20 for this composition. However, since the main goal of instruction was to improve reading, not writing skills, the end-of-year examinations were weighted heavily in favor of understanding rather than producing written English. The rest of the exam (worth a total of 80 points, for a possible total of 100 points) consisted of various kinds of comprehension questions on a technical reading passage. These included multiple-choice questions on global content and exercises testing grammar, vocabulary and cohesion. The weighting accorded to the two skills reflected the approximate weighting they were afforded during course work; but it was also frankly devised to ensure that as few students as possible would fail their exams.

This solution is not in any sense ideal; indeed it was dictated by the political necessity to retain the support of the institution's hierarchy for the English Language Unit's activities.

However, the compromises that were made in this context of implementation illustrate the complexity of the status-oriented policy planning and language cultivation decisions that ESP practitioners must regularly make in the course of their work. As such, they are a valuable source of data which in the long run will provide us with a better understanding of the nature of ESP work.

SOME OBJECTIONS

I would argue that if the view that ESP is an LP solution to LP problems (Markee, 1986a, 1988a, b) is correct, then ESP workers must automatically deal with the same kinds of problems as their counterparts at the national level. I believe that I have clearly demonstrated this assertion in the present article and in previous writings. Consequently, it is appropriate to introduce LP terminology into the ESP field. However, this question is moot at the present time. The success of the metaphor can only be determined by the extent to which other writers in the literature adopt the proposed terminology in their own work in the future.

A potentially more serious objection is raised by Bob Cooper (personal communication). This scholar questions why the selection and codification phases in Haugen's models of LP (i.e. policy planning) should necessarily focus exclusively on linguistic form, while the implementation and elaboration phases (i.e. language cultivation) focus on linguistic function. This criticism is well taken. As formulated, the distinction made by Haugen is indeed arbitrary; and it is not carried over without modification into the present article.

However, if the correlation between policy planning and a focus on language form (and similarly that between language cultivation and language function) is not maintained, in what sense is Haugen's original intent maintained? This tricky problem can be resolved by drawing on an idea expressed by Evelyn Hatch (personal communication): We can talk about the *forms of discourse* in the same way that we speak of the *forms of syntax*. Thus discourse forms such as the cohesive devices analyzed by Halliday and Hasan (1976) can be the object of policy planning in the same way that syntactic and lexical forms can be. Similarly, teaching for communicative competence focuses on teaching language as use, without thereby necessarily ignoring considerations of syntactic and lexical correctness. In this sense, therefore, the correlations between policy planning and a focus on language form on the one hand and language cultivation and a focus on language function on the other are preserved, albeit in a modified fashion.

Another possible challenge to the views developed in this paper is outlined in Khubchandani (1979), who judges that:

> India's official efforts at literacy drives, teaching of second and third languages and gigantic programs for "language codification" and "language elaboration" proceed along simplistic lines, treating language as if it were a kind of industry or technology, typified in fixing time-limits for the switch-over from one language to another, coinage of terminologies while sitting in ivory towers and translation endeavors for textbooks and other technical materials. These targets are set in a manner utterly unmindful of the natural sensitivities of pluralistic speech communities (p. 104).

Khubchandani is correct to emphasize the futility of academics airily resolving the language problems of social systems in the rarefied atmosphere of ivory towers without regard to social realities. Similarly, his strictures against a simplistic bureaucratic treatment of language (and by extension language teaching) problems are well-taken. Planning must be geared towards securing the consent and participation of the individuals in targets. Thus,

although his objection to treating language as a technology may further be construed as a criticism of ideas developed in Markee (1986b, 1988a), there is in fact no substantial disagreement between Khubchandani's views and those expressed in my own writings. Underlying both positions is a conviction that LP and ESP should be based as much on praxis as on theory; in either case, the individuals who comprise target speech communities must be placed at the heart of the planning endeavor.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This paper has defined four terms borrowed from LP (*status planning, corpus planning, policy planning,* and *language cultivation*), and applied these to the four phases of ESP curriculum design. The terminology introduced has been exemplified and discussed in relation to two problems often faced by ESP practitioners: These include: (1) the problems attending the selection of a medium (or media) of instruction, and (2) the standards of correctness expected of the learners. Finally, various potential objections have been considered and refuted.

Furthermore, this paper complements the arguments presented in Markee (1988b) that ESP is a form of micro-level LP by showing that the parallels between LP and ESP go beyond the administrative and methodological parameters discussed in the previous paper. The parallels discussed in the present article substantiate the conclusion that the ESP literature should be viewed as a specialized subset of the LP field. As noted in the previous publication, some readers with ESP backgrounds may not be willing to go quite so far; but ESP workers and language planners alike would clearly benefit from communicating with each other more frequently than they have done in the past. Not only would we be able to enrich each others' fields with our respective insights; but we would also not run the risk of at times reinventing the wheel, as has unfortunately sometimes occurred in both fields in the past.

NOTES

1. This paper is extracted from Markee (1988a), the author's unpublished UCLA doctoral dissertation.
2. The notion of language cultivation has subsequently been incorporated into a full-blown theory of discourse analysis-based language correction subsuming language planning; see Neustupný (1973, 1976, 1977, 1978, 1983), Jernudd (1982, 1983) and Rubin (1978, 1979, 1985).
3. That is, policy planning and language cultivation decisions.
4. Cliff Prator (personal communication) concedes that his own views might perhaps now be dubbed 'American heresy in TESL'.
5. The extent to which this variety of English may be said still to exist is debatable. As a result of Arabicization, Arabic is spreading rapidly throughout the Northern Sudan; consequently the standards of English are declining among the younger generation. Furthermore, Arabic is replacing English even in the Southern Region, where it enjoys the status of an official language [see Mahmud (1982, 1983)]. However, older Sudanese (i.e. 45 and above) from the North or the South received all their education in English. This age group can be said to speak an institutionalized variety of Sudanese Standard English. More specifically, English is not only the official language of government, the media and education in the Southern Region, but also enjoys an official status in the North in that it is still used to try cases at law, is the language of the monthly official magazine *Sudanow* and is also recognized as a language in which Southern legislators may make speeches in the Peoples' Assembly located in Khartoum. Finally, it is an important transitional medium of instruction at the tertiary level of education, particularly in science and technology-oriented subjects.

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