Szidónia Katalin NAGY

Michele Gazzola: *The Evaluation of Language Regimes. Theory and Application to Multilingual Patent Organisations*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2014

Michele Gazzola is a post-doc research fellow at the Department of education studies at Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, and research fellow at the Institute for ethnic studies in Ljubljana. *The Evaluation of Language Regimes* is based on his PhD dissertation *(Multilingual Communication Management)*. *The Evaluation of Language Regimes* includes many of his research interests. Most of his work is interdisciplinary. He works within a wide range of disciplines from languages, language planning, through the more complex field of language economics, public economics policy analysis, policy evaluation and comparative analysis of language regimes in international organisations. The book includes results of a European integrated project called DYLAN (Language Dynamics and Management of Diversity). The aim of this project was to explore how the language-related (of several different languages) frames of mind and actions bear a part in the transmission of knowledge. Also its goal was to investigate the functions of these frames and actions in the control of interactions, problem solving and decision making process. In the empirical work focused on efficiency and fairness in language practices, the evolution of linguistic varieties, and patterns of multilingualism in three special terrains: in the institutions of EU, companies and educational systems in Europe.

The Evaluation of Language Regimes is a really complex work from several aspects. First of all, as I mentioned in the previous paragraph it is a multidisciplinary work. Basically the main focus is on language policy and planning (LPP). Moreover, the book presents not just a complex and clear theoretical framework, but also a detailed methodology bolstered up with the empirical analysis of matching and suggestive examples of two international patent organizations. These novelties will be discussed in detail in the paragraphs below. One definition has to be explained in advance. Language regimes mean international organizations, here with a special focus on international patent organizations.

The book has two main parts and each could be book in its own rights. The first part clarifies the theoretical background, introduces the main goals of the work and lays down a clear methodology for further analyses. The second part of the book uses this information for analysing two multilingual organizations, the Patent Cooperation Treaty division of the World Intellectual Property Organisation (WIPO) and the European Patent Office (EPO). From now on I will follow the main points of each chapter step-by-step.

Chapter 1 is a review of earlier LPP literature. From the 1960s, after the emergence of language policy and planning, the classical theories were dominated by positivistic and technicist approaches, i.e. economic models and terminologies served as a basis for LPP. From the 1970s the critics of the classical approach strengthened. But until the 1990s the LPPs missed policy

evaluation. According to the modern approach, language policies can contribute to the well-being of societies (this means a link to welfare economics). As other policies, language policies have both advantages and disadvantages, they are not bad or good per se, so they have to be compared with alternatives. Practically, these alternatives mean that we compare less multilingual situations with more multilingual situations. (E.g. Does the effectiveness increase or decrease if six languages are in use rather than two?)

Moreover, this Chapter lays down many important theoretical considerations. As the author suggested the term of language planning is more consistent with the aim rather than the policy in the meaning of 'laissez-faire' policy. However, policy and planning are generally used as synonyms in the literature. In this review I will also use them with the same meaning, but keeping the theoretical considerations of Gazzola in mind. So language policy is defined as "a systematic, rational, theory-based effort at the societal level to modify the linguistic environment with a view to increasing aggregate welfare." (p. 27.)

Chapter 2 starts to explain some of the most important definitions like fairness and efficiency. This part of the book could be called the foundations of economics and welfare economics. This chapter gives a detailed but at the same time focused introduction to the main economic notions and theories which are closely related to LPP. The chain of thoughts starts with the Pareto equilibrium, the Kaldor-Hicks compensation test, social welfare function, partial welfare analysis etc. Besides, it gives a great overview of the existing literature as it has some new contributions to the classical theories. According to Gazzola, language policies can be compared based on efficiency and fairness, where efficiency means resource allocation. He considers language policies public goods. This means that nobody can be excluded from the linguistic environment (non-rival good) and it is intrinsically provided. In the case of public goods the market mechanisms itself cannot lead to an optimal allocation (market failures) and the state needs to intervene. Usually the state uses some kind of policy intervention like in the case of language policies.

There is one more thing we have to say about language and externalities. There is a special type of externality, known in economics as network externality. LPPs also have network externalities; although in their case the results of policy intervention go beyond the classical economic theories. We know that when a given language's number of users increases, then the utility of its language increases in parallel, because it is good for those who learn the language, but also good for those who already know it. That's why LPPs can be seen as "hypercollective goods". Finally in this chapter the use of cost-benefit analysis (CBA) and cost-effectiveness analysis (CEA) is presented.

At the beginning of Chapter 3 the author continues describing the connection between LPPs and economics. As he mentions, for the evaluation of language policies effectiveness and fairness are criteria, which means that we need to find the right alternatives for comparison. There are two economic tools with which we can compute the pros and cons of language policy evaluation: CBA and CEA. The theory of CBA is reviewed in this chapter. Moreover, the author explains why effective communication is the object of this book. With the help of this we can use the CAB and CEA as well. Effective communication consists of three main domains: informatory, cooperative and strategic communication. This definition helps us to elaborate the effectiveness indicators of internal (language(s) within an organization) and external

communication (language environment). For the proper analysis of fairness of language policies we have to distinguish three levels of fairness: access, process and outcome. This is needed to enable us to compare the distributive effects of alternative language policies and not just in terms of financial benefits (e.g. language insecurity).

After defining all the essential notions the author switches to methodological considerations. In Chapter 4 the author explains the new methodology. First of all, how build the evaluation process up in the case of language policies. One corner-stone of the methodology is its multilevel nature. Language policies have to be evaluated at the micro- and at the macro level as well. From a methodological point of view, language regimes are considered as tools to convert inputs to public goods. So efficiency and fairness evaluations are based on the outcomes of a given policy. For the aims of the research the classical input-output-outcome approach is modified, hereby it puts emphasize on "culture of evaluation" as well. The outcome indicators have to be connected with cost indicators, thus we are able to compare the cost-effectiveness of different language policies. However for this we need a clear definition of costs. It includes three types of costs: primary (which can be direct and indirect as well), secondary and implicit cost. It's important to highlight that the last two does not necessarily have a monetary value. Like a language policy's secondary cost may be the misunderstandings, while the implicit costs appear when somebody's mother tongue is different from the organisation's official language.

In Chapter 5 the reader can learn how to make good indicators for LPP. This methodological consideration is given a special emphasis, because the indicators give information about the policies in different states, about the policy design, about the implementation and about the evaluation as well. Moreover, many concerned actors can use this information. This chapter deals with the main expectations for indicators and introduces some national indices. For the purpose of the research several new indicators were created by Gazzola, like the multilingualism index, the generalised multilingualism index and the weighted generalised multilingualism index. Indicators are not used for direct measurement of a given policy's effectiveness, instead they are used for comparison (E.g. How did the effectiveness/ fairness change as we changed to a more multilingual language policy?). The use of indicators today is still underrepresented in language policy evaluation, except in some multilingual countries.

At this point we reach the end of the book's first part and change over to the application of the theories and methods presented. Chapter 6 introduces the fundamental features of patent organizations and defines the role of languages in IP policies. The level of the patent application process is introduced and the language regimes of the patents are described. The patent organizations give multilevel information to the applicants, and the natures of these organizations affect their resources and thus their outcomes in the innovation processes. Gazzola says that a patent organization is effective if it shares knowledge and advocates the generation of knew knowledge at the same time. Numerous outputs for effectiveness can be defined e.g. the number of patent claims translated. For comparison to alternative regimes a good indicator may be e.g. the number of translated claims quoted in other patents.

In this case fairness of a regime is evaluated by its effects on the distribution of costs. But the fairness has to be explored by different variables (like the stage of the patenting process). According to this detailed characterization five types of transaction costs and four channels of

distribution can be distinguished. For further empirical research two international patent organization were selected: the Patent Cooperation Treaty division of the World Intellectual Property Organisation (WIPO) focusing on its Patent Cooperation Treaty (PCT) and the European Patent Office (EPO). The latter accepted 3 official languages, while the WIPO has 10 official languages.

Chapter 7 and 8 focus only on WIPO and EPO. These chapters give a detailed picture about the application processes in both patent offices. The author shares many descriptive results of the changes in language use within the organizations with his readers and tries to answer these trends by testing several opportunities. Moreover, comparative analyses of evaluations of different language regimes (within WIPO and within EPO) are added to demonstrate what a potential analysis would look like. Unfortunately these analyses are just partial as a lot of data is missing for a complete evaluation (e.g. the type and size of applying firms). In summary –before going into some details of each language patent system - we can say that as the language diversity increases the efficiency and the fairness of the patent systems develops as well.

Chapter 7 is about PCT. The overall results suggest that the filling language of PCT applications follows the international trends of diversification from English. But this is an overall tendency; there are countries where the opposite trend is observable. The behaviour, the language choice of the applicants has started to change over two decades. In North-Europe more applicants used English applications, but in the Mediterranean countries the ratio of applications filled in with the first spoken language has increased. In Asia the use of English applications is slowly growing, except in Japan and Korea. Also the reform in 1998 (accepting applications in languages not for publications, this increased the number of translations) had a significant role in this change. Taking into consideration the possible costs and the advantage of the increase in the number of accepted languages for applications this reform raised the cost-effectiveness. Another reform took place in 2008 and had similar overall cost-effectiveness effects.

The EPO system is different from PCT as is stated in Chapter 8. The dynamics in the EPO system was altered from the dynamics in PCT system: in the EPO system the role of English application did not decrease. French, German, Swiss and also Japanese users preferred English applications to the ones in their mother-tongue. The relative success of Euro-PCT routes played a significant role in this. However, the EPO systems includes considerable cost disparities. To check the possible opportunities for improvement three hypothetical alternative language regimes were tested.

This work has many contributions for the present literature and opens many new opportunities for future research. The author uses several books and articles about language policies and policy evaluation and adds many original ideas to make this a unique book. This list may serve as an excellent basis for those who would like to do some research in these fields. Hence the book serves as a good starting point for non-professionals in the field of language policy evaluation. In addition The Evaluation of Language Regimes is essential for the scientific audience, researchers in the field of LPP and policy evaluation too, as it has roots in classical theories from different disciplines but uses new methodology for LPP too. The book also has some practical relevance and should be useful for policy-makers.