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Tamah Sherman,
Jiří Nekvapil (Eds.)

ENGLISH IN BUSINESS AND COMMERCE

INTERACTIONS AND POLICIES: ENGLISH IN EUROPE VOLUME 5

LANGUAGE AND SOCIAL LIFE

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English in Business and Commerce

Language and Social Life

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English in Business and Commerce: Interactions and Policies

English in Europe, Volume 6

Edited by
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Series preface

The biggest language challenge in the world today is English. School children are expected to learn it, and the need to succeed in English is often fired by parental ambition and the requirements for entry into higher education, no matter what the proposed course of study. Once at university or college, students across the globe are increasingly finding that their teaching is being delivered through the medium of English, making the learning process more onerous. Universities unquestioningly strive for a greater level of internationalization in teaching and in research, and this is in turn equated with greater use of English by non-native speakers. The need to use English to succeed in business is as much an issue for multinational corporations as it is for small traders in tourist destinations, and meanwhile other languages are used and studied less and less. On the other hand, academic publishers get rich on the monolingual norm of the industry, and private language teaching is itself big business. In the market of English there are winners and there are losers.

The picture, however, is more complicated than one simply of winners and losers. What varieties of English are we talking about here, and who are their "native speakers"? Is there something distinct we can identify as English, or is it merely part of a repertoire of language forms to be called upon as necessary? Is the looming presence of English an idea or a reality, and in any case is it really such a problem, and is it really killing off other languages as some commentators fear? Is the status and role of English the same in all parts of the world, or does it serve different purposes in different contexts? What forms of practical support do those trying to compete in this marketplace need in order to be amongst the winners?

These are all questions addressed by the *English in Europe: Opportunity or Threat?* project, which ran from January 2012 to October 2014. This international research network received generous funding from the Leverhulme Trust in the UK and was a partnership between the universities of Sheffield (UK), Copenhagen (Denmark) and Zaragoza (Spain), Charles University in Prague (Czech Republic) and the South-East Europe Research Centre in Thessaloniki (Greece). Each of the partners hosted a conference on a different topic and with a particular focus on English in their own region of Europe. During the course of the project 120 papers were presented, reporting on research projects from across Europe and beyond, providing for the first time a properly informed and nuanced picture of the reality of living with and through the medium of English.

The *English in Europe* book series takes the research presented in these conferences as its starting point. In each case, however, papers have been rewritten,

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and many of the papers have been specially commissioned to provide a series of coherent and balanced collections, giving a thorough and authoritative picture of the challenges posed by teaching, studying and using English in Europe today.

Professor Andrew Linn
Director, *English in Europe* project

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Finally, the completion of the book would not have been possible without Andrew Linn, the coordinator of the Leverhulme Trust project "English in Europe: Opportunity or Threat?", as well as the other project members in Sheffield, Zaragoza, Copenhagen and Thessaloniki.

The editors

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Tamah Sherman and Jiří Nekvapil

Sociolinguistic perspectives on English in business and commerce

1 Introduction

For many decades, English in its multiple forms has served as one of the most important languages of business, both in Europe and worldwide. Though it originally emerged in this role given the economic and political power of countries where it is spoken as a native language (the UK and later the US), over time it has come to be understood as the most widely used lingua franca in international business transactions, from the simple sale of a hot dog on the street to the trans-continental merging of large companies. The selection of English as the language of these transactions may pass unnoticed, may be carefully negotiated beforehand, or may be the result of strict top-down regulation. It typically occurs in a multilingual milieu, encompassing the individual repertoires of the speakers involved, their expectations regarding language choice, and the broader sociolinguistic context.

There has been no shortage of inquiry into the varieties of English used in this communication, the textual structure of business genres, the micro-analysis of interactions in BELF (Business English as a lingua franca), or mapping out the needs that contemporary employees have as regards English and the resulting proposed methods for organizing and teaching it (for overviews, see Kankaanranta and Louhiala-Salminen 2007, 2013; Kankaanranta, Louhiala-Salminen, and Karhunen 2015). Though these strands of research have been highly productive, they tend to draw attention away from a number of basic realities. These include: (1) differences in the extent and significance of English as a lingua franca in specific contexts, (2) the use and value of languages other than English in business communication and (3) the particulars of the selection and use of various languages in conjunction with specific sectors and organizational levels.

As for the first point, the often-declared function of English as a neutral language in a broad range of business situations may somewhat misleadingly suggest that this neutrality is of a universal character. It also may gloss over the fact that speakers enter these situations with different levels of competence (Ehrenreich 2010) and varying language biographies (Nekvapil and Nekula 2006a, 2006b; Nekvapil and Sherman 2009a, 2009b). Here, we acknowledge two concurrent research findings: (a) the fact that language choice tends not to be neutral and typically reflects power relations (cf. Vaara et al. 2005; Gazzola and Grin 2013; Lüdi et al.

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2016), and (b) the fact that actual communicative needs in business and workplace situations require practical solutions, often formalized as "language strategies", which include the selection of a single lingua franca for predetermined situations.

In certain contexts, the position of English as a lingua franca is a relatively new one. This means that many employees have not learned English in a formal setting and are, in fact, encountering it for the first time at work. English, either in an advanced form or just a few words, may be an addition to an already rich plurilingual repertoire. This repertoire may include other lingua francas such as German or Russian, particularly in the central and eastern parts of Europe. Here, people following individual professional trajectories frequently had to initially learn one language such as German or Russian, then another, typically English (Nekvapil and Sherman 2009a). In other regions, such as Scandinavia, English knowledge is widespread and the past decades have brought about a gradual shift from the utilization of receptive multilingualism to the preference for English, invoking the public lay perception of "domain loss" (Haberland, Lønsmann, and Preisler 2013). At the same time, national languages in many European countries enjoy a strong position locally, and there is a general understanding that they should be used whenever possible. Further afield, as more and more countries become major players in global business, particularly those in the Far East, Kachru's (1986) inner-circle varieties of English may not have the capital they once did, and in fact, what have been traditionally understood as advanced English skills may not necessarily be connected to positions of power. And when native speakers and companies based in the inner circle become involved, the neutrality of English may in fact disappear entirely.

Regarding the second point, a number of large-scale studies have shown that the knowledge of languages other than English does carry economic benefits, and the success of companies of all types rests on, in addition to the knowledge of English, systematic and concerted attention devoted to these other languages. As Hagen et al. (2006: 6) point out in summarizing their ELAN study, which addressed the question of the relationship between language knowledge and profits in both multinationals and small and medium-sized enterprises (SMES), "… the picture is far more complex than the much-quoted view that English is the world language." Overall, the major talking points of this study's results were that (a) extensive business loss is attributed to the lack of language skills, and (b) successful companies do pay attention to language issues and develop strategies in this area.[1] A subsequent inquiry, entitled PIMLICO (Promoting, Implementing,

1 See also the application of the ELAN survey to more than one thousand companies in Catalonia, the ELAN.CAT study (Strubell and Marí 2011).

Mapping Language and Intercultural Communication Strategies in Organisations and Companies, see Hagen 2011), with a focus only on SMES, confirmed the economic significance of active behavior toward language on the part of companies, commerce organizations, states and international organizations, and identified specific best practices of an extensive range of "language strategies". A third study, ARCTIC (Assessing and Reviewing Cultural Transaction in International Companies, see Hagen et al. 2013), which was limited to several regions of the United Kingdom, in addition to confirming and broadening the findings of the previous studies, indicated that the adoption of the exclusive use of English in non-English speaking markets, though it may be generally sufficient from a networking perspective, may create problems for the localization of products and services. These findings have also been supported by research on the position of "foreign" languages on national and international job markets and on the value of linguistic diversity from the position of companies, or even the entire states (see Grin et al. 2010, who, based on economic analysis, suggest links between knowledge of foreign languages and a country's economic prosperity) as well as individual job-seekers (Heller 2010; Kelly-Holmes and Mautner 2010; Hogan-Brun 2017).

The above-mentioned line of investigation has included both multinational companies and SMES, which brings us to our third point – different sectors of the business world, as well as levels of company hierarchies, create different types of communication situations. These situations, as described in detail by Duchêne and Heller (2012) are the product of several decades of global socio-economic development, which has encompassed a shift in the location of manual-labor-based industries from former First World centers to various peripheries, and the birth of new economies, based on the provision of various services and of knowledge, both of which are materialized in the form of writing and speaking (Duchêne and Heller 2012: 325–326). The abundance of existing company case studies conducted in the former First World reflects this shift, demonstrating certain tendencies, including the predominance of certain sectors and a material base of interviews and ethnography conducted at top and middle-management levels. Studies of this type have been undertaken in banking (Kingsley 2009, 2013; Cogo 2016), manufacturing (Sunaoshi 2005; Sunaoshi, Kotabe, and Murray 2005; Piekkari, Welch, and Welch 2014) or the pharmaceutical industry (Lønsmann 2014), or in a combination of types and sizes of companies with a focus on specific countries or regions (Cyr, Nelde, and Rutke 2005; Truchot 2009; Angouri 2013; Lüdi, Höchle, and Yanaprasart 2013; Bothorel-Witz and Tsamadou-Jacobsberger 2013; Angouri and Miglbauer 2014). Small and medium-sized enterprises, which have a particular sensitivity to the local sociolinguistic context in which they operate, have been investigated by Incelli (2008) (mixed) and Cogo (2012, 2016) (IT sector). Yet in any given company, regardless of its size, multiple types of jobs co-exist in a single, delineated space, from blue-collar machine operators to mid-level and top managers (cf. Gunnarsson 2014). The different groups of workers may not only come into contact only minimally, but may also enter the workplace with entirely different and often incompatible linguistic repertoires (see e.g. Deneire 2008, who speaks of an "English divide" among employees at different levels in a company in France, or Coray and Duchêne 2017, who discuss language as a potential "gatekeeper").

These three highly contemporarily relevant considerations can only begin to be explored further and in more detail by taking an approach to English in Europe that is markedly different than the predominant ones. The purpose of this volume, then, is to present a perspective that is pioneering in character, concentrating on more sociolinguistic perspectives, and placing English in the context of local language ecologies, as opposed to exploring it in isolation, as an unquestionable, unavoidable given.

This is the final volume in the *English in Europe* series, which has thus far focused on overall attitudes toward English in Europe (Linn, Bermel, and Ferguson 2015), the spheres of academic writing (Plo Alastrué and Pérez-Llantada 2015) and higher education (Dimova, Hultgren, and Jensen 2015), and responses to the role of English as a lingua franca (Tatsioka et al. 2018). It complements its predecessors in a number of ways: (1) by exploring the domains (business, economics) thus far unrepresented in the previous series volumes, and by doing so through the prism of sociolinguistics and/or the sociology of language as opposed to analyzing the textual structure of business genres or taking a language pedagogy approach, (2) by expanding the regional coverage of these topics, with several studies based in Central Europe (the Czech Republic and Austria), while at the same time considering contexts which interact with Europe even though they are physically outside of it (Asia, Africa), (3) by considering English as just one of several languages at play in the ecology of the countries and research sites which are the object of analysis, and (4) by focusing not only on the position of languages as declared in documents of various organizations (for example, businesses themselves), that is, language policy, but also everyday linguistic practices as observed in business contexts.

2 Interactions and policies

The first part this volume's title, "English in Business and Commerce", evokes an extremely broad image, predominated by the strong research traditions mentioned above. As sociolinguists, we view English as more than the sum of its varieties, hence we found it necessary to further specify the volume's focus. The sphere of business and commerce, in our view, is characterized on the one hand by micro-level issues of communication occurring on a day-to-day basis, to which we generally refer as "interactions" and on the other hand by macro-level issues, typically addressed by large institutions, not only companies themselves, but also business associations, universities or regional or national authorities, which we group under the heading of "policies". Devoting attention to these two aspects corresponds to our previous body of work on language in multinational companies (see Nekvapil and Nekula 2006a; Nekvapil and Sherman 2009a, 2009b, 2013, 2018), utilizing Language Management Theory (Nekvapil 2016), which considers the interplay of the micro- and macro-aspects of behavior toward language.

At the heart of the study of *interactions* in the business context is the basic function of language for communication, which, given the international dealings of many companies, is often the very first function to be managed. In other words, there exists the general idea that employees in the workplace context, as well as the producers and buyers of goods and services, need to be able to understand one another. This need may arise in the context of different types of talk, be it negotiation talk (Marriott 1990), production-level collaborative talk (Sunaoshi 2005; Sunaoshi, Kotabe, and Murray 2005), meeting talk (Firth 1996; Poncini 2003; Markaki et al 2010, 2013, 2014) or informal talk during meals or in between official interactions (Skårup 2004; Pullin 2010; Negretti and Garcia-Yeste 2015), written genres such as e-mails (Incelli 2013; Fairbrother 2015) or an entire range of other communicative situations. Key is the question of *what employees do when they do not understand each other*, or even in anticipation of not understanding one another (Nekvapil and Sherman 2009b). In addition, further functions of language, such as for identity purposes or for the protection of selected networks, i.e. the "secretive" function (Nekvapil and Sherman 2009a) may be the object of management as well. Moreover, being linguistically equipped for mutual understanding, as people interacting in BELF situations typically are, may not be sufficient for the communicative and other needs that they have. Rather, there can still be "significant norm discrepancies" (Marriott 1990: 56) among the participants. Differences in expectations regarding rituals for (verbal) behavior, frequently viewed as culturally-based (Spencer-Oatey and Xing 2003; Spencer-Oatey 2008), ultimately create barriers to successful business transactions even in spite of shared linguistic resources. The question which remains, then, is how these barriers are overcome on both the micro- and macro-levels.

The large-scale management of the full range of interactional activities discussed above, i.e. *policy* may take a number of forms, such as documents bearing the actual title of "company language policy", published guidelines for certain interactional situations, or even signs placed in strategic locations on company premises, reminding employees to stick to a single language (typically English) during meetings. It also may not be written at all, but nonetheless understood by all employees as the generally agreed upon or prescribed practice. The most common example of this is the position of English as the official company language for certain communicative situations – it is common, when doing research in a company, for interviewed employees to state that English does have this official function, but that this fact is not written anywhere or that the employee does not know where. This study of this broadly conceived understanding of policy has evolved into a multidisciplinary endeavor. It has been partially inspired by the field of Language Planning and Policy (LPP), the socioeconomic basis for which has been elucidated among others by Cooper (1989) and which has sociolinguistic connections inspiring most of the papers published in this volume. Another strand, consisting in research grounded directly in economics, promotes a more nuanced approach to the "value" of language than the purely metaphorical one often assigned to it in other disciplines such as sociology, anthropology or linguistics (e.g. those based on various Bourdieusian concepts of non-monetary capital or the linguistic marketplace). Using quantitative approaches such as cost-benefit analyses, companies, like states and international organizations, can evaluate the effectivity of actual policy measures such as, for example, the establishment of English as a corporate language (see Grin 2003; Grin, Sfreddo, and Vaillancourt 2010; Gazzola and Grin 2013).

Finally, the business-centered exploration of "language strategies", "language management", "language regulation" or "language policy" has been discussed in numerous studies (Hagen et al. 2006, 2013; Hagen 2011; Piekkari, Welch, and Welch 2014; Sanden 2016). This includes the examination of formal planning efforts directed toward providing language teaching to employees, hiring speakers of specific languages, or utilizing the services of translators and interpreters, and it has a firm grounding in the fields of planning and management studies (see also e.g. Vaara et al. 2005; Welch, Welch, and Piekkari 2005; van den Born and Peltokorpi 2010). These strategies generally consider the needs of the company first, and acknowledge and utilize the employees' individual experiences as a resource to this end. Sanden (2016), in her comparative study of the use of the term "language management', draws links between sociolinguistic theorizing and the practically-informed approach to language issues. This latter approach is defined by its ultimate focus on non-linguistic goals, by the fact that it is practical, without any basis in sociolinguistic (or any other) theory, is based on idea that the management of language can have a positive economic outcome for the company, and considers the needs of the company employees as well as those of the company clientele. Interestingly, even despite differences in their points of departure, the two approaches take note of many of the same phenomena. For example, Piekkari, Welch, and Welch (2014) discuss both organizational responses to problems, such as the establishment of a centralized translation department, and individual ones, such as utilizing one's social networks to solve a translation problem; Nekvapil and Sherman (2009b) point out that the act of pre-interaction management, or measures taken to avoid anticipated communication problems, can also occur on levels of varying complexity, from the individual to the entire organization.

3 Beyond the European context

Though most of the texts in this volume focus on the role of English and other languages in Europe, it is obvious that "Europe" as a unit does not exist in isolation. This is all the more the case given the growing position of Asia on the world market, with countries such as Japan, Korea and China featuring prominently as the home countries of large multinational companies, leading to an interesting cultural cross-pollination of procedures, standards, branding and actual practices, both in the headquarters and in the branches (Sunaoshi 2005; Sunaoshi, Kotabe, and Murray 2005; Nekvapil and Sherman 2018). In recent years, Asian countries have been characterized by strong ideologies of English in combination with generationally-tied knowledge of it, as well as a gap between general declarations for international marketing purposes and actual language competence (Seargeant 2009; Park 2009; Park and Wee 2012). Asian norms and hierarchical structures may strongly influence the way in which communication actually proceeds even in spite of the use of BELF, and the question at hand is how it is managed in the light of seemingly highly significant linguistic and cultural differences.

Meanwhile, in Africa, extensive sociopolitical, economic, and in turn, language planning challenges have loomed large for much of the 20th century and beyond. In the post-colonial context, contemporary nations have to decide which languages should be preferred, and in doing so, balance out the need for economic self-sufficiency with the need to preserve indigenous cultural heritage and ensure the provision of basic human rights. The situation in Africa differs from that in Europe or the Far East in that many local languages cannot compete with English when it comes to the level of cultivation in various domains, thus making them less advantageous on both local and international job markets. And as Kamwangamalu (2016) emphasizes, local elites may support African languages on the declarative level, but prefer English as the language of education for themselves and their families, with local languages viewed as reserved for the private sphere. In other words, the different functions of languages may find themselves in conflict.

Given the comparative and informative potential of situations beyond the borders of Europe, we have decided to include papers exemplifying these two continents, which provide initial hints into this vast set of issues.

4 Structure and outline of the volume

The core of the volume consists of papers given at a conference held in March 2014 with the same name as the volume, which was the final conference of the Leverhulme Trust project "English in Europe: Opportunity or Threat". The changing role of English and other languages in the domains of business, commerce, the economy and the workplace, on the national as well as European and global levels was selected as the topic for the conference in Prague due to the tradition of research on multilingualism in companies there. At the same time, the conference aimed to place greater emphasis on the Central European region, which had been, and, unfortunately, continues to be under-represented in scholarship on the sociolinguistics of English worldwide (though some notable exceptions include Prendergast 2008; Przygoński 2012; Kalocsai 2013 or Sloboda, Laihonen, and Zabrodskaja 2016). This volume's overall focus is identical to that of the conference. Based on the resulting papers and those which developed later, three approaches to the topic of English in business in commerce have emerged: (1) ideological and discursive perspectives, (2) specific case studies on the use and management of English in selected sites of business, and (3) the broader position of English and other languages on local and international labor markets, and the resulting implications for language and education policy.

The chapters in **Part 1**, "Ideologies and discourses on English in the business sphere", explore the *idea* of English more than its actual use, focusing more on the background for the conception of policies than on actual interactions. In "Language standardization in sociolinguistics and international business: Theory and practice across the table", Linn, Sanden and Piekkari take an interdisciplinary approach to the issue of English in international business and expand it by seeking connections between historical sociolinguistics and business and organizational studies, engaging in what they refer to as "comparative standardology". Both companies and nations engage in standardization processes. Their similarities and differences are illustrated using the Norwegian language situation, which has moved from management of tension between varieties of Norwegian to the management of tension between Norwegian and English, and the case of the Danish company Grundfos. Grundfos, a manufacturing company, has developed an explicit, bottom-up language policy that declares English as the official corporate language, but acknowledges the position of the local language, Danish. The processes of its implementation neatly correspond to Einar Haugen's model of language standardization, which was originally based on the analysis of the Norwegian language situation with which the setting of Grundfos is compared.

This comparison is followed by a number of chapters devoted to individual national contexts. In "A language ideological landscape: The complex map in international companies in Denmark", Kamilla Kraft and Dorte Lønsmann explore the "language ideological landscape" in companies in Denmark, where the sphere of business is dominated by both English and Danish, and where the languages of the neighboring countries also play an important role. They demonstrate the importance of the local national environment even in the case of multinational companies (as discussed above). They uncover an essential conflict – the "natural" character of using Danish in Denmark is disrupted both by the use of English as a lingua franca and by the utilization of the receptive multilingualism in the Scandinavian space. Situations in which this disruption occurs then become the object of management. Some groups benefit more from the "naturalness" ideology than others, and, as they conclude "native speaker ideals and asymmetrical English competences challenge the neat representation of English as neutral and common ground" (69).

In "Managing, interpreting and negotiating corporate bilingualism in Wales", Elisabeth Barakos examines the ideologies of language use in the business sphere in Wales. Based in critical discourse analysis, she analyzes official policy documents and data from interviews conducted with managers from companies using Welsh. She shows that while Welsh does function on the declarative level and helps to increase the attractiveness of businesses and their corporate identities through their polylingual repertoire, the ad hoc management of actual language use allows Welsh to remain in a subordinate position to English. Part 1 finishes with a comparative perspective presented by Alessia Cogo and Patchareerat Yanaprasart, "'English is the language of business': An exploration of language ideologies in two European corporate contexts", which looks at ideologies regarding English in corporate contexts in Switzerland and Italy. Using interviews and ethnographic data, they argue that official policies and actual practices often diverge when it comes to the ideology of the strict separation of languages, otherwise known as OLAT (one language at a time) or OLON (one language only), which often appear at the declarative level of official policy. Company situations in which BELF is used, though they cannot take place without the use of English, also cannot be viewed as monolingual.

As we have seen thus far, individual companies, regardless of their size, make a fine basis for complex case study research, which is the point of departure in **Part 2**, "The management of English in business and organizational contexts".

Focusing on the individual company, workplace or place of business as the research site, this section places the greatest amount of emphasis on individual interactions, be they "classic" instances of official or unofficial conversation (i.e. meeting talk vs. "water cooler" talk), or written communication in the form of e-mails or the linguistic landscape in a given commercial space. In "Making sense of language management in Danish international companies: A strategic view", Sharon Millar applies the concept of strategic management to the use of language (English) in two Danish companies, arguing that despite the predominance of top-down policy characteristic for large companies, language strategies are deliberately left sufficiently ambiguous so as to accommodate the sociolinguistic situations in individual branches with their specific localization needs. "The management of everyday English interactions in the Japanese branches of European multinationals", by Lisa Fairbrother, explicitly demonstrates an entire range of problems which occur even when English is used as the common language. Analyzing e-mail interactions and interview data, she shows that in the management of everyday interactions in European multinationals in Japan, linguistic and communicative inadequacies may be noted but not adjusted due to power relations. Two contributions, by Sonja Barfod and Neil Bermel & Luděk Knittl, demonstrate that English is not actually found in every single place we might expect it to be, and that even when we might expect it to be selected as a lingua franca, it is not always necessarily the first choice. In both cases, in the Scandinavian case in the former and the Central European case in the latter, "older" multilingual constellations are the most commonly exploited resource. Barfod, in "On the non-use of English in a multinational company", takes a conversation analysis-based approach, scrutinizing videos of informal employee interactions in a Danish company, along with interview and observation data. Though English is the official "meeting language" in the company and is used in that pre-determined context, the "working language" is Danish and lunchtime talk reveals a significant degree of intercomprehension and adaptation among speakers of Danish, Swedish and Norwegian. The chapter "The linguistic landscape of a Czech heritage site: Recording and presenting the past and present of Hrubý Rohozec", by Bermel and Knittl, looks at a tourist site and its immediate surroundings in the Czech Republic. Using the linguistic landscape approach, the authors show the ideological positions taken toward the use of specific languages. The town surrounding the tourist site displays mostly monolingual Czech signage, reflecting the site's predominantly domestic orientation, with non-Czech texts motivated by instrumentality and rationality. The tourist site, a castle, is itself more multilingual, though through its foregrounding of Czech and with English as a lingua franca as the main foreign language, despite the fact that its noble family owners spoke many other languages, predominantly German, as the authors write, "the castle's multilingual past is reflected and transmitted in a very different multilingual present." (225).

The chapters in the first two sections repeatedly reinforce the idea that business, despite its global development, is never done independently from national and regional contexts or from other spheres of life. As Piekkari, Welch, and Welch (2014: 230) aptly observe "Individual national governments' language policies matter as these affect what and how languages are taught…". This is well illustrated in **Part 3**, "The position of English and other languages on local and international labor markets, implications for language and education policy". The section combines a number of approaches that demonstrate overlap between the spheres of business and economics and the education sphere in particular. In "The value of foreign language skills in international business for native English speaking countries: A study on Ireland", Tobias Schroedler examines the case of a native-English speaking country, Ireland, which is home to some of the top players in the IT industry and an exporting economy. Based on the analysis of secondary quantitative data and interviews with a number of local experts, he concludes that changes in Ireland's language education policy in support of increased knowledge of French, Spanish and German would likely result in economic advantages for the country overall. In "'It's good to have a language under your belt': The value of foreign languages in the Greek job market", Zoe Kantaridou, Iris Papadopoulou and Jo Angouri consider newspaper job advertisements to assess the importance of foreign languages on the Greek job market, finding that language requirements are highly field-specific and are mostly connected with high-skilled positions. Though English was the predominant language required, the overall ecology of the languages represented is a global one, and the overall specification of the language requirements is highly ambiguous. Vít Dovalil, in "Qual der Wahl, or spoiled for choice? English and German as the subject of decision-making processes in the Czech Republic", explores the question of foreign language education policy in relation to the Czech national job market, tying together the issue of ideologies and discourses of English and German with decision-making processes in schools and families. He argues that despite the proven economic value that German knowledge can have for Czechs, it is ideologically disadvantaged in favor of English, given the widespread view of English as a universally instrumental language and of German as an ugly, difficult, or non-utilitarian one. As a result, many pupils may not have access to language instruction that could provide them with a competitive edge.

In "Creating the international managers of tomorrow, today? Stakeholder perspectives on English-medium business education", Miya Komori-Glatz and Barbara Schmidt-Unterberger analyze the relationship between stakeholder needs in the international business context and actual curriculum and teaching practices in the context of a business university in Vienna, showing that even the students who would not necessarily have selected English as the medium of instruction on their own (preferring the local language, German) subsequently do find it to be a benefit. Alla Tovares and Nkonko Kamwangamalu close the section by addressing the problem of language choice for education policy in post-colonial African countries in light of economic considerations, focusing on Kenya and South Africa in the chapter "Linguistic diversity and language-in-educational practices in Kenya and South Africa: Challenges and responses". While both pupils and their parents associate English with greater stature and economic success, access to the language is somewhat limited, as quality English-medium education has only been available to certain segments of the population in these countries for reasons of cost. The authors conclude that if indigenous African languages, which are key to the spread of literacy, are to survive, their economic value must somehow increase. The authors suggest that this can be achieved through prestige planning which takes into consideration the complex sociolinguistic situation in the African context.

Overall, this volume provides highly relevant insights into the way in which one of the most important domains, the sphere of business and economics, influences the use and management of languages, and in the contemporary globalizing world, most visibly English. In this respect, it serves as a fitting conclusion to the *English in Europe* series.

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Part I: Ideologies and discourses on English in the business sphere

Andrew Linn, Guro Refsum Sanden and Rebecca Piekkari

Language standardization in sociolinguistics and international business: Theory and practice across the table

Abstract: This chapter addresses the issue of language standardization from two perspectives, bringing together a theoretical perspective offered by the discipline of sociolinguistics with a practical example from international business. We introduce the broad concept of standardization and embed the study of language standardization in the wider discussion of standards as a means of control across society. We analyze the language policy and practice of the Danish multinational, Grundfos, and use it as a "sociolinguistic laboratory" to "test" the theory of language standardization initially elaborated by Einar Haugen to explain the history of modern Norwegian. The table is then turned and a model from international business by Piekkari, Welch and Welch is used to illuminate recent Norwegian language planning. It is found that the Grundfos case works well with the Haugen model, and the international business model provides a valuable practical lesson for national language planners, both showing that a "comparative standardology" is a valuable undertaking. More voices "at the table" will allow both theory and practice to be further refined and for the role of standards across society to be better understood.

Keywords: Language standardization, language standards, corporate language, language policy and planning, Scandinavia

1 Introduction

1.1 Aims and objectives

Writing in 2011, Linn (2011: 800) noted that "linguists have tended to set aside parallels with other systems and treat [...] standardization as a peculiarly linguistic problem" and called for "more interdisciplinary thinking" (801). There is not much evidence that this has happened yet, and this chapter attempts to move that thinking forward in two principal ways.

Firstly, we seek to compare the practice of language standardization in two contrasting contexts: (a) the corporate context in international business (IB); and (b) the national context. In so doing we investigate what the IB experience can

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tell us about the nature of language standardization more broadly and also how theory developed to explain national-level cases can illuminate those from international business. Despite our apparently very different contexts for investigating language standardization (historical v. contemporary, national v. international, sociopolitical v. economic, etc.), we contest that they are mutually illuminating in theoretically interesting and practically useful ways.

Secondly, we situate both language cases in the wider standards context and thus view standardization as not just "a peculiarly linguistic problem". Standards and standardization processes are not limited to the management of language practices but are the "omnipresent conduits of a modernizing and globalizing world" (Timmermans and Epstein 2010: 71). Timmermans and Epstein (2010) make a compelling case for the interdisciplinary study of standards, and it is our objective to contribute to this endeavor by "talking across the table" between sociolinguistics and international business research.

1.2 "Talking across the table"

In pursuing our aims and objectives we address a more general methodological question arising from "talking across the table". This is a question at the heart of an interdisciplinary undertaking such as ours. Are the two examples of "standardization" really comparable? Are we talking about the same thing? Interdisciplinarity, which aims to achieve "synthesis or integration" (Golde and Gallagher 1999: 281) is a seductive world in which the disciplines involved can remain separated by deceptively common language (Bracken and Oughton 2006). The challenges of operating across disciplines have been discussed from a range of disciplinary perspectives (e.g. conservation (Campbell 2005); aging studies (Smith 2003); and (closer to home) international business studies (Cheng et al. 2009)). Researchers have investigated the issues from both philosophical and practical perspectives (for more extensive discussions, see, e.g. Frodeman et al 2010; Salter and Hearn 1996). Some of the specific issues facing the authors of the present chapter were as follows: The internal practices of a nation state do not on the face of it seem relevant to the sort of "transient multilingual communities" (Mortensen 2013: 37) exemplified by internationalizing companies. Who are the key actors and authorities involved in language standardization in international firms? Can IB inform national language agencies about language standardization and vice versa, or should they remain on their own sides of that language table?

This chapter came about as a result of Andrew Linn and Rebecca Piekkari meeting at the March 2014 conference on English in Business and Commerce, held at Charles University, Prague, as part of the *English in Europe: Opportunity or*

Threat? project. Funding generously provided by the UK Leverhulme Trust allowed them to meet again in collaboration with Guro Refsum Sanden to explore the fact that they were using the term *standardization* to describe apparently rather different language planning processes. This collaboration links two relatively young academic enterprises: historical sociolinguistics (cf. Hernández-Campoy and Conde-Silvestre 2012) and the study of language in international business and management or what might be styled the "sociolinguistics of business".

There is widespread recognition in the broader social sciences literature that standards and standardization are a "matter of central importance" and that "a proper understanding of standardization is a prerequisite for understanding the way modern society functions" (Brunsson and Jacobsson 2000: 17, 15). Language policy has never been more important in an age of mass global movement and activity (Coupland 2010). Moreover, the need to standardize is everywhere – the authors of this paper even had to agree on a standard way to spell standard-ize/-ise!

1.3 Structure of the chapter

In the next section (section 2) we will discuss standards and standardization in some more detail, from the broader perspective of a "sociology of standards" as well as the specific standpoints of our respective disciplines. In section 3 we will focus on international business and explore how IB practices can be described in terms of a model of language standardization drawn from sociolinguistics. This will help us answer the question posed above of whether we are discussing the same phenomenon or not. Our focus in this chapter is on IB, and in the following section we will consider what national language planners and policy makers can learn from an IB model. In the final section (section 5) we will present our conclusions and suggestions for further research in this important field to help rectify the fact that "the study of standardization remains an underappreciated framework for the analysis of many core aspects of modernity" (Timmermans and Epstein 2010: 70).

2 Standards and standardization

2.1 What is standardization?

The IB literature has become increasingly concerned with the issue of language use and (often implicit) language policies, turning the "forgotten factor" (Marschan, Welch, and Welch 1997), the "surprisingly neglected subject" (Piekkari, Welch, and Welch 2014: 9) of international business language research into an "emerging interest" (Piekkari and Tietze 2011: 267), and "a separate area of study" (Zander, Mockaitis, and Harzing 2011: 297). The importance of language and communication in IB is now so widely recognized that we have started to talk about a language-sensitive research agenda (Piekkari and Tietze 2011: 267; Tenzer, Pudelko and Harzing 2013: 510). Language standardization, defined as "efforts by top management to instill a common corporate language and harmonize internal and external communications through general rules and policies" (Piekkari and Tietze 2011: 267), has been one of the central topics for analysis and debate. However, this debate has tended to see language standardization as a bipolar issue caught in a dialectical tension between multilingualism on the one side and a *lingua franca* on the other. As argued by Janssens and Steyaert (2014: 637), research on language standardization has tended to point to either one of these solutions – multilingualism or standardization – as a black and white question with no room for colors in between.

Standardization in the history of national languages has been defined as "the construction – and subsequent dissemination – of a uniform supradialectal normative variety" (Ferguson 2006: 21). Research on this side of "the table" has also tended to be somewhat linear or "teleological", presenting unstructured spoken language variation and a written standard variety as two ends of a completed process (Deumert and Vandenbussche 2003a: 11; McLelland and Linn 2002: vii). Janssens and Steyaert (2014) do note that standardization *practices* in the IB context are much more varied and nuanced than such a bipolar view would imply, so this begs the question of whether language standardization is best characterized simply as a series of context-specific practices or whether it can be characterized by an over-arching model.

We share Linn's (2013: 373) view that a standard language, along with many other standards of behavior, does not hold the same appeal in society as it did several generations ago. So a further question we ask is then: what role does standardization play in an era which in many respects is characterized by *destandardization*? (see the papers in Koch and Fritz 2013; Vítečková and Chaloupková 2014). Language standardization in IB is in effect the adoption of a norm in an age where norms are often shunned and local variation is championed.[1] The sociolinguistic literature generally accepts that language behavior

1 Here we are using the term "norm" as an alternative to "standard". These terms are not completely interchangeable in the literature, but excessive terminological complexity and very fine distinctions may not be helpful in this sort of interdisciplinary work in which clarity "across the table" is paramount.

constitutes a series of individually negotiated acts of communication rather than the adoption of a single discrete language (e.g. Blommaert and Rampton 2011; Meierkord 2012; Pennycook 2010), which would appear to go against a desire for increased standardization.

In addressing these questions we accept that language standardization is not a "once and for all" act but an on-going process. The adoption of a common corporate language (CCL), as an example of standardization in international firms, is not "the endpoint of a language policy" (Steyaert, Ostendorp, and Gaibrois 2011: 271). By the same token the idea of a national standard is the product of its time and place and susceptible to change.

Standardization is clearly not a straightforward thing either in theory or in practice. All the more reason, therefore, to engage in a process of interdisciplinary learning and respond to Timmermans and Epstein's call to "juxtapose scholarship on standards across multiple arenas of social life" (85).

2.2 Standardized languages and power

A shared system of language is a powerful tool within any community of practice, local, national or international. Like all strong mechanisms of social organization, a standard language has the power both to unite some stakeholders in the community and also to exclude those who do not have access to that means of social and professional interaction. English as "gatekeeper" of access to knowledge (classically Pennycook 1994; more recently e.g. King and Scott 2014) is probably the highest profile linguistic mechanism of social organization today (e.g. Pitkänen-Huhta and Hujo 2012 for what it means to be outside those gates), and English is of course a key issue for language standardization in IB (cf. section 3.1).

This insight is not a new one and takes us back to some of the earliest linguistic thought in the western tradition (cf. the Tower of Babel story in the *Book of Genesis*). The association of shared identity with shared language has remained a compelling trope throughout history. It drove the "springing up of the great national common languages" (Jespersen 1946: 39) as the modern nation states of Europe developed their structures and systems and cemented their hierarchies of power after the Renaissance. It lives on in recent calls by the German Christian Social Union for immigrants to speak German even in their own home (BBC News 2014). Agreeing and implementing standardized language practices is firmly associated with the establishment and embedding of power relations (Fairclough 2001; Wodak 2012; more specifically Joseph 1987 and Millar 2005), as a means for those in power "to perpetuate the power structures from which they themselves benefit" (Linn 2011: 800). As Inoue (2006: 121) puts it, "the study of language standardization, therefore, is less about language itself as function and structure, than it is about ideologies and hegemonies about language, or what is called "language ideology".

Thus language standardization has come to possess negative connotations in the discipline of sociolinguistics with its traditionally liberal political standpoint, and it would be rare to find advocates for a single standard language in the sociolinguistic literature today (although see Costa (2015) for the ongoing value of a standard in the primary school classroom). However, despite the rejection of the idea of a standard language around the end of the 20th century (see, e.g., Crowley 2003; Joseph and Taylor 1990; Milroy and Milroy 1999), in reality the appeal of a common agreed norm of language use remains strong as "part of the taken-for-granted technical and moral infrastructure of modern life" (Timmermans and Epstein 2010: 71). Beck (2002) described standards as "zombies", the living dead from a bygone age, but we refute this position and maintain that standardization has a continued role to play, perhaps especially as traditional top-down language authorities (national language councils, national dictionaries, literary models, etc.) have begun to lose their authority. We will return to this point in section 4.1. We maintain that language standardization is of continued relevance and deserves continued study and analysis, being a context where power relations may be played out under the cover of being "just" about language.

2.3 A sociology of standards

Standards and the study of standards and standardization are not unique to the sphere of language, indeed Singer (1996) wrote of a more general "sociology of standards". We observe standards in all walks of life, both professional and private. As researchers we observe the norms of good research practice, and as teachers we follow the academic and interpersonal conventions of the classroom. In business we adhere to codes of ethical conduct and to the expectations of our partners regarding how we do business. In our private lives there are social norms affecting how we treat our family members and also less ethically challenging standards affecting things like what sort of lightbulb to use. Such standards differ from *rules* and *laws* in that they are *not mandatory*. We might feel compelled by the expectations of our communities to adhere to standards of behavior, and language planners and business leaders hope that we will observe their preferred language behaviors. However, it is rare that sanctions would follow from our failure to do so, since "standards are explicit rules issued without reference to the kind of authority that the leaders of organizations enjoy" (Brunsson and Jacobsson 2000: 13). So standards are omnipresent, but they are a different sort of ordering principle to laws and directives, more horizontal than top-down in their effect, moderating group behavior rather than directing individual actions. Bowker and Star (1999: 14) imagine a situation where Esperanto is proposed as the standard language for international diplomacy, concluding that “without a mechanism of enforcement [...] or a grass-roots movement, we shall fail”.

The International Standards Organization (ISO 2015) has a standard for standards, as follows: “A standard is a document that provides requirements, specifications, guidelines or characteristics that can be used consistently to ensure that materials, products, processes and services are fit for their purpose”. We will treat this as a workable general definition of what we understand by a standard for the purposes of this chapter. We have purposefully selected a broad and inclusive definition to cover different situations and contexts in which the expectations and requirements to align one’s behavior with the standard vary. A certain degree of normativity is integral to the nature of standards.

2.4 Models of language standardization

In the language policy and planning literature, the term language standardization covers “a broad spectrum of meanings”, as described by Hornberger (2006: 31): “embracing both process and product [...]; both language status and language corpus [...]; and means ranging from recognizing or accepting an existing standard [...], to creating, selecting, or imposing one”. Among the earliest sociolinguistic contributions in this area are the publications collected in Garvin (1964, see also Garvin 1993), although Einar Haugen’s (1966: 16–26) model of norm development is frequently credited as the first theory of language standardization. In Haugen’s model the norm undergoes the following four-stage process involving: (1) selection, (2) codification, (3) implementation, and finally (4) elaboration. Whereas selection and implementation refer to the functional allocation of the norm vis-à-vis other norms in the multilingual society (i.e. status planning), codification and elaboration refer to interventions in the norm itself (i.e. corpus planning).

The first stage refers to the choice of the language to be used as the standard – the norm – in a given society. The decision usually involves choosing one, or alternatively a small number of languages, over other languages. Various criteria may influence this decision. The language selected as the standard language may for example be seen as more prestigious than others in the society (cf. Ferguson’s 1959 discussion of high and low language varieties, where, for example, classical Arabic is described as more prestigious than Egyptian Arabic), or as a more efficient language for communication, by e.g. having a more developed lexicon compared to other alternatives (Nahir 1984).

Once the norm has been selected, standardization procedures are developed in the codification stage. In his later work Haugen (1983: 271–272) suggests that the codification stage consists of three main standardization processes: firstly, graphization, i.e. designing the writing system; secondly, grammatication, i.e. outlining the rules of how the language is structured; and thirdly, lexication, i.e. standardizing the list of words used in the language (lexicon). "The typical product of all codification has been a prescriptive orthography, grammar and dictionary", Haugen (1983: 272) argues.

The first and second stages may be seen as preparatory stages. The implementation of the norm takes place in the third stage, once it has been decided what language(s) and what variety or varieties of that norm are to be adopted (Kaplan and Baldauf 1997: 36). The implementation in itself may take various forms, but is often conducted via the education system, which traditionally has been one of most important arenas for norm implementation. The education system is an ideal mechanism for implementing a standard language since the voluntary nature of the standard is significantly circumscribed by a bipolar "right v. wrong" outcome in the assessment of pupils' language use. For example, Standard English is an ideal in education for determining correct and incorrect usage by students.

Finally, norm elaboration constitutes the fourth and final stage. This stage involves the functional development of the selected norm following its implementation. Language elaboration is natural in the sense that languages and societies change over time: "language communities need [...] to have mechanisms to modernize their language so that it continues to meet their needs" (Kaplan and Baldauf 1997: 44).

It follows from the foregoing presentation that standardization is a way of minimizing language diversity in a multilingual society by selecting, developing and implementing one variety as the standard language. In this way, standardization is a specific example of language planning. A frequently adopted definition of language planning is provided by Cooper (1989: 45) who states that "language planning refers to deliberate efforts to influence the behavior of others with respect to the acquisition, structure, or functional allocation of their language codes". Standardization is often described as a goal of language planning (see e.g. Hornberger 2006; Nahir 1984). Although language standardization in itself may be seen as a language planning goal, the standardization of language practices has typically been carried out with the purpose of attaining socio-political rather than purely linguistic outcomes. It is commonly observed that language standardization serves ideological ends: "in nearly all cases the language problem to be solved is not a problem in isolation within the region or nation, but is directly associated with the political, economic, scientific, social, cultural and/or religious situation" (Karam 1974: 108).

This argument may easily be transferred to the context of IB, where language standardization is usually initiated for the attainment of non-linguistic goals (Sanden 2016). Several studies point to the fact that the implementation of a common corporate language [CCL] (or a *lingua franca*, another term with wider currency in sociolinguistics beyond IB), which is one of the most frequently used types of language standardization in multinational corporations, is often seen primarily as a pragmatic solution meant to facilitate and enhance communication and collaboration between employees with different linguistic backgrounds (Marschan-Piekkari et al. 1999; Neeley, Hinds, and Cramton 2012; Louhiala-Salminen, Charles, and Kankaanranta 2005; Vaara et al. 2005). In their widest sense, language policies may be defined as plans, laws, rules or regulation about language use (Baldauf 2012), but in line with the literature on standards we adopt the view that standards are distinct forms of regulation from laws or rules. Where researchers operating within the sociolinguistic tradition may use the term "language policy" to investigate language regulation in a wide range of domains (e.g. Spolsky 2009), language polices in the IB literature refer to some form of language regulation in a business organization (Kangasharju, Piekkari, and Säntti, 2010). A language strategy may be seen as a broader concept than a language policy, encompassing "planned adoption of a range of techniques to facilitate effective communication with clients and suppliers abroad" (CILT 2006: 5; see also Piekkari et al. 2014: 204–229).

2.5 Standards of language

Commentators from sociolinguistics may be keen to "kill off" standard languages and standardization as the functions of a now outmoded political system. It is nonetheless common to hear voices in the media and beyond bemoaning the demise of language standards, based on the prevailing view that the standard is something elevated and something to aim towards. More fluid, creative language practices, such as SMS language or language in advertising, are in comparison associated with a moral decline and are to be abhorred. In various European countries there is a thriving market in guides to better language use, which taps into the anxiety felt by parents and fanned by journalists that the language just isn't what it used to be. In Britain, for example, *A Dictionary of Modern English Usage* by H. W. Fowler, first published in 1926, remains in print nearly a century later (Allen 2008). Standardization doesn't just entail the development of a code of language conduct; it also implies something aspirational. A standard is not just a common denominator, rather it is a benchmark, an ideal form against which other forms can be judged. By contrast "non-standard" is often equated with "substandard", and in the context of a national language this results in the perception of hierarchies. Pretty quickly hierarchies of language usage come to equate with social hierarchies, and a command of the standard variety places its users in a more elevated position in society than those using different varieties. Standardization in IB is also more than just a practical way of addressing a business need as efficiently as possible. As in the national context, language also fulfils a symbolic role (see Hübschmannová and Neustupný (1996) for an example of standardization having multiple functions), and it is to a case study from IB that we now turn.

3 International business: Learning from theory

3.1 Language standardization in IB

Language standardization in IB is first and foremost a form of human resource management (Marschan-Piekkari et al. 1999). By managing the language practices of employees on the front-line through language policies, companies seek to avoid the "hassle" of operating in multiple languages (Zander et al. 2011). As a result, adopting a CCL, such as British or US English, has become one of the most commonly used tools of language standardization in IB. Yet, language standardization may also come in other forms than "status planning", i.e. the functional allocation of languages used in a multilingual community vis-à-vis each other (Kloss 1969; see also Haugen 1966). Feely (2004: 93), for example, discusses how Caterpillar in 1970 launched a language system called CCE (Caterpillar Controlled English), which only allowed a vocabulary of 8000 words, including product terminology. Another example of language standardization is provided by Kangasharju et al. (2010), who discuss how Nokia's language policy specifies the appropriate "tone of voice" of communication. They argue that Nokia language policy takes the use of the English language for granted so that the main attention is not on the language per se, but on the practices and style of communication (Kangasharju et al. 2010: 148). Thus, language standardization in IB could entail a common corporate language, a standard vocabulary or even an appropriate tone of voice.

Language policies and strategies may be developed for a number of reasons. Previous research has found that companies may develop such policies in response to emergent language needs triggered by, for example, international mergers (Piekkari et al. 2005; Vaara et al. 2005) or acquisitions (Neeley et al. 2012), leading to the implementation of an English language mandate. English language policies may also take the form of more long-term strategies developed by the company with the purpose of "branding" themselves as international, e.g. to attract foreign professionals (Crugnola 2005), or simply to increase international trade and export opportunities (Clarke 2000). All of these reasons pertain particularly to Nordic firms, as the Nordic languages are spoken by relatively small language groups. As argued by Piekkari et al. (2014: 14–22), Nordic-based firms will have to address foreign language demands at an early stage of their internationalization processes if they have any aspirations of success outside of the Nordic region.

Thus far we know little about the competences of those who typically develop language policies in companies and business organizations. Yet the issue of agency – the authority charged with the language policy and its implementation – may be a potentially important factor. In the sociolinguistic literature, the "language planner" (Baldauf 1982; 2006) or "language manager" (Spolsky 2009) is seen as playing a key part in the language planning process. There are good reasons for acknowledging the role of agency in corporate language planning too. Barner-Rasmussen and Aarnio (2011), for example, observe that the top management is often unaware of – and therefore insensitive to – the language needs of employees further down the organizational hierarchy. Also case studies reported by Fredriksson et al. (2006) and Lønsmann (2011) suggest that the top management's decision to implement a standard language doesn't always coincide with linguistic reality on the front-line, creating a mismatch between *de facto* and *de jure* language policies, and we will return to this issue in section 4 below.

The adoption of a language policy that favors one language, or a small number of languages, over other commonly used languages in the company will by definition also favor native or high-proficiency speakers of that language. The fact that language competences may be used strategically to gain power and influence has been found in previous studies by Marschan-Piekkari et al. (1997; 1999) and Vaara et al. (2005). Individuals who find themselves benefitting from language policy-decisions – gatekeepers – may use this power to filter, distort and block information, possibly in a negative, counter-productive way (Marschan et al. 1997: 596). For this reason Vaara et al. (2005: 595–596) argue that language policies should not be treated merely as practical means to solve communication problems, but rather as an exercise of power, and we will also revisit this concern at national level later.

3.2 Corporate language standardization the Haugen way

As previously noted, language standardization has received limited scholarly attention in IB. Unlike in the sociolinguistic literature, there is no underlying theoretical foundation one can draw on in order to understand the dynamics of this phenomenon as it unfolds in business organizations. Consequently, this section aims to explore whether the experience of sociolinguistics in analyzing and modelling language standardization can provide a helpful lesson also in IB. Can, for example, Haugen's model of language standardization explain the process of language standardization in a multinational company?

In an attempt to answer this question, we consider the language policy of a Danish multinational, Grundfos (Sanden 2015a). Grundfos is one of the world's leading producers of pumps for a wide range of functions, including pumps for water supply as well as circulator pumps for heating and air-conditioning. The company was founded in 1945 by Danish entrepreneur, Poul Due Jensen, and has remained in private ownership since the start-up. Today the majority of shares are owned by the Poul Due Jensen Foundation. Over the past 70 years, Grundfos has undergone steady international growth and is now present in 57 countries worldwide. The group has approximately 19,000 employees in total, where 4500 of these are located in Denmark (Grundfos annual report 2013). Only 10 of Grundfos' international companies (i.e. 17.5 %) are located in English-speaking countries, making Grundfos a truly multilingual, multinational corporation (cf. Fredriksson et al. 2006). In response to their multilingual linguistic-communicative environment, Grundfos published their first language policy in 2002. An updated version came out two years later in 2004. Although these documents officially recognize English as the corporate language of Grundfos, the use of English as a *de facto* corporate language was also common practice before the language policies were formally adopted.

The policy is presented as a handbook of around 70 pages in a B5 page format, and bears the title *Med andre ord* … [In other words …]. Although the document is relatively lengthy, it contains lots of illustrations and several title pages without text. In terms of content, the handbook primarily outlines recommendations for appropriate use of Danish (2002 version) and British English (2004 version). In the English version, chapter 1, for example, looks at "what to consider before you start writing", and chapter 2 "how do you make structure and layout support your text?". The following chapter, chapter 3, is called "how do you write?", and deals with different types of writing techniques and best practice examples of good communication. The Danish version is almost identical to the English version in terms of content.

The most interesting part of the language policy document is found in chapter 5: "what is special about language in Grundfos?". Recalling Haugen's four-stage model of language standardization, the following excerpt from Grundfos' language policy (2004: 46) provides a useful illustration of the first stage – norm selection:

> GRUNDFOS' CORPORATE LANGUAGE IS BRITISH ENGLISH
> Being an international group of companies Grundfos needs a shared corporate language, and this shared language is British English.

> What is understood by corporate language?
> Corporate language does not mean that everybody employed by Grundfos all over the world must speak and write English in all communication. It simply means that English is the language we have chosen as our shared language. In practical terms this means that we always write in English at Group level. When communicating among the companies in the Group or among colleagues in the different companies, we write in English in situations where other companies or colleagues from other companies may need to understand or may benefit from being able to understand the written material. It follows from this that communication within a local Grundfos company will – and should – be in the local language.

Interestingly, in addition to formalizing British English as the corporate language of Grundfos at the group level, this language policy statement also opens up for the use of local language communication internally in the local Grundfos companies. Consequently, the language policy makes two separate decisions on norm selection. We may draw a parallel to Lønsmann's (2011) study of language choice in the Danish pharmaceutical company Lundbeck, where the author introduces the sociolinguistic concept of a *domain* in IB (Fishman 1972; Hultgren 2016 for a history and critique of the concept; see also Spolsky 2009). In particular, Lønsmann discusses how the introduction of English as a corporate language in some Danish companies has been linked with a threat of "domain loss" – i.e. English "taking over" a domain previously dominated by Danish (see Jónsson et al. (2013) for a fuller discussion of this concept in Nordic language planning). Consequently, the Danish language is perceived to be suffering under the adoption of an English language mandate. The fear of triggering domain loss in the local Grundfos companies may explain the normative undertone found in the wording of the language policy text, cf. the statement "communication within a local Grundfos company will – and should – be in the local language".

Unlike the conventional model of language standardization presented in the sociolinguistic literature (though exceptions do occur – see e.g. Combs and Penfield (2012) for a discussion of language activism), Grundfos' language policy is actually the result of a bottom-up language planning process. The development of the policy was initiated by a group of front-line employees working with language issues in various departments in the company's headquarters in Denmark. In an article published shortly after the release of the first language policy version, the authors of the Danish language policy text state the following (Da Silva et al. 2003: 168):

> We are proud to inform that "Med andre ord…" [*In other words*…] is not the result of a strategic decision made by Grundfos' Executive board. It is the result of a real – please excuse the term – bottom-up process. "Med andre ord…" was developed because five language

> specialists from five different departments thought that Grundfos should have a language policy. And if no one else was going to take the initiative, we would like to take the challenge ourselves.[2]

The executive board of Grundfos later approved the language policy before it was implemented in the organization.

Moving on to the second stage in Haugen's model, norm codification, this has been described as a three-step procedure consisting of graphization, grammatication, and lexication (cf. section 2.4). Designing a new writing system (graphization) or inventing new grammar rules (grammatication) can hardly be seen as necessary given that Grundfos' selected language norms are already well-established norms in their own right. It is difficult to imagine that a company would choose to develop their own company language from scratch. However, a comment may be made with regard to lexication (i.e. corpus planning). Several previous studies (de Vecchi 2012, 2014; Fredriksson et al. 2006; Welch et al. 2005) point to the use of company-specific terminology in company-internal communication, often referred to as "company speak". It is evident that the use of company speak in Grundfos has triggered a process of lexication; the following excerpt is taken from the Grundfos language policy (2004: 78):

> MultiTerm Dictionary is Grundfos' own electronic dictionary of Grundfos terms. In MultiTerm Dictionary you will find terms, phrases, names, titles, abbreviations, units, etc. in the form that we have chosen in Grundfos.

The third stage in Haugen's model, norm implementation, refers to the application of the selected norm after codification has taken place. Transferred to the corporate context, the implementation of a language policy bears some resemblance to this. First of all, it may be worth emphasizing that employees need to be made aware of the language policy if they are expected to follow it. In the case of Siemens, for example, Fredriksson et al. (2006) found that front-line respondents were unable to provide information about Siemens language policy, and that some even questioned its existence. Likewise, in their study of corporate language policies in six Finnish firms, Kangasharju et al. (2010) note that knowledge and awareness of these policies are limited.

2 Til oplysning [...] vil vi gerne – og ikke uden stolthed – slå fast at "Med andre ord ..." ikke er et resultat af en strategisk beslutning truffet på Grundfos' direktionsgang. Den er et resultat af en ægte – undskyld udtrykket – bottom-up proces. "Med andre ord ..." blev til fordi fem sprogmedarbejdere fra fem forskellige afdelinger mente at Grundfos måtte have en sprogpolitik. Og hvis ingen andre ville tage initiativet, ville vi tage udfordringen op på egen hånd.

An interesting aspect of Grundfos' language policy is that the English-language version of the document (2004) has in fact been used in English language training for employees. This language training is something that the respective Grundfos companies offer in-house to staff members who would like to improve their English language skills. The language policy handbook has been physically distributed to Grundfos' international companies (Sanden 2015a: 277) and included in some of these companies' English language training programs. In this way, Grundfos' "implementation strategy" does in fact coincide with common practice in the national context, where the education system has traditionally held a central position (Kaplan and Baldauf 1997: 36), as described in section 2.4.

The most obvious example of norm elaboration (the fourth stage in Haugen's model) is the continuous development of the Grundfos dictionary. It is administered by Grundfos' in-house translation department, whose main function is to translate product catalogues and operation manuals for Grundfos' products (i.e. external communication). In effect, the translation department has taken the role of agency by managing and overseeing the inclusion of new terms in the dictionary, based on feedback from Grundfos' employees. When Grundfos' (English) language policy was issued in 2004, the dictionary consisted of terms in three languages: English, Danish and German. By 2014 Grundfos had established company-specific dictionaries in 30 languages. The extension of the Grundfos dictionary to new languages demonstrates how elaboration may dynamically feed into norm selection as new language versions continue to appear. This observation is in line with Kaplan and Baldauf (1997: 49) who argue that all stages in Haugen's model in reality may overlap and even occur simultaneously.

We can conclude that Grundfos has engaged in a number of language planning activities over a relatively short period of time. Some of these activities have been quite extensive. Based on interviews with communication professionals in the company, Sanden (2015a: 258) reports that Grundfos' English dictionary in 2013 contained over 7000 terms. Grundfos therefore demonstrates that companies can be seen as "sociolinguistic laboratories" with their own company-specific forces at work.

4 Sociolinguistics: Learning from practice

4.1 Standardization and authority

It is clear from the preceding section that the model of language standardization developed by Haugen to explain the development of written Norwegian but subsequently used to model the standardization of other languages besides (cf. Deumert and Vandenbussche 2003b) proves relevant and instructive when applied to the case of language standardization in IB. On the face of it, 19th-century Norwegian nationalism and 21st-century internationalization do seem rather different contexts, and so the applicability of the model does suggest that, while specific case studies are highly "situated", i.e. they are based on local conditions and local needs, there are certain common principles of standardization. This reinforces the point we made above about language standardization being understood as part of a wider notion of standards as organizing principles in society.

The Grundfos example is very interesting from the point of view of understanding *in practice* the issue of standardization and power which has occupied so much of the sociolinguistic debate (again see above). At national level, Milroy and Milroy (1999: 22) are clear that each of the stages in Haugen's model involves the strengthening of control over the language by "influential people", and authority in the standardization process, for better or for worse, lies in the hands of certain readily identifiable agents in society. Thus, in the case of Norwegian, it is clear who wrote the grammars and dictionaries to codify the language in the 19th century and who developed and implemented the language reforms which characterize language planning in Norway during the course of the subsequent century (summarized in Linn and Oakes 2007: 72–77; for a fuller account see Jahr 2014). *In Other Words* ... includes an introduction from the group president, recommending its adoption (a good example of "managerial commitment" – see below), but the language guidance is characterized by the more dispersed authority which tends to be typical of standards as opposed to directives (though cf. Neeley 2011; SanAntonio 1987).

The traditional role of expert agencies (such as language councils) and authoritative texts (such as major national dictionaries) has given way in recent decades to the unaccountable (and sometimes invisible) authority of corporate staff. Further examples of this development are guidelines for journalists working on a particular newspaper or media outlet, such as the 2015 *Guardian and Observer Style Guide* (Guardian 2015), written by two production editors, and (most influential and at the same time unaccountable of them all) computer spell-checkers (see, e.g. Blackwood 2013 for a discussion of the role of different language authorities in France). This is a question – who are *de facto* the language authorities and how is that authority legitimated? – which merits further and ongoing study at both national and corporate level. What is clear at both levels, however, is that there is a disjuncture between standardizers on the one hand and language users on the ground on the other. Linn (2010a) shows how the language policy "voice" in Norway and the voice of actual language users are effectively talking past each other and not engaging (see, however, Røyneland (2013) for a counter-example). Similarly, Tange (2008: 171), researching the attitudes of Grundfos employees towards the language policy, identifies what she calls a "dual orientation" or, more prosaically, a "gap" between those with a global outlook and those on the front-line who want a more locally oriented approach to language standardization.

It seems to us, then, that both theoretical and practical issues involved in understanding the nature of effective language standardization can be usefully illuminated by this sort of "comparative standardology" (Joseph 1987: 13). There is limited space to pursue the comparison in detail here. However, just as the conversation across the table in section 3 above involved the application of a model developed to describe nation-level standardization to an IB case study, so we will now briefly consider how a model from IB research can shed light on ongoing state-level language planning.

4.2 National standardization the Piekkari, Welch and Welch way

We earlier explored the suggestion that language standards and standardization are "zombies", something from an age when standard behavior and top-down standards were key to how society functioned, and that standardization is no longer relevant in an age of apparent destandardization. Nekvapil (2008: 260) defines destandardization as follows: "Destandardization means on the one hand that standard language ceases to be used in certain situations or communicative domains, and on the other that it is becoming increasingly varied as it incorporates, to a much larger extent, elements extrinsic to it until now". In our discussion we have established, however, that standards remain a potent force and that there is an evident need for them, but that standardization today may look rather different compared with the 19th century. There is a "standardization cycle" (Joseph 2008: 408–410), such that standardization keeps adapting to new situations and contexts.

Norwegian from the mid-19th century up to the mid-20th century is literally the "textbook case" of language planning and, as we have seen, the context for which Haugen developed his model of how a norm or standard develops (the distinction between *norm* and *standard* is one of the numerous unexploded terminological mines in this field, and we won't step on it just now – see footnote 1 above). Developing the Norwegian language has since 1972 been the responsibility of the Language Council of Norway [Språkrådet]. The first half of the 20th century, as described in Haugen (1966) was characterized by a policy of unification between the two written standards used in Norway (respectively Nynorsk and Bokmål). This proved to be a deeply unpopular policy, and in the decades following Haugen's book it was progressively abandoned, such that the policy now is that the two standard written varieties will be allowed to develop autonomously and without further attempts to engineer their fusion. The various reforms which sought to bring Nynorsk and Bokmål together were all examples of standardization in practice, entailing the selection, codification, elaboration and (non-) acceptance of successive new forms and norms. With the change in official policy, however, standardization has not gone away. There was an extensive reform of Bokmål in 1981, for example (see Rambø 1999), and a reform of Nynorsk was finally agreed in 2012 (Røyneland 2013). How should the Language Council be handling ongoing language management in the 21st century? The most pressing challenge nationally is managing the increasing use of English in ever more situations, the *domain loss* problem mentioned above (see Linn 2010b). So what can the Language Council learn from IB where these issues are live ones and an object of research on the business side of our table?

Based on their extensive discussion of language in the field of IB, Piekkari, Welch and Welch (PWW) (2014) propose a model of language strategy based on a more general model of business strategy development. The strategy has three stages, as follows: *formulation*; *implementation and adaptation*; *performance monitoring and control* (205). The *formulation* stage is equivalent to Haugen's first two stages, described above as preparatory stages, i.e. those relating to the form of the language: selection and codification. The *implementation and adaptation* stage in the process also accords well with their equivalent stages in Haugen's model, i.e. elaboration and acceptance. What is significantly different in the PWW model is the presence of *performance monitoring and control*.

We will not spend much time here on the formulation stage as it is the experience of IB in implementing language standardization strategies that concerns us. We will simply note that the first decade of the 21st century witnessed widespread debate on language issues at government level across the Nordic countries and the publication of extensive language strategies in each country. The Norwegian version – *Mål og meining* (Kultur- og kyrkjedepartementet 2008) focused on the issue of domain loss and the development of a new strategy of "parallel language use" to combat it. PWW note that "firms need to be flexible – able and prepared to change strategies as conditions evolve" (204). Policy development at national level is (as the relativities of scale necessitate) a much slower affair than in the business context, but it is true that Norwegian national language policy has changed to respond to new language imperatives. However, as PWW go on to note: "Business is often criticized for being too focused on the formulation and planning stage, and not paying enough attention to ensuring successful implementation. This is the difficult stage ..." (205). This is also the difficult stage at national level, and there are significant lessons for governments and other high-level agencies to be learned from business. “There needs to be strong follow through”, but in both IB and in nation states the challenge is the presence of “implementation barriers” (212).

The implementation stage (as Piekkari, Welch and Welch simply call it when discussed in terms of a specifically language strategy) is further subdivided into five “implementation components” (212), as follows: *managerial commitment*; *resource allocation*; *inter-unit interaction*; *language procedures*; *incentives*. *Managerial commitment* was clearly evident on the launch of the Norwegian strategy. It was formally presented by the relevant government minister (Trond Giske, Minister for Church and Culture) at a major launch in June 2008. PWW suggest that “an important statement of managerial commitment would be the appointment of a designated language officer” who would act as a “language champion”, and indeed in 2003 at the start of the process which led to the 2008 strategy, a new role of Language Director was established to head up the Language Council. PWW note that a key aspect of this role is to “evangelize”, and the first post-holder, Sylfest Lomheim, was certainly committed to the task of raising the profile in the media and elsewhere of the supposed threat from English and the danger of ensuing domain loss. *Resource allocation* followed. It was suggested on the launch of the language strategy that NOK 100 million (approx. EUR 10 million) might be allocated to the development of a national digital language bank, and “resource allocation can send a strong signal of strategic intent and managerial commitment” (PWW 2014: 217). In terms of *inter-unit interaction and language*, it is the case in national institutions such as universities, which have developed their own language policies in the wake of the national ones, that “implementing a language strategy as intended by top management may be negated by work-related contingencies” (219). In universities the need to internationalize comes into conflict with a cultural responsibility to nurture and further the use of the national languages (see papers in Hultgren, Gregersen, and Thøgersen 2014). *Language procedures* have been developed in the form of “step-by-step guidelines” for higher education and for business, for example. It is not clear, however, that there are significant *incentives* to follow the strategy of increased use of Norwegian, and in fact in the academic context, it is more advantageous to publish in English since English-language journals typically provide more “points” which count toward career advancement in the university and college sector.

Thus far, then, national language standardization is supported to a large extent by the experience of that in internationalizing companies. *Performance monitoring and control* is the component missing from the Haugen model, and performance monitoring and control has been largely absent from national-level language standardization in Norway. Without this there will be precious little commitment to the desired standardized language practices as outlined in the language strategy and in the most recent language reforms.

Language guidelines for the business community, elaborated jointly by the Language Council and the Confederation of Norwegian Enterprise, entitled *Bruk norsk når du kan, og engelsk når du må* [Use Norwegian when you can, and English when you have to], were explicitly mere consciousness-raising and not seriously intended to influence or standardize language behaviors (see Linn 2010a: 301–302 for a discussion). Kristoffersen et al. (2013: 208) find that in higher education, "little has subsequently been done to transform the goals [of parallel language use] into concrete practice". In his extensive analysis of the implementation of the 2008 national language strategy, Johansen (2012) is damning in his verdict:

> The language report, at first glance, gives the impression of considerable power to act. One sector after the other is surveyed – business and employment, research and higher education, the culture and media sector, etc. – and the survey leads in each case to a point-by-point exposition of "prioritized undertakings". All in all there are 109 such undertakings in this report; it seems to promise a massive commitment, with activities on a broad front. It can therefore come as a surprise when it is revealed that only a small part of these undertakings has in fact been seen through or begun [...] It sets out with a powerful appeal to action, which little by little gets lost; the more carefully one reads, the more it gets lost. (Johansen 2012: 78–79)[3]

If the Norwegian authorities, nationally and institutionally, have a serious commitment to rectifying these criticisms, it is the final stage of the PWW model of the implementation of language strategy which needs addressing.

5 Conclusions

Standardization spans across all spheres of life and is a key activity in managing societies. This chapter has been concerned with language standardization, a particular form of standardization, which is multifaceted and complex and cuts

3 Språkmeldingen gir, ved første øyekast, inntrykk av betydelig handlekraft. Det ene saksfelt etter det andre blir gjennomgått – nærings- og arbeidsliv, forskning og høyere utdanning, kultur- og mediesektoren osv. – og gjennomgangen leder i hvert tilfelle fram til en punktvis oppstilling av «prioriterte tiltak». Til sammen er det 109 slike tiltak i denne meldingen; det synes å varsle en massiv satsing, med aktivitet på bred front. Det kan derfor komme som en overraskelse når det viser seg at det bare er en liten del av disse tiltakene som faktisk er blitt gjennomført eller påbegynt [...]Den går ut med en kraftfull appell til handling, som litt etter litt fortaper seg; jo nøyere man leser, og jo mer man ser etter, desto mer fortaper den seg.

across various levels and units of analysis. As a research topic, language standardization invites multiple theoretical lenses and perspectives to shed light on it. Therefore cross-fertilization, especially between related fields, is called for.

For the purpose of this chapter an interdisciplinary and international team gathered around the table to engage in a conversation about language standardization seen from our different perspectives. We compared language standardization at the national level with that at the corporate level. In doing so, we also contrasted a historical perspective with a more contemporary view. This generated several key insights. IB researchers have seldom explicitly drawn on sociolinguistics in their endeavor; instead they have been oriented to investigate the phenomenon empirically. For them, the theoretical models of language standardization from sociolinguistics introduce an explicit *process* perspective. While much of the IB research is cross-sectional focusing on one particular stage – namely the implementation of language standardization – Haugen's (1966) four-stage model covers the process in its entirety. We applied Haugen's dynamic model to a real company case, Grundfos (Sanden 2015a), to understand how it plays out in the context of international firms. This exercise revealed that Grundfos' translation department and communication specialists acted as organizational agents who can initiate, maintain and up-date language practices during the standardization process. To date, such actors have largely remained silent and faceless in IB research, perhaps because their entrepreneurial role has not been considered part of the standardization process in international firms.

From a sociolinguistic perspective, international firms are more agile and dynamic than public organizations such as universities embedded in national contexts. Firms tend continuously to adjust and change their language policies and practices. In this regard, they are like "natural laboratories" which provide sociolinguists the opportunity to "test" and simulate long-term effects of national language policies. Compared to sociolinguistics, IB research places more emphasis on the follow-up and monitoring of the goals set for language standardization. For example, in the Japanese firm Rakuten, employees were threatened with layoffs if they did not reach the required level of English language fluency (e.g. Neeley 2011). Such strictly binding language strategies are rare, but this is an aspect of practice which governments and national institutions need to take more seriously if they are truly committed to language planning. In many international firms, the gulf between *de facto* and *de jure* language policies is wide (Sanden 2015b) and employees exploit this as a way of coping with the multilingual reality. We would argue that this discrepancy between language policy and practice can be seen as a subtle response to the general trend of destandardization in society at large. It also reflects the increasing emphasis on softer, more subtle and indirect mechanisms of control and coordination in IB research since the 1980s (Martinez and Jarillo 1989).

This chapter is an initial attempt to talk across the table. We believe that the phenomenon of language standardization offers particularly promising territory for sociolinguistics and IB researchers to engage in collaborative theoretical and empirical work across disciplinary boundaries. The discussion above indicates that the two fields can also enrich each other methodologically. Janssens and Steyaert (2014) invite IB researchers to uncover the use of linguistic resources at the micro level in MNCs and shed light on how language is "done" at the workplace. Moreover, an analysis of the interplay between daily language practices and macro-level language policies and ideologies would be worthwhile. Our initial conversation has already suggested that more voices are needed at the table, and that language standardization is best understood by embedding it in a fuller conversation around the broader "sociology of standards".

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Kamilla Kraft and Dorte Lønsmann

A language ideological landscape: The complex map in international companies in Denmark

Abstract: This chapter investigates the language ideological landscape of Danish international companies, which operate in a complex linguistic environment dominated by Danish and English, with influences from the regional languages Swedish, Norwegian and German. The chapter aims to explore not just ideologies about individual languages, but the relationship between different ideologies in the language ideological landscape. Interviews have been conducted with 13 managers from 11 international companies in Denmark. The data analysis draws on discourse analysis and grounded theory, focusing on how Danish managers present the roles and relationships of different languages. Two ideologies dominate the representations of these managers: “the natural choice” and “language as power”. These ideologies may at times conflict, but they are always managed. In order to understand this process, the authors show who decides the what, where and when of the natural language choice, and who is entitled to use language as a way of regulating power relations.

Keywords: Language ideologies; grounded theory; multilingualism in the workplace; language ideological landscape; power; naturalness

1 Introduction

In an increasingly globalized world, cultural and linguistic diversity has come to the fore in workplaces. Despite this diversity, English is often presented as synonymous with internationalization and vice versa. The narrow focus on English runs the risk of over-emphasizing English versus “other languages”, and of viewing language choice in terms of binary categories such as parallel language use or diglossia. This happens not just for the people in the workplaces, but also for researchers who often stress the role of English in relation to other languages (Neeley 2012). This approach overlooks the complexities of the linguistic market in the workspace. The aim of this chapter is to analyze what we call *the language ideological landscape* of international companies through a grounded analysis of managers’ language ideologies. We do this in order to reveal the complex relational dynamics between the beliefs about languages in the international companies as

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these are represented by managers. These ideologies are socially constructed, i.e. they are (re)produced by agents with different interests, positions, backgrounds, etc. Hence, they are not universal facts, though often purported to be just that, but constructed at various points by various persons with various interests.

The central questions to be answered in this chapter are: (1) What does the language ideological landscape of Danish international companies look like? (2) Who benefits from the internal structures of this landscape, who is empowered and who is not? In the following we will give an account of our theoretical position and background (sec. 2) as well as provide a concise background of relevant studies in this field (sec. 3). In section 4 we discuss our research design and methods. This is followed by the analysis in section 5. Section 6 contains a discussion of the language ideological landscape and power relations. Finally, we round off with concluding remarks in section 7.

2 Theoretical framework: Language ideologies and symbolic capital

We have coined the theoretical concept of a *language ideological landscape* to capture the overarching relationship between the beliefs about language expressed in our data. This concept allows us to highlight the interrelated nature of the ideologies found in our analysis. From this perspective, it does not make sense to describe and analyze e.g. ideologies of English in a vacuum. As Millar, Cifuentes and Jensen (2013) as well as Nekvapil and Sherman (2013) found, ideologies of one language are linked to its relationship to other languages and to ideologies of these other languages. The term *landscape* is not meant to indicate that these language ideological relations are static and unchangeable, rather it is meant to emphasize the interrelatedness of language ideologies, a factor which is so far undertheorized in the literature. While different language ideologies make up the landscape in different contexts, the notion of interrelated language ideologies forming a complex landscape with negotiable borders, contested territories and blank spots on the map can be applied generally.

In certain ways, the concept of language ideological landscapes is related to the term *ideoscape* introduced by Appadurai in his 1996 book on cultural dimensions, globalization and post-nationalism. Appadurai explains ideoscapes as "concatenations of images" that "are often directly political and frequently have to do with the ideologies of states and the counterideologies of movements explicitly oriented to capturing state power or a piece of it" (1996: 36). For some intents and purposes, his term comes close to our use of language ideological landscape as we also focus on the interconnectedness of ideologies and understand their underlying function as a grasp for control and power – unlike Appadurai, we apply this to distinct work communities and not to societies at large. In short, one could argue that language ideological landscapes belong within the broader framework of ideoscapes. Drawing on Appadurai's theory, Steyaert, Ostendorp and Gaibrois (2011) introduce the notion of *linguascape* to conceptualize how the flow of languages in a specific multilingual organization is discursively mediated (2011: 270). They focus on six *discursive practices*, i.e. strategies for language choice, such as resorting to collective negotiations of a common language or using more than one language simultaneously. They find that informants order their discourses about language choice according to time and space. More specifically, "accounts differed as to whether they related to a local, a national or global space of reference" (2011: 273). Unlike Steyaert, Ostendorp and Gaibrois, we are going to focus our analysis on language ideologies (rather than practices) and also include a critical perspective only touched upon in their work.

We have structured the analysis around a theoretical framework consisting of theories on language ideologies, language as symbolic capital, and linguistic markets. We have chosen this framework as it allows us to describe and explain (1) the language ideological landscape, but also (2) the impact it has on workplaces and groups of employees.

2.1 Language ideologies and power

We use the term language ideology in accord with Silverstein's (1979) definition of language ideologies as sets of beliefs about language. Moreover, we see language ideologies as situated in a specific place and time, viz. they are linked with a specific social and cultural context (Jaworski and Coupland 2004; Kroskrity 2004). The link is two-fold: Ideologies are influenced by their specific contexts, and they contribute to creating these contexts. Eagleton calls this "the performative aspect of ideology under its constative guise: ideology creates and acts in a social world while it masquerades as a description of that world" (1991: 19 in Woolard 1998: 11). In other words, ideologies are important for the way that individuals construct and are constructed by the social world. If we accept that language ideologies contribute to constructing the social world, it follows that when we investigate language ideologies, we investigate how people understand and define their social and cultural contexts. These understandings can be accessed, as well as co-constructed, through interactional conduct and talk.

Bourdieu (1991) views language as symbolic capital that is used to gain profit in a linguistic market. Certain languages and dialects hold prestige, which is decided on the basis of languages ideologies. To have access to these prestigious varieties equals having a specific linguistic capital and the status that is derived from it. Languages with high symbolic capital are often named standards. People with high status might opt to use less prestigious languages or varieties in order to accommodate to a market, i.e. to gain profit from their alternative language choice. Bourdieu calls these *strategies of condescension* (1991: 68). From this perspective, language choice is not an innocent endeavor, but one that is based on dominant language ideologies, and one that may be exploited to control social relations and actions. Philips puts it like this: "At the heart of the relationship between language and social inequality is the idea that some expressions of language are valued more than others in a way that is associated with some people being more valued than others and some ideas expressed by people through language being more valued than others" (2007: 474). This is also in line with Gal and Irvine's argument that language ideologies are constructed in a way that favors the interests of specific social and cultural groups (1995: 970). To this Kroskrity adds that because language ideologies are grounded in social experience, which differs from one person to the next, they are most profitably viewed as multiple rather than homogeneous (2004: 498). This means that in any specific context, multiple language ideologies will exist simultaneously. Some will be more dominant than others, and some will be in direct contradiction to others. These conflicting ideologies grant the researcher an insight into the hierarchies and processes of domination that are present and developing in a specific setting. This view of language ideologies as multiple and interrelated is central to the concept of the language ideological landscape.

3 Previous studies of language ideologies in a European business context

Previous research into language ideologies in international workplaces in Europe typically revolves around the role of English. In a study of language ideologies in a Danish company with English as a corporate language, Lønsmann (2011) finds that English in general is constructed as the default language of the world, and specifically in an international workplace as the only possible choice for communicating internationally. While other languages are occasionally used for international communication in this company, at the level of language ideologies English is constructed as the only possible choice for international communication. Other possibilities, e.g. Arabic and Spanish, are ridiculed or rejected as "not work-related" (Lønsmann 2014: 353). Also in the context of international companies in

Denmark, Millar, Cifuentes and Jensen (2013) find that there is "a consensual social representation of English as *the* language of the ultimate status and utility, skills in which are seen as obligatory in international business and legitimized to such an extent that they are simply *natural*" (2013: 116, emphasis in the original). The utility of other languages is often talked about in terms of the lack of English competence of certain national groups, e.g. Spanish is useful because Spanish L1 speakers do not speak much English. In this way, Millar, Cifuentes and Jensen conclude that the value of other languages is dependent on the status of English.

In a European context, Nekvapil and Sherman (2013) investigate language ideologies about Czech, German, English and Vietnamese in an international company in the Czech Republic. In the Czech context, resistance to German language and culture has been a cornerstone of Czech nationalism, and changing the company language from German to English was seen as asserting neutrality in power relations (2013: 106). In contrast with German, English is seen as a desirable language, and as being enough in all situations. Nekvapil and Sherman label this "the ideology of the absolute instrumentality of English" (2013: 111). Angouri's (2013) case studies of employees' language proficiencies and perceptions of their multilingual realities in three multinational companies also emphasize the special role of English in the workplace. While Angouri finds that all of the working languages have task-oriented as well as social functions, she also finds that "English is constructed as the 'safest option' for including employees in both work and social talk" and as essential to career advancement (2013: 578). Angouri explains these functions and this construction of English as a tendency toward glocalization where English represents global functions whereas other languages hold local functions. Angouri and Miglbauer (2014) investigate language ideologies in multilingual workplaces in six European countries. One of the dominant discourses in their data is the one that conflates multilingualism at work with English. They also find, however, that employees who share an L1 claim to use that rather than English. Angouri and Miglbauer conclude that "language use is adopted as an explanatory variable for communication difficulties and possible power struggles" (2014: 165), for instance in relation to communication gaps between L1 and foreign language speakers of English. In contrast with the above studies, Franziskus, De Bres and Gilles (2013) find that English holds only a marginal position. In their data from a supermarket in Luxembourg, practices of receptive multilingualism in Luxembourgish, German and French serve to facilitate understanding, while English is conceptualized as "the wrong thing" to have learnt (2013: 265). Their study thus emphasizes that language ideologies are inextricably bound to the local context.

While the above studies focus on ideologies of English or other specific languages (or, in the case of Angouri and Miglbauer, on ideologies of multilingualism broadly), in this chapter we are interested in the interrelatedness of language ideologies, i.e. the language ideological landscape. With this term we want to propose an approach that investigates not only language ideologies about specific languages – listed one by one – but also the dynamics between these different language ideologies, whether they contrast, conflict, or co-exist peacefully. By doing so, we aim to contribute to current theorizing as well as to empirical research into the role of language ideologies from the perspective of managers in international workplaces.

Before we embark on our own analysis we will account briefly for our methods.

4 Methods

The data for this chapter was collected for the first phase of the LINGCORP project.[1] Interviews were conducted with 13 employees in managerial positions in 11 international companies based in Denmark. Eight companies were headquartered in Denmark, while three companies were subsidiaries of European and American companies. Nine companies were large (according to the European Commission's definition of Small and Medium Enterprises) with more than 250 employees, while two were small or medium-sized with less than 250 employees. The 11 companies span a large range of industries including shipping, production, IT, food and beverage, engineering, biotech and publishing.

When we approached the companies, we asked for interviews with human resource managers or communication managers,[2] as we believed employees in these positions would have access to – and perhaps have worked with – the companies' strategies relating to internationalization and language. Hence, the data consists of managers' self-reported practices and experiences, and it is their language ideologies as well as the relational dynamics between these ideologies that this chapter investigates.

1 The research project An Ethnography of Language Encounters: Language and Interaction in the Globalized Corporation (LINGCORP) ran from 2012 to 2016 and was funded by The Danish Council for Independent Research | Humanities. See also http://lingcorp.ruc.dk.

2 Phase 2 of the LINGCORP project includes observations, interviews and recordings of not just managers, but also white- and blue-collar employees in selected companies.

Table 2.1: List over interviewee pseudonyms, job titles and business areas

Interviewee (pseudonym)	Job title	Business area and size (S, M, L)
Linda	HR Deputy Director	Agriculture (L)
Peter	Communications Manager	Engineering (L)
Janne	PR/Brand Manager	IT (L)
John	Head of Global Mobility	Food and Beverage (L)
Helen	Head of Global Mobility	Biotechnology (L)
Birte	Product Safety Manager	Chemical industry (L)
Clara	Nordic HR Manager	Food and Beverage (L)
Kate	Head of Customer Service	Chemical industry (L)
Anna	Chief Operating Officer	IT (S)
Lene	HR Manager	Architecture (M)
Britt	HR Consultant	Engineering (L)
Karsten	HR Manager	Engineering (L)
Luise	HR Manager	Publishing (L)

The interviews were conducted by the authors in collaboration with two other researchers[3] from the LINGCORP project. The interviews were scheduled to last 30 minutes, but often lasted longer, in one case almost 1½ hours. The interview guide covered four topics: the company history, internationalization and diversity, managing linguistic and cultural diversity, and challenges related to linguistic and cultural diversity (see the interview guide in Appendix 2). 12 of the interviews were audio recorded while one took place over the phone and was not recorded. The recorded interviews were subsequently annotated with the ELAN annotation software, with key parts being transcribed in the CLAN transcription software (for transcription conventions used see Appendix 1). All participants and companies have been anonymized in the transcripts (cf. table 2.1 above for a list of pseudonyms, job titles and business area). We analyzed the interviews using methods of grounded theory (Strauss and Corbin 1998), viz. we localized central concepts and categories in the interviewees' narrations and analyzed these in terms of their properties and dimensions. In the next phase of the grounded analysis, we assembled the categories and concepts into overarching categories. These categories were boiled down to fewer categories until only one central category that reflected our analytic work and findings remained. In the

3 The authors would like to thank Sonja Barfod and Hartmut Haberland for the use of their data in this chapter.

analysis of specific extracts of interview interaction, we have drawn on methods of interactional sociolinguistic microanalysis (Rampton 2006). This means that the analyses of interview excerpts focus on the moment-to-moment unfolding of interaction.

5 Analysis: Language choice as a "natural order"

The central concept of *naturalness* – or a *natural order of language choice* – was developed from the language ideologies we found in our data. When informants talk about which language to choose at lunch in their multilingual workplace or what it means to have English as a corporate language, they invariably draw upon notions that may be thematized as a *natural order* into which linguistic varieties fit. This notion includes ideas about the appropriate time and place for each variety to be used. When drawing on the notion of a natural order for linguistic varieties, language choice appears not so much as a choice, but rather as a given. Each linguistic variety is presented as having its own place in the natural order. Consequently this ideology presents language choice as something people are never in doubt about. However, as we shall see in the following, the choices that are presented as natural actually overlap and come into conflict when we consider the full language ideological landscape. The picture is even more complex when we take accounts of practice into consideration. In the rest of section 5, the language ideology of a natural order for linguistic varieties (in the following referred to as the naturalness ideology) is presented with examples from our data. The analysis focuses on three grounded categories that were developed from the participants' narrations about language choice. These are (1) the local context, (2) the regional context, and (3) the international context.

5.1 The local context

In the geographical context of Denmark, Danish is an important language, while the Scandinavian languages Norwegian and Swedish also are mentioned frequently. In the context of international business, local and regional languages are not enough, however, and other languages including English, German, Russian, Spanish and even Latin are also discussed. In our data Danish is most of the time presented as *the natural language among Danes and in Denmark* as in the following example: "vores sociale sprog forsøger man at det er dansk fordi nu er vi i Danmarkn [our social language we try that that is Danish because we are in Denmark]". Here, the location is given as reason for the use of Danish as "social language". In another example the informant explains why English generally is used for social interactions: "det bliver mest engelsk på grund af finnerne men vi har egentlig aftalt at i vores småsnak skal vi begynde at tale dansk [it ends up being mostly English because of the Finns, but we have actually agreed that in our casual talk we have to start speaking Danish]". The use of English is here treated as deviant, as something that requires an explanation, e.g. that the Finns do not understand Danish. Although English in practice is used most of the time in order to include the Finns, it is also clear that there is a normative evaluation of Danish as the natural choice for social interaction. The use of English among a group of Danes at work is even less acceptable, being constructed as unnecessary and even "silly", as in the following example where Peter, a Communications Manager, comments on the use of English as a corporate language and presents a hypothetical use of English among Danes:

Excerpt 1: Danish with Danes, English with anyone else

01	Peter:	det betyder jo ikke at jeg behøver at tale engelsk med dig eller med
02		min (0.3) eller med min medarbejder som sidder her inde ved siden af
03		Nina der er lige så pæredansk som mig
04	Dorte:	mm
05	Peter:	det ville jo være øhm det er jo fjollet men det betyder at at hvis
06		så en af vores kolleger fra en af de andre lande er på besøg eller
07		vi holder et møde så klikker vi selvfølgelig over i engelsk

01	*Peter:*	*it does not mean that I have to speak English with you or with*
02		*my (0.3) or with my employee who is in the next-door office*
03		*Nina who is just as truly Danish as I am*
04	*Dorte:*	*mm*
05	*Peter:*	*that would be erm that's just silly but it means that that if*
06		*one of our colleagues from one of the other countries is visiting or*
07		*if we have a meeting then of course we click into English*

Implicitly, Danish is presented as the natural choice with a Danish colleague whereas English is presented as the natural lingua franca[4] with colleagues from other countries. The ideology about Danish as the natural language in Denmark can also be expressed in other ways. A Swedish employee who still speaks Swedish

4 We use the concept of *lingua franca* in the same sense as it is defined by the Oxford English Dictionary: "Any language that is used by speakers of different languages as a common medium of communication; a common language." (http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/327283?redirected-From=lingua+franca#eid) at work after a number of years in Denmark is said to have "sluppet af sted med at bevare sit svenske i mange år [gotten away with maintaining her Swedish for many years]". The phrase "gotten away with" implies that she has broken a norm somehow by not speaking Danish.

While the construction of *Danish as the natural language among Danes and in Denmark* is present in large parts of our material, it is not uncontested. One manager talks about the decision to use Danish during lunch breaks and adds:

Excerpt 2: It is controversial to speak in Danish

01	Birte:	øh så det er lidt kontroversielt at vi siger, jamen vi taler sammen
02		på (.) dansk (.) du kan kommentere på engelsk
03		vi slår altid over i engelsk men viljen er der
01	*Birte:*	*erm so it is controversial that we say well we speak together*
02		*in (.) Danish (.) you can comment in English*
03		*we always switch to English but the intention is there*

Birte here argues that the decision to do lunch conversations in Danish is controversial, i.e. not natural. Instead it is implied that English would be natural in these lunch situations. It is also central to this point that speaking Danish during lunch never succeeds, "we always switch to English", which is elaborated with "but the intention is there". The statement is somewhat ambiguous as it simultaneously portrays the need for and failure of their linguistic project.

To sum up, the informants generally construct Danish as the natural language in Denmark and in doing so draw on essentialist notions of language and culture as exemplified in the "one language, one nation ideology" in which linguistic and territorial boundaries are purported to coincide (Blackledge 2000; Blommaert and Verschueren 1998; Lønsmann 2014; Woolard 1998). As the following sections show, the picture becomes more complicated when we consider communication that crosses national boundaries.

5.2 The regional context

While we could expect a distinction between communication with Danes and communication with non-Danes, a third category was developed from the data, namely regional communication. Language choice among Scandinavians is surrounded by ideologies of its own, and language choice with colleagues from other Nordic countries is a frequent topic in our interviews. One interesting finding is the distinction between Scandinavian communication (i.e. between people from

Denmark, Norway and Sweden) and Nordic communication (i.e. when the Finns are included). There is a strong tendency to consider the use of the Scandinavian languages (defined as Danish, Swedish and Norwegian) as the default choice for communication between interactants from these three countries. While these three languages are closely related and to some degree mutually intelligible, Finnish belongs to a different language family. Even though Finland is officially bilingual with Swedish as a co-official language, the ideologies surrounding communication with Finns differ from those connected with Swedes and Norwegians. Specifically, the use of Scandinavian languages between Danes, Swedes and Norwegians is presented as the preferred and natural choice. As Clara, an HR Manager, says:

Excerpt 3: They can get by with Swedish in our company

01	Clara:	der har vi så rigtig mange svenskere øh og de kan jo godt begå sig
02	Dorte:	ha ha
03	Clara:	på svensk i vores virksom⌈hed⌉ uden de store problemer
04	Dorte:	⌊ja⌋
05	Clara:	⌈så⌉ svensk er også et sprog der bliver talt her rigtig ⌈meget⌉
06	Dorte:	⌊ja⌋ ⌊ja⌋

01	*Clara:*	*there we have a lot of Swedes eh and they can get by*
02	*Dorte:*	*ha ha*
03	*Clara:*	*with Swedish in our com⌈pany⌉ you know without any real trouble*
04	*Dorte:*	*⌊yes⌋*
05	*Clara:*	*⌈so⌉ Swedish is also a language that is spoken here a ⌈lot⌉*
06	*Dorte:*	*⌊yes⌋ ⌊yes⌋*

Clara constructs in her discourse the use of Swedish in a Danish workplace as unproblematic and as normal. The particle *jo* as in “de kan jo godt begå sig på svensk [they can get by with Swedish ... you know]” indicates an epistemic stance that underlines the naturalness of her assessment, and that she indeed has the knowledge to assess this in the first place, as well as an expectation of agreement from the communication partner.[5] In line 5 she emphasizes that Swedish

5 The meaning of the Danish particle ‘jo’ is difficult to capture in English. Davidsen-Nielsen categorizes ‘jo’ as a discourse marker which “signals that the hearer is assumed to be aware of and accept the states of affairs” (1992: 3). Mortensen (citing Hansen and Heltoft 2011) explains the meaning of ‘jo’ in this way: “*Jo* carries an abstract polyphonic instruction which can be formalised as *I hold a specific point of view (p) and you do not hold non-p, and will therefore not contradict me*” (2010: 96).The hearer-orientation of ‘jo’ justifies a translation into English using comment clauses with *you* (*you know, you see*) (Davidsen-Nielsen 1992: 5) as we have done here.

is spoken a lot, indicating the use, and status, of Swedish. Excerpt 3 represents a language ideology which amends the ideology of Danish as the natural language in Denmark.

The fact that Scandinavian languages are the default is also clear when another manager talks about communication with Norwegians in terms of how to choose which Scandinavian language to communicate in. In her narrative, the question is not one of Danish or another Scandinavian language vs. English, but rather *which* Scandinavian language to use as a lingua franca. Frequently, however, it is not a question of choosing which language to speak, but of accommodating one's own Scandinavian language to that of one's interlocutor:

Excerpt 4: You speak something Nordic

01 Kate: det er en god midtimellem man taler jo noget nordisk (.) man
02 ved jo hvilke ord som svenskerne ikke forstår og man forsøger at
03 udtale nogle af ordene på svensk og man bruger de svenske tal
04 og sådan noget

01 Kate: it's a good in-between you speak something Nordic (.) you
02 know which words the Swedes don't understand and you try to
03 pronounce some of the words in Swedish and you use the Swedish numbers
04 and things like that

Here Kate, who is Head of Customer Service, defines her language use as "a good in-between", in-between Danish and Swedish in her case. Another informant calls it "fordansket svensk eller hvad hedder sådan noget forsvensket dansk [Danishized Swedish or what do you call this Swedishized Danish]". It is clear that what the informants mean is a kind of receptive multilingualism (Zeevaert and Thije 2007) where each person speaks a version of their L1, but accommodated to the language of the interlocutor (in the sense of Communication Accommodation Theory [Giles and Coupland 1991]).

The majority of our informants subscribe to this ideology of a *Nordic medium as the default for inter-Scandinavian communication*. In practice, English is often used as an alternative, but at the language ideological level, the use of English among Scandinavians is presented as the second choice or last resort, only to be used if inter-Scandinavian communication does not work out. As in the case of English among Danes, the use of English among Scandinavians is also labelled as "kunstigt [odd]". When English is used among Scandinavians, this practice always seems to require an explanation, e.g. communication troubles or inefficiency. In addition to the reported possibility of miscommunication in several of the interviews, another frequent explanation is "the Finns". One manager says about having meetings in English: "men hvis vi bare havde siddet Norge Danmark Sverige og Finland med lokale medarbejdere derfra, så ville vi også have talt engelsk specielt på grund af finnerne som helst ikke taler svensk [even if we had been just Norway Denmark Sweden and Finland with local employees then we would still have been speaking English especially because of the Finns who would rather not speak Swedish]". Where the norm for inter-Scandinavian communication is to use Scandinavian languages, the presence of "the Finns" changes the conditions (even though they here are presented not as unable, but merely unwilling to use Swedish).

5.3 The international context

Ideologies surrounding language choice in international contexts take up a lot of space in our material. When the topics of language choice and language and internationalization come up in the interviews, in the majority of the cases the informants use this as an opportunity to talk about the choice between Danish and English. Ideologies about other languages are usually elicited through questions from the interviewer. So while we in this chapter emphasize the relational aspects of language ideologies, it should also be mentioned that in the context of international companies in Denmark, the increasing use of English is what occupies the minds of managers when it comes to languages. In line with the research reviewed above (sec. 2), we find that English is accorded an important and prestigious position in international companies in Denmark. However, as has already been shown in the above examples, English is not constructed as the language of absolute instrumentality as Nekvapil and Sherman (2013) found, but is rather presented as *the natural language for international communication*.

Part of this construction of English as *the natural language for international communication* is to present it as a language everyone has access to. As one informant says in a highly affirmative manner: "engelsk er det sprog alle forstår [English is the language everybody understands]". Another part of the ideology is to present English as a self-evident choice in contrast with (other) foreign languages, which are positioned as deviant choices. Often, the informants construct the choice of a lingua franca as a choice between Danish and English, where Danish obviously is not an option with non-Danish speakers, leaving English as the only option. In these constructions other possible lingua francasare not even considered. In the following example Janne, a Brand Manager, is talking about how English is chosen over Danish for email communication to large numbers of people:

Excerpt 5: It is just a lot easier in English

01 Janne: så giver det jo sig selv at hvis kommunikationen skal fungere på daglig basis
02 og øhm det skal flyde mellem mange mennesker så kan det jo ikke nytte noget
03 du sidder og starter en e-mail selv på dansk og så når du skal videresende til
04 Juan lige pludselig så ups så skal den til at oversættes til et andet sprog
05 Sonja: mm
06 Janne: det er bare meget nemmere for folk ⌈hvis det hele⌉ foregår på engelsk
07 Sonja: ⌊ja⌋

01 Janne: it is self-evident that if communication has to work on a daily basis
02 and um flow between a lot of people it is no good
03 if you start an email in Danish and then when you have to forward to Juan
04 suddenly then oops it will have to be translated to another language
05 Sonja: mm
06 Janne: it is just a lot easier for people ⌈ if it all ⌉ takes place in English
07 Sonja: ⌊yes⌋

English is here constructed as unproblematic and as ensuring communicative flow. In addition, it is asserted as the easiest solution for everybody. It is implicit that the employee "Juan" does not know any Danish, but there is also an implicit understanding that he knows English, though it could be assumed that Juan is to represent a L1 Spanish speaker.

In cases where the use of other languages as lingua francas is considered, it is constructed as unacceptable. In one example the use of Italian as a lingua franca between an Italian and a Spanish employee is disapproved of to the extent that they have been asked to speak English instead. The explicitly stated reason is that it will be difficult for them to be integrated if they speak Italian with each other. In another example Peter, a Communications Manager, clearly positions English as the sole option:

Excerpt 6: Should I then also try in Russian with my Russians?

01 Dorte: men I taler ikke tysk med jeres tyske kolleger i Tyskland
02 Peter: nej fordi det nu er det engelsk der er det bærende (0.5)
03 og det taler vi alle sammen lige dårligt så er vi ligesom på fælles
04 på fælles fod ikke

05 (1.2)
06 hvis jeg skulle tale tysk så ville de for det første være
07 native speaking så de havde et klart overtag og jeg ville bare hutle
08 mig igennem altså
09 Dorte: med hvad så når du taler med USA eller Australien
10 Peter: jo jo men vi er jo alle sammen blevet enige om at engelsk var
11 koncernsproget
12 Dorte: mm
13 Peter: øh skulle jeg så også forsøge mig på russisk med mine russere
14 eller spansk med mine spanioler

01 Dorte: but you don't speak German with your German colleagues in Germany
02 Peter: no because English is the foundation (0.5)
03 and we all speak that equally bad so we are kind of on equal
04 footing right
05 (1.2)
06 if I had to speak German then first of all they would be
07 native speaking so they would clearly have the upper hand and I would
08 just muddle through you know
09 Dorte: but what then when you speak with the US or Australia
10 Peter: yes yes but we did all agree that English was the
11 corporate language
12 Dorte: mm
13 Peter: uh should I then also try in Russian with my Russians
14 or Spanish with my Spaniards

Here, Peter rejects the possibility of speaking German with the account that English is the common foundation and that everybody has equally poor English skills, which serves to balance the score (ll. 2–4). In contrast German would disadvantage him as he would be in an inferior position compared to the native speakers (ll. 6–8). He rejects the suggestion that this is also the case with English with reference to the common agreement about using English, and then adds a rhetorical question that attacks the premise of the interviewer's original question about speaking German with Germans with what he clearly deems an unthinkable situation; speaking Russian or Spanish. We see here a strong orientation toward English as the natural choice, the only real option for international communication.

Even though some managers recognize that English does not work as a lingua franca everywhere, the choice of other languages as lingua francas is still presented as something out of the ordinary. In one company with a large number of employees in Eastern Europe, information is frequently translated into Polish. Linda, the HR Deputy Director, says:

Excerpt 7: Even in Polish

Linda: selv om vi har sagt at engelsk er koncernsproget men vi har bare
har rigtig mange medarbejdere der ikke kan engelsk
Dorte: ja
Linda: æh og det er æ:h (0.3) det er jo også sådan lidt i en erkendelse af at
vores medarbejdere netop også er inden for lager og produktion og
chauffører rundt omkring i verden
Dorte: mm
Linda: som jo ikke har nogen jordisk chance hvis vi sender det her ud på på
engelsk så
Dorte: nej
Linda: så når vi ikke ud til dem simpelthen så det er også derfor vi har
valgt at sige jamen selv på polsk

Linda: even though we have said that English is the corporate language
but we just have a lot of employees who do not know English
Dorte: yes
Linda: uh and that u:h (0.3) that is also sort of to recognize that
our employees are in distribution and production and
truck drivers around the world
Dorte: mm
Linda: who have no earthly chance if we send this out in in
English so
Dorte: no
Linda: then we simply won't reach them so that is also why we have
chosen to say well even in Polish

Here, the necessity for multiple local languages is put in connection to a large number of blue-collar workers. There are still subtle indications, however, that the use of Polish is unusual. The quote "vi har bare rigtig mange medarbejdere der ikke kan engelsk [we just have a lot of employees who do not know English]" shows how the choice of another lingua franca or in this case local language is explained in relation to the corporate language, English. English is the first choice, and only if English is not a possibility are other languages considered. The phrase "jamen selv på polsk [well even in Polish]" also emphasizes the uncommon and perhaps even exotic nature of the choice.

In written communication, English has an even stronger position. In one example, a manager frames the Spanish subsidiary's requests for information in Spanish rather than English as unreasonable when she says that: "spaniolerne de stiller sig jo altid på bagbenene vi skal have information på spansk ellers så kan vi ikke [the Spanish they always dig their heels in we need information in Spanish otherwise we can't do it]". By presenting a request for information in Spanish as unreasonable and recalcitrant, English is given a position as the natural language for communicating across borders. Excerpt 2 about the use of Danish for lunch being controversial further attests to the presence of an ideology which presents English as the natural lingua franca. Even the use of Danish as a lingua franca in a Danish company is not universally accepted in the same way that the use of English is. And here we have one of the interesting conflicts in the language ideological landscape. Danish is the natural language in Denmark, but English is the natural lingua franca, also in a Danish context. In some contexts, e.g. a Danish workplace with non-Danish speakers from different backgrounds, the two ideologies clash. Danish is the natural language to use for lunch partly because foreigners in Denmark are expected to learn the local language. At the same time English is accepted as the only possible lingua franca between speakers of different languages. In the language ideological landscape, the international workplace occupies a contested border area. It belongs to a local area where the local language is natural, but also to an international arena where English is the natural lingua franca.

While English is constructed as a natural and necessary language in these international companies, other languages are relegated to the domain of fun and games, as the following example illustrates. Here, Anna, Chief Operating Officer in an IT company, talks about her use of German:

Excerpt 8: Silly German

01 Sonja: hvad med dine sprog hvad hvad hvilke sprog taler du
02 Anna: øh engelsk
03 Sonja: ja
04 Anna: øh og så altså (0.7) tysk på hyggeniveau vil jeg sige
05 Sonja: ja ha ⌈ha ha⌉
06 Anna: ⌊altså primært⌋ pjattetysk
07 Sonja: ja

01 Sonja: what about your languages what what which languages do you speak
02 Anna: uh English
03 Sonja: yes
04 Anna: uh and then you know (0.7) German at the level of fun and games I'd say
05 Sonja: yes ha ⌈ha ha⌉
06 Anna: ⌊you know primarily⌋ silly German
07 Sonja: yes

The informant here describes her German as "pjattetysk [silly German]". So while German is mentioned, it is not associated with a serious role, but with "fun and games". Even when another language *is* used for business purposes, the value of this tends to be downplayed. This is the case when an informant talks about a Chinese colleague in Denmark whose Chinese competences have given her the role of linguistic mediator in communication with subsidiaries in China. While describing this as "en kæmpe fordel [a huge advantage]", she also talks about her colleague's Chinese language competences as "prikken over i'et [icing on the cake]", i.e. not necessary for the job, but nice to have.

6 Discussion: Language choice as an instrument of power in workplaces

While the above analysis lays out the language ideological landscape in the context of international companies in Denmark with all its complexities and conflicts, in this section we discuss how the ideology which constructs language choice as a given rather than as a choice has consequences for power relations and structural inequalities in the workplaces. We will focus on two themes: The illusion of English as the language of equality, and the use of the naturalness ideology as a backdrop for power negotiations especially in unequal hierarchical relationships.

6.1 The illusion of equality

In excerpt 6 above we saw how one informant presented the use of English as a means of putting everyone "on equal footing" since everybody speaks it "equally bad". This idea or even ideal of English as common ground is frequently put into words. In the following, Janne, a PR Manager for a large IT company, gives us another example:

Excerpt 9: We are all on reasonably equal footing

01	Janne:	der er det givet at sproget man ⌈navigerer på er engelsk⌉
02	Sonja:	⌊ja ja⌋
03	Janne:	det er klart at øhm lige når folk kommer kan de godt have
04		en meget meget tyk accent
05		det er sådan noget som lige fortager sig når man har været et stykke tid
06		mellem andre engelsktalende men der kan det godt være lidt svært
07		at forstå hvad folk ⌈siger⌉ øhm
08	Sonja:	⌊mm⌋

09	Janne:	og øh men men det er ikke noget som altså vi taler jo alle sammen en eller
10		anden dansk-engelsk eller Bombay-engelsk eller østeuropæisk-engelsk
11		eller whatever det måtte være så vi er alle sammen sådan rimelig på lige fod
12	Sonja:	ja
13	Janne:	okay så er der lige et par amerikanere der kan sætte os til vægs verbalt
14		men ha ha altså de er heldigvis ikke i overtal

01	*Janne:*	*it is given that the language you ⌈navigate in is English⌉*
02	*Sonja:*	*⌊yes yes⌋*
03	*Janne:*	*obviously when um when people have just arrived they may have*
04		*a very very thick accent*
05		*that's the kind of thing that goes away when you have been together*
06		*with other English speakers for a while but at that point it can be*
07		*a little difficult to understand what people ⌈say⌉ um*
08	*Sonja:*	*⌊mm⌋*
09	*Janne:*	*and uh but but it is not something that I mean we all speak some kind of*
10		*Danish English or Bombay English or Eastern-European English*
11		*or whatever it may be so we are all of us on reasonably equal footing*
12	*Sonja:*	*yes*
13	*Janne:*	*okay then there may be a couple of Americans who can put us in our place*
14		*verbally but ha ha luckily they are not in the majority*

In this quote too we observe how speaking English is constructed as being "on reasonably equal footing" (l. 11) because all the employees speak it as a foreign language, although with different accents.[6] If these accents are too heavy, it is considered a passing problem because the employees will get normalized into the standard of the workplace (ll. 4–6). Yet in lines 13–14, Janne admits with the prefacing "okay" that not all employees are L2 speakers of English. Indeed, there are Americans who have the ability to "put us in our place verbally", but their linguistic dominance is regulated by their numbers, a felicitous situation stressed by the use of "luckily" and the moderating laughter. This excerpt captures some of the complexities surrounding the use of English as a lingua franca. While it is presented as *a language of equality* because it includes different varieties, it is also acknowledged that L1 speakers have an advantage, while L2 speakers new to an English-speaking environment are at a disadvantage.

6 While Janne does most of the "construction work", the interviewer contributes to the construction with her minimal responses that may signal agreement in lines 2 and 12.

To sum up, English is presented as a language of equality. Moreover, this ideology is hegemonic to an extent where the non-native speaking managers promote the equality discourse at the same time as they are admitting to native speakers of English having distinct advantages. Hence, the ideology of English as a language of linguistic equality disregards the varied competencies of different employees and ignores the trouble accounts often presented in connection to English. These trouble accounts are also represented in our data: Employees are reluctant to use English because they do not feel secure speaking it, employees resist the shift from the local language to English as a corporate language, they do not appreciate the relevance of English in their daily work, etc.

6.2 Naturalness as the backdrop for power negotiations

With English as the language of equality, the choice of other languages may be presented as a way to manage asymmetrical power relations. Because language choice is presented as a consequence of the natural order, it allows employees to play on this ideology when they negotiate power relations with colleagues or stakeholders. *Par exemple,* the use of the local language of one's partners rather than the "natural" choice of English as a lingua franca can be used to emphasize or build a close relationship with others. In the following excerpt Linda, an HR Deputy Director, explains how she negotiates her relationship with the German subsidiary managers through her language choice.

Excerpt 10: Then they can laugh at how I phrase it

Linda: der taler jeg tysk dernede ikke fordi vi kunne godt tale engelsk sammen
men jeg synes det jeg synes faktisk det giver noget mere at øh at jeg prøver ha
Dorte: ja
Linda: så godt jeg nu kan ha ha på det ⌈tys⌉ke altså
Dorte: ⌊ja⌋
Linda: og det generer dem egentlig ikke jeg kan mærke på det at de synes det de synes
det er bedre at jeg taler det tyske og de så en gang imellem så korrigerer de mig
lidt eller smiler lidt eller hvad de nu gør og siger arh det var altså ikke helt rigtigt
det der men det giver egentlig også noget også i forhold til at der kommer
et et et moderselskab fra Danmark ned til Tyskland det det kan i sig selv være
sådan lidt lille Danmark og nu kommer I og vil bestemme over os øh
Dorte: ja
Linda: det kan godt give noget men når man så netop har den der hvor jeg
så rent faktisk kommer ned og taler lidt dårligere end de nu selv gør
det kan også give noget positivt faktisk øh til forholdet synes jeg

16 Dorte: jamen det er selvfølgelig rigtig for på den ene side så kommer du
17 fra moderselskabet
18 Linda: ja ik
19 Dorte: ⌈på den anden side så taler du ikke perfekt tysk⌉
20 Linda: ⌊på den ene side er det mig der bestemmer men alligevel⌋ så øh ha ha
21 så ha ha så kan de grine lidt af den måde jeg siger det på ha ha

01 Linda: then I speak German down there we could speak English together
02 but I think I actually think it gives something extra that uh that I try ha
03 Dorte: yes
04 Linda: as well as I can ha ha in ⌈Ger⌉man right
05 Dorte: ⌊yes⌋
06 Linda: and it doesn't really bother them I can feel that they think they think
07 it is better that I speak German and then from time to time they correct me
08 a little or smile a little or whatever they do and say ah that wasn't quite right
09 but it gives something also in relation to
10 headquarters coming from Denmark to Germany that that may in itself be
11 kind of little Denmark and now you come here and want to tell us what to do uh
12 Dorte: yes
13 Linda: that may create some kind of but when you have the situation where I then
14 actually come there and speak a little worse than they themselves do that may
15 also contribute something positive actually uh to the relationship I think
16 Dorte: well that is right of course because on the one hand you come
17 from headquarters
18 Linda: yeah right
19 Dorte: ⌈on the other you do not speak perfect German⌉
20 Linda: ⌊on the one hand I am the one in command but then⌋ uh ha ha
21 then ha ha they can laugh a little at how I phrase it ha ha

Here, we see how Linda in her narrative links her use of German to her ability to build a positive relationship. In lines 1–2 Linda claims that speaking German brings something to the relationship but with no explanation as to how. It is, however, clear that it is a matter of choice; German is selected, and English is deselected. In lines 7, 8 and 21 Linda speaks about how her German colleagues may correct and laugh at her German. Implicit in this excerpt is also an ideology which values native speakers highly and gives them the right to judge and even mock non-native speakers. In lines 9–11 Linda takes into consideration the unequal size, and indirectly status, of Germany and Denmark respectively, which brings a paradoxical power structure to the table as Goliath becomes subjected to David. In her realization of this perceived power structure, she “gives back” power to the German subsidiary when she as an HQ representative takes an inferior linguistic position. It is interesting to note that she chooses this position – she is not positioned this way by her German colleagues, making it very clear that she is in control and that she profits from her choice. In this way, her control strategy is very close to the strategies of condescension described by Bourdieu (1991). In lines 16–21 the respondent and the interviewer co-construct a narration that makes the leveraging function of the language choice very clear. The respondent sums it up like this: “On the one hand I am the one in command but then they can laugh a little at how I phrase it” (ll. 20–21). In this excerpt we see how the manager plays on the ideologies of naturalness and native speaker status to negotiate her relationship with the subsidiary. The position of English as the natural language for international interactions is the backdrop for the effectiveness of her choice of German. It is implicit that she is deselecting English in favor of German, and by doing so she empowers her German-speaking colleagues.

Similarly, a German manager in Denmark who has learnt Danish is promoted as exemplary and her hierarchical management style is accepted because she has learnt the language. Her speaking Danish is presented as a token of respect and also as the reason that she “kan komme af sted med mange ting [can get away with a lot of things]”. The manager’s active choice of Danish becomes capital that buys her something, namely general acceptance of her managerial style. By adhering to the naturalness ideology, which dictates that Danish is the preferred choice in Denmark, though not the preferred corporate language, she abandons her linguistic right to speak English as an international lingua franca and instead emphasizes closeness to a Danish context. In other words, she can be said to use a *quid-pro-quo* strategy, where she exchanges linguistic comfort for the opportunity to continue a more hierarchical style. Yet, she is a privileged partner in this exchange since she gets to choose that she will speak Danish.

From a critical perspective the ideology of the naturalness of language choice has consequences for status and power in multilingual workplaces. As we have seen above, competence in the right languages confers symbolic power on speakers. Furthermore, some speakers (such as managers and HQ representatives) have more power to choose languages than others (regular employees and subsidiaries), and while they are not expected to learn the local language they may receive recognition if they choose to do so. This shows how language ideologies contribute to controlling who can legitimately choose what languages to speak when. In short, it is a matter of who gets to choose, but also that some gain more from their choices than others.

7 Conclusion

Our investigation of the language ideological landscape in international companies in Denmark revealed a central ideology which constructs language choice as defined by a natural order where each variety has its specific place. Danish is the natural language in Denmark, Scandinavians use “Nordic” as the default medium, and English is the only natural lingua franca for international interactions. Our data also shows, however, that the language ideological landscape is fraught with contested border areas and overlapping territories. When international interactions take place in Denmark, the idea of English as the natural lingua franca clashes with the idea of Danish as natural in Denmark, and when a Swede uses Swedish in Denmark, it may be acceptable because Scandinavians use receptive multilingualism to communicate with other Scandinavians, but at the same time there is an expectation that Swedes should learn Danish. Our data also suggest that linguistic practices remain much more complicated than the relatively ordered language ideological landscape. Scandinavians often resort to English when they interact, other lingua francas than English *are* used in international interactions, and other languages than Danish are certainly used in Denmark. This indicates that employees use their agency to manage their own linguistic work environment within the structures of the language ideological landscape. Yet, the possibility of acting outside the natural order is still constrained to the languages in the order, and control is exercised overtly when it comes to languages that are not represented in the naturalness ideology. This kind of control or language management is often explained with reference to linguistic equality and unity in the diverse workplace.

By looking at language ideologies in the workplace as forming part of a language ideological landscape, we are able to capture more of the complexities and contrasts in this landscape than by looking at ideologies about different languages separately. A language ideological landscape also reflects the importance of geography in relation to language choice in international workplaces. Danish is promoted as natural in Denmark, and Nordic in the Scandinavian countries, but this emphasis on the local is at odds with the supposedly international outlook of these workplaces. This paradox reveals that the prominent languages that become part of the natural order are promoted in the interest of specific groups of speakers, e.g. Nordic employees who can speak with each other in their own languages, or managers who can control their partners and employees through the languages they choose to interact in. We have used the framework of the language ideological landscape as background for a critical view on how language ideologies are exploited for different purposes by different groups in the workplace. It becomes clear that some groups benefit more from the naturalness ideology than others, e.g. managers who already have status and power or Danes who are already in the majority. It is also evident that while some actors in the international workplace are able to use the naturalness ideology as a backdrop for negotiations of status and rapport, this ability resides with powerful individuals. This chapter has also shown that while ideologies of linguistic equality are perpetuated overtly and justified as profitable for all, in reality native speaker ideals and asymmetrical English competences challenge the neat representation of English as neutral and common ground.

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Appendix 1 Transcription conventions

Speaker ID:	Sonja
Overlapping speech:	in ⌈Ger⌉man right ⌊yes⌋
Pause in seconds:	(0.8)
Pause shorter than 0.2 seconds	(.)
Laughter:	ha ha
Prolonged sound:	um::

Appendix 2 Interview guide

Interview guide for stage 1 interviews (ca. 30 min.)
Introduction:

– I'm part of a research group consisting of five researchers from Roskilde University and Copenhagen Business School. We're interested in international workplaces, what it means to be or become international, the consequences of internationalization for the employees, and what experience you have with internationalization in your company. For this purpose, we have received funding from The Danish Research Council. The research will take place during a period of three years.
– Our interview today is part of the project's introductory stage where we do interviews with approximately 20 international companies.
– I should very much like to hear about YOUR experiences with internationalization processes in this company. Do feel free to use as many details and examples as you'd like. This interview is confidential, and should I use quotes from our conversation they will be anonymized.
– The interview will take approximately 30 minutes.

Interview:

1. Could you please tell me a little about the history of the company?
   a. When was it founded?
   b. When did it become more international?
2. On your website you define [*name of company*] as an international/global company. How do you define a global company/when is a company considered global?
   a. What makes you a successful international company? (is it about linguistic and cultural diversity at all?)
   b. What do you consider advantages of diversity in a company?
   c. What challenges arise from diversity? For example linguistic and cultural ones?
3. Often, one of the consequences of internationalization is an increase in linguistic and cultural diversity, e.g. everyday communication with people from other countries or employees from various countries in one's own department. How do you manage language and culture in your company?
   a. Do you need other languages than Danish in your daily work?
   b. If yes, do you use them here in the headquarters or is it when you interact with subsidiaries and partners?

   c. Have you experienced situations where different languages or cultures have been particularly useful?
   d. Have you experienced situations where languages or cultures have been a source of problems or challenges?
   e. Do you have any advice for other companies on how to handle linguistic and cultural diversity?
   f. Which was the status of other languages than Danish before you became an international company? Have this changed with the increase in internationalization (others, more, less)?
   g. Is it your impression that there's a lot of linguistic and cultural diversity in international companies in Denmark?
   h. Is it your impression that international companies reflect upon their diversity?
4. What challenges, related to languages and cultures, do you think your company could need feedback on/help with?

Elisabeth Barakos

Managing, interpreting and negotiating corporate bilingualism in Wales

Abstract: This chapter draws on a case study of analyzing the promotion of Welsh-English bilingualism in institutionalized business settings in Wales. It examines how this takes shape in corporate language policy discourse and practice. In the wake of recent language policy research that accounts for policy as both a structural and agentive, interactional phenomenon, this study applies a critical discursive approach to language policy. It incorporates two data sets: first, voluntarily drafted Welsh language schemes of private sector companies made under the former Welsh Language Act 1993; and second, interview data that capture the ideologies, experiences and reported practices of company employees and senior staff as regards the role and practice of Welsh *vis-à-vis* English. Together, these data sets provide a window into the management, interpretation and negotiation of language policy, against continuous relations of power between English and Welsh as overtly "equal" languages of and in business. Analysis demonstrates that corporate bilingualism is shaped primarily by discursive tensions over the ideological construct of "full" bilingualism as something that is aspired to but *de facto* mitigated in the workplace and in service provision.

Keywords: bilingualism, Wales, language ideologies, language policy, workplace discourse

1 Introduction

As an officially bilingual and partly devolved constituent country of the United Kingdom, Wales is often heralded as a best practice polity in terms of the promotion and management its bilingualism. According to the 2011 Census, Welsh is spoken by about 562,000 speakers, or 19% of the population of Wales. The data reveal a decline in speaker numbers in some of the strongholds or "heartland" communities in mid- and western Wales. To elevate the legitimacy of Welsh, the Welsh Language Measure now affords Welsh official status and sets up the post of Welsh Language Commissioner (Welsh Language Commissioner 2014a). However, the complex relations between Welsh and English have to be understood as resulting from the historical, political and socio-economic conditions that have shaped the construction of Wales as an overtly successful bilingual space. Da Silva and

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Heller (2009) rightly observe that “linguistic minority movements [...] have based their mobilization, for approximately the last 40 years, on discourses of nationhood borrowed from the centralizing States whose power they resist”. In the case of Wales, the constructs of nation, identity and territoriality have indeed played a strong part within Welsh politics in advancing the agenda of “true” or “full” bilingualism (Coupland and Bishop 2006; Coupland, Bishop, and Garrett 2006; Coupland and Aldridge 2009; May 2012; Williams 2013).

Significant socio-economic and political changes have evolved in Wales and the UK, which have had a significant impact on language policy measures and practices. Globalization and internationalization have fortified the ubiquitous role of English as a global language, and at the same time, cultivated power struggles and social disparities in view of other languages (see e.g. Blommaert 2010; Coupland 2010a; Ricento 2012). Furthermore, nation states have become increasingly “diverse, multilingual, transnational and global” so that language is manipulated as a tool for achieving ideological agendas at the political, social and economic level (Shohamy 2006: 45). Globalizing practices have shifted overt value-judgements in favor of multilingualism, diversity and equality. They have also spurred intervention in favor of officially promoting minority languages in European, national, regional and more peripheral spaces (see e.g. Busch 2013; Pietikäinen and Kelly-Holmes 2013; Romaine 2013). Against this background, the field of business has emerged as an intriguing research site in which “language practices and struggles over social, political and legal language rights are constantly evolving” (Roberts 2007: 408).

The management of linguistic diversity in minority settings, such as Wales, has become an ever more important symbol of the global economy. As claimed by Heller and Duchêne (2012: 10), “language is involved in the globalized new economy: as a source of symbolic added value, and as a mode of management of global networks”. Language management, then, specifically takes shape “within social networks of various scopes”, ranging from state organizations to individual bodies such as companies on the ground (Nekvapil and Nekula 2006: 311). In the current wake of Welsh language revitalization, bilingualism has not only become promoted as a “key feature of maintaining and reproducing ‘cultural heritage’” (Blackledge and Creese 2012: 116). Language revitalization has also unfolded through embracing a discourse on “bilingualism as added value” (Jaffe 2007). Recently, the language agenda has been incorporated into broader concerns over sustainability and well-being as holistic arguments for creating “a thriving Wales of vibrant culture and thriving Welsh language” (National Assembly for Wales 2014: 4). The logic of such discourses is framed by neoliberal techniques of enablement, individual empowerment and total quality management in the knowledge economy (Williams 2010; Urla 2012; Barakos 2016).

A growing number of studies on language policy, ideology and practice encompass the globalized, bi- and multilingual workplace and private sector institutions (e.g. Milligan 2010; Kingsley 2013; Angouri 2014; Lüdi 2014). Research into corporate bilingualism in Wales has, however, been scarce (see Barakos 2012, 2014). The need for research into the functioning of bilingual businesses is heightened by Williams (2010), who contends the private sector is especially crucial in the role different languages play. This chapter attempts to fill this void by addressing the complexities arising from top-down government pressures and ideologies and private sector companies' bottom-up wants and needs.

The present study aligns with a fairly recent strand of inquiry in language policy scholarship, namely investigations of language policy creation, interpretation and appropriation across multiple discursive and social spaces (e.g. Hornberger and Johnson 2007; Johnson 2011). There is an urgent need to capture how language policy is not only created from the top-down but enacted and experienced at the grassroots level by local policy stakeholders (e.g. Hornberger and Hult 2008; Shohamy 2009; Johnson and Johnson 2015). Accordingly, what I examine in this study is not a top-down language policy analysis on a national scale, but one that is nurtured *in situ*. Specifically, I focus on the management, interpretation and negotiation of corporate language policy processes by company managers. Relevant questions include an examination of the ideologies that inform and underlie the corporate language schemes, the lived ideologies and sets of practices of the company managers engaged in bilingual work practices and whether and how the policy agents steer, negotiate and interact with these schemes.

I begin with a discussion of the conceptual orientation to language policy, ideology and discourse that underpins the study. Then I provide the framing of bilingualism in business and commerce. This is followed by a discussion of the methodology and data employed. Finally, I analyze a range of corporate language schemes as well as the private sector company employees' practices, ideologies and discourses in order to explore the nexus of corporate policy, ideology and practice. The chapter concludes by charting the social consequences of the management of bilingualism as relating to the encountered ideologies and practices in Welsh business.

2 A study of bilingualism in business through policy text, ideology and practice

Theoretical and methodological approaches to studying language policy are abundant (see e.g. Spolsky 2012 for an overview). Of late, the field has experienced a shift from examining language policy on a national scale to multi-layered investigations of text and practice. As Hult (2012: 235) characterizes it, “language policy is not purely a political or legislative process but a social system in which policies are created, interpreted, and implemented by individuals”. In this vein, recent language policy research has aimed to account for policy as a structural and agentive, interactional phenomenon (Johnson and Johnson 2015). Similarly, language management theory integrates notions of power and discourse to account for the production and reception of language policy from the top-down and the bottom-up (Nekvapil and Sherman 2009, 2015). In the tradition of this “new wave” of language policy research (Hult 2012) that combines sociological approaches, discourse analysis and ethnography, the present study applies a discursive approach to analyzing language policy, ideology and practice (Barakos 2014; Barakos and Unger 2016). I argue that such an approach provides an analytical lens to the discursive construction of social differences and how these are experienced by policy stakeholders in social interactions.

As already mentioned, the study identifies discourse as a central tenet in analyzing language policy processes. In the tradition of critical discourse studies, discourse is conceived dialogically as context-sensitive language-in-use, i.e. a form of social action that both constitutes and is constituted by social, political and economic realities (Blommaert 2005; Wodak 2008, 2011). Discourses in language policy processes may normalize certain ways of thinking and doing by inclusion, while restricting others through exclusion. Inclusionary and exclusionary policy practices and their connection to language schemes and discourses can be traced by recontextualization (Bernstein 1990; Wodak and Fairclough 2010). Recontextualization here is understood in a Bakhtinian sense, as pointing to the dialogic and interactive nature of language, where “a text is always aware of, responding to, and anticipating other texts” and where discourse is “shaped and influenced by the discourse of others” (Blackledge 2005: 14). On this basis, the present investigation focuses on the connections between policy discourses, ideologies and practices, and their wider social embedding.

Language ideology is another fundamental concept in this language policy study. It is based on the assumption that bilingualism in Wales is a site of “ideological battlegrounds” (Blackledge 2002: 206) and that bilingualism exists at the juncture between ideology and practice (Heller 2007). Ideology is also central within critical discourse studies (e.g. van Dijk 2006; Wodak, Krzyzanowski, and Forchtner 2012), which assumes that “ideologies are constantly formed and reshaped by new discourses and interdiscursive dynamics” (Khosravinik 2009: 479). Discourse and ideology are thus in interaction. In the present study, ideologies materialize in the employees’ attached values to Welsh-English bilingualism and their own reported practices. Ideologies also underpin and emanate from the corporate language schemes that mirror company-specific and broader political and socio-economic discourses. As ideologies are context-dependent and socially situated, it is insufficient to trace them from mere textual analysis. Rather, it is the socio-political, socio-cultural and historical contexts that nurture their development and need to be considered in their analysis.

The conceptual framework charted in this section serves as a necessary backdrop against which the findings of this language policy study (as discussed in section 5) need to be considered. Let us next turn to the research background that serves as a necessary contextual layer to the study findings.

3 Framing bilingualism in business and commerce

The context within which Welsh-English bilingualism takes place in the field of business is a multifaceted one that shifts between normalization and normativity. Over the past decades, there have been growing political interventions to normalize the use of Welsh in many spheres of social and public life in a largely linguistically Anglophone Wales (see e.g. Williams 2014 for an overview). As I have argued in the introduction, these interventions have recently been shaped by a political agenda to steer the linguistic and economic regeneration of communities with both growing and contracting speaker numbers. In this vein, language promotion, facilitation and enabling as well as the values of choice, flexibility and shared responsibility have been among the guiding principles of the Welsh Government's political discourse to realize its vision of a "truly bilingual country" (Welsh Assembly Government 2003: 37; Welsh Language Commissioner 2013: 3). This true bilingualism rests on the ideology of Welsh and English as equal languages, in both treatment and status.

Under the current conditions of the global economy, such political discourses have become intermeshed with economic rationalities (Fairclough 2006). Most notably, these principles are mirrored in the former language strategy *Iaith Pawb* (Everyone's Language) and its more assertive and imposing successor *Iaith Fyw: Iaith Byw* (A living language: a language for living). The latter language strategy in particular aims to promote and facilitate the use of Welsh by gearing language planning towards imposition, standardization and uniformity of service provision (for critical commentaries and especially the rhetoric of choice see e.g. Williams 2004; Coupland and Bishop 2006; Musk 2006; Coupland 2010b; Selleck 2013). In section 5 of this chapter, I will take up the notion of choice in the context of managing, interpreting and negotiating corporate bilingualism.

In terms of legislation, public and private organizations are subject to different legal requirements. The Welsh Language Act 1993 obliged public bodies to treat Welsh and English equally in the conduct of public business, with the caveat "so far as is both appropriate in the circumstances and reasonably practicable" (HMSO 1993: 3). Despite this clearly hedged compliance (see Williams and Morris 2000 for a critique), this law "imposed at least a bilingual façade on public services" (Coupland and Aldridge 2009: 6). To further improve Welsh language services to citizens, the law also required public bodies to implement statutory Welsh language schemes. Through the privatization of many former public sector companies and the hegemonic role of English in Welsh business, pressures have arisen to widen legislative frameworks. The new language law, the Welsh Language Measure (HMSO 2011), has addressed these pressures. It envisages the statutory use of Welsh for some private sector bodies[1] and replaces the existing system of Welsh language schemes with language standards. This incisive move from language marketing (Chríost Mac Giolla 2005; Williams 2007) to enforcement and standardization has spurred a debate about "language compulsion and voluntarism" (May 2000: 119; May 2005) which, in turn, points to competing ideologies about corporate bilingualism that exist in Welsh society. While the outcomes of this normative change are yet to be established for the private sector, the present study focuses on the hitherto *laissez-faire* approach of private sector service-providing companies in their engagement with bilingualism.

Presently, the Welsh Language Commissioner, whose duty it is to ensure compliance with the present language schemes and the future language standards, aims to continue the initiatives of the former Welsh Language Board and offers practical advice to enable the transition from English-only to bilingual corporate practices. To illustrate this point, the "The Welsh Advantage" page on the Commissioner's website enlists nine highly generalized benefits of using Welsh in business to persuade private sector companies of this added value:

– A sign of the quality of the business
– Reflects a responsible business that considers its effects on society and the environment
– A sign of good practice and promotes equality
– Indicates that the business is proud of itself and proud of being in Wales
– Indicates respect for the culture of Wales
– The public expects a bilingual service from businesses as this is the sort of service they receive from the public sector

1 The Welsh Language Measure explicitly affects those bodies that provide a service of a public nature. These are effectively privatized utilities such as gas, water and electricity suppliers as well as telecommunications companies, and bus and railway services (Welsh Language Commissioner 2012).

– Attracts new customers and increases loyalty
– Assists in expanding your target market
– Customers like to deal with businesses that offer a Welsh experience – seeing and hearing the Welsh language being used (Welsh Language Commissioner 2014b).

This shows that the value of language is framed as a cultural and economic resource, and oscillating between symbolic "pride" and economic "profit", to use Heller & Duchêne's (2012) tropes. Quality customer service, corporate social responsibility and customer loyalty are used as common-sense arguments and become intermeshed with "essential" or natural links of language to culture, pride, respect and equality. Taken together, these benefits are mobilized in pursuit of the common aim of an authentic Welsh customer experience (see Pietikäinen and Kelly-Holmes 2013 for discussions of authenticity in multilingual minority spaces). It is also notable here that only Welsh is discursively constructed as an advantage. The role of English, bilingualism and, least of all, multilingualism, for commercial purposes, is completely "erased", to use Irvine and Gal's (2000) term.

Many private sector companies have indeed responded to the top-down promotional and mobilizing strategies and have embraced Welsh as part of their corporate governance and social responsibility agenda through a set of voluntary language schemes. It remains to be seen whether and how these "on paper" initiatives take shape in practice and counter the existing linguistic imbalance in favor of English as the default corporate language. To this end, I provide a window into the *in situ* policies, ideologies and practices of a set of bilingually-operating companies.

4 Data and methodology

This chapter reports on a portion of a larger sociolinguistic and critical discourse-analytic investigation of corporate bilingualism, ideology and practice in Wales (Barakos 2014). The explicit focus in this chapter is on the dialectic of Welsh corporate language schemes and the related practices and experiences of company managers as both drivers of language policy and social actors affected by it. The data here are drawn from Welsh language schemes and in-depth interviews with managers and senior staff of bilingual businesses. The data sets are examined through means of a computer-assisted qualitative data analysis in a recursive manner. This approach allows for inductive and interpretative analysis, and enables the systematic identification of the most salient and recurring discourses, ideologies and practices.

Six language schemes were selected as part of the preceding interview study. Such schemes detail to what extent Welsh is afforded equal status and treatment with English "on paper". As explicit policy mechanisms (Shohamy 2006), they represent organizational and bureaucratic discursive practices and show the concordant and competing views and claims of different corporate actors. The schemes are aimed at multiple business stakeholders, i.e. all bodies that have an interest in the company and are affected by its operation and performance: customers, staff, suppliers and managers, as well as the wider community. The policies were produced between 2003 and 2011. As discussed earlier, the use of Welsh in business was then not statutory but strongly encouraged through language marketing.

Accordingly, the language schemes can be assigned to the voluntary corporate language policy genre, and they deploy elements from both political and business discourse. This hybrid nature of language policy is in line with Fairclough's (2003: 216) claim that "a text is not simply "in" a genre. Texts often mix or hybridize different genres" (see also Cap and Okulska 2013 for hybridisation of discourses, texts and genres). In its purpose, the corporate language policy genre oscillates between "telling" and "selling" (Fairclough 2010: 184), that is, there is a dual focus on informing the targeted audience of the company's approach towards corporate bilingualism and on promoting the company's goodwill in doing so.

As part of my fieldwork, I conducted nine interviews with managerial staff at the Welsh business sites in 2011. The interviews were about one hour long, semi-structured and thematically focused on Welsh-English bilingual managers' experiences and reported practices regarding bilingualism in service provision and in the workplace. The participants comprised senior solicitors, partners of law firms, communications managers, senior account managers as well as finance directors. Creswell and Plano Clark (2011: 174) argue that diverse individuals "who are expected to hold different perspectives on the central phenomenon" should be chosen to ensure maximal variation. It is only by investigating differentiated cases that a vast range of problems and potential conflicts encountered in operating bilingually can be identified and thus new avenues for long-term language policy and planning indicated. The companies chosen for this study are therefore drawn from different industries (banks, law firms, transportation businesses, consulting agencies, estate agencies, telecommunications businesses) and size groups (micro, small- and medium-sized as well as large enterprises). The assumption is that each company reacts differently to the bilingual agenda, depending on the wants, needs and the linguistic capacities (Grin 2003) of the firm, the target market and the workforce. The manager narratives thus offer a potpourri of ideologies about bilingualism, bilingual workers and constructions of work practices. They also point to linguistic inequalities as embodied in the managers' experiences of bilingualism (as discussed in section 5). Methodically, I conceive of interviews as powerful social practices, that is, as "accounts of phenomena, jointly produced by interviewer and interviewee" (Talmy 2008: 140). Interviews are hence not to be treated as instances of how social reality *is*, but rather how social reality is *(re)constructed* by social actors in both text and talk.

In the ensuing sections, I will analyze and discuss extracts from the language schemes and illustrate these with manager narratives. For each language scheme discussed in this chapter, the type of business is given in brackets to provide the reader with some contextualization. Pseudonyms are used to conceal the interviewees' personal identities. Since the space provided in this chapter only permits me to present selected examples, the chosen extracts and narratives revolve around one central theme – full bilingualism. This theme emerged from the coding of the various data types and resonates with the wider Welsh policy context.

5 Managing, interpreting and negotiating full bilingualism

5.1 Planning for full bilingualism "on paper"

The language schemes analyzed stipulate the companies' individual approaches, commitments and goals in favor of offering customers strategic language alternatives through service choice. This explicit choice entails the decision to offer certain activities through the medium of Welsh or English or both, such as a bilingual website, and to exclude others, such as a bilingual telephone service. On the other hand, the schemes also carry with them implicit dimensions of language policy (Shohamy 2006). The implicit ideologies are disclosed by picking and choosing the extent to which the company agrees to operate bilingually. One such recurrent ideology is the firms' shared preoccupation with offering full bilingualism. I argue that this discursive construct has emerged as an ideologized product of linguistic commodification processes (Tan and Rubdy 2008; Heller 2010). It illustrates how language becomes reified like a rational human subject and is treated as "something which can be given value, as a property, involving ownership" (Williams 2005: 65). The following policy extracts from a transportation business and a financial services provider in Cardiff illustrate this point. They are taken from the policy section on media relations and advertising.

(1) Media Relations
The [company] is keen to promote itself as a fully bilingual organization, and this can be achieved by utilizing media channels to emphasize this message in a variety of ways. (transportation business)

(2) Media Relations & Advertising
[The company] has created a Media Relations role specifically for Wales and is responsible for profiling all aspects of the bank's activities in Wales adopting a fully bilingual approach. (financial services provider)

Both statements reflect the promotional drive that underpins the companies' language schemes. In these extracts, promotional strategies rest less on endorsing Welsh as a business language. Rather, a positive image of an authentic, bilingual corporate self (Urciuoli 2008) is created through embracing a "fully bilingual" corporate identity. Specifically, the media is exploited as a channel through which this identity can be promoted as a means of public relations. In extract 2, the intertextual reference to the "Media Relations role" lends further credibility to the promised "fully bilingual approach". It makes customers and staff aware of the fact that the company is proactively generating added value through marketing and advertising strategies (see also Kelly-Holmes 2005; Kelly-Holmes and Mautner 2010; Duchêne and Heller 2012).

Next to these tailored advertising and marketing tactics, the language schemes specifically share their endeavor of delivering a fully bilingual approach in internal and external business communication. They outline which type of service is bilingual or even fully bilingual, offered in Welsh, or currently in English only. These options are also visually intensified by a tick-box approach, schematically fixed use of language, a highly standardized structure and persuasive features such as repetitions and parallel constructions. How exactly the bilingual versus the fully bilingual choice option materializes in practice, is, however, not spelt out. The following extracts from the language schemes of a consulting business and an estate agency provide evidence for the discursive construction of full bilingualism.

(3) Account documents
- Every internal account document is fully bilingual.
- Cheques, Invoices and Receipts are bilingual.
- Our statutory account documents are in English only. (consulting business)

(4) Website
Our website is in English only during a period of redesigning.
The website will be fully bilingual apart from most of the property details by February 2011. (estate agency)

As can be seen in extract 3, the consulting business explicitly states which services are offered to its customers in which linguistic format. The claim in the first bullet point is strengthened by drawing on intensification strategies, realized through the adverbs "every" and "fully". However, it is not clear from the second bullet point what the difference between a "fully bilingual" and "bilingual" approach is. This vagueness is indicative of the other language schemes examined. While overtly pursuing a fully bilingual approach, it never explains what "full" entails compared to an ordinarily bilingual approach. Similarly, extract 4 details the estate agency's plans of turning the existing English-only website into a fully bilingual one. The company further lends credibility to its claim by explicitly referring to "February 2011" for realizing this corporate goal. However, the promised update has not been implemented so far, which points to the inherent tensions between managing full bilingualism "on paper" and putting promises into practice.

The apparent need to normalize full bilingualism through service choice appears to be rooted in the government's vision of creating a truly bilingual Wales (Welsh Assembly Government 2003). As discussed in section 3 of this chapter, true bilingualism has become a naturalized set phrase in public policy discourses about the promotion of Welsh and Welshness. It overtly promotes Wales as a nation of two languages which are conceived of and treated as equal. Here, the analysis shows that the term "full bilingualism" functions as a discursive recontextualization of the political logic of true bilingualism. The principle underlying this policy goal is what Coupland (2012) conceptualizes as parallel bilingualism in his work on parallel-text displays in Wales (see also Heller's (1999: 271) notion of parallel monolingualism and Blackledge and Creese's (2010: 19) concept of separate bilingualism). Following this principle, "Welsh and English must be given equal weighting and prominence, so that the same access is afforded to each language" (Coupland 2010b: 87). As the examined Welsh language schemes show, this parallelism takes shape in discursive policy practice through creating visual boundaries between Welsh and English "on paper". More importantly still, I argue that the visual boundaries reinforce ideological differences and power relations between the two languages and turn the concept of full bilingualism into an empty signifier. I will now turn to a range of narratives to understand how the discursive construct of full bilingualism is interpreted and accommodated by company managers.

5.2 Full bilingualism in managerial practice

The manager narratives point to a recurring tension over how full bilingualism is managed "on paper" and how it is interpreted and negotiated in practice. Many interviewees report on several factors that impede operating bilingually. For example, the existing company infrastructure may hinder the bilingual endeavor, such as the lack of available human and financial resources. As a result, demands to provide equal language choice cannot be met to the full. Elsewhere, I write about the dual functions of the Welsh language schemes as means of promoting and regulating bilingualism through choice (Barakos 2012). Here, the managers emphasize that language schemes function as an action commitment to how far companies go to deliver bilingual services. The schemes also create expectations which have to be managed. One such control mechanism is explicit mitigation, which I will now elaborate on in more detail.

The following narrative is provided by Glyn, a Welsh language policy manager of a telecommunications business. He explicitly mitigates the scope of his company's language scheme by claiming: "So, what our policy does, we will provide everything we can within reason". Similarly, Catrin, who works as regional communications manager in the financial industry in Cardiff, stresses that the scheme produces an explicit impression of Welsh-English language choice to customers, even though this choice is confined: "It is really trying to encourage people in the business to make customers aware that they do have a choice, for some parts of the service". At a later stage, Catrin further articulates the limited scope of bilingual service provision and the concomitant limited nature of the language scheme.

(5) Catrin: It [the scheme] just sets out our commitments in terms of how far we will go to deliver bilingual services. Being realistic, we are never going to give every service with an option "have it in Welsh or in English". For example, at the moment you cannot do online banking with this company in Welsh.

As the narratives show, the explicit mitigations of full bilingualism are enactments of recontextualization processes. In their discourses, the managers respond to and integrate elements from official Welsh language policy discourse, such as the former Welsh Language Act's principle of treating Welsh and English equally, but only where possible and reasonable (as discussed in section 3). Such discursive limitations have clearly penetrated the managers' talk. Another revealing case of managing bilingualism is provided by Helen, partner of a Cardiff-based law firm. In this narrative, she gives an account of the company's situated language policy practices regarding its website.

(6) Helen: We make sure that we have got a bilingual, a Welsh language area on our site and it's clearly marked who is able to speak Welsh by a Welsh flag. And also, I corrected myself then when I said a bilingual site, because it isn't. It's actually, we say something completely different in Welsh from the bit that we say in English. Because everyone understands English so why would we repeat the same.

One distinct corporate policy practice is that the law firm incorporates visual markers of national belonging on its website by demarcating Welsh-speaking employees through a "Welsh flag". This "banal artefact", to use Billig's (1995) term, conventionally contributes to the discursive construction of national identity. Here, this icon purports a different image. It has become recontextualized from a nationalizing discourse into a situated business discourse with the purpose of promoting as well as informing customers about who speaks Welsh. Helen then picks up her self-correction ("we have got a bilingual, a Welsh language area") at the beginning of her narrative to clarify that their website is only partly bilingual. Her claim that "everyone understands English so why would we repeat the same" is used as a justification for not having to replicate the same content of the website in Welsh and English. In a wider context, this claim is a taken-for-granted assumption that may stem from the fact that "virtually the whole population of Wales is fluent in English" (Coupland 2013: 133).

Helen's narrative ties in to Coupland's concept of parallel text bilingualism discussed previously in the extracts 3 and 4. In fact, the reported corporate practices destabilize the existing Welsh government's ideology of the equal prominence of Welsh and English in the public space, such as websites. As no legal obligations apply for this law firm to provide bilingual services, it simply tailors its service provision to a Welsh language area. Thereby, it controls and delimits access to the language based on corporate wants and needs.

Apart from bilingual service provision, the ideal of full bilingualism as equal treatment of Welsh and English is further mitigated in terms of workplace communication. Some of the managers repeatedly voice discomfort about the necessity to linguistically adapt to English in meetings if there is a non-Welsh speaker present. The respondents stress that the underlying assumption here is that speakers of Welsh could speak English anyhow so they could easily revert to English. One such scenario is illustrated by Gareth, finance director of a Welsh consulting business with offices in the more Welsh-speaking city of Bangor and in the more anglicized Bridgend, South Wales. Gareth explains that the main language of internal communication in the Bangor office is mostly Welsh because of the Welsh-speaking make-up of the employees ("we are predominantly natural Welsh speakers, first language"). By contrast, the dominant working language in Bridgend would be English. This is based on the mix of personnel consisting of Welsh people who do not speak Welsh, English people who commute to Wales and even French-speaking employees who are learners of Welsh. In the following extract, Gareth provides an account of the complexities of workplace communication – despite Welsh being the predominant language.

(7) Gareth: You know, in our own management meetings, unfortunately if there are five Welsh speakers and one English speaker around the table, the language is going to be in English, which is a frustration to us and something that the English speaker even doesn't comprehend as a frustration. But it is obviously a frustration to us. It's not a huge big deal, but that's the only way we can overcome it as a small company. If there is a non-Welsh speaking person present, then the language has got to revert, not to the language of the majority around the table, but the common language around the table being English. So that makes life difficult, I suppose.

Throughout Gareth's narrative, the switch from Welsh to English in meetings is constructed as a problem ("a frustration"; "so that makes life difficult"). Gareth's narrative confirms that the ideal of the fully bilingual workplace, premised on free language choices, is flawed. In his experience, choice is *de facto* not free but may be enforced through the implicit nature of policy mechanisms that legitimize English over Welsh language practices. As the previous narrative of Helen (extract 6) has shown, such mechanisms are accompanied by the ideology of English as the commonly shared language among all employees. Unlike Helen, however, Gareth perceives this as a genuine problem. He constructs the "English speaker" categorically as someone who "even doesn't comprehend" the frustration of having to give in to English, despite Welsh being the language of the majority "around the table". The implication of the ideology of English as the common code seems to be that language choice becomes a non-negotiable matter for the Welsh speaker.

Gareth goes on to acknowledge the role of English as the prevailing language of business and commerce in the UK. However, he questions the overall legitimacy of English in a predominantly Welsh-speaking environment, as is the case in the consulting business he works.

(8) Gareth: I know that we live in Wales and the official language really is English, but to us it's the case of why do we use English. Why do a group of Welsh speakers come together and actually offer an English service? Well, ok, the answer is blatantly obvious. We would not get 10 percent of our work if we only offered a Welsh service, but that is the real question to us. Why do we use the English language? Because we have to, it is predominantly the language of business and commerce in Wales, and obviously in the UK.

This narrative illustrates conflicting ideologies at play: Gareth shares the ideology of English as the "official language" – another common-sense argument that appears to lose its ideological character and emerges as natural, status quo and factual. At the same time, the manager resists the English hegemony and perceives the use of English as an unavoidable corporate obligation ("because we have to") in order to secure business transactions ("We would not get 10 percent of our work"). Similar to extract 7, the "English language" and "the English speaker" are discursively constructed as homogenous entities and as "the other", even a collective constraint that has to be called into question ("Why do we use the English language?"). Through the repeated use of such rhetorical questions, an oppositional discourse is generated, through which Gareth distances himself from English and its speakers, while ironically being an English speaker himself.

The narrative reveals that social group constructions of "us/the Welsh speaker" and "them/the English speaker" are nurtured in language-ideological debates to justify positions and legitimize action. Such constructions disclose ongoing power struggles between Welsh-English bilinguals and non-Welsh speakers. The group constructions also indicate existing inequalities arising from the *de facto* imbalanced status and usage of Welsh and English in business. By discursively separating the two languages and their speakers, Gareth reproduces the existing boundaries between Welsh and English that have also penetrated the previously discussed language schemes (see extracts 3 and 4).

5.3 Negotiating full bilingualism "on paper"

In alignment with the managers' perceived impossibility of full bilingualism, the action commitments in the language schemes are discursively negotiated. Corporate policy agents are thus in a powerful position to tailor their language schemes to their own desires and capacities. To illustrate this point, let us return to these schemes. The analysis shows that the element of limitedness is added strategically as a built-in commercial mitigation. The corporate language schemes relegate the bilingual choice option to "wherever possible and practical", "if appropriate" or "if it is commercially, economically and logistically feasible to do so". I argue that these explicitly stated limitations of choice in the provision of services function as commercial disclaimers. They not only justify the companies' provision of bilingualism as limited to certain activities and services, but also protect the businesses from accusations of failing to deliver on their promised actions.

The analysis of the extract from the language scheme of a telecommunications business helps exemplify the contradictions embedded in the company's endeavor to provide bilingual services.

(9) [Company] is committed to providing excellent communication services in Wales, which includes offering customers the choice of receiving those services through the medium of Welsh, wherever practical. [...] All corporate material published by [company] will be provided bilingually where practical, with both languages given equal prominence. (telecommunications business)

The extract shows the juxtaposition of intensifying and mitigating strategies regarding the company's commitment to a bilingual customer service. Here, choice, as an ideological manifestation, becomes recontextualized from the

Welsh national policy discourse into this corporate policy discourse by reconfiguring and appropriating the scope of choice so that it fits a different context (Bernstein 1990: 183–184). Thereby, its meaning undergoes transformation to accommodate the company's desires and capacities. Specifically, the company treats choice as "choice of service" and repeatedly adds the element "wherever practical" as a mitigating strategy, which hedges the confidence of the assertion and reinforces detachment from the claim. Such explicitly stated limitations of service choice have to be understood within the situated logics of the businesses to provide bilingual services on a merely voluntary basis, unlike the public sector's legal obligation.

Similarly, the language scheme of a financial services provider recontextualizes choice from the official Welsh language policy discourse and reconfigures its meaning, as exemplified below.

(10) To achieve a position where financial services offered by [company] in Wales are provided and conducted through the medium of Welsh or English according to our customers' chosen language. (financial services provider)

Based on the customer's wishes, the company aims to offer bilingual services "through the medium of Welsh or English", while the option "both" is erased here. Yet, in a later section of the language scheme, the "bilingual" option is included again: "Local advertising is placed in either Welsh or English or bilingually as deemed most appropriate". The built-in commercial mitigation foregrounds the company's individual control and management of the borders of bilingualism in business. This extract illustrates the inconsistent treatment of choice and the nuanced discursive negotiations of bilingual services on monolingual Welsh or English terms. It further gives rise to the fundamental question of what counts as a bilingual business in the first place and who gets to decide about the scope and limits of bilingualism.

6 Conclusion and implications

This chapter has used Wales as a case study to examine the nexus of policy, ideology and practice in institutionalized business settings in Wales. It has provided a vital glimpse into the discursive construction of full bilingualism and its attendant negotiations in Welsh language schemes and in managerial practice. In this chapter, I have also argued for the value of bringing together the analysis of policy texts, ideologies and practices to account for the mutual relation between policy and interaction in bilingual businesses. Discourse has been central to the present language policy investigation, both as an analytical category *per se* and as the means through which bilingualism becomes constructed, interpreted, negotiated and recontextualized in text and talk. I conclude by discussing some of the implications and policy conundrums in need of resolution.

The discussion of full bilingualism in companies' voluntary Welsh language schemes as well as managers' experiences and reported practices has shown that an ideological dichotomy is created. On the one hand, the status of Welsh is elevated by allowing it access to certain fields of business and by company endeavors to offer a fully bilingual service to its customers, following the Welsh government's principles of true bilingualism and a model of free choice. At the same time, the role of the language is subordinated by reducing the equality of Welsh and English to "wherever practical" through mitigation strategies. I have argued that such mitigations help cover the companies from any promises that cannot be fulfilled. This ideological dichotomy has to be seen in the context of the voluntary role Welsh has played in business. It also reflects a contemporary phenomenon – the shift from central control to multiple normativities (Pennycook 2010; Kelly-Holmes 2013: 9).

The examined businesses have so far tailored their language policy decisions to their economic self-interests, i.e. their situational needs, wants, and financial and human resource conditions – without being centrally controlled by the government. One implication arising from this *laissez-faire* policy approach is that the Welsh language schemes are deployed as self-organizing regulatory and normativizing tools as well as promotional resources whose access and scope can be managed. Welsh is marketed as a product or service the company offers as part of its repertoire. Language becomes constructed as part of a corporate identity, and the promotional language schemes are essential in disseminating the bilingual offer among customers and staff, at the same time as they control it (see also Barakos 2016). Another implication is that the sociolinguistic reality of the imbalance between Welsh and English in business is merely reproduced in the Welsh language schemes, which discursively construe Welsh and English as oppositional entities.

The study further points to the tensions between top-down planning agendas and bottom-up realities. The government's aspiration of achieving true bilingualism in all aspects of Welsh life appears to be even more challenging for the more diverse and less robust nature of the private sector, within which the range and scope of bilingual service provision is more fragmented than in the public sector. The analysis of the policy data and the managers' narratives has demonstrated that Welsh corporate policy practices and political logics are mutually constitutive. The construct of full bilingualism functions as a discursive recontextualization of the Welsh political logic of a truly bilingual Wales and the broader logics of the global knowledge economy, which has nurtured the commodification of linguistic diversity and turned language into an object of economic interest. In this vein, the discursive patterns across the corporate policy data and the manager narratives reinforce the social structures that shape them.

As we have seen from the experiences of the company managers, there is a perceived need for keeping Welsh and English separate, whether in terms of customer service offers or in workplace interaction. This concern appears to be indicative of bilingual minority/majority contexts. In such cases, language separation is deemed essential for its survival (Duchêne and Heller 2007; Jaffe 2007). The legitimacy of one language, often the minority language, is thus realized by distancing it from the dominant majority language. As Blackledge and Creese (2010: 221) argue: "The demand for the separation of languages is often associated with a need to drop anchor and hold on to what is known and to what is owned". In the case of the Welsh language schemes, this distancing is realized through demarcated choice options "on paper". Such language separation has also penetrated managerial practices. The recurring ideology of English as the default and official language in business is manifest in some managers' narratives through an explicit "us" and "them" demarcation. The concept of full bilingualism thus seems to nurture boundaries between languages and reproduces monolingual norms. It also reinforces the ideological conception of languages as confined, separate and homogenous systems tied to a territory, culture and identity (Bauman and Briggs 2003).

Language policy makers and researchers critically engaging with policy, ideology and practice in bi- and multilingual spaces such as Wales are given cause for destabilizing the problematic conceptualization of bilingualism on commodified terms of "fullness" and on terms of language separation, under the guise of choosing the *one* or the *other* language. Such practices ultimately delimit the promotion and realization of a Wales that has Welsh and English as *de facto* interacting, dynamic, flexible and hybrid languages, and a set of other languages co-existing, co-interacting and in need of public policy debate.

Given the current language policy movement towards pushing parts of the private sector, which has so far pursued a voluntary approach, into the realm of legal obligation, the study of language ideological debates and practices in Welsh business continues to be a promising and exciting area of research. The conditions of the new Welsh language standards system, which supersedes the current Welsh language schemes, need to be examined critically to determine whether and how they can ensure that "people can live their lives through English, Welsh or both languages" (Welsh Government 2014: 4). And it will be the neglected "both" option in particular that deserves the most pressing attention.

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Alessia Cogo and Patchareerat Yanaprasart

"English is the language of business": An exploration of language ideologies in two European corporate contexts

Abstract: The increased linguistic and cultural diversity of international workplaces challenges different understandings of corporate language, corporate communication and even language ideologies. The understanding, attitudes and ideologies towards language and language policies of members in culturally and linguistically mixed teams are an important aspect of business communication studies that so far has received little attention. Through an analysis of two case studies of MNCs in Switzerland and Italy in the banking sector, based on semi-structured interviews with employees in those companies, this paper aims to explore ideologies of multilingualism and English that dominate in the workplace and those that underpin the official and unofficial corporate policies adopted. The dominant discourse is that "English is the language of business" and it remains a fixed and unquestioned corporate language. However, the importance of collaborative, flexible and multilingual practices at all levels of professional communication has been highlighted in the experiences reported by business professionals interviewed. The use of BELF and other languages does not necessarily function, as companies' policies would require, following the monolingual language separation mode, but in a mixed, fluid and flexible mode. Finally, the promotion of a translingual use of BELF in corporate communication may allow flexibility and equality in dealing with the diversity of repertoires and access to resources for plurilingual employees.

Keywords: Language ideologies, multilingualism, Business English as a lingua franca, translanguaging, plurilingual repertoire, OLAT/OLON

1 Introduction

An increasing number of companies are opening branches around the world and operating in different countries and business realities. This often involves a growing mobile workforce and the development of international teams. The globalization of the economy, therefore, contributes to the development of more multilingual and multicultural workplaces and the issue of work communication has been given some attention in communication studies. However, the use of

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a corporate language or different *lingua francas*, more commonly English as a *lingua franca*, and other multilingual means of communication has only recently started to be considered an important aspect of business communication.

The common discourse is that English is reported to be the most useful language of the banking business, though the local language and the language of the company's headquarter(s) also play an important role. Large-scale surveys confirm that, depending on the local or specific business context, other languages than English can serve as *linguae francae* (Angouri and Miglbauer 2013). In fact, in the two multinational companies (MNCs) explored in this paper, not only English but also French, German and Italian are used as local languages or unofficial media of communication in some international exchanges. With increased linguistic and cultural diversity of international workplaces people come into contact with and challenge different understanding of corporate language, corporate communication and even "language". Their understanding, attitudes and ideologies towards language and language policies are an important aspect that so far has received little or no attention in business communication studies. However, as Nekvapil and Sherman (2013) point out in their study of multinationals in the Czech Republic, language ideologies have a "normative character" (p.90) and inevitably guide or underlie communicative practices in the workplace. Therefore their analysis is particularly important to help us to understand specific communicative practices of inclusion and exclusion in the workplace.

In this paper we explore two case studies of MNCs in Switzerland and Italy. Based on semi-structured interviews with employees in those companies, this contribution aims to explore ideologies towards multilingualism and English that dominate in the workplace and those that underpin the official and unofficial corporate policies adopted.

2 Language ideologies in MNCs

The main focus of this paper is language ideologies and their impact on MNCs policies, their employees and discursive practices. Silverstein describes language ideologies as "any sets of beliefs about languages articulated by the users as a rationalization or justification of perceived language structure and use" (1979:193). Like other kinds of ideologies, language ideologies involve simplifications of reality that have specific consequences in everyday practices, and can lead to potentially discriminatory or stereotyped assumptions. In this paper we explore the ideologies and discourses around languages that have specific consequences for employees' practices in MNCs. It is also important to note that language ideologies are not only explicit, but they can be implied in implicit assumptions (Gal 1989) about the nature of language and its practices.

Languages cover various instrumental and phatic functions in business contexts – they can be used as the corporation medium of communication, or for the international coordination of production, as the employees' medium of communication and also for the local communication exchanges. In the international corporation, these functions need to be managed and the possibilities of using one or more languages have been explored in the literature (Piekkari, Welch, and Welch 2015). Traditionally companies would identify at least three main strategies for the management of company communication: a) the company uses the local language, b) the company uses another language c) the company adopts a *lingua franca* (Vandermeeren 1998). More recently, companies have started looking into possibilities of using more than one language for communication (and our case studies are a confirmation of that tendency), but mostly these policies respond to the OLAT (one language at a time), or even OLON (one language only), principles (Yanaprasart 2015a).

Related to the concept of the transparency of language(s) where *one language fits all* (Yanaprasart 2016a), languages are often considered as separate and fixed entities, which *should* be used one at a time. Even when, as with recent developments, companies do allow for more than one official language, they are not supposed to be used together or in mixed form. For instance, in a study of a trilingual Swiss public service company (Lüdi et al. 2009) the official policy adopts a "juxtaposing" language management, which is based on a fundamentally monolingual vision of communication. In the company's *Linguistic Guide* (3rd edition September 2008: 24), it is recommended that speakers of different languages have to choose a working language in meetings:

> Our meetings will be more efficient and take less time if we observe the points following: [...] If participants are from several linguistic regions, we set to agree on one working language.

From a company language management perspective, these multiple languages are allowed but can be used only one at a time. However, in daily and professional communications between collaborators with different repertoires, more "mixed" strategies are employed, involving different forms of multilingual speaking, and these practices are normally not sanctioned by the company's policies. To handle linguistic dynamics in the workplace, employees exploit their respective multilingual repertoires to achieve communicative goals, be it under the form of code-switching or language mixing (Cogo 2009; Klimpfinger 2009; Lüdi 2007; Lüdi, Höchle, and Yanaprasart 2010, 2013), receptive multilingualism (Werlen 2007), or translanguaging practices in contexts of superdiversity (Cogo 2012).

Despite mixed and flexible language practices, business communication studies still advocate a common language as the solution to linguistic diversity in the workplace. Lehmann and van den Bergh (2004) clearly mention that multicultural teams must choose a professional common language to communicate to each other. In their views, a common means of communication allows them to exploit at best their diverse skills. For some, the lack of a common language, first and foremost, prevents effective communication. Introducing a common language into the internal communication of multinational companies has been seen as a panacea for the problem of language differences for quite a long time. Appeals for a new, universal language, a special code (Peters and Waterman 1982) that would be unambiguous and have the facility to describe things as they truly are, have been put forward in the past. More recently, proposals have been less ideal and more towards the use of one existing language. Phene, Madhok and Liu (2005) support the idea of a shared language as a component of corporate identity that enables an MNC to transmit and share knowledge.

But there is a dark side to this choice. Welch and Welch (2008) argue that — even if the adoption of a common corporate language is beneficial for the flow of information — it often introduces new barriers and forms distortion. Members of staff risk being marginalized or isolated because of their weak competence in the company language, and they may feel discriminated or excluded if they are not comfortable with the language they must adopt. In other words, the policy of a single corporate language does not remove the language barrier in face-to-face verbal interaction, but recasts the language problem by pushing it further down the hierarchy, and creating new configurations of linguistic power. As language can be used as a tool in the creation and recreation of power (Gaibrois 2015; Yanaprasart and Gaibrois (eds.) 2017), the policy of uni/monolingualism does not guarantee the success of interpersonal interaction (Welch and Welch (2008), especially when the monolingual solutions constitute a conventional and simplistic style of thinking (cf. Martin 2007).

The ideologies of one language as more effective medium of communication, of language separation and fixity also underlie more recent discourses concerning English as a corporate language (cf. Cogo 2015). In international business contexts, especially MNCs, referring to English only as a corporate language has become a common practice, if not an official recognition of the company's language policy. In its role of corporate language, "English" is now a requirement in globalized business and, even more, an essential aspect of business knowledge. However, clear definitions of what kind of "English" is meant to be a corporate language are very rarely provided. When no further specification is added, the usual interpretation is that the kind of English considered is a native variety, usually British or American, and a fixed entity without multilingual influences. This is not, though, what happens when English is used as a business language in international contexts.

3 Business English as a Lingua franca (BELF)

In practice, when English is used in the international arena it is often adapted and shaped to the local context and participants. In other words, it is not the English of native speakers, but Business English as a Lingua franca (BELF). Most studies in the professional area confirm the overall tendency for BELF users to focus on the content of the message and understanding of business ideas, rather than foregrounding accuracy in linguistic terms. In the words of one professional in Ehrenreich's study, "I must say I'm confronted with so many levels of correctness that I don't actually care whether something is correct or incorrect. As long as the meaning is not distorted" (Ehrenreich, 2010: 418). Kankaanranta and Planken (2010: 399) compare the use of BELF in professional contexts "to the ability to use a computer: you could not do your work without it in today's international workplace".

It is not uncommon for professionals to make reference to variation in linguistic proficiency among the people they come in contact with in the workplace, and often comments include easiness or difficulty of accents, and native speakers tend to be singled out as the most difficult interlocutors (cf. Rogerson-Revell 2008; Sweeney and Zhu 2010). This is not so surprising if we think that professionals operate with a range of L1 and L2 speakers of English who potentially display variation in their speech at all levels, lexico-grammar, phonology and pragmatics. What makes their communication work, therefore, is not so much adherence to "native speaker norms", but a flexibility to accommodate to the unexpected (Cogo 2009; Cogo and House 2017) and adapt their pragmatic and strategic competence to the various communicative challenges of the international workplace. Accommodation, relational talk and rapport-building are seen as essential aspects of communication in (B)ELF environments (Jenkins 2014; Mauranen 2012; Seidlhofer 2011).

Studies exploring business discourse, notably through the analysis of naturally-occurring data from BELF contexts, also demonstrated that BELF communication is intrinsically intercultural, and for that business professionals need to be able to deal not only with multiple backgrounds and identities, but also with different ways of operating or acting in multiple business cultures (Kankaanranta and Planken 2010; Yanaprasart 2018). On that basis, because of the cultural hybridity of these contexts, some scholars also focused their research on negotiation of meaning, the co-construction of understanding and the strategies used to solve non-understanding (Cogo and Dewey 2012; Pitzl 2005; Zhu 2015). This discourse focus highlighted the importance of collaborative practices at all levels of professional communication and provided important findings in BELF-based interactions.

The other aspect that the research in BELF has emphasized is the multilingual nature of BELF itself. Studies have shown that it is not only English resources that shape BELF, but multilingual repertoires are normally brought up to play in communicative practices. Some studies emphasize that English is a “must” while a repertoire of resources is appreciated strategically (Ehrenreich 2009; Pullin Stark 2010), others explore the issue of language choice and the importance of other languages for work matters, not only for relationship building (Charles 2007; Chew 2005; Erling and Walton 2007; Evans 2013; Zhu 2014). In some of these studies, issues concerning English, in its potentially excluding or gatekeeping role, are also emphasized (Miglbauer 2017), something we will expand on below. The main point to make is that English is seen as “only English”, as separate from the other languages and in competition with them for a role in the business. BELF, however, is a multilingual medium, it is shaped by the multilingual repertoires of the speakers and co-constructed in the international workplace. In other words, BELF is a dynamic medium of communication with multilingual resources coming to play in and within English in the professional workplace (Cogo 2012, 2017; Hülmbauer 2013; Zhu 2014; Cogo 2017).

4 Context, methodology and data overview

In this paper we compare results from two case studies concerning two MNCs, which are part of the authors’ previous and on-going work, focusing on the dominant language ideologies. The study explores two very different multilingual settings, highlighting the complex interplay between contextual-organizational elements, observed practices and participants’ views regarding language use, with the aim of exploring the language ideologies prevalent in two different contexts and institutional environments. The specific questions include an investigation of the ideologies and philosophies that have an impact on those policies and attitudes of the employees dealing with language-related practices on a daily basis.

The first study, a Swiss National Foundation-funded research project (100015_147315, cf. Yanaprasart 2015b), focused on the way in which companies manage diversity at work on the one hand and tried to identify the advantages and drawbacks of linguistic diversity in the Swiss situation as a multilingual state on the other hand. The study aimed at understanding the development of local diversity management practices (local initiatives) and the way of managing several aspects of workplace diversity as described by the field workers. Its main focus was to uncover the language regimes and the relevance or not of linguistic diversity as a part of the organizational diversity management. As part of this study involving ten firms – be it multinational, national and regional, a banking Swiss multinational corporation, BANK A, is selected to contribute to the comparative analysis of this paper.

The second study is part of a project involving three different companies in three different countries (cf. Cogo 2012, 2015, 2016b), focused on the ways in which companies manage multilingualism and English or ELF in the workplace. The project aimed at understanding the policies and practices driving the regulations of language and uncovering the attitudes and ideologies which influenced those regulatory practices. While the project constitutes a multi-sited ethnography, the research presented in this paper concerns BANK B, the Italian branches of a multinational banking corporation, with headquarters in France and branches all over the world, including a financial hub in Italy which is the main location for the investigation of this paper.

Despite differences in the theoretical approach and specific research questions, both studies collected significant qualitative data on language use and policies in the banking MNCs, which could be fruitfully compared. Methodologically, in both projects we used a mixed-methods approach or triangulation of methods: analysis of texts documenting explicit language strategies, including different kinds of company documents (e.g. internal magazines, websites, job advertisements, intranet documentation, emails etc.), interviews with key players in the company HR department and interviews with employees, observations of the company's offices.

This paper is an exploratory comparison of language ideologies in two different MNCs. Although the site of investigation for BANK A is the Swiss headquarters, and for BANK B is the Italian branches of a French bank, the kind of work that the headquarters and the branches cover is in many ways similar and makes it comparable data-wise. The work these two banks do concerns most areas related to the financial business, such as accounting, sales, management of various operations (including projects, market and liquidity risk management), treasury, income, security and IT services.

5 Monolingual ideologies and multilingual practices

The focus of this paper is on language ideologies and discourses constructed by employees in two MNCs. The driving research questions, which guided the comparison of our data, concerned the role of multilingualism and English in the MNCs, and the attitudes and ideologies that underlie the multilingual and English practices in the workplace.

From the companies' top management point of view, adopting one common language is generally seen as a common-sense decision for communication in the MNCs. In both our studies, a monolingual language ideology is largely shared by the investigated multinationals, and this becomes obvious in the discourses of the interviewed participants, such as “English is the official management language [...] of the company” or “The language of banking is English. English is the official language of BANK A” or “It’s impossible to think of working in our field without knowing at least English” and “English is the language of corporate banking” (BANK B).

However, while discourses about the effectiveness and usefulness of a common language are widespread and agreement is generally towards that language being English, actual official language policies seem to address the issue differently. When asked to clarify what English and if there is a specific variety of English that is the preferred language, there is still a lot of confusion. BANK A clearly specifies that “it is American English”. If this latter is recognized as “the official language of the company”, “here at BANK A, it’s not really clear what the corporate language is”, because people “have a lot of freedom to do things” in multiple languages. In the Swiss quadrilingual linguistic landscape the workplace is obviously multilingual. BANK A designates “American English” as the company’s official language and recognizes a duo “English-German” as the corporate working languages at the headquarters in Zurich, whereas French and Italian constitute its means of communication on the company’s websites and external communication with clients and stakeholders, as well as internally with colleagues in French or Italian speaking parts.

For BANK B the situation is a little different. The employees recognize English as the main corporate language, but the required variety seems unclear. They seem to gravitate towards British English, “because most of our business relations are with British offices”. English is not the only official language, it is accompanied by another corporate language, French, and so BANK B too seems to rely on a duo (English-French) of official languages. While most official aspects of the MNC are done in English there is quite a lot of the company’s management work that is done in French. This is justified by the interviewees referring to the company’s origins, when the company was locally serving a specific geographical region, and to French being the language used historically at the beginning of their banking business. But this is not the whole picture. Historical developments have played a very important role in the official language policy decisions, so that Dutch and Italian were added to the pool of official company’s languages when historical mergers took place.

Corporate language is the black box of business communication studies, something obscure and alien, something that does not need to be investigated. In fact the processes that happen inside the box are obscure and therefore the black box of English as a corporate language is objectified and seen as something that does not need explaining. This, as a consequence, implies that the concept is reified and conceived as monolithic, as one entity (see Cogo 2016a). Various companies deal with this concept differently – sometimes the notion of corporate language is dealt with in official language policies, whereby language choice decisions are explicitly formulated and one or more specific languages are mentioned as corporate languages. Sometimes other companies adopt a laissez-faire mode and language choices are left to ad-hoc realizations. Louhiala-Salminen and Kankaanranta (2012) describe these as "multilingual strategy" and "emergent strategy" respectively. In the cases of BANK A and BANK B the situation is even more complicated because monolingual ideologies are constantly facing and struggling with multilingual practices.

5.1 The case of BANK A

BANK A is a Swiss-based multinational bank, headquartered in Zurich. It operates in over 50 countries, employing more than forty-five thousands individuals from over 150 different nations. BANK A, on its website, describes itself as "A Financial Partner Who Speaks Your Language", and who is familiar with specific requirements of clients' sector – one who speaks your language. The Regional Head of Diversity and Inclusion, T.M,[1] underlines the attractiveness of Swiss multilingualism as a big advantage for the companies based in this country. On the one hand, she points out that it is important that "we have to have employees who speak the language of our clients."[2] BANK A offers a global website (.com) in five languages and in four languages for the Swiss local website (.ch) in the following order: EN, DE, FR, IT, SP. On the other hand, "the language of banking is English to serve people all around the world. English is the official language of BANK A", points out T.M., because BANK A has become an international bank. Although, there is not an official recognition of the company's language policy and none of our respondents was able to find either written documentation, or guidelines on language usage and practice clearly documented, "English is our corporate language" has been widely stated.

1 All names and initials used in both studies are pseudonyms or changed initials which have been altered for ethical reasons.

2 Data quoted in this paper was originally in Italian, German, French or English depending on the participants' language choice for the interviews. Where Italian, German or French were used, we have translated the interview extracts into English. In this contribution, all interviews with <Bank A> were conducted in English. T.M. is a German citizen and J.K. came from England. R B. G. has Spanish as her mother tongue. All chose to use English, as it is their professional language, in the interview.

The idea of one international bank having one corporate language is emphasized. In the quote below, J.K., an English native speaker responsible for internal language training, stresses the role of English in doing that, especially the contact with native speakers.

> The bank is doing quite well. We become one bank. We were divided divisions and now one bank, one international bank. A lot of people are becoming more into contact with English native speakers than before. (J.K.)

The bank chose to specify a national variety of English, “American English”. This choice may be explained by the partnership in the late 1970s between BANK A and a New-York based investment bank. For J.K., the two varieties of English, British and American, are not of importance.

> We got once an email from the CEO, saying that English in the bank would be American English, and not British English. [...] In my mind, I didn’t think this is very important because sometimes Swiss people tend to get excited about the difference between British English and American English. The British and American don’t bother much. Everybody understands everybody more or less. (J.K.)

T.M. recognizes a big “linguistic” challenge in the perception that “English is not enough in Switzerland [...] you have to do multilingual reports. [...] English is not enough, cannot sell this product to customers here in Switzerland. It was sometimes a little bit challenging”. Because of the nature of their work, the multilingual core team of diversity and inclusion values the members’ linguistic resources, which are seen as five distinct languages: English, German, French, Italian and Dutch.

To address the linguistic challenge, translations are put forward as the solution with regard to external communication. Written information has to be transmitted in the local language, alongside English. “In Switzerland, we translate most of the official documents, our pages, our intranet in at least four languages. It’s always German, Italian, French, and English. This is how we operate”. This practice can be related to the corporate social responsibility in terms of equal opportunity, equal treatment, and equal employment policy. BANK A places considerable emphasis on the importance of ethical values and professional standards, and language equality seems to be equated with access to translation: “Employees’ correspondences or policies, compliance trainings, etc. documents that we use internally are translated”. In addition, the code of conduct exists in Chinese, English, French, German, Italian, Japanese, Korean, Polish, Portuguese and Spanish. T.M. explains that “the number of languages depends on the country”. This language policy seems to be influenced by the “traditional one nation-one language ideology” (Hüning, Vogl, and Moliner 2012: 34); the number of languages to be translated directly corresponds to the number of national or local languages of the country's branch.

Translation services are generally offered to ensure the understanding of every participant. Whereas English and German dominate in the workplace at the headquarters, two other national languages, French and Italian, also take the role of local *lingua franca*, particularly in regional offices. In meetings and events, participants are invited to feel free to use the language of their choice. Forcing everybody to employ English is not the firms' way of doing: "if you don't understand, you can ask. If you want to contribute, you can contribute in your mother tongue. So you can use English, Italian or French. We don't have this approach of forcing everybody to talk English." T. M. makes clear that English is not an absolute linguistic competence to have, because "Sometimes it's more important that people speak Swiss German than English or speak French or speak Portuguese or Chinese or Japanese."

Even if BANK A does not use English as an overruling language and permits the use of local languages in order to ease communication, and even supports the parallel use of languages, the firm's language management is to put a strong strategic role for English so as to reinforce a monolingual corporate language policy. A minimum knowledge in English is increasingly required, as not all documents are expected to be translated into German and the other languages. Employees have been asked to be able to "understand and read English documents" (T.M.).

The trends towards promoting "one language only" policy is accompanied by a growing assumption that speaking English is all that is needed for the global professional of tomorrow. This is also reflected in the following comment of J.K.: "English seems to be far more important, the one they need to have. We used to have internal courses for French. Now we just have English internally". Whereas this teacher observes the decrease of the value of investing in other languages than English training among employees, to produce the level of language capabilities through language training takes considerable time. T.M. shares her dilemma: the use of English is still a big problem for a number of her colleagues, this regardless of the company's effort:

> I have a lot of colleagues on my level who are not used to talk English in their work because they have Swiss customers and they only have Swiss people around them. And then they go to top talent training and suddenly everything is in English and they are not used to it. (T.M.)

And when the question of English appears, it is rarely clarified which kind of English it is referred to: "If you are speaking English, what English we are talking about?" According to T.M. speaking English has "a lot of colors". There is not one model of speaking English, but English is plural. This way of perceiving things may "help people who are not good in English to overcome this barrier".

Additionally, the unclearness about corporate language is not perceived as a negative point. On the contrary, freedom in language choice is equated with originality. The English official language does not exclude other multiple working languages.

> Here at BANK A, it’s not really clear what the corporate language is. Because we have a lot of freedom to do things in German, or Italian or Japanese or Portuguese or whatever, and I also like this. It makes it NOT EASY but I think it’s good also for the people because it’s part of their personality, part of their originality. They can also live this while they are all in business. (T.M.)

Employees in BANK A tend to emphasize that the “not necessary-perfectionism” is perceived as a challenge rather than a weakness. If one language does not work quite well, let’s use another one in a pragmatic manner.

> In the past, I used to think the Swiss were very fussy about their language. They hardly opened their mouth and must be 100% perfect. I have feeling that changed now. You get quite a lot of people who just have to and they just throw into it. (J.K.)

Despite the expectation to use only English, J.K. does not hesitate to step out of her linguistic comfort zone by choosing German, the local language and the mother tongue of the majority of her colleagues, as a sign of respect (“If I am with German speakers and I am the only English speaker. I feel bad if I speak English”), of solidarity (“If I feel that people are struggling to speak English, or if it is not so relaxing, so that I prefer speaking in German so they don’t have to struggle”). And as J.K. explains, “Obviously, my German is far from perfect for various reasons. [...] What I speak is a terrible mixture between Swiss German and High German. [...] But it’s fairly fluent”. This illustration interestingly reflects J.K’s ideology of what “language use” means to her. In the eyes of this plurilingual language user, what prevails in multilingual business settings is a not a “perfect” language knowledge, but a “pragmatic” language use when attempting to find local solutions to practical problems. Switching to the language of the other is a practical way to cross linguistic borders and give equal access to all participants in interaction (Yanaprasart 2017).

Furthermore, it turns out to be that mixed language use or a multilingual *franca* approach is a common mode of professional communication in international business settings. Despite the fact that the genre of banking in itself is associated with English, translation is not always the most efficient way for dealing with business conversation, as a managing director and her assistant[3] point out.

3 Sometimes I found some words in German for example really more adapted to what I was feeling more than in French and in a way it’s true that you can use some words to say something better about your feeling and you can communicate better. (L.T.)

Exploiting, instead, the multilingual resources of all team's members by using all languages at the same time (ALAST) is quite natural.

> Sometimes, it happened that we started in one language and finished in a different language because you don't find the right word right away. So it's a mixture. Or sometimes we have a presentation written in English but delivered in French or written in French and but delivered in English. For people, they feel more comfortable because first of all you mix the languages that you can express yourself, understand exactly what you meant with the richness of your vocabulary. Your potential of vocabulary is much bigger and richer. (R B. G.)

Instead of respecting at any price the monolingual ideology of "one language at a time", that risks impeding the effectiveness of group communication, these interviewees seem to agree on the point that making use of their multilingual resources allows them to accommodate much more to their interlocutors in this multilingual business setting. Besides, this communicative approach assumes that a *lingua franca* does not consist of one language. To optimize cross-language communication, *BELF* is used, which is a hybrid, mixed form of languaging, or translanguaging. Speakers mobilize their multilingual resources in complex and simultaneous ways, by moving away from any singular norm to perform a range of creative, dynamic and transgressive discursive practices.

What we have seen above is that the external environment affects the company's strategy and thus elements of its internationalization strategy. And for BANK A, there is no doubt about the central role of English as the global business language, especially in the banking world (economic challenge). However, in practice BELF is used not exclusively as English, but alongside and mixed with local languages (identity based issue). BANK A does, still, respect the linguistic diversity in accumulating the unilingual formats, by offering services and providing information in several languages, but separately, "one language at a time". In this monolingual ideology of multilingualism, each language has its own space, separated from that of the others. But for all that, multilingual language mixing, which is not sanctioned formally, actually appears to be a common oral practice in linguistically mixed teams. Polyglot employees mobilize their multilingual repertoire, passing from one language to another, and mixing languages. Indeed, while the firm makes choices about employing which language should be used in which function, individuals choose whether, when, how they want to use their language skills to access to the information provided by the company or to interact with their colleagues. If it is true that BANK A opts for the multilingual solution to manage language diversity in the workplace, this is operated in a way that fulfils the business expectations rather than with the conviction of equality of treatment and opportunity.

5.2 The case of BANK B

The official languages of BANK B are Dutch, English, French and Italian. However, this is not what the employees of the bank think the language policy is. The official policy of the MNC is not known to the participants who, until the researcher pointed that out, believed there was an “English only”, or at the most, an “English and French” language policy. In the branch of BANK B, Italian is normally chosen as the local working language, but French is used when communication involves representatives from the French offices, while English is the unofficial *lingua franca* in other international communication. In relation to other languages (in this case Italian for the Italian branch and French for the headquarters), the comments from the Italian case study show that linguistic resources are used in complex and inter-related ways. The participants say they are involved in a constellation of activities in different languages, which are interconnected – they may deal in Italian or French in a conference call and then write up the decision reached in that call in an English email. Other times, the spoken conference call can be mainly in English and then employees need to write up the minutes in Italian for the local colleagues or the internal newsletter.

For instance, P2f has an administrative role in the BANK B and, as part of her job, she receives calls from other colleagues outside the company or clients and uses English more often, French less often, with them “because they do not know Italian”. When she is asked how she feels about using English for work she comments in positive ways and making reference to establishing relationships with the people she interacts with.

> It is interesting no? To have to confront yourself with other people because you create a minimum of relationship with them so if you talk again the following time you ask how they are and where they’ve been on holiday and so, it is interesting. (P2f)

The interviews and observations of working practices at BANK B show how English is associated with various and overlapping functions. Using English is not only connected with business specific communication, but also with doing small talk and relational work with colleagues and clients. There was no obvious distinction among languages that did identity/cultural work and languages that worked for transactional purposes, although all participants considered English as “*the* language of business”, and this was emphasized in many occasions.

> Not everybody speaks French so we do the meeting in English. […] in Italian? No generally Italian is not used for these meetings (P5m)

The importance of English above all other languages is reiterated in all interviews with the participants, the main point being that there is a hierarchical importance among the languages used in the bank, which is recognized and reiterated by the employees, such as P4m, who said that "even though we are in a French bank, the main language is still English" and P9m "if you want any chance of working here you must speak English, but French is certainly appreciated". Corporate languages are not all on the same level, English and French are prioritized over the other two official languages, and this is also reinforced by the (mis-) understanding that "English and possibly French" are the only official languages of the company. The employees interviewed are also condescending to this situation, as they do not expect colleagues outside Italy to be able to communicate in Italian with them.

> The French colleagues for instance know a little English and no Italian [...] I actually realized that knowing a language, at least one language, is essential in the workplace, especially in the bank sector. (P2f)

Knowledge of other languages is appreciated in the branch and in the headquarters, as confirmed by the employees and also by the linguistic training they receive, but English has priorities over the other languages and is used for gatekeeping functions. Employees have the option of taking English and French classes, which are run according to demand, but in practice their French classes need to be justified and the request for French tuition is not automatically met. The employees interviewed confirmed that they all took English classes at some point in their career and some of them took French classes too. However, while current employees are supported in their language learning and development, for new recruits, knowledge of English is assessed at recruitment stage, and therefore seen as gatekeeping function for entry to work in this field. In order to work in finance, all employees reported that English is "a pre-requisite", with any new employee having to be interviewed in English.

> English is "a conditio sine qua non" (.) [...] it would be impossible to manage these kinds of activities without speaking English. (P6f)

All new recruits need to demonstrate competence in English, whether from their education or their experience. The early-career interviewees talked about how the role of English was emphasized during the work selection process, "they said now we do the interview in English but it did not last long eh I studied in English and they understood stopped after a little time" (P18f), and another participant reported "they changed to English like that [...] they wanted to check I could speak English" (P19m). It is clear that in BANK B, English is cited as the most useful language for the employees’ careers and candidates’ competence in English is repeatedly reported as an important aspect of recruitment, and therefore used as a gatekeeper to access to employment. French, however, is also mentioned in its position of gatekeeping. Only those who speak French get access to the French documents from the headquarters and the people who speak French seem to get to the company’s higher positions.

Even with the English requirements at interview stage, some employees are not necessarily able to use English for work, mainly because their position does not require English skills. Some of the people involved in the study said they were not proficient in English or that they did not use English very often for their job. These were the people who found themselves at the margin of the international community of practice or the ones who would provide support to the core employees in the team. They all confirmed that Italian was still the main language used in the branches and also the local language used in the retail business. When asked about the possible provision of translation services, BANK B employees confirmed that the MNC does not have any translation services or a specific department allocated to this, and a few employees said they would sometimes work on translating official documents. In BANK B, translation is done by volunteering members of staff who have other roles in the company, rather than by trained translators or people employed for that task. Translations of official documents from French/English into the local languages are clearly not a priority of the company.

The diminished role of translation is also connected to the role of diversity in the company and the diversity policy specifications. Similarly to BANK A, in BANK B there is a diversity policy that is clearly operating at the overall MNC level for all sites and branches. The policy concerns the idea of resisting “all forms of discrimination” and the emphasis is placed on gender, age, disability and ethnicity, but there is no mention of protecting or defending any kind of linguistic diversity.

What we have seen for BANK B is in many ways similar to BANK A. Here too, there is an understanding of English as the only appropriate language for transactional, more business-related purposes and communication, with the general discourse being that “English is better than other languages to deal with business it has short words and more precise, French is a lot of rhetorical long phrasing”. The concept of English is not questioned and variation, including multilingual phenomena, is accepted in practice but not in official situations. In terms of the diversity policy, BANK B does not refer to linguistic diversity in any policy matter, and, unlike BANK A, practices of translation are not contemplated, not regulated and do not seem to be at the core of the company communication.

Overall, it seems that, in this banking sector, English is still considered the most important linguistic resource and it is a monolingual approach to English that is valued, not an ELF understanding, whereby different linguistic resources are used in a *lingua franca* situation. Languages tend to be kept separate in theory, although in practice, employees' communication activities appear to be more flexible. This hierarchy of separate languages, with English at the top, is also accompanied by the use of English for gatekeeping purposes, though other languages (such as French, or local languages generally) can also be used for gatekeeping purposes at different levels or stages of employment and career, and for access to important aspects of the job.

6 Conclusions

In both studies covered in this paper, our participants concluded that English is essential in some ways or within some aspects of their jobs. The understanding that "knowing English is a must" is the discourse frequently occurring in the business, especially international, context, but English is not the only language used in professional communication, internally as well as externally, and the other languages used are not necessarily kept separate, as companies' policies would require. The experiences reported by business professionals interviewed have highlighted the importance of collaborative practices at all levels of professional communication.

Despite the flexible and multilingual practices of the international workplace, business communication studies still advocate the use of a single corporate language as the solution to internal and external communication. This is not only based on a number of language ideologies, that are, in effect, not represented in the actual work practices, but that can also create domination, discrimination, exclusion and separation in the workplace.

Both banks seem to have to juggle the position of English as the international banking language, the multilingual corporate languages and the flexible linguistic practices. They do so by constructing discourses of language equality and diversity that in effect hide ideologies of monolingualism, language hierarchy and separation. Firstly, our study has shown how both banks emphasize the dominant ideology of one corporate language being the most efficient way of running communication within an MNC. Secondly, "concessions" to language equality are made, but seem to remain rather superficial. In the case of BANK A, managing language diversity corresponds to the branding of the Swiss identity, precisely to the marketing of Swiss multilingualism as an asset for the company under the label of Swiss quality (Yanaprasart 2016b), and in the case of BANK B it is about "ticking the boxes" of four separate languages (see Cogo, 2016a) in all official and internal semi-official communication. The tendency remains to refer to one corporate language – English.

Moreover, English tends to be perceived in opposition to multilingualism, it is either English or other languages that are used, in monolingual language separation mode. Despite the ideology of BELF being a monolingual entity, when English is used as a *lingua franca* it is always a multilingual mode of communication. Contrary to the still dominant overall discourses of OLAT/OLON – i.e. that communication can only be managed and be efficient if one language is spoken/used at a time – the mixed, fluid and translingual use of BELF can be observed in both banks.

Finally, while this has been a small comparative study of two rather different realities, our exploration has highlighted very interesting aspects concerning the language discourses and ideologies dominant in the banking sector of MNCs. And although more studies are needed to complement, confirm or challenge our findings, in these banks the dominant discourse is still that "English is the language of business" and it remains a fixed and unquestioned corporate language.

A small contribution can be made as a recommendation. If one corporate language strategy is chosen, and English is usually the most common chosen language, then it should be made clear that it is not a monolingual native variety, but a multilingual and more flexible medium of communication, i.e. BELF, that should be promoted in corporate communication. This would allow flexibility and equality in dealing with the diversity of repertoires and access to resources for the employees.

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Part II: The management of English in business and organizational contexts

Sharon Millar

Making sense of language management in Danish international companies: A strategic view

Abstract: The chapter first explores the concept of strategy and considers how insights from the field of strategic management might inform approaches to language management. Then conceptual insights from the strategy as practice approach together with organizational sensemaking, are applied to the analysis of interview data gathered from the head offices of two Danish multinationals. Both these companies had introduced English as a corporate language during the first decade of the 21st century. The argument is that understanding strategy as the activity of strategizing can contribute to corporate language management by making relevant a greater range of actors to strategic processes, and incorporating production of, and reception to, strategy within strategic practices. In particular, the concept of strategic ambiguity, which relates to ambiguity concerning the communication of goals, seems useful in relation to English as a corporate language as this provokes strategic sensemaking on the part of organizational members. It is within these sensemaking practices that language management ultimately gets articulated.

Keywords: sensemaking, strategy, language management, practice, Danish multinationals, ambiguity

1 Introduction

This chapter is an explorative endeavor, grown out of reflections on the various understandings of a particular notion, that of strategy. For instance, in Millar and Jensen (2009: 87), we were happy to label the introduction of a corporate language or language training as "management strategies", yet in the international business management literature, it is argued that companies tend not to treat language strategically (Dhir 2005; Harzig, Köster, and Magner 2011; Harzig and Pudelko 2013). Part of the problem is a general ambiguity surrounding terms and concepts as used in various research approaches to language management (Bellak 2014; Sanden 2016). Berthoud, Grin and Lüdi (2013) make an interesting point regarding the original analytical framework for an EU project on language dynamics and the management of diversity, from which the data used in

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this chapter derives.[1] This framework, which was based on language practices, representations, policies and context, implicitly suggested that these factors had "conceptual autonomy", but empirical evidence consistently pointed to their interrelatedness; so, for example, "language policies, strategies and more specific prescriptions are relevant at many levels simultaneously, as they are elaborated, formulated and disseminated through institutional and administrative practices" (Berthoud, Grin, and Lüdi 2013: xiii). So, the issue is not about distinguishing terms or providing neat definitions, but understanding the complexities of conceptual integration.

With this as background, my aims here are two-fold. Firstly, I will examine how the notion of strategy is understood within strategic management, a research tradition which does not deal with languages and, hence, is rarely referred to in the literature on corporate language management, be this from the perspective of international management or sociolinguistics. My question is can more recent epistemological understandings of strategy within strategic management inform theorizing about corporate language management? This question is worth the asking as there is an increasing focus on strategy as a process and practice, where a number of researchers have directed their attention towards the activity of strategizing, including issues such as the role of sensemaking and discursive processes in strategy practice (Balogun et al. 2014; Golsorkhi et al. 2010). This practice view could potentially contribute to conceptions about the strategic role of language in organizations.

The second aim is to adopt the strategy as practice approach to re-address data from the Danish context concerning the use of English as a corporate language. This will be done through the lens of organizational sensemaking (Weick 1995) and under scrutiny will be how English as a corporate language is strategized by those who have key roles in its interpretation and diffusion. In the Danish context, the decision to use English as a corporate language is often not accompanied by materiality in the form of official policy documents and, hence, the strategy has to be imbued with substance through the sensemaking activities of managers and other organizational members.

2 Strategy as practice

The strategy as practice paradigm was spawned from the process view of strategy, which challenged the traditional conceptualization of strategy as primarily a matter

1 Integrated EU-FP6 project 028702 Language Dynamics and the Management of Diversity (Dylan project) (http://www.dylan-project.org/Dylan_en/home/home.php of content, involving top-managerial macro-level planning, anchored in rational intentionality, which is then implemented. This form of central strategy-making has been characterized as mechanistic and deductive, concerned with identifying a fit between the organization and its external environment and exploiting existing knowledge and resources (Regner 2003; Wright 2005). The process-oriented perspective allows for strategy to emerge, often out of actions rather than "thinking", and often outside of the top echelons of the organization. This different conceptualization is demanded by the more fluid and rapidly changing circumstances that companies in the globalized, knowledge economy must face (Johnson, Melin, and Whittington 2003). Pettigrew, Thomas and Whittington (2002: 12) suggest that an increased interest in strategic process has meant that the "old dichotomies of strategy process and content and formulation and implementation have withered away and a new impetus has been given to time, agency and dynamics". Strategy then is not an "event", such as a specific decision, that can be isolated in time and space; rather it is an accumulation "over time" of "patterns of decisions and actions" (Chakravarthy and White 2002: 183). This more dynamic view of strategy marries well with what has been observed to take place at the periphery of organizations, where the approach is inductive, explorative and instinctive (Regner 2003). From this non-center perspective, strategy can be seen as "an act of 'bricolage'", relying on making do in a particular context (Wright 2005: 67).

Strategy as practice advocates a bottom-up, micro-level perspective that begins "not from organizations as wholes – corporations, business units and so on – but from the activities of individuals, groups and networks of people upon which key processes and practices depend" (Johnson, Melin, and Whittington 2003: 14). The objective was to put human beings centrally in the frame, adding a social dimension missing from process approaches in order to contextualize changes and activities in companies within wider societal processes and changes. According to Jarzabkowski, Balogun and Seidl (2007: 7–8), strategy can be considered as a "situated, socially accomplished activity, while strategizing comprises those actions, interactions and negotiations of multiple actors and the situated practices that they draw upon in accomplishing that activity". This broad understanding, however, needs to be tempered so as not to allow all activity to be strategic. Hence, the authors restrain activity to that which affects the direction, performance, and success of the company. They also envision a range of strategic actors encompassing not only top-management, but "middle management and operational level employees" whose strategic roles derive from the ways in which their various types of knowledge can impact on strategy formation (Jarzabkowski, Balogun, and Seidl 2007: 12).

Critics of the practice approach have noted that, despite the rhetoric, there is a tendency to focus on explicit and deliberate aspects of strategy-making on the part of individual agents and to ignore the more tacit and incidental behaviors of individuals as social beings operating in situations experienced "in terms of already constituted meanings" (Tsoukas 2012: 50). Chia and MacKay (2007) propose a post-processual perspective on practice where the focus is on the practices themselves and their associated behavioral regularities and consistencies. For these authors "practices, like strategy-making, are not always directly attributable to individual intentions and purposes but are influenced by materially acquired predispositions" (Chia and MacKay 2007: 238). The argument is continued in a later article by Chia and Rasche (2012: 42) who point to the need for strategy as practice research to consider "mundane everyday practical coping actions" as therein lies "immanent" strategy. Tsoukas (2012) too emphasizes the non-deliberate character of practical coping from which strategy can emerge, but reminds us that some form of problem occurrence can provoke actors into deliberate coping accompanied by an awareness of what they are doing, so that strategy then is a reinterpretation of what they have been doing up to that point. Tsoukas (2012: 58) also suggests a third type of coping, detached coping, which he sees as "strategic thinking proper" or "strategizing" since this involves thematic awareness of the organization on a more abstract level.

In what ways, then, might the strategy as practice perspective inform language management? Mindful of Sanden's (2016) point that any form of cross-disciplinary synergy must take into account differing disciplinary conceptualizations of language management, I will confine the discussion to the international management literature, which according to Sanden (2016) views language management in instrumental terms as a "business strategy tool". Hence, the strategy as practice perspective is more immediately relevant here, as opposed to sociolinguistic approaches to language management, which, Sanden (2016) notes, are less concerned with wider issues of organizational management and performance. Piekkari (2009: 269) observes that there has been a shift in some international management research where language has moved from being seen as an "operational issue to a more strategic one", a statement which in itself rests on the more content-oriented conceptualization of strategy, i.e. plan vs. implementation. This more orthodox view of strategy is certainly apparent in the international management research, which generally tends to view language management as rational, centralized, systematic planning and decision-making and, hence, it is often concluded that language management lacks strategic importance in organizations or needs to be developed with more explicit and realistic goals if it is to be effective (e.g. Barner-Rasmussen and Aarnio 2011; Dhir and Gòkè-Paríolá 2002; Dhir 2005; Maclean 2006; Marschan, Welch, and Welch 1997; Marschan-Piekkari, Welch, and Welch 1999). However, in relation to English as a corporate language, there is an acknowledgement of the emergent nature of strategy and the significance of practices (Fredriksson, Barner-Rasmussen, and Piekkari 2006; Marschan-Piekkari, Welch, and Welch 1999). For instance, Fredriksson, Barner-Rasmussen and Piekkari (2006: 419) imply a distinction between "emergent" processes and "strategic decisions taken at the apex of the organization" and even advocate "non-management in the form of conscious ambiguity" as a strategy for managing linguistic diversity, where individual interpretations about the roles and status of languages within a company, rather than rationality and control, are at the forefront.

Strategy is also associated with techniques in the literature. For instance the European Commission's PIMLICO project (Promoting, Implementing, Mapping Language and Intercultural Communication Strategies in SMEs) defines a language management strategy as "the planned adoption of a range of techniques" (Hagen 2011: 4). Such techniques include training, use of translators, use of local agents and use of linguistic audits and resemble what Harzig, Köster and Magner (2011: 281) term "structural solutions at organizational level" to problems of the language barrier (Feely and Harzig 2003; Harzig and Feely 2008). However, Harzig and colleagues also consider contextualized individual behaviors, such as code-switching and linguistic accommodation, as solutions, suggesting that they see language management as including micro-level practices.

There is some acknowledgement already then in the international management literature of a more process and practice-oriented view of strategy, but the predominant conceptualization, at least in the literature I have considered, seems to be that of planned, corporate decision-making which is then implemented. Consequently, there may be language activities taking place that get overlooked in terms of their strategic significance, while proposals and recommendations in relation to language management may give an undue focus to the top echelons of an organization, without taking into account how strategizing permeates an organization. It is not that top management and planning are to be ignored, but a strategy as practice perspective could open up for a more dynamic approach to language management that better accommodates emergence, irrationality, and ambiguity throughout the organization. I will try to exemplify this by readdressing data about English as a corporate language in the Danish context from the perspective of strategizing. In the original research, there was an explicit understanding of strategy as technique along with an implicit assumption of strategy as deliberate planning, meaning that certain activities, for example language training, could be viewed as strategies that were not strategic (Millar, Cifuentes, and Jensen 2013). This is a problematic stance and it is hoped that a practice perspective might offer a more satisfactory alternative.

3 Strategizing a corporate language: theoretical and methodological considerations

The approach here combines insights from strategy as practice research with those of organizational sensemaking. This combination is not unusual and has been used to investigate a variety of issues, such as the strategic influence, including the sense-giving, of managers and how they enact their strategic roles (e.g. Rouleau and Balogun 2011) and the sensemaking of recipients or consumers of strategy (Balogun and Johnson 2005; Abdallah and Langley 2014). Organizational sensemaking derives from the work of Weick (1995) and is understood here as "a process, prompted by violated expectations, that involves attending to and bracketing cues in the environment, creating intersubjective meaning through cycles of interpretation and action, and thereby enacting a more ordered environment from which further cues can be drawn" (Maitlis and Christianson 2014: 67). This definition captures key aspects of sensemaking, such as the need for a trigger, its social and iterative nature, the role of interpretation and action, where sensemaking is enacted in the environment. Discourse and language are seen as central to the creation of meaning in the sensemaking process.

My focus is primarily on the sensemaking of recipients or consumers of strategy, i.e. the decision to use English as a corporate language. My specific questions are (1) How do managers discursively construct the what, why and how of English as a corporate language? (2) How does their sensemaking relate to other organizational processes, such as post-acquisition integration, and to wider societal phenomena, such as language ideologies?

3.1 Data and method

The data derives from interviews from a database of 37 interviews conducted with white collar employees across 12 companies. I have taken as examples two companies, which have introduced English as a corporate language relatively recently (in relation to the time of data collection in 2008). Yellow company, which employed 170 at the time of data collection, deals with the manufacture of fruit products as well as knowledge and technology transfer. It acquired its first foreign subsidiary in Vietnam in 2002, which is when English as the corporate language was introduced. Further acquisitions included subsidiaries in Egypt and India. Only one person was interviewed from this company, a project and administrative manager with responsibility for international activities, the development and administration of the subsidiary companies and administration in the Danish head office.

Orange company, which employed 900 at the time of data collection, deals with the distribution of pharmaceutical products in Europe and, thus, languages are part and parcel of the business because of legal requirements concerning patient package inserts. It has subsidiaries in Sweden, Norway, Finland, Germany, the Netherlands and the Czech Republic. English as a corporate language was introduced in 2006 with the acquisition of the subsidiary in Germany. The interviewees include a vice-president for production in Denmark, Germany and the Czech Republic (Orange 1), HR consultant (Orange 2) and language associate (Orange 3).

These interviews were subjected to a qualitative content analysis using Atlas.ti software, the functionalities of which are based on insights from grounded theory, e.g. use of coding and memos for building of patterns (Corbin and Strauss 2008). The analysis used initial coding to build up categories; for instance, preliminary codes such as “English is international”, “everybody speaks English” are then formed into a higher category of “commonality” (Millar 2013). The interviews have been transcribed orthographically, using only limited punctuation for ease of reading. The data is presented in English (translated by the author), but the original Danish data is given in Appendix 1.

It must be emphasized that this data was not originally collected for the purposes of investigating strategy. Consequently, I rely on what Samra-Fredericks (2005: 142) refers to as “reported experience” which contrasts with “lived experience” where strategizing is observed in the making so to speak (Rouleau 2005; Steinthorsson and Söderholm 2002). Ideally, a mixed methods approach should be used as individual interviews alone reveal little about the interactional dynamics of strategizing. Nonetheless, interview data can provide insights into what goes on “backstage”, behind what can be observed overtly (Rouleau and Balogun 2011: 957), and can offer historical perspectives on strategizing processes and practices. No claims are made concerning the actual, as opposed to reported, behaviors of interviewees. Moreover, the data is limited to white-collar Danish staff in head offices, whose sensemaking may be very different from that of blue-collar staff and staff employed in subsidiary companies.

4 Yellow company

It was the acquisition of a foreign affiliate that triggered sensemaking about language on the part of the organization since it introduced something novel into the organizational structure, necessitating change. Example 1 illustrates the nature of the strategizing that occurred where a key matter revolved around translation in relation to work processes.

Example 1

Int: when was it [English as a corporate language] introduced?

Y: that was actually when we established Yellow Vietnam back in 2002 because it was at that point it began to get difficult

Int: yeah

Y: at that point we had like everything in Danish before

Int: yeah

Y: and Yellow Vietnam was the first twig on the tree and that meant all of a sudden that we were in a situation where everything we had here, we wanted to use procedures and work processes

Int: mhm

Y: that they had to be translated and at that point we agreed that from now on when we do something so that we don't have to translate so we'll do it in English from the start and escape from having to translate it

Int: yeah

Y: and that we can do just as well

Int: yeah yeah

This manager takes the corporate perspective of the company and, although it is not specified who "we" are, it is probable that this sensemaking took place at an upper level in the organization and the action decided upon was clearly a top-down, deliberate decision. Translation is categorized negatively as the non-preferred and non-desired option, something to "escape from" where English provides the escape route. Later in the interview, when asked if introducing the corporate language had been costly, she replies in the positive for translating existing software systems to English, but in the negative in relation to new materials since "hvor du skal til at skrive noget nyt du ikke har skrevet endnu på engelsk i stedet for at du skriver det på dansk gør ingen forskel [where you have to write something new you haven't written yet in English instead of you writing it in Danish makes no difference]". So there was no anticipation of the need of external expertise; this was a change in language practice that could be dealt with in-house, a position which fits with survey findings indicating that many Danish multinationals tend to handle tasks that involve English themselves (Verstraete-Hansen 2007). In addition, there is evidence of what Spolsky (2004) proposes is a driving force behind language management in the business context, namely beliefs about the value of languages. In this managerial strategizing, English is assigned considerably more value than Danish, which, in specific contexts, is to be replaced; the strategy then involves a type of context-dependent erasure (Lønsmann 2014).

The manager continues her narrative by describing an emergent strategy of language localization for localized processes, as illustrated in example 2.

Example 2

Y: uh and then it was divided up into levels later and one said that for some it would probably be relevant to keep it in Danish and for some it would never be relevant for the different production lines
Int: yeah
Y: so you can say that we have a production line here where we bottle
Int: mhm
Y: we don't do that in Vietnam
Int: yeah
Y: and therefore everything to do with that is in Danish because it has no interest for them
Int: yeah okay
Y: in contrast things for production lines where they are the same here and in Vietnam and are going to be in Egypt that has to be in English so the other places can also get the benefit of them so we don't have to I mean we don't have to invent something new every time
Int: yeah
Y: so you can just copy
Int: yeah
Y: and recycle

Again, this is strategized as a top-down decision, although it is highly likely that it emerged bottom-up either from practices or protests as there must have been some cue to provoke further sensemaking. I would argue that her own language use is revealing in this regard; it switches from agentive "we" (example 1) to an agentless passive ("it was divided up") and the use of an impersonal pronoun (Danish "man sagde" translated as "one said …") to introduce what is indirect reported speech. This might indicate that the impetus for the adjustment of the initial strategy did not originate with the corporate "we". Moreover, as the language in focus is Danish, this impetus seems to have come from the company in Denmark. This strategizing is based on what is deemed to be "relevant" for different geographical locations and job functions; the "levels" she refers to are administration and sales versus production. Relevance is interpreted as both commonality of practices across the company and efficiency, but these intersect with beliefs about language competences and needs. In this regard, there is an obvious linguistic stratification of administrative and sales staff and production workers as seen in example 3.

Example 3

Int: how does it [English as a corporate language] get expressed in daily life?

Y: yeah well in daily life it gets expressed in the way that everything we do is Danish I mean when it has something to do with our production company in Denmark yeah well it takes place in Danish but as soon as there is anything official that applies to everyone that it comes out in English

Int: mm

Y: we have a lot we have sales teams in various places

Int: yeah

Y: we have a sales team in Malaysia and India and Egypt and so on and that means that when something comes for the sales line some instructions, so they are always in English

Int: yeah

Y: so everybody can read it

Int: yeah

Y: in contrast, on the production side they haven't quite got the same need as the people you have to talk to are production operators

Int: yeah

Y: who are here and they can probably

Int: yeah

Y: they can't necessarily understand if things are in English some of them can but not all of them

Int: yeah

Y: uh and there you have a larger advantage if you get it out in Danish

Int: mhm

Y: we see the same in Vietnam with our production company, there we have things in English but to implement properly, it has to be translated to Vietnamese and used in Vietnamese

Int: okay

Y: so where we here run bilingually in English and Danish so in Vietnam it runs the other way round in English and Vietnamese

Y's sensemaking is characterized by a managerial, functional perspective; localization is about administrative efficiency, and serves the communicative needs of the company rather than the linguistic comfort of the individual employee. Janssens, Lambert and Steyerat (2004: 421) argue that a company language strategy informed by a cultural perspective will mean that "different languages can be used in different local contexts and in interaction with each other". Yet, there is no indication in this manager's strategizing that cultural considerations have motivated the bilingual approach; rather allowing a diversity of languages is a practical solution to a problem, a perspective that reflects a mechanistic or instrumental approach to language strategy (cf. Janssens, Lambert, and Steyerat 2004). Of relevance here are the orientations towards (national) language planning proposed by Ruiz (1984), who argues that the strategies chosen by language planners will be determined by their dispositions towards language: language as problem, as right, as resource (cf. Chia and MacKay's (2007) predispositions above). For this manager in Yellow, language is a problem that requires solutions, at least in relation to the use of the corporate language. Notions of orientations or predispositions towards language ultimately concern language ideologies, "representations, whether explicit or implicit, that construe the intersection of language and human beings in a social world" (Woolard 1998: 3). Nekvapil and Sherman (2013: 107) suggest that there is a prevalent "ideology of the absolute instrumentality of a particular language, that is English" and this ideology seems to have guided Yellow company's initial strategizing. What is also apparent in the subsequent localization strategy is an ideology about the instrumentality of language per se, i.e. language as an instrument or tool.

Yellow's localization strategy involves not only the stratification of employees, but also languages, as can be seen in example 4 (which is a continuation of example 3 above).

Example 4

Y: but we have English as a corporate language so that we all can talk together
Int: mhm
Y: at the end of the day
Int: mhm
Y: and so we generally say that it doesn't matter what they do with small, secondary things in their everyday, they may use what language they want
Int: yeah
Y: in the different places, in contrast the primary things and reports they do must be in a specific format and a specific language which has been established to be English

Y operates with a binary categorization where languages other than English are lumped together and assigned the same value: English for "primary" communicative tasks and all other languages for "small, secondary" communicative tasks. So her strategizing links the significance of languages to actual practices, which vary in geographical scope and, hence, need differing linguistic approaches. It is both practices and languages that are being hierarchized. Of course, putting English at the top of the ladder as the corporate language entails a post-acquisition devaluation of all other languages in the new, expanded multinational company, including the national language of the head office. As noted by Vaara et al. (2005), the corporate language solution can lead to a competitive hierarchy of languages, which brings power differentials in its wake. There is little evidence that this manager's sensemaking is motivated by linguistic power considerations, although its effects may well have power implications. However, there is a normative authority in her discursive formulations concerning language choice, as evidenced by her modal verbs of permission (Danish "må [may]") and obligation (Danish "skal [must]").

Power factors are more explicit in her sensemaking surrounding the use of English in the Vietnam subsidiary in that English is given a gatekeeping function that applies differentially across geographical locations. Asked about the advantages and disadvantages of the corporate language, she raises issues of language competence (example 5).

Example 5

Y: in Denmark most understand or at any rate the administrative personnel perhaps not so many of the hourly-paid workers but the rest understand English and can to a certain degree manage in English

Int: mm

Y: and that's ok, in Vietnam we have more staff who don't understand English particularly in production but also a couple in administration

Int: mm

Y: and what we say then is that key employees must have English and those that aren't key employees, that doesn't mean as such they don't know English but if you want the really important promotion opportunities then it is a requirement that you know English so the opportunities are the biggest

The category of a "key employee" has been introduced as a solution for low levels of competence in English in Vietnam. This category must know English and any career advancement relies on "having" or "knowing" English to an unspecified level. The company provides language training to help employees improve their skills and, thus, enhance their promotion opportunities. Language training then has a strategic function in Vietnam that reaches out beyond the efficiency of organizational communication to HR issues of individual employee career development. The "how" of language training has been affected by an emergent strategy, arising from practical and pedagogical issues which derailed an initial top-down plan based on in-house teaching (example 6).

Example 6

Int: how is the teaching organized? do you know anything about that?

Y: yeah we have actually tried several things we actually tried where we got a teacher out to the factory and where they all came up to a meeting room and then those who wanted to could stay and learn something

Int: mhm yeah
Y: but what we discovered was that they were at wildly different levels and our factory is not that big that we could all of a sudden divide it up into five levels
Int: no
Y: I mean that can't that simply didn't work financially so what we have done since is that those employees who want to find a course privately, we approve that and pay expenses for that and so they can do that in their own time
Int: okay yeah
Y: where previously it was during working hours in the factory
Int: yeah
Y: we still have a teacher who comes for those who need the real basics like how are you
Int: yeah
Y: and
Int: yeah
Y: and how do you order in a restaurant and those types of small things, we have
Int: yeah
Y: still someone out who can do that but those who want a higher level and have to learn technical English or another type of specialized language they have to take a course privately to learn to do it properly

The issue of differing competence levels had not been foreseen and this triggered a further initiative, one of paying for private lessons on demand outside of working hours, for employees whose needs are more advanced. Her categorization of proficiency levels is usage-based: "basic" relates to greetings and routines, and resembles a type of general "tourist" English, while the higher level deals with specific, work-related registers. So her sensemaking creates ideas of what the English language needs are for employees and how these are to be addressed in practice. From an educational perspective, streaming learners on the basis of their language proficiency and learning objectives is not unusual; in this case, the streaming is accompanied by a distinct physicality and temporality where beginners are taught on work premises, during worktime and in groups, whereas more experienced learners are taught outside work premises, in their private time and individually. This streaming might reflect the stratification by job function, i.e. administration/sales and production, where the former are seen as involving more flexibility in terms of working hours and greater opportunity in relation to career advancement. Common for both types of training, however, is their non-obligatory nature. This might seem to contradict managerial strategic interests about the necessary use of English, at least among certain groups of employee. Yet there seems to be a culture in Danish multinational companies that language training is voluntary (Millar, Cifuentes, and Jensen 2013) and, indeed, this has been noted in other contexts (Nekvapil and Nekula 2006). Priority is given to conscious individual practices, be these attending arranged courses or requesting private courses, perhaps because it is assumed that the success of adult language learning relies on individual motivation and responsibility. Consequently, company strategy depends on these practices to sustain it; in the Danish head office, for instance, language courses were withdrawn due to lack of interest.

An interesting example of how individual practice can feed into strategizing processes regarding linguistic competence in the company generally is given by the Yellow manager when she refers to an episode of correction (example 7). She is a university graduate in English and French with a Master's degree in business that was taught in English. The story was sparked by a question about how the company goes about meeting foreign language needs.

Example 7

Y: I would say it is very varied because what we do when we have to I was told when I came here one of my first days at work

Int: mhm

Y: that I had astonishingly good English but could I not just make it more everyday because the problem was that when I sent a mail to Yellow Vietnam so they shouldn't have to sit with a dictionary to find out what I had written.

Int: mhm

Y: so could you write in spoken language and not all fancy with long tortuous words one had learnt at university

Int: yeah

Y: so that would be better so the important thing is not actually that we have the grammar in place neither is it so important that we have the words in order but that we understand each other

Int: yeah

Y: and there are only a few employees that have English 100% on a really high level but everybody has English for everyday use and also partly for use at work and some a little more than that

Int: mhm

Y: so that is actually enough because that there is comma mistake or a grammatical mistake somewhere means nothing really what matters is that they can get across the message they have to communicate to Vietnam and there you add a culture to how they have understood the message and that makes it even more difficult

Int: mhm yeah

Y: you simply have to spell it out for them and say this is what you have to do and it is completely irrelevant if you do it grammatically correct or not

This narrative exemplifies a form of simple management, defined within Language Management Theory as a form of language management where individuals regulate in situ their own language use or that of others (Nekvapil and Nekula 2006). Simple management on the part of others concerning her own English usage to the Vietnam subsidiary has made salient the need to accommodate linguistically, causing her to reinterpret what she has been doing (a form of strategy according to Tsoukas (2010) above). Moreover, it provokes a re-evaluation of competence as "being understood" (simplicity and clarity of message), which she applies not just to herself but to others, as testified in her shift of pronominal reference from "I" to inclusive "we" and finally to "they", the employees at the Danish head office, who are to "get across the message". The question of norms in English in its international business contexts has been taken up in the literature on English as a lingua franca where it is argued that correctness or form tends to be subordinate to mutual understanding or message (Ehrenreich 2009; Kankaanranta and Planken 2010). This interviewee gives an insight into how these ideas about competence can develop not only out of situated practices, but also somewhat ethnocentric ideas about the addressee, in this case how Vietnamese understandings of communication necessitate a focus on message ("spelling it out") rather than form. There is a distinct instrumentality to her focus on message; her concerns are not with ensuring, for example, participation in the communicative process (Torp 2015), but with the one-way transmission of information from head office to subsidiary. This is asymmetrical accommodation, which is often the tool of the more powerful language user (Millar 2013), and is directed towards transaction rather than interaction.

5 Orange company

As with Yellow company, a trigger for sensemaking about language was organizational change due to the acquisition of a company abroad, in this case in Germany. However, the situation for Orange company is characterized by more explicit language politics in that English was not the only language in play when choosing the corporate language; it is these English/German language politics that I will focus on in this section. None of the interviewees were directly involved in the corporate-level decision-making, but they all have had to strategize that decision in their own contexts. There seems to be an organizational story in the Danish head office surrounding the choice of English that revolves around why German was not chosen. This story is told both by Orange1 (example 8) and Orange2 (example 9) when they were asked, respectively, when and why English as a corporate language was introduced. For both, major themes are commonality and fairness.

Example 8

Orange1:	yeah well that was actually when the German uhm firm came into the picture uhm that one had to find a corporate language to work with uhm and the majority in the company I believe speak English more easily than they speak German uhm
Int:	okay
Orange1:	and so one can say that given English was foreign for both a Dane and a German so one was a little on common ground uhm if one can put it like that
Int:	mhm
Orange1:	uhm and we were underway with a major uhm software implementation and in that connection it was also somewhat important to agree about a corporate language
Int:	mhm
Orange1:	what it should be uhm and therefore it was decided that it was English

Example 9

Orange2:	yeah well I believe it's because it is it is a common denominator I mean we have our uhm Swedes and Norwegians who can understand Danish Scandinavian whatever it is, so we have the Finns
Int:	mm
Orange2:	who don't have Swedish it has appeared that it is a bit perhaps they have supplemented with Swedish a little as we have with German I could imagine
Int:	mm
Orange2:	uhm so we already spoke English with them and then it was chosen I believe that uhm because that that at any rate has been argued subsequently that we would not take German as the corporate language because then what can one say the Germans have an unreasonable advantage, when we speak English so there is none of us who have it as a mother tongue

Int: okay yeah
Orange2: that has at any rate been used as an argument since

The consumption of the corporate decision, evidenced by both interviewees, has a clear ideological dimension about the commonality and neutrality of English as a foreign language that affords fairness across differing groups of non-native speakers. Again this relates to the strong ideology of the instrumentality of English (cf. Nekvapil and Sherman 2013), but in Orange company, this instrumentality is charged with the power dynamics of competing national perspectives. Hence, it is of no surprise that the organizational story does not end with the corporate decision to choose English. Asked how English as a corporate language is understood, Orange3 takes the view of her own department, which is responsible for all regulatory aspects of translating patient inserts for pharmaceutical products. She notes that linguistic tensions have been tackled by allowing German colleagues to opt out of the corporate language concept (example 10).

Example 10
Orange3: we have also discussed this Lars who was here a former information worker has also he uh had in fact a project underway where we discussed how far it should go and that was not least in connection with that we got Orange Germany in to our department because those in Germany weren't very happy about using English as a corporate language (laughs) and we discussed actually a bit about how much one could use German and how much one could use English and how how important it was that we found a common approach and that has actually what can one say got stranded because the Germans are fond of using German uhm in Orange Germany because many of the staff in the company are not that highly educated that they can actually use English on a professional level so we could communicate with them in English
Int: mhm
Orange3: uh so therefore we have what can one say a little corporate what can one say chosen to have a corporate language like English in the Nordic countries and Germany is a little on its own
Int: okay
Orange3: because one can't really find this common approach

For Orange3, a sensemaking cue in the departmental environment is the unwillingness of colleagues in Germany to use English, explained as a lack of competence in the language. Attempts to find a compromise about the use of the two languages have failed, a failure that is attributed to the Germans because of their "fondness" of using the German language. Emerging out of this lack of success, from the head office viewpoint, is a modified corporate language strategy, allowing the colleagues in Germany their linguistic freedom. Later in the interview, Orange3 describes this lack of agreement as "a shame" since it has led to a "divided company". The problem for Orange3 is not linguistic diversity within the company, but the organizational consequences of allowing the linguistic segregation of a subsidiary.

There is no sign of animosity in the company concerning the use of German; for instance, there is no norm of "German should not be used here" as was observed by Nekvapil and Sherman (2013:105) in a Czech multinational. Nonetheless, there are practices that are problematic as exemplified by Orange2, who exploits the fact of English as a corporate language as a form of simple language management (example 11). When asked if she had ever received an email in a language that she could not understand, she recalls being forwarded an email in German by the Danish administrative director in the German subsidiary:

Example 11

Orange2:	I got an email sent to me where a member of staff in Germany asked our director there a question and uhm which I should answer and he had just forwarded the mail and said could you just take care of this
Int:	mm
Orange2:	and so I'm sitting at, staring at the German with long words and all sorts of things and so I send it back and say well yes that's fine and I can of course but you just have to help with some translation uh and it was maybe just a bit uh you are now getting an insight into my personality as well (laughs)
Int:	(laughs)
Orange2:	and it was as well like a little stubbornness because uh when I got it at that point I was busy and you know but I could have sat down and read it in depth and read it out loud and so I could have recognized the words and such like maybe not, so the bottom line was that I could have managed it but then I was just a bit quick and just like this (snaps finger)
Int:	okay
Orange2:	okay it is German German is not the corporate language I need to get some help here

The issue for Orange2 is not that English should be used instead of German by the staff member in Germany, but that she should not be expected to deal with

German given that this is not the corporate language. So it is the corporate strategy that she normatively uses against her more senior colleague as an impulsive form of linguistic correction in relation to the non-translated message.

6 Discussion

The discussion will focus on the two questions posed in relation to managerial sensemaking: how do managers discursively construct the what, why and how of English as a corporate language, and how does their sensemaking relate to other organizational processes and to wider societal phenomena? What characterizes the discursive construction of English as a corporate language by all managers is instrumentality, which pervades the sensemaking process. This ideology of instrumentality applies to differing phenomena: specific languages, most noticeably English, but also to language in a more abstract sense (language as tool); communication (as message); practices at organizational level, such as language training, and individual level, such as correction and modification of linguistic behaviors. Triggered by the acquisition of foreign subsidiaries, concerns with language revolve around ease and efficiency of communication primarily in relation to written genres (manuals, software systems, emails etc.). English as a corporate language is seen as an initial decision by top management, but in both companies emergent strategies of localization, necessitated by inadequate competence in English particularly among production workers, are apparent. These emergent strategies are similarly made sense of in instrumental terms, but these are interwoven with dimensions of power. It is not that these managers are motivated by power considerations, rather authority is implicit. For instance, the linguistic stratification of employees and languages evident in the strategizing of the manager from Yellow is constructed from the perspective of communicative efficiency and career development, but there is a normative authority in this manager's discourse surrounding matters of language choice and her categorizations of language needs essentially exclude production workers from the organizational realm of English. However, it should be borne in mind that the bilingual strategy in Yellow seems to have emerged from lower levels of the organization in Denmark, although it is not known if the impetus came from production workers themselves. There is no recognition in her strategizing of the possible consequences of linguistic stratification in terms of marginalization and its organizational effects (Barner-Rasmussen and Aarnio 2011; Harzig, Köster, and Magner 2011). This may be due to a lack of cue in her environment to provoke sensemaking; if she does not perceive a problem, there is nothing to make sense of.

In contrast, for Orange company, there were cues which meant that the very choice of English as the corporate language was subject to a more contested sensemaking. Language politics were in play and, significantly, they were permitted to be in play because of the status of the linguistic pretender, German, both in Europe and in Denmark. It is highly unlikely that similar strategizing would have occurred in the head office if it had been the Czech subsidiary resisting English and pushing for the Czech language as opposed to the German subsidiary insisting on the use of German. The linguistic power dynamics are obvious, but, again, it is the instrumentality of English that is emphasized in the organizational narrative that has arisen around the controversy; it is the commonality of the language as a foreign language that makes English an efficient and neutral means of communication. Of course, as with Yellow, it is precisely because there is a problem with the assumed universal instrumentality of English that further sensemaking is required. What is interesting is that resistance from the German subsidiary wins the day, at least in one department, and in so doing the overall corporate strategy is undermined. The manager involved (Orange3) tried unsuccessfully to find a compromise through a bilingual strategy and the ultimate instrumental solution to the problem was to allow German monolingualism. Concerns about possible consequences for the cohesion of the company as a whole are expressed, relating language management to post-acquisition integration, but there is no mention of issues of linguistic marginalization of individuals or groups of employees.

There is evidence of the impact of practices on strategizing surrounding English as corporate language: emergent strategies of localization derive from situated practices and simple management of linguistic behavior can either operate as a cue for further sensemaking, where ideas of competence are re-interpreted and enacted, or as a means of exploiting corporate strategy to legitimize a request for alternative behaviors. Worth particular comment is the issue of ambiguity and language management. Fredriksson, Barner-Rasmussen and Piekkari (2006: 420) in a case study of Siemens suggest that the corporate language may have been deliberately left ambiguous to allow for differing interpretations to emerge. In so doing, they hint at the idea of "strategic ambiguity", which relates to "communication of goals" (Jarzabkowski, Sillince, and Shaw 2010: 221). Ambiguity in relation to English as a corporate language is a feature of the two companies considered here, although whether it is deliberate on the part of top management is uncertain. Undoubtedly, however, ambiguity provokes strategic sensemaking on the part of organizational members and, thus, can be seen as a resource as it is within sensemaking practices that language management gets articulated.

Finally, it is worth noting what is absent or rare in managerial strategizing in the interviews, most particularly any sensemaking based on linguistic rights or cultural considerations. I would suggest that this is due, at least in part, to the predominant ideology of instrumentality.

7 Conclusion

The aims of this chapter were to explore the strategy concept and apply conceptual insights from the strategy as practice approach combined with sensemaking to empirical examples by way of illustration. The argument is that understanding strategy as activity rather than possession ("having" a strategy) can further contribute to corporate language management by making relevant a greater range of actors to strategic processes, and incorporating production of, and reception to, strategy within strategic practices. In some ways, similar trends, if for different goals, are apparent in the sociolinguistic literature on language management as process takes precedence over product (cf. Language Management Theory (Nekvapil and Sherman 2015)). Notwithstanding the limitations of the data explored here, it is hoped that some of the dynamics of strategic sensemaking in relation to language, including their relation to organizational contexts and prevailing ideologies, have been revealed.

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Appendix 1 Danish data

Example 1

Int: hvornår blev det indført

Y: det gjorde det det blev det egentlig da vi grundlagde Yellow Vietnam tilbage i 2002 for det var der det begyndte at blive besværligt

Int: ja

Y: der havde vi ligesom alting på dansk inden

Int: ja

Y: og Yellow Vietnam det var det første skud på stammen og det gjorde så lige pludselig at vi sad med situationen at alt hvad vi sad med her vi gerne ville bruge procedurerne og arbejdsgangene

Int: mm

Y: at det skulle oversættes og og der blev vi enige om at fremover når vi laver noget for ikke at skulle sidde og oversætte det så laver vi det på engelsk fra starten af så slipper vi for at skulle oversætte det
Int: ja
Y: og det kan vi jo ligeså godt
Int: ja ja

Example 2
Y: øh og så blev det så lagopdelt senere og man sagde at for nogen ville det nok være relevant at holde det på dansk og for nogen ville det aldrig være relevant at de forskellige produktionslinjer
Int: ja
Y: så du kan sige vi har en produktionslinje hernede hvor vi tapper i i flasker
Int: mhm
Y: det gør vi ikke i Vietnam
Int: ja
Y: og derfor alt hvad der har med den at gøre det ligger egentlig på dansk for det har ingen interesse for dem
Int: ja okay
Y: hvorimod det til produktionslinjer hvor det er det samme vi har her og i Vietnam og det samme vi har kommer til at få i Egypten det skal være på engelsk så de andre steder også kan få glæde af dem så vi ikke skal altså så vi ikke skal til at opfinde noget nyt hver gang
Int: ja
Y: så du lige kan kopiere
Int: ja ja ja
Y: og genbruge

Example 3
Int: hvordan udtrykker det sig i dagligdagen
Y: jamen i dagligdagen det udtrykker sig på den måde at alt hvad vi gør der er dansk altså hvor det har noget med vores produktionsselskab i Danmark at gøre jamen så foregår det egentlig på dansk men så snart det er noget officielt der gælder alle så kommer det på engelsk
Int: mm
Y: vi har en del vi har salgsteams forskellige steder
Int: ja
Y: så vi har et salgsteam i Malaysia et i Indien og et i Egypten og så videre og det gør at når der kommer noget på salgslinien nogle instrukser jamen så er det altid på engelsk

Int: ja
Y: så alle kan læse det
Int: ja
Y: hvorimod på produktionssiden der har vi ikke helt samme behov for de mennesker du skal tale med det er produktionsoperatørerne
Int: ja
Y: som står her nede og de kan nok
Int: ja
Y: de kan ikke nødvendigvis forstå det hvis det hvis det er på engelsk nogen af dem kan men det er ikke dem alle sammen
Int: ja
Y: øh og der har du større fordel ved at få det ud på dansk
Int: mhm
Y: det samme ser vi i Vietnam med vores produktionsselskab der vi har det liggende på engelsk men for at vi kan få det implementeret ordentligt så skal det oversættes til vietnamesisk og bruges på vietnamesisk
Int: okay
Y: så hvor hvor vi her på stedet kører tosproget på engelsk og og dansk så i Vietnam kører det omvendt på engelsk og vietnamesisk

Example 4
Y: men vi har engelsk som koncernsprog for at vi alle kan tale sammen
Int: mhm
Y: i sidste ende
Int: mhm
Y: og så siger vi jo generelt at det er ligegyldigt hvad de laver de små underordnede ting i dagligdagen dem må de lave lige på hvad sprog de vil
Int: ja
Y: de forskellige steder hvorimod de overordnede ting og afrapporteringer de laver de skal være i et bestemt format og på et bestemt sprog som så er fastlagt til at være engelsk

Example 5
Y: og i Danmark der forstår de fleste øh i hvert fald administrationspersonalet måske ikke så meget de timelønnede men resten de forstår engelsk og kan til en vis grad begå sig på engelsk
Int: mm
Y: og det er okay i Vietnam der har der har vi flere medarbejdere der ikke forstår engelsk specielt i produktionen men også et par i administrationen

Int: mm
Y: og det vi så siger det er at nøglemedarbejdere skal kunne engelsk og dem der ikke er nøglemedarbejdere det betyder sådan set ikke at de ikke kan engelsk øh men at ønsker du de helt store forfremmelsesmuligheder så er det et krav at du kan engelsk så er mulighederne størst

Example 6
Int: er det øhm hvordan er den undervisning organiseret ved du noget om det
Y: ja vi har faktisk prøvet flere forskellige ting vi har faktisk prøvet at vi fik en lærer ud på fabrikken og hvor de så alle sammen kom op i mødelokalet og så dem hvor de havde lyst de kunne så blive og lære noget
Int: mm ja
Y: men det vi så fandt ud af det var at de var på vidt forskellige niveauer og så stor er vores fabrik heller ikke så vi kunne ikke lige pludselig dele det op på fem niveauer
Int: nej
Y: altså det kan ikke gik simpelthen ikke økonomisk så det vi har gjort siden hen det er at de medarbejdere som har lyst de finder et kursus inde i byen så godkender vi det og så betaler vi omkostningen for det og så kan de gøre det i deres fritid
Int: okay ja ja
Y: hvor tidligere så var det i arbejdstiden på fabrikken
Int: ja
Y: vi har stadig en lærer der kommer til dem der har brug for det helt basic sådan how are you
Int: ja
Y: og
Int: ja
Y: og hvordan du bestiller på en restaurant og sådan nogle småting det har vi
Int: ja
Y: stadigvæk en ude der kan det men dem der skal på et højere niveau og egentlig skal lære teknisk engelsk og skal lære andet fagsprog de bliver nødt til at på kurser i byen for at lære at varetage det ordentligt

Example 7
Y: at det var et ufatteligt flot engelsk sprog jeg havde men om jeg ikke lige kunne gøre det lidt mere dagligdags fordi det problemet det var at når jeg sendte en mail ud til Yellow Vietnam så skulle de jo ikke sidde med en ordbog for at finde ud af hbad det var jeg havde skrevet

Int: mhm
Y: så kunne man skrive det på et talesprog og ikke det fine med de lange snørklede ord som man har lært på universitetet
Int: ja
Y: så ville det være bedre så det vigtige det er egentlig ikke at vi har grammatikken i orden det er heller ikke så vigtigt at vi har ordene i orden men at vi forstår hinanden
Int: ja
Y: og der er da der er kun er få medarbejdere her der kan engelsk 100% på virkelig højt niveau men det er alle der kan engelsk til hverdagsbrug og til dels også til til arbejdsbrug og nogen lidt mere end det
Int: mhm
Y: så er det egentlig nok for det at der er en kommafejl eller en grammatisk fejl et eller andet sted det betyder egentlig ingenting det det betyder det er at de kan få formidlet den besked de skal have formidlet ud til Yellow Vietnam og der sætter du jo en kultur på med hvordan de for forståèt budskabet på så det gør det endnu sværere
Int: mm ja
Y: du skal simpelthen kunne skære den besked ud i pap og sige det er det her du skal gøre og så er det fuldstændig ligegyldig om du gør det grammatisk korrekt eller ej

Example 8
Orange1: jamen det var jo egentlig da det tyske øh selskab kom ind i i billedet øh at man skulle finde et koncernsprog at arbejde med øh og de fleste i virksomheden tror jeg taler nemmere engelsk end de taler tysk øh
Int: okay
Orange1: og så kan man så sige at i og med at engelsk det var fremmed for både en dansker og en tysker så var man lidt på fælles grund øh hvis man kunne sige det på den måde
Int: mm
Orange1: øhm og så var vi i gang med en større øh IRP implementering og i den forbindelse så var det også lidt vigtigt at blive enige om koncernsprog
Int: mm
Orange1: hvad skulle det være øhm og derfor blev det besluttet at det var engelsk

Example 9
Orange2: jamen jeg tror at det er fordi det er det der er fællesnævneren altså vi har vores øh svenske og norske som kan forstå dansk skandinavisk hvad det nu er så har vi finnerne

Int: mm
Orange2: som ikke kan svensk det har vist sig det er jo lidt måske de har komplet med svensk lidt som vi har med tysk kunne jeg forestille mig
Int: mm
Orange2: øhm så dem talte vi allerede engelsk med og så blev det valgt tror jeg at øh at for det har i hvert fald været argumentet efterfølgende at vi ikke ville tage tysk som koncernsprog fordi så har hvad skal man sige på et eller andet plan har tyskerne så en urimelig fordel når vi taler engelsk så er der ikke nogen af os der har det som modersmål
Int: okay ja
Orange2: det har i hvert fald været brugt som et argument siden hen

Example 10
Orange3: det har vi også diskuteret ham Lars der var her også tidligere informationsmedarbejder har også han øh havde netop et projekt i gang hvor vi diskuterede hvor vidt det skulle være og det var ikke mindst i forbindelse at vi fik Orange Tyskland ind i vores afdeling fordi de i Tyskland ikke var så glade for at bruge engelsk som koncernsprog (griner) og vi diskuterede egentlig lidt det med hvor meget man kunne bruge tysk og hvor meget man kunne bruge engelsk og hvor hvor vigtigt det var at vi fandt et fælles fodslag og der er det faktisk hvad kan man s sige stødt lidt på grund fordi tyskerne holder meget af i at bruge tysk øhm i Orange Tyskland fordi mange af medarbejderne i virksomheden ikke er så højtuddannede at de faktisk kan engelsk på et professionelt niveau så vi kunne kommunikere med dem på engelsk
Int: mm
Orange3: øhm så derfor har vi hvad kan man sige lidt koncern hvad kan man sige valgt at have koncernsprog som engelsk i de nordiske lande og Tyskland er lidt for sig selv
Int: okay okay
Orange3: fordi man ikke rigtig kunne finde det dér fælles fodslag

Example 11
Orange2: der fik jeg så sendt en email hvor lønmedarbejderen nede i Tyskland stillede vores direktør der et spørgsmål og øhm som jeg så skulle svare på og der havde han bare videresendt mailen og sagt kan du ikke lige tage dig af det
Int: mm
Orange2: og så sidder jeg og glor på det der tyske med lange ord og og alverdens ting og så sender jeg den tilbage og siger jamen det er fint det kan jeg

godt men du må lige hjælpe med noget oversættelse øh og det var måske sådan lidt øh nu får du lige lidt indblik i min personlighed også (griner)

Int: (griner)

Orange2: og det var også sådan lidt stædighed fordi øh lige da jeg fik den der havde jeg travlt og du ved men jeg kunne jo godt have haft sat mig ned og læst den i dybden og læst den højt og så kunne jeg have genkendt ordene og sådan noget måske ikke så bottomline var at i sidste ende kunne jeg godt have klaret den men der var jeg sådan lidt hurtig og bare sådan (knipser)

Int: okay

Orange2: okay det er tysk tysk er ikke koncernsproget jeg skal lige have noget hjælp her

Lisa Fairbrother

The management of everyday English interactions in the Japanese branches of European multinationals

Abstract: English is not only used in business and commercial activities within the borders of Europe, but is also used in the overseas branches of European multinationals, such as those in Japan. This chapter focuses on the everyday use of English in the Japanese subsidiaries of European multinationals, as reported by non-European, non-native English-speaking employees, and will attempt to shed light on some of the issues relating to English use at work. By applying Language Management Theory, the types of English-related problems non-European employees are sensitive to and their attempts to overcome these problems will be highlighted. It will be shown that rather than problematizing just linguistic proficiency-related problems, employees appear to more readily note and negatively evaluate deviations relating to pragmatic and other sociolinguistic (mis-)uses of the language. Although they may note a variety of deviations relating to English, the power constraints of the workplace, however, often deter them from making adjustments to try to remove those problems, resulting in further problems with colleagues and clients that may ultimately negatively affect the business.

Key words: language management, power, English, multinationals, micro-level interactions, plurilingual employees, sociolinguistic issues

1 Introduction

English is not only used in business and commercial activities within the borders of Europe, but is also used in the overseas branches of European multinationals. This is particularly true in Asia, where English is commonly used as a lingua franca in international business. According to Japanese government statistics, there were at least 1400 European-based companies operating in Japan in 2011 (METI 2012) and English has been shown to play a central role in the language policies of many of such businesses (Peltokorpi and Vaara 2012). However, although a good deal of research has focused on the problems occurring in Japanese business executives' interactions in English with native speakers of English overseas (Marriott 1990, 1991a; Fujio 2004; Tanaka 2006), very few studies have focused on interactions occurring in Japan and even less attention has been given to

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interactions between Japanese businesspeople and other non-native speakers of English, even though such lingua franca interactions are increasingly common in the workplace in Japan (Aikawa 2015).

This chapter will focus on the everyday use of English in the Japanese subsidiaries of European multinationals as reported by non-European, non-native English-speaking employees and will attempt to shed light on some of the issues relating to English use at work. By applying Language Management Theory (LMT: Jernudd and Neustupný 1987; Neustupný 1994), the types of English-related problems non-European employees are sensitive to and their attempts to overcome these problems will be highlighted. It will be shown that rather than problematizing just linguistic proficiency-related problems relating to grammar, vocabulary and spelling, employees appear to more readily note and negatively evaluate deviations relating to pragmatic and other sociolinguistic (mis-)uses of the language. Yet, although they may note a variety of deviations relating to English, the power constraints of the workplace often deter them from making adjustments to try to remove those problems, resulting in further problems with colleagues and clients that ultimately negatively affect the business. Finally, the issue of whether English use in the Japanese branches of European multinationals should be considered a threat or opportunity will be discussed.

2 Research on English use in multinationals

A number of studies have examined the use of language in multinationals, with a particular focus on the role of English. For example, it has been shown how certain languages can wield power in multinational corporations and knowledge of the company's "home language", English and the local language, can be very beneficial for employees (Marschan-Piekkari et al. 1999), particularly as employees in multilingual workplaces may be required to switch back and forth between multiple languages (Angouri and Miglbauer 2014). However, blue collar workers without English competence may be excluded from better job opportunities and employees' formerly valued language skills may be devalued if the official company language is changed to English (Vaara et al. 2005). Some companies even prohibit the use of languages other than English (Sakamoto 2008: cited in Nekvapil and Sherman 2009). Indeed, Nekvapil and Sherman (2013) have shown how some managers believe in the "absolute instrumentality" (112) of English and look down on employees who refuse to use it. However, although English is often used as a lingua franca between the German expats and the local employees in multinationals in central Europe, this communication often does not run smoothly and the local employees tend to be blamed for this (Nekvapil and Sherman 2009).

However, the idea of the overriding dominance of English in multinationals has been challenged. For example, Nekvapil and Sherman (2009) argue that the preference for English over other languages in translation and interpreting is not an issue of the dominance of English but is rather "an efficiency and economic issue" because using English saves time and money (192). Similarly, English is often used as the preferred code, not to dominate others, but to include as many participants in the interaction as possible (Nekvapil and Sherman 2009; Angouri and Miglbauer 2014). Furthermore, English proficiency alone is often not enough and knowledge of the local language can be more beneficial in transmitting important information (Nekvapil and Sherman 2013).

The gap between official policy and actual language practice has also been pointed out (Heller 2002; Roberts 2010; Angouri 2013; Fairbrother 2015) and plurilingual employees' "language practice" is more likely to be "multiform and dynamic" and include elements from other languages, even if the official corporate language is restricted to English (Lüdi, Höchle, and Yanaprasart 2010: 231). In practice, language choice is "negotiated between employees" (Mahili 2014: 117) and often "key actors", such as subsidiary managers, play a pivotal role in determining the use of language(s) (Peltokorpi and Vaara 2012). Amelina (2010) further argues that rather than English, it is the home language of the European corporation and the local host language of the subsidiary, "which are primarily used for network building, personal relationship maintenance and for career development", and in "competing situations", the local host language, *not* English, "is used as an instrument of power imposition and exclusion" (251). Indeed, Lønsmann (2014) has shown how a lack of knowledge of the local language can lead to exclusion from social events and meetings and reduce the chance of promotion. Fairbrother (2015) has argued that not only language proficiency but also knowledge of local communicative norms when using English can lead to exclusion. For example, a non-Japanese employee at a multinational subsidiary in Japan was reportedly fired for not using English in accordance with Japanese communicative norms. Thus, the situated power of English in the overseas subsidiaries of European multinationals needs to be examined carefully.

2.1 English workplace interactions involving Japanese speakers

A number of studies have examined workplace interactions between native speakers of English and Japanese non-native speakers (Marriott 1990, 1991a, 1991b, 1993, 1997, 2012; Fujio 2004; Sunaoshi 2005; Tanaka 2006) and have shown that there may be different business ideologies at play (Tanaka 2006) and different interpretations of speech events, such as the functions of meetings, the roles of participants and the value placed on written materials (Marriott 1990, 2012). There are cases of pragmatic transfer from Japanese to English (Fujio 2004), or Japanese businesspeople may attempt to adopt English norms (Marriot 1991a). Conversely, English native speakers have been shown to adopt Japanese norms or pidginized forms of those norms concerning the use of business cards (1991b) office settings, gift-giving and entertainment situations (1993).

However, where European companies are concerned, the linguistic resources of employees are unlikely to be limited to just Japanese and English: other European languages will also be present and there will also be interactions where English is used between non-native speakers of English as a lingua franca. Yet, apart from Peltokorpi and Vaara's (2012) investigation of language policy and Du-Babcock and Tanaka's (2013) study of role-plays between Japanese and Hong Kong Chinese businesspeople, little attention has been given to the multilingual workplace in Japan and naturally-occurring interactions between plurilingual non-native speakers of English. Fairbrother (2015) briefly touches on this in her analysis of the micro-level management of corporate language policy in the Japanese subsidiaries of European multinationals, showing how the enforcement or lack of enforcement of official policy can become a source of friction. However, very little is currently known about the daily linguistic practices in the Japanese branches of European multinationals, particularly regarding the use of English as a lingua franca.

2.2 Language management in the workplace

The theoretical framework used in this study is Language Management Theory (LMT), which examines the processes underlying "meta-linguistic activity" (Nekvapil 2009: 2). LMT is useful for research into language use and attitudes in the workplace because the researcher can access the processes that participants undertake when they are confronted with behavior that does not correlate with their own norms and expectations. Specifically, LMT allows the researcher to see if and how these noted deviations from norms are evaluated and, if problematized, whether adjustments will be planned and implemented to remove such problems. Thus, rather than focusing merely on visible language production and other behavior occurring on the surface of the interaction, LMT enables the researcher to access the processes behind the production of such behavior as well as highlight problems that might not normally be visible on the surface of the interaction. Language management can also be "simple", referring to individual management within the interaction, or “organized”, referring to macro- and meso-level management of the whole system (Jernudd and Neustupný 1987), thus enabling the researcher to see the connection between policy and practice as part of the “management cycle” (Nekvapil 2009).

LMT, and its earlier form, “the correction model” (Neustupný 1985), have been applied to a number of studies focusing on interaction in the workplace. For example, Marriott (1990, 1991a, 1991b, 1997, 2012) has focused closely on norms in her extensive work on interactions between Japanese and Australian businessmen in Australia. Problems in such contact situations are numerous but participants are often unaware of the deviations noted and evaluated by their interlocutors (1997) and English native speakers may even misinterpret the presence of different sociocultural norms as language deficiencies (2008). In addition, even though English may be the main linguistic medium of communication, this does not mean that English will be used according to only English native-speaker norms; Japanese norms or pidginized norms were often applied by both the Australian and Japanese participants to sociolinguistic and sociocultural aspects of the interactions.

Nekvapil and Nekula (2006) and Nekvapil and Sherman (2009, 2013) also used LMT to examine language problems in multinationals in Central Europe, focusing on both simple and organized management. They found that the language norms of the expats carry more weight than the local language norms (Nekvapil and Sherman 2009), the language skills of local employees are often negatively evaluated (Nekvapil and Nekula 2006; Nekvapil and Sherman 2009) and that adjustments to eradicate language problems, such as using translation services or language training programs, are often very costly (Nekvapil and Nekula 2006). Nekvapil and Sherman (2009) found that new norms may be introduced concerning not only which language(s) may or may not be used but also ***how*** people should communicate; for example, making it clear when you did not understand. They also found that pre-interaction adjustments, such as designating a particular person to answer the phone, may be implemented to prevent potential deviations from occurring. Language ideologies concerning the home language of the corporation, the local language, English and the languages of immigrant workers have also been shown to underlie many such language management processes (Nekvapil and Sherman 2013).

However, as of yet, no studies using LMT have been conducted on the management of English in European multinationals in Japan, particularly focusing on the local employees’ perspectives. This chapter is an extension of Fairbrother’s (2015) study of the application of corporate language policy in the Japanese subsidiaries of European multinationals, but with a focus on plurilingual employees’ everyday management of English in the workplace.

3 Method

The data for this study comes from in-depth interviews with three locally-hired employees working at the Japanese subsidiaries of three different European multinationals, supplemented with follow-up emails and samples of in-house email communications. Company A is a Swedish retailer, Company B is a French food producer and Company C is a German logistics corporation. The three interviewees, on whom this chapter will focus, were all plurilingual non-native speakers of English in lower level managerial or specialist positions, introduced to the researcher via her personal networks. General information about each interviewee's background and their companies are included in Table 6.1.

Because of the difficulty in gaining official permission to access the workplace for research purposes and the difficulty involved in trying to get employees to talk frankly about work-related issues while physically at work, the participants were interviewed outside of their places of work. MM (a Mexican male), CM (a Chinese male) and JF (a Japanese female) participated in semi-structured interviews to gain information about their use of English at work and their general views towards it, and then later in the session, interaction interviews (Neustupný 2003) were conducted, whereby the interviewees recounted their experiences during the last twenty-four hours at work in detail. Follow-up questions were asked via email and CM and JF also gave the researcher samples of

Table 6.1: Participant profiles.

Interviewee	MM	JF	CM
Gender	Male	Female	Male
Age	40s	30s	30s
Nationality	Mexican	Japanese	Chinese
Languages (in order of proficiency)	Spanish, English, Japanese, French	Japanese, English, Swedish, French	Local Chinese dialect, Mandarin, Japanese, English, German
Languages used at work (in order of frequency)	Japanese, English, Spanish	English, Japanese, French	Japanese, English, Mandarin
Company	A	B	C
Main business	Retail	Food production	Logistics
Company base	Sweden	France	Germany
Official corporate language(s)	English	French	English
Interviewee's position	Section manager	Marketing manager	Specialist team leader

anonymized work emails that they deemed non-sensitive in content. The interviews with MM and CM were conducted in English, while the interview with JF was conducted in Japanese.

The three interviewees had chosen to work at their current workplaces for a variety of reasons. MM, who used to work for a Japanese company, had specifically sought out work opportunities at a European company because of the better working hours, holiday provisions and chances of promotion. In addition to his specialized business knowledge, he was reportedly hired because of his strong English and Japanese language skills and Company A's policy of encouraging diversity. Similarly, in addition to his technical skills, CM claimed he was hired for his language skills in English, Japanese, Chinese and the home language of the corporation, German. He also joined his company for better pay and working hours compared with his previous Japanese company. JF, who had worked for an agency for a number of years moving around a number of Japanese and European companies, moved to Company B because she was offered better pay and a permanent contract. Although in the past Company B had only ever hired Japanese staff with strong French skills, she reportedly got her job because of her extensive business experience and her strong English skills.

The interview data was analyzed according to LMT and based on the interviewees' accounts, their norms, noted deviations, evaluations and adjustments were pinpointed. The cases of management were then classified into linguistic, sociolinguistic and sociocultural categories and examples of each are presented below.

4 Everyday issues relating to English

4.1 Linguistic issues

The participants reported a number of deviations relating to basic English language proficiency and they explained how they made adjustments to remove problems. For example, MM reported how he sometimes feels that his immediate Japanese manager doesn't understand what he says in English.

> MM: *sometimes she doesn't get my point ... so I have to change it into Japanese*

Thus, MM code-switches from English to Japanese to get his point across more effectively.

CM also reported how he had had difficulties communicating in English with one of his female Japanese colleagues because she found it difficult to understand his emails if he wrote in long complex sentences. In the following excerpt he explains how he now uses a pre-adjustment strategy to avoid potential deviations from occurring by writing in much shorter simple sentences:

> CM: *so the girl always asks me, "what does [it] mean, what does it mean?"... I don't know if the Japanese speak like this, [connecting] many [shorter] sentences together, so she doesn't know what is [the] subject for what. So sometimes she is confused ... so I try to split the sentences like [a] three or five years old, you just tell [them] clearly – my purpose is not on the language study for them, [it's] just [to] make them to understand what I want, what I hope, what they have to do. So sometimes [my sentences are] very short.*

In this excerpt, CM explains how his junior Japanese female colleague, whom he refers to as "the girl", had difficulties decoding longer complex English sentences in the past. His pre-adjustment to avoid this kind of decoding issue is to simplify his English into much shorter units so that he can get his point across "clearly". Although this seems to be a successful strategy, his explanation of trying to "split the sentences like [a] three or five years old" and his reference to her as "the girl" suggests that he looks down on his colleague and her language ability. Communication problems are often perceived as personality defects (Gass and Varonis 1991) and this seems to be the case in CM's perception of his colleague.

In a follow-up email, JF reported a deviation she noted concerning the negotiation she had with her French manager about a suitable translation for a type of cheesecake. In a rehearsal for a presentation with a client she used the English term "no baked cheesecake" to refer to an American style cheesecake that is not cooked. In Japan the term chiizukeiki (lit. 'cheesecake') usually refers to a baked cake that contains cheese so the type of non-baked cake that JF was referring to is called rea-chiizukeiki (lit. 'rare cheesecake', meaning 'raw' or 'uncooked') in Japanese. Her French manager corrected her English to "rare cheesecake", a quasi-transliteration of the Japanese term, but she evaluated this correction negatively as a form of "wasei eigo", or 'Japan-made English' (Miller 1997). As the more common term used in the USA would actually be "no-bake cheesecake", both parties' suggestions deviated from the English standard, but JF's management of this dispute is interesting. She implemented an adjustment strategy by first checking in the dictionary and discovering that she had been correct about the inadequacy of the term "rare cheesecake". She then explained that she planned to change the English in the final report without confronting her manager because she knows he usually will not check it carefully. Thus she has a plan to implement an adjustment surreptitiously without having to engage in the kind of "open conflict" commonly avoided by Japanese speakers (Szatrowski 2004).

4.2 Sociolinguistic issues

The sociolinguistic elements of English use relate to *how* English is used and organized for communication in particular contexts and the following examples from the interviews are organized according to Neustupný's (1997) categorization derived from Hymes' (1972) model of the ethnography of communication. The participants reported language issues relating predominantly to content rules, which govern what is communicated, variety rules, which govern code selection, and participant rules, which govern who should communicate with whom.

4.2.1 Content rules

Content rules govern what is contextually appropriate to communicate in a certain interaction and, as such, relate not only to the choice of topic but also to the choice of speech acts and the level of politeness attached to the transmitted content (Neustupný 1987). The noted deviations relating to English content rules deal with the level of politeness expressed in a request, the content of particular speech acts and topic choice.

Politeness

In the first example relating to the politeness of the content conveyed, CM reports how one of his senior female colleagues was chastised by the Australian senior manager of another section because of her reminder emails to members of his team.

> CM: *I remember in her mail it is kind really kind of like stronger "Hey we have to do this, can you tell [us] when you can do it?!" like one or two days just send two or three emails, so the solution manager, project manager, the Australian he was angry, and he replied to her to everyone, "Hey you watch out your language, this is not your members, we are helping you, we know this but we are busy, so you cannot just push." She wrote in English but the emotion make people ... just like order, "You have to [do] this! When are you going to do this!" ... so that annoy[s] ... you know make[s] people uncomfortable*

CM explains that the directness and frequency of his colleague's emails in English were perceived as orders, leaving the Australian manager feeling pressured and annoyed. The direct content and frequency of her emails were noted and negatively evaluated as a deviation from the Australian's norms concerning the tone and appropriate amount of pressure to put on fellow colleagues, resulting in an adjustment informing her publicly to be more careful about her language use. CM seems to share the Australian manager's norm and he explained how he felt it was important to keep on the good side of one's colleagues in order to get them to be as cooperative as possible.

However, CM's female colleague's emails contradict the findings from Takano's (2004) study that suggest that Japanese professional women tend to use "polite and deferential" language along with "indirect framing" in their directives (657). It, therefore, needs to be asked why the Japanese female manager chose to communicate directly. One possible explanation is her lack of control over her production of English (Neustupný 1987), resulting in a loss of the ability to formulate emails in the same tone that she would have used in Japanese. Another possible explanation is that she had an "incomplete" (Neustupný: 203) understanding of English and had assumed that it was the English norm to make requests in a much more direct manner than in Japanese. However, a more likely explanation is a transfer of Japanese managerial style. As she is a senior manager and was originally sending emails to lower-ranked members of the Australian's team, she may just have been implementing the frequently applied 'Ho-ren-so' (frequently report, communicate, consult) Japanese managerial strategy used to push lower-level employees (Hakubishobo 2012).

Of particular interest is how the female manager reacts to being chastised by the senior Australian manager.

> CM: *and since then she stopped contact with them, I was shocked. So any problem [s]he got [s]he asked me to [contact them] ...Yeah, even now, she just avoid[s] talking with them, so [I] think [to her it's] like it doesn't exist, so strange*

As Jones (1990) argues, Japanese speakers often avoid any form of open confrontation and any form of disagreement can be perceived as conflict. In this respect, the Australian manager's public chastisement of her emails must have been taken as a serious threat to her face. Her way of dealing with this deviation from her norms, and preventing any similar incidents from happening, is simply to avoid any contact with the Australian manager's team, as if "it doesn't exist". CM finds her behavior "so strange" but no doubt she has been so humiliated that she can no longer have a normal relationship with the Australian's team.

Another example of a noted deviation relating to politeness relates to the content of a series of English emails sent by JF's French manager to a Japanese client. The Japanese client, who had had a long relationship with the Japanese branch office, had urgently needed to get an estimate about a certain product late at night but instead of waiting to contact the Japanese branch early the next morning, the client had contacted the French headquarters directly. When the French manager heard about this he sent the client an email in English, including the following excerpt expressing his disappointment that the client had not contacted the Japan office first.

> French Manager: *Do you not trust [the Japanese branch]? Do you think you could get other information from France that the ones you get from [the Japanese branch]? Frankly I am extremely disappointed in your action ... Your action really makes me want to ask you to do all your communication from now on directly to the HQ, and not bother calling [the Japanese branch] for any matter or information whatsoever. I am waiting for detailed explanation on your action and your proposal for the near future of our partnership.*

The Japanese client responded in Japanese explaining his reasons, apologizing three times and explicitly promising to go through the Japanese branch in future. The French manager then sent another email to the Japanese client explicitly stating his dissatisfaction.

> French manager: *By ignoring [the Japanese branch] and contacting directly France, you are being rude to the whole [Global Group] by not accepting its communication process and organization. Next time I strongly recommend that you think twice before taking any mistaken actions ... Thank you in advance for your understanding and behavior.*

JF notes and negatively evaluates the content of her manager's emails as a deviation from her norms concerning the appropriate way to communicate with a Japanese client. In her interview she emphasized that "he never apologies" and implied that when dealing with Japanese clients it is important to apologize even if the client is at fault. In this case it would be expected that the manager apologize at least for the inconvenience to the client in making him have to follow the French company's rules and procedures and it would definitely be highly unusual for a company to reprimand a client for their "mistaken actions", "behavior" or for "being rude". Interestingly, although he does sometimes write emails to this client in Japanese, the French manager's emails concerning this issue were all written in English. This suggests that he may have deliberately avoided writing such content in Japanese but chose English in order to be more direct about the problem.

Missing content

It is not only the content of what *is* said that may trigger language management. Deviations may also be noted regarding content that the interviewees consider *should have been* included. In the following excerpt JF explains a deviation noted by her French manager concerning her own comment that she might be late.

> JF: *This week people from the [French] head office came and we had some meetings … I had a separate meeting with the marketing director and [my French manager] had a different meeting and we were to meet up altogether later. I was asked [by my French manager] at what time I could come [to the joint meeting] and I knew the time but, I didn't know [exactly], [so I said] I might be late. The reason I said that [I might be late] is because we both have separate meetings and we might have been late. I knew that the [earlier] meeting might go a little over time and there was a chance we might not be finished in time for the [joint] meeting but [my French manager] asked me "why?". I felt that he was getting angry at me again. I was told, "If you say that you might be late you have to explain the reason. Speak properly."… If it were in Japanese, we wouldn't say the reason why, right? Because if [there's an indefinite possibility] we might be late, we can't say [the reason] why. That's* ***why*** *we say we might be late. At that time what he asked was whether I could be there at that time, as if it was a Yes/No question about whether I could or could not be there, and then why … When you say it in English it has to be longer, you say [because of] this, [because of] that. I think you say things in English that you don't say in Japanese. It's probably a difference in the language itself.*

In this example, JF recounts how she was scolded by her French manager for saying that she might be late for their meeting. In Japanese business it is customary to apologize well in advance if there is even a slight chance of being late (CrossMedia 2014) so JF's saying that she "might be late" was a typical strategy to cover any possible delays caused by the first meeting running a little over time. Thus, saying she "might be late" implied *not* that she would be definitely or considerably late, but that she wanted to be considerate to her boss in case the first meeting went over time. However, JF's French manager evaluates her suggestion that she might be late negatively and the adjustment he implements is to teach her how to add a reason when she says she will be late and to "speak properly". Although it appears that the Japanese and French speakers of English have different norms regarding their orientations towards time and their use of politeness strategies to mitigate their possible tardiness, only the person in the position of power, in this case JF's French manager, has the power to push their norms through. This further highlights the problems with what MacKenzie (2014) terms "angelic accounts of ELF", whereby interactions in English as a lingua franca are often interpreted by researchers as being collaborative and harmonious. In workplace ELF interactions, however, power relationships cannot be overlooked.

Topics

Topic choice can also cause problems relating to content rules because the topic of conversation can have adverse effects on interpersonal relationships. CM cites topic choice as one reason why he finds it hard to interact socially with his Japanese colleagues.

> CM: *The topics are quite childish I think ... just uh, what food do I eat ... "I really like this tea" uh, "first of all, I have a coffee" like this. They don't talk so much, really, really private things ... [they are] very nice but you cannot go on, not like you know, "I have a friend," or "what I am doing," ... So if we just sit here like a strangers, basically [we] have nothing to talk [about], so if I ask "how about your children?" they say "oh they are okay." You try to make conversation [but they] stop right, [if] you don't want people to listen to the, your private things, sometimes you can just stop the conversation. So, mostly they are just talking just like this.*

CM finds it hard to connect with his colleagues on a personal level because of their choice of small talk topics and he feels that when he tries to take the conversation to a more personal level, i.e. by asking about his colleagues' children, they don't develop the topic. He is left with the negative feeling that they are just behaving like strangers with nothing to talk about. Thus, it is not language proficiency but rather the content of their small talk that is an obstacle to CM feeling like he can develop a close relationship with his colleagues in the office setting.

4.2.2 Variety rules

The choice of linguistic code is governed by variety rules, which concern "which type of language is used" (Neustupný 1987: 79). The use of particular language varieties may make communication more efficient or reinforce social relationships (Lüdi, Höchle and Yanaprasart 2010) and here CM recounts his selection of English in order to prevent misunderstandings.

> CM: *it's hard to explain for this technique part, especially when you get the solution, how it works, in the beginning, so this time I prefer in English. Because if it's in Japanese maybe my Japanese is not so well(sic), sometimes it causes misunderstanding, so this time I prefer [to explain]in English, to tell them what the solution we have and what is the best solution we could have with the lowest cost.*

CM explains how he prefers to use English when he is explaining important technical matters because he feels he can convey his meaning more accurately in English than in Japanese. Thus to avoid conveying an incorrect message to his colleagues in Japanese, he applies pre-interaction management (Nekvapil and Sherman 2009) and switches to English to avoid any potential problems from occurring. Thus his code selection is used to facilitate communication.

Another example from CM shows how his ability to understand and reproduce a professional register of English has resulted in him being designated as the person to communicate with the Asia regional team, headed by an Italian.

CM: *[My Japanese female colleague] cannot understand the region manager's email, because his email is kind of like, not like simple sentences [such as] 'I want to do this, I really do this, I hope you can do that, I need this, that', no [rather it's] like really complicated structures, one sentence is like, [it] use[s] some words ... that make it more complicated, so you can immediately tell, but if you learn from that, read their email [and] you try to write like that, you [become] more close to ... the native English. It is maybe easier to understand ... [when I email the Italian regional manager] first I try to write as best as I can, but also [I]avoid the, try to write more like, how to say, different than the Japanese, more a little bit better ... Like, uh, I will use ... words [that are] a little bit different and [the] structure will be a little bit different ... I will make [it] more professional, easy to read*

CM explains how he uses a "more complicated" form of English when emailing the Italian regional manager because he considers this to sound more "professional" and easier for his European counterpart to understand. In contrast, he finds that his Japanese colleague finds it difficult to understand and produce more complex English sentence structure, which has resulted in him being designated as the main communicator with the Asia region team.

However, MM's choice of English with some of his Japanese colleagues is not for instrumental purposes, but rather to change the dynamics of his relationship with his Japanese colleagues.

MM: *If you speak to them in English, yeah they are a little more respectful ... they try to understand what you wanted to say.*

To MM, the use of English is a way to gain more respect from his Japanese colleagues. His choice of English can also be seen as a pre-interaction management strategy; a means to avoid deviations that could be potentially face-threatening. For MM, selecting the English code changes the power balance in the interactions with his Japanese colleagues from a Japanese native speaker/non-native-speaker situation, where he is in the less powerful position, to a lingua franca situation where no-one is a native speaker. When he speaks in English he feels that his Japanese colleagues are more able to accommodate to him.

On the other hand, JF recounted a deviation she noted and negatively evaluated concerning the exclusionary effects of code-switching from English to Japanese during her visit to the French head office.

JF: *At the head office I was talking to the marketing director ... then [my French manager from the Japan branch] came over to talk. At that time because there were other [French] people there, he should have spoken to me in English, don't you think? Especially for me, because I speak to everyone in English. But it was really weird because [the language he used] was*

> *Japanese ... Even though there were many other people there. It was really weird ... like he was showing off ... In some sense it's rude, isn't it? Three or four people [were] there [and we were] talking so that everyone could understand and then suddenly [he starts] speaking in a language they don't understand. And the content wasn't even important.* (translated from Japanese)

JF criticizes her French manager for switching to Japanese in front of their non-Japanese-speaking colleagues, behavior that she considers both "really weird" and "rude" because of the exclusionary effects of code-switching. She interprets her manager's behavior as unnecessarily "showing off" but in fact she could not resist this code-switch and responded to him in Japanese. Thus, even though she strongly disagreed with her manager's switch she felt she had to accommodate to her superior's language choice.

4.2.3 Participant rules

Certain communities of practice have rules governing who should directly communicate with whom and in Japan the hierarchical relationship among participants will govern how they interact with each other (Neustupný 1987). This can be seen in an incident reported by MM concerning his initiation of communication with the global CEO of his company.

> MM: *they were doing this kind of like a store tour ... So I just went and start[ed] asking questions to him [the world CEO]. And I remember that XX [the Japanese branch manager] and XX [my Japanese division manager] were very shocked that I was ... talking to him because maybe I was not respecting the hierarchy ... But he [the world CEO] was saying 'OK. Your point was very good' ... but I noticed that maybe also the Japanese CEO or, was also a little bit nervous.*

In this example, MM recounts how his Japanese senior colleagues were giving him nonverbal signals, through their facial expressions and body movements, that he should not have approached the global CEO because of their different statuses. The reactions of his colleagues let MM know that they had noted a deviation in his behavior and evaluated it negatively and MM attributed their negative reactions to his failure to respect "the hierarchy". The global CEO, however, appeared to react positively to MM's initiative, which no doubt reflects the CEO's different norms concerning hierarchy. Even so, MM feels pressure to conform to the norms of the local Japanese context despite his use of English to interact with the European CEO.

4.3 Sociocultural issues

The use of English in the offices of European multinationals in Japan not only reveals language issues but also highlights deeper sociocultural norms relating to working practices. For example, CM noted a deviation from his norms concerning the sharing of information within the company. He complains about his Japanese manager's reluctance to share information that is crucial to carrying out his work.

> CM: *I think, the Japanese really, sometimes … try to hide something … try to cut information, so maybe you don't know this, and uh, if you don't know, they don't give … like my boss. I really don't know him, but he is always laughing but I think it's really fake, because I ask some of this questions, he's really like, flee[ing] or something … he will not answer your question … What I really don't like is they try to hide some information, they don't want to help me, they are two peoples who know, and once they cannot fix it, they open everything to me, so I can read from the email from the bottom to the end, the long story, so that's okay, but I think this [is] their … kind of culture*

CM negatively evaluates a deviation that he notes regarding the sharing of information with colleagues. He feels that his manager will not divulge important information for him to complete his job until they absolutely need to and because of this CM feels he cannot trust his boss, calling him "really fake" and lamenting that he does not "know him". Although it would be difficult to argue that all non-Japanese companies are transparent and that the clear transmission of information is common, it appears that in many Japan organizations lower-level workers are sometimes only exposed to partial information and the rationale for certain decisions is not explained to them. Although CM works in the subsidiary of a German-based company and English is the main language used, because the middle management is Japanese the everyday working practices appear to follow Japanese norms rather than European norms (Fairbrother 2015).

Furthermore, CM and MM also reported how some of their non-Japanese colleagues chose to quit their jobs because of what they considered to be the effects of Japanese hierarchy within their workplaces. In the following excerpt, MM describes how two Swedish expat managers decided to leave Japan.

> MM: *They felt very dissatisfied with the management in Japan … they compare the situation here and in Sweden and they say for example that Sweden is more open, so you have this good feedback all the time, like you can give your ideas and things change and happen. But here in Japan, I think some people felt they were getting more hierarchy so … that it was difficult just to get better jobs[within the subsidiary] or it isn't very clear what was going to happen, [like concerning] promotions*

MM attributes the expats' choice to leave Japan to their dissatisfaction with the hierarchy within the organization of the Japanese subsidiaries. They noted and negatively evaluated deviations concerning the hierarchical management style of the Japanese branches in contrast to their norms of Swedish management style, where ideas can be exchanged openly between employees of different rank and subordinates can see very clearly when changes are being made. In comparison they criticized the lack of transparency in the Japanese subsidiaries, particularly when it affects them acutely, such as in the competition for promotions.

In both of these examples there seems to be a disparity between the expectations that non-Japanese employees have of what working in a European company should be like and the reality of how their workplaces are actually run. There seems to be an expectation that working for a European company in Japan will be like working for a company in Europe and that the management style will also follow a predominantly European style. However, as the majority of employees in the subsidiaries are Japanese, including many of the managers, the management in these workplaces naturally incorporates elements of Japanese management style. Nevertheless, sociocultural differences regarding management style, particularly relating to the transparency of communication and the hierarchical system in the Japanese subsidiaries clearly can be seen to affect some non-Japanese employees' work satisfaction, leading some of them to quit.

5 Discussion

In this study, a wide variety of grammatical, sociolinguistic and sociocultural deviations relating to English use were noted and the problems that were reported by employees did not merely relate to proficiency or language choice issues, but were often related to the local power structure, and human relationships within the workplace.

Although English is the official language of many European multinationals based in Japan, the norms governing the actual use of English are often not based on a standard variety of English but rather reflect the norms of the speakers of English as a lingua franca in each specific interaction. As such, English may be used according to the norms of the local language, in this case Japanese, or the norms of the corporation's home European language, for example French. Although Nekvapil and Nekula (2006) and Nekvapil and Sherman (2009) found that in multinationals based in central Europe the English-language skills of some local employees were often negatively evaluated, the local norms of Japanese interaction can have considerable power and may govern the use of English in certain contexts (Fairbrother 2015). As Amelina (2010) has pointed out, the local language can play a significant role in the local power structure and relationships, and work and economic factors in the local context may play an important role. Indeed, two of the participants reported that the Japanese branches were the most profitable subsidiaries of their corporations' entire global enterprises so if the local context is producing large profits the local style of communication and business practices may be tolerated, or even welcomed.

In everyday English interactions at work, the norms regarding how English should be used are influenced not only by corporate language policy but more significantly by an employee's immediate superiors (Lüdi, Höchle, and Yanaprasart 2010). Some Japanese managers, such as those of CM and MM may want to maintain a typical Japanese hierarchical framework and follow Japanese communicative conventions even if the language of communication is English (Fairbrother 2015). Alternatively, as the examples of JF and CM showed, if the worker's immediate superiors are European or English native speakers, employees may be expected to communicate in English in a more pragmatically French or Anglo-Australian manner.

Nevertheless, when problems relating to English were noted, relatively few adjustments were made. Adjustments that were made in response to problems predominantly involved code choice or strategies to avoid communication or conflict. These included making surreptitious changes to documents, avoiding communication with potentially face-threatening interlocutors, or choosing to communicate via a third party, in order to avoid potential threats to their own face. This reflects the power structure at the workplace which appears to prevent employees from attempting to rectify problems, particularly when their superiors are involved. Even if there is a serious communicative issue in the workplace that could have detrimental effects on the business, such as the tone of communications sent to clients, it is very difficult for employees lower down in the hierarchy to implement adjustments to remove such deviations, particularly if those deviations have been suggested by one's manager. In such cases, implementing an adjustment could be seen as challenging one's manager and thus could potentially lead to open conflict and damage to one's own working environment and even job security (cf. Fairbrother 2015). On the other hand, it seemed easier to implement pre-interaction adjustments (Nekvapil and Sherman 2009) to prevent potential future deviations from occurring, such as choosing to communicate in English or in different styles of English in order to avoid communication problems.

6 The role of English in the Japanese branches of European multinationals

Although the limited scope of this study makes it impossible to make broad generalizations, the examination of accounts of everyday English interactions in the Japanese branches of European multinationals presented here does provide some insights into the type of issues that European businesses face outside the borders of the EU. The majority of research conducted within the EU tends to focus on Europeans using English as a lingua franca with other Europeans, without taking into account the complex issues surrounding the use of English by speakers of languages with very different communicative and sociocultural norms. In the Japanese context, the question of whose norms should form the basis of English use can become a site of conflict (Fairbrother 2015) and lead to elaborate negotiations between employees, all within a stricter hierarchical framework than might be seen in some European contexts. Thus, outside Europe it is not just an issue of whether to use English or not, but ***how*** to use English that becomes contentious.

Considering the language abilities of local clients and the fact that there are not enough skilled business professionals fluent in continental European languages, the use of English and Japanese, rather than continental European languages, appears to be a necessity. The adoption of English has advantages because it enables businesses to employ locally from a wider pool of human resources, to interact with some local and regional clients, and to facilitate smooth communication with the other branches of the corporation, which may also be staffed by employees of various language backgrounds. Additionally, the very use of English in such settings automatically creates a multicultural and multilingual working environment making it hard to preserve a distinctly European business style, as the local linguistic, sociolinguistic and sociocultural norms become salient in day-to-day business practices. Thus, in the Japanese context at least, it is difficult to argue that the languages of the European ex-patriates are overwhelmingly powerful. On the other hand, the economic benefits that European corporations can gain by setting up branches in Japan adopting English must clearly outweigh the linguistic disadvantages, as can be seen by the number of European companies choosing to set up business there (METI 2012).

On the other hand, for local Japanese employees at the Japanese branches of European multinationals, using English can be face-threatening because of different communicative norms and also because Japanese hierarchical constraints make it difficult for lower-level employees to make adjustments to incorrect language usage or pragmatically inappropriate content sent to local clients.

They may have better English than their superiors but the local power structure may make it impossible for them to use their English to full effect. Alternatively, local Japanese employees with weaker English skills may be looked down on by non-Japanese employees. Thus, an examination of the use of English in this type of workplace also questions the myth of “angelic ELF” interactions, particularly when an employee is chastised for their English use by a lingua franca speaker of a higher rank.

However, the use of English in the workplace in Japan does offer considerable opportunities for non-Europeans employed in the Japanese subsidiaries. Although JF, MM and CM all expressed disappointment that their workplaces did not seem European enough and they all noted problems with the use of English in the workplace, their English skills had contributed to their gaining access to the multinational workplace and the financial gains associated with it. Indeed, in contrast to many Japanese companies based in Japan, multinationals may offer more attractive employment opportunities to traditionally marginalized groups, such as Japanese women, and immigrants. For the interviewees in this study at least, proficiency in English was an opportunity for financial and social gain. As opposed to their interactions in other languages which positioned them as non-native speakers communicating with native speakers, the use of English in the workplace put them on a more equal, or even superior, footing with other non-native-speaking colleagues of a similar status within their respective organizations. Thus, despite the language problems reported by the interviewees, being able to use English at work gave them some definite advantages.

The experiences of the interviewees in this study suggest that knowledge of English is crucially important in some work contexts and that overall it can provide benefits for both the multinationals, in terms of profit and access to a wider pool of local human resources, and for local employees, considering the financial, social and interpersonal benefits working in English provides. Supporting the findings of European-based research, depending on the dynamics of the local context, English can be used to include and exclude certain employees. However, English users in Japanese subsidiaries are required to manage their use of English within a strict power hierarchy, the examination of which can highlight some clear insensitivity to local usage of English and the pragmatic needs of both local employees and local clients. Thus, examining the use of English in European multinationals outside the boundaries of the EU can help to highlight issues relating to the sociolinguistic and sociocultural aspects of workplace interaction, particularly in relation to the workplace power structure, that might tend to be overlooked in some European contexts.

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Sonja Barfod

On the non-use of English in a multinational company

Abstract: In a multinational company in Denmark, Danish, Norwegian, and Swedish employees prefer to communicate in inter-Scandinavian (producing one Scandinavian language, receiving another) in informal workplace settings. They prefer this form of communication to using English, the company's declared corporate language, which is otherwise consistently used as their "meeting language" (even when only Scandinavians are present). Based on video recordings, this article examines how Scandinavians communicate in informal workplace settings. It is argued that the employed adaptation strategies are characterized by a high degree of variability, and that Scandinavians seem to adapt to each other's languages to a larger degree than what previous research claims to have found, although adaptation is mainly performed within speaker's base language. It is furthermore argued that the possibility of Scandinavian intercomprehension is a resource in the workplace, and that the competence to interact in inter-Scandinavian appears to be an invisible skill to the employees themselves.

Keywords: Scandinavian intercomprehension, linguistic adaptation, inter-Scandinavian, adaptation strategies, informal workplace settings

1 Introduction

An increasing number of international companies in Denmark have declared English their corporate language. This is a reaction to the increased transnational mobility of the workforce, made possible by the fact that knowledge of English is widespread enough in Denmark to make the language a viable tool for solving problems of communication and inclusion in the workplace (Haberland 2014b). English has been widely accepted as a lingua franca. This certainly seems true of the Nordic countries, where English is much more of a world language than in many other parts of Europe (Haberland and Preisler 2015: 17). But in one multinational company in Denmark, where English was introduced as the corporate language by the German parent company in 2008, and where both external and internal meetings are conducted in English, there are other languages at play at lunchtime, primarily the local language (Danish) as well as the "nabosprog [neighboring languages]", (Norwegian and Swedish).

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As previous research has shown, this simultaneous use of three languages requires “hårt interaktionellt arbete och ingående förhandlingar [interactional hard work and intensive negotiations]” (Börestam Uhlmann 1994: 197), but nevertheless, participants from Denmark, Norway, and Sweden prefer this form of communication to English when interacting with each other in spite of the fact that otherwise their “meeting language” is English (even when only Scandinavians are present).

Based on video data collected in September and October 2013, this article deals with the way Scandinavians communicate in informal workplace settings and how, to a large degree, they adapt to each other’s languages in contrast to what previous research on this subject has shown (e.g. Börestam Uhlmann 1994; Zeevaert 2004). This adaptation is characterized by a high degree of variability, both when the adaptations are within the speaker’s own base language and the recipient’s base language, a term used to underline the participants’ multilingual resources; not all of them have Danish, Norwegian or Swedish as their first language.[1] It is argued that the possibility of intercomprehension between Scandinavians is a resource in the workplace, while the competence to interact in inter-Scandinavian appears to be an invisible skill to the employees themselves.

2 The Nordic countries, Scandinavia and neighboring languages

The Nordic countries are a geographical and cultural region in Northern Europe and the North Atlantic. The region consists of five countries (Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway, and Sweden) with three autonomous regions (the Åland Islands, the Faroe Islands, and Greenland). In this article the focus is on the three Scandinavian countries Denmark, Norway and Sweden.

The Scandinavian languages, Danish, Norwegian and Swedish, are so similar in vocabulary, morphology and syntax that in principle Scandinavians can communicate across language borders. This phenomenon has been extensively studied, usually in order to explain why intercomprehension does not always work optimally. Einar Haugen (1966) and later researchers established a hierarchy of Scandinavian intercomprehension (e.g. Maurud 1976; Delsing and Lundin Åkesson 2005): Danes are the most difficult to understand, while Norwegians do best in understanding the other Scandinavian languages, also being best understood by

1 Throughout this paper, I use the term adaptation, as this is not as theoretically loaded as the more frequently used accommodation.

speakers of the other two languages. Swedes have the greatest comprehension problems of all the three groups. In other words, inter-Scandinavian comprehension is not symmetrical. These results have established a certain consensus, or as Börestam Uhlmann diplomatically puts it: "(…) the studies – with their different methods and varied groups of respondents – nonetheless resulted in largely similar patterns with respect to comprehension among neighboring languages" (Börestam Uhlmann 2005: 2027). Previous research also focuses on the question of whether inter-Scandinavian intercomprehension is in decline, to the effect that Scandinavians increasingly prefer to use English rather than inter-Scandinavian (e.g. Delsing and Lundin Åkesson 2005; Bacquin and Christensen 2013).

2.1 English as a lingua franca in Scandinavia

English is acknowledged in Scandinavia as the lingua franca of internationalization with non-Scandinavians: "For det første er der i den offentlige debat overvejende konsensus om, at i sproglig henseende er den såkaldte 'globalisering' et engelsksproget fænomen, og der findes ikke den samfundssfære, hvor engelsk ikke er udråbt til *lingua franca* forstået både som det fælles, det samlende, det nødvendige – måske det eneste nødvendige – sprog.[First, in the public debate there is to a large extent a consensus as far as language is concerned that what is called 'globalization' is an English-language phenomenon, and there is no sphere of society, where English is not proclaimed the *lingua franca,* understood as both the shared, the unifying, the necessary – perhaps the only necessary – language.]" (Verstraete-Hansen 2008: 8).[2] Some researchers even go as far as to declare Scandinavians bilingual in English: "I stort sett alla nordbor är numera i någon mån tvåspråkiga, främst i engelska (…) [Almost everyone in the Nordic countries is now bilingual to some degree, mainly in English (…)]" (Delsing and Lundin Åkesson 2005: 1). This is an exaggeration, since it disregards the 20% of "English-have-nots" (Haberland and Preisler 2015: 18). The English proficiency of most Scandinavians is self-reported as very high. 86 per cent of Danes and Swedes in a survey claim to speak English "well enough to take part in a conversation" (Eurobarometer 2012: 21, the average in the EU27 is 38% 2012: 19, see Haberland 2014a for a more thorough review).

The idea of declining inter-Scandinavian intercomprehension is the belief that the younger generations prefer to communicate in their second language, English, instead of staying in their first language in production and activating the

2 All translations are the author's.

inter-Scandinavian mode receptively (listening to and understanding a neighboring language). There is very little research-related evidence for this belief. In the following, the three most recent major studies that support this claim are discussed.

In a recent, primarily questionnaire-based, study by Andersen and Verstraete-Hansen (2013) of the use of languages in Danish ministries, the participants could comment freely on the topic. Five comments are quoted in the report, two of which concern generational differences: "Jeg kan konstatere, at den yngre gruppe af mine medarbejdere har problemer med at indgå i en nordisk arbejdssammenhæng, medmindre det sker på engelsk [I've noticed that my younger colleagues have trouble engaging in a Nordic work related context unless it is conducted in English]" (Andersen and Verstraete-Hansen 2013: 58) and "Det er absurd at opleve, at unge kolleger fra de nordiske lande med deres friske hjerner taler engelsk sammen, mens vi gamle klarer os fint ved at slå ørerne lidt ud. [It is absurd to see that young colleagues from the Nordic countries with their fresh brains speak English together, while we old people do just fine by straining our ears a bit.]" (Andersen and Verstraete-Hansen 2013: 58).

In their project on *Internordisk språkförståelse i en tid med ökad internationalisering* [Inter-Nordic language comprehension in a time with increased internationalization] (Delsing and Lundin Åkesson 2005: 89–95), Delsing and Lundin Åkesson also tested competence in English besides testing inter-Scandinavian comprehension. The results were that young Danes, Norwegians and Swedes are strikingly better at understanding English than the other Scandinavian languages (Delsing and Lundin Åkesson 2005: 92). This is explained by the fact that they have been taught a lot of English in school and have had very little inter-Scandinavian intercomprehension teaching, if any (50 per cent of the students say that they have not had any neighboring language education at all) (Lundin Åkesson 2005: 174). In addition, the older generation (the students' parents) were also tested, and the results show that they are significantly better than the younger generation at understanding the neighboring languages (Delsing and Lundin Åkesson 2005: 119). Unfortunately, the parents' English skills were not tested. It should be pointed out that only receptive abilities were tested (see also Gooskens 2006 for a similar test with similar results and a similar explanation).

Bacquin and Christensen (2013) asked Swedish and Danish high school students about their attitudes towards each other's neighboring language and English, respectively. The study reveals a very low degree of contact between young people from Sweden and Denmark (Bacquin and Christensen 2013: 4) and indicates that the young people find English much easier to understand than Danish or Swedish.

Thus, we have three results indicating that young people prefer English. The first study, however, is difficult to use as evidence as it concerns a qualitative result within a quantitative study and is based on two comments only. The second study primarily shows that young Scandinavians are good at English and that the older generations are better at understanding inter-Scandinavian, but it does not tell us anything about actual use, and whether young Scandinavians interact primarily in English when they meet. In the last study, young people self-report that English is much easier to understand than the neighboring languages, but 70% of Danish young people also claim they choose to talk Danish, half of them also adapting their Danish to Swedish, when interacting with Swedes, and only 13% to choose English (Bacquin and Christensen 2013: 9). Around 50% of young Swedes claim to talk Swedish or Swedish adapted to Danish with Danes, while 42% claim that they choose English (only the last point is made relevant of the authors, Bacquin and Christensen 2013: 11).

Previous research focuses on Scandinavians' intercomprehension difficulties, but show at the same time that most Scandinavians have no or few problems in communicating with each other in inter-Scandinavian. In the next section the focus is on the researchers who argue that Scandinavians use inter-Scandinavian to communicate.

2.2 Inter-Scandinavian

Three researchers stand out from the others in test style and perspective. Ulla Börestam Uhlmann (1994), Ludger Zeevaert (2004), and Karin Ridell (2008) used more or less naturally occurring interactions to examine inter-Scandinavian communication, and conclude that English is not normally used between Scandinavians: "Vi har sett att modersmål är den fasta grunden för samtalen och att alla andra tendenser, antingen i 'skandinavisk' riktning eller i riktning mot engelska, utgör tillfälliga och sporadiska utvikningar. Stora språkliga likheter mellan de tre språken har varit en viktig förutsättning, dock inte för spontan mellanförståelighet utan för en mellanförståelighet uppnådd genom hårt interaktionellt arbete och ingående förhandlingar. [We have seen that the mother tongue is the firm foundation for conversations, and that all other tendencies, either in the "Scandinavian" direction or in the direction of English, are temporary and occasional deviations. Large-scale linguistic similarities between the three languages have been important preconditions, however, not for spontaneous intercomprehension but for intercomprehension achieved through interactional hard work and intensive negotiations]" (Börestam Uhlmann 1994: 197).

Zeevaert's data were collected at six conferences for people from the Nordic Association of University Administrators (NUAS). From the NUAS website it is evident that despite Zeevaert's assertion to the contrary (2004: 5), NUAS is not representative of inter-Scandinavian communicators, but is made up of trained speakers in inter-Scandinavian with a positive attitude towards the inter-Scandinavian language project: “NUAS arbetsspråk såväl vid möten som seminarier är de skandinaviska språken. Stor vikt läggs vid främjandet av språkförståelsen (...) [NUAS’ working languages, at meetings and at seminars, are the Scandinavian languages. Emphasis is placed on the promotion of language comprehension (...)]”.[3]

Also, Börestam Uhlmann’s data are biased because her informants are more open to Scandinavian interaction than average. They were contacted through Nordjobb, which is a cooperative network where The Nordic Association (Föreningen Norden) in conjunction with representatives from industry and labor market authorities provide Nordic young people with summer jobs in another Nordic country (Börestam Uhlmann 1994: 59). The young people also know that Börestam Uhlmann’s project is to investigate inter-Scandinavian communication and they possibly try to live up to some language ideological expectations (i.e. to communicate in the Scandinavian languages), which Börestam Uhlmann herself also remarks on (Börestam Uhlmann 1994: 131).

Ridell’s data are from nursing home settings in Denmark in the Øresund Region. She follows three Swedish carers who work with elderly Danes using inter-Scandinavian on a daily basis. English does not appear in her data and inter-Scandinavian communication is not a problem in these settings.

Despite these biases (primarily the participants’ extensive experience of, and positive attitude to inter-Scandinavian communication), it is interesting that researchers working with real-life interaction among Scandinavians conclude that inter-Scandinavian is being used.

2.2.1 Only a few understand nothing

Self-reports and tests show that Scandinavians experience problems understanding each other, which has been emphasized ever since Haugen did the first survey of inter-Scandinavian communication, although he also concluded: “The first observation to be made is that only three respondents claimed not to understand at all” (Haugen 1966: 288). Lundin Åkesson concludes that “skandinaver inte är särskilt duktiga på att förstå sina grannspråk [Scandinavians are not particularly good at understanding their neighboring languages]” (Lundin Åkesson 2005: 172), while they are “duktiga på engelska och oftast bättre än på grannspråken [good at English and most often better than at the neighboring languages]”

3 Originally, this quotation was linked with NUAS’s website: http://www.nuas.org/web/page.aspx?refid=9. As of December 2017, NUAS's website (www.nuas.org) is in English only.

(Lundin Åkesson 2005: 172). Considering that only receptive skills were tested, Lundin Åkesson's results are interesting: the students score five out of ten points in inter-comprehension when listening to or reading news. Unlike in tests, sender and receiver will cooperate in real-life interaction and adapt mutually (Börestam Uhlmann 2005: 2029). Therefore, Börestam Uhlmann, Ridell and Zeevaert's real-life data give a different image of inter-Scandinavian communication. One of the conditions for successful inter-Scandinavian communication is experience with the neighboring languages (Haberland 2004: 8; Ridell 2008: 211; Zeevaert 2004: 351). Most students aged 16–19 do not have this experience.

Scandinavians can and do use inter-Scandinavian to communicate, but today's linguistic landscape makes it possible for Scandinavians to interact in yet another language: English.[4] Still, in the company I observed employees speak inter-Scandinavian *outside meetings*. Contrary to expectation, there were only instances of inter-Scandinavian communication and no use of English between the Scandinavians in my data.

How Scandinavians speak inter-Scandinavian will be the topic for the rest of this paper, following a view on data and settings.

3 Data and settings

The data collected for this paper originates from what I call "Company 1" (the company's name is anonymized here) and consist of 18 hours of video-recorded material of lunchtime settings, four interviews, and observations in the company during the autumn of 2013. The semi-structured interviews (Kvale and Brinkmann 2009) were with the head of the Scandinavian customer service, a product safety manager, the head of human resources and a human resource manager. The questions that were raised in the interviews all concerned linguistic and cultural diversity in the workplace. The interviewees are all Danes, the interviews were conducted in Danish and lasted approximately half an hour each. The video recordings cover four lunchtime tables on three days from 11:30 to 13:00. Out of 18 hours of video recordings, about 2.5 hours have been analyzed here, that is, those

4 Maybe this situation is not that new either but the default choice of language has changed: "The desperation course is occasionally taken of using a non-Scandinavian language as the medium of communication. This is only mentioned sporadically by the informants and always in relation to Danish. A Norwegian school man said, 'When I am in Copenhagen, I ask the waiters to speak German'" (Haugen 1966: 296).

interactions that include Scandinavians only. In these, 34 Scandinavians interact in 40 different participant constellations.

"Company 1" is located in Copenhagen and has declared English as a corporate language like many other major companies in Denmark.[5] It is a subsidiary of a German company that was founded in the mid-nineteenth century and has more than 100,000 employees worldwide. The main activities of the company lie within the chemical industry.

At the Danish site, there are around 100 employees, which places the company within the category of small and medium-sized enterprises in Denmark. The employees are mainly from Denmark, but also from Norway, Finland, and Sweden. In the interviews, it was mentioned that there is one Danish-speaking German working on the site, but either his Danish was so fluent that I did not notice that he was German, or he did not participate during the days of recordings.

In the data I collected, five languages are represented: Danish, English, German, Norwegian and Swedish. In the interviews, the official policy was mentioned: in 2008, the German parent company changed its corporate language from German to English. Danish skills are no longer a qualification required for working in the company, since English has been established as the corporate language, however, the employees mention Danish as "the social language". It was clear from my observations that the "working language" is almost exclusively Danish (with some Norwegian and Swedish), except at meetings, which are strictly held in English. The recordings of the lunches showed that English is occasionally used when non-Scandinavian guests participate. There is only one instance of German (of approximately 30 seconds) in the data, when two guests from Germany realize that they are being recorded and therefore leave the table. Norwegian and Swedish are not mentioned as social languages in the interviews. From my observations and my recordings it is obvious that these languages are also used in conjunction with the local language, Danish, as social languages.

In previous research on language choice in institutional settings, a distinction is often made between on- and off-task talk, for instance in Konstantinou (2008), Bonacina-Pugh and Gafaranga (2011), Söderlundh (2012), or Mortensen (2014). There is an assignment solved in one language (Greek, French, English,

5 I have not been able to find out how many companies in Denmark have actually declared English as their corporate language. A survey of 400 companies (in 2007) showed that 25% of them have English as a corporate language (Lønsmann 2011: 36). Verstraete-Hansen studied 206 companies within the category small and medium enterprises (under 250 employees) and 61 large companies (over 250 employees) (Verstraete-Hansen 2008: 6–7). At present in 2015, there are 300,000 active companies in Denmark, 10,000 of which (with 500,000 employees) are members of the Confederation of Danish Industries.

or English, respectively) and talk around the assignment, organizing the assignment, in another language (Swedish, English, Swedish, or Danish, respectively). On-task talk is used to solve an assignment; off-task talk is used for organizing the solving. According to Negretti and Garcia-Yeste (2015), lunch at work has two key functions: (a) it provides the opportunity for informal exchange of information, and (b) it allows for small talk and the establishment of social relations at work (Negretti and Garcia-Yeste 2015: 109). None of these functions can be addressed to trigger the on-/off-task talk description. It is not a working or meeting lunch; the participants do not eat while working on an assignment. There are, in other words, no formal tasks to be solved in these lunchtime settings and they therefore challenge the binary description of on-/off-task-talk as long as this is a situational description. If it is defined as an institutional description, one could talk about off-task talk in the lunchtime settings, but no matter whether the participants exchange work-related information or engage in small talk, the preferred medium is inter-Scandinavian, even when the participant framework changes. There are no asides or parallel side sequences (Mortensen 2014: 436) for which language choice is required. Inter-Scandinavian is the overall language choice, made before entering the lunchtime settings. There is one instance of use of English in a speaker constellation of eight participants, where one of the participants is non-Scandinavian. The instance is a case of Gregersen's "*gæsten bestemmer-argumentet*, en variant af inkluderende høflig adfærd [*the guest decides-argument*, a variant of inclusive polite behavior]" (Gregersen 2012: 11), or to expand on Lønsmann's one-liner: it only takes the presence of a single non inter-Scandinavian speaker to change the language to English (Lønsmann 2011: 168, with "non-native Danish speaker" instead of "non inter-Scandinavian speaker"). The preferred language at the above-mentioned lunch table stays inter-Scandinavian and only talk directed to the non-Scandinavian is in English.

In the 18 hours of video-recorded data, there is a total of 6 hours and 55 minutes of interaction; 2 hours and 36 minutes are recordings of Scandinavians interacting in 40 different participant constellations. There are 34 participants: 16 Danes, 3 Finns, 1 non-Scandinavian, 5 Norwegians, and 9 Swedes. The 30 Scandinavians have Danish, Norwegian or Swedish as their first language. Two of the Finns have worked in the company for approximately a year; they have very different approaches to Danish as Company 1's social language. Sara has learned Danish and uses it, while Simo has refused to learn Danish and all conversations with him are in English. There is also one Danish-speaking Finn (Helena) who has lived in Denmark for approximately 20 years and speaks Danish fluently. The one non-Scandinavian participates only in one recording. The speaker constellations vary in size from two to nine participants, and the participant framework expands and contracts depending on how much time the respective participants spend on their lunch.

4 Adaptation

The term "inter-Scandinavian" refers to a scenario in which the speakers have different Scandinavian languages as their base language and choose not to use a lingua franca. Very different speech productions can occur within this scenario. The producers can stay within their own Scandinavian language, they can incorporate varying degrees of adaptation (lexical, phonetic, syntactic and pragmatic) and they can switch to another Scandinavian language.

Börestam Uhlmann reports that languages are practically not mixed and that words from neighboring languages in her data comprise 0.6% of the total number of words, and she concludes: "Tendensen att medelst grannspråklig tillnärmning skapa någon form av 'skandinaviska' är med andra ord svag [The tendency to create some kind of 'Scandinavian' by approaching the neighbor linguistically is, in other words, weak]" (Börestam Uhlmann 1994:125). Zeevaert reaches the same conclusion: "Akkommodationen an die Nachbarsprachen bleiben aber die Ausnahme. [Accommodation to the neighboring languages remains the exception.]" (Zeevaert 2004: 303). In general, the assumption is: "The default in inter-Scandinavian communication between Danes, Swedes and Norwegians is the use of the respective mother tongue together with the willingness to accept and understand the neighboring standard languages" (Braunmüller 2002: 1). Just like in Ridell's study of three Swedish employees in a Danish nursing home, who integrate Danish in their speech in different ways and to varying degrees (Ridell 2008: 210), my data contain cases of some participants that adapt to their interlocutor's language to a great extent and also some that adapt less. The degree and extent of the participants' adaptation strategies depends on whom they speak with and their inter-Scandinavian competences. In other words, there is a varied use of linguistic adaptation strategies within this scale of linguistic approaches in the scenario. These strategies are chosen by the speakers largely independently of the other speakers in the participation framework: One of the interlocutors may stay within his/her base language while the other does not or may use different strategies in the same conversation with the same participant framework. This means that the choice of strategies does not refer to the conversation as a whole but to the individual contribution. While total mutual adaptation (swapping languages) may not be excluded (it does not occur in the data), it would hardly be functional.

There are basically two ways that Scandinavians can adapt in inter-Scandinavian conversations:

- Inter-Scandinavian speakers can stay within their base language. They produce their own base language. This includes the following adaptation possibilities: control of speech rate, pitch, pauses, choice of vocabulary, or downgrading of dialects (or regional varieties).

- Inter-Scandinavian speakers can use features from the recipient's base language, showing e.g. incorporation of lexical features from the other languages, outright language alternation etc.

No productive skills within the recipient's base language are required when making use of the first strategy. As far as the receptive skills are concerned, this communication strategy primarily requires knowledge of the given context and willingness to understand (that is, a specific attitude). Basic knowledge of the phonetic and lexical differences between the languages can, however, be very helpful for intercomprehension between Scandinavians (cf. Teleman 1987: 78–80 for phonetic, lexical and communicative strategies). To make adaptations within the recipient's base language, one needs productive knowledge of this language. Within both strategies there are minimal and maximal (no hierarchy or normative assessment implied) adaptations. Minimal adaptation within the base language means that the speakers use their base language as with other speakers of the base language, while employing all the possibilities mentioned above is maximal adaptation. Minimal adaptation within the recipient's base language means that the speakers incorporate a few features from the recipient's base language, while maximal adaptation is shift to the recipient's base language.

4.1 Adaptation within base language

The first practice to be described is minimal adaptation within speakers' base language. The interlocutors stay within their base language, speaking as if they were interacting only with other base language speakers of their own base language. This is the practice that has been claimed to be the default, but is a practice that in my data is at most just as common as the other strategies, for both long-term residence and short-term residence speakers. It requires very good receptive competences of the interlocutors.

The first example of this minimal adaptation involves three Swedes (Lis, Karl and Ulf) with Swedish as their first language, and one Dane (Erik) with Danish as first language. They talk together almost as if they were interacting with speakers of their own base language only. They all work for the company. Erik is located in the Copenhagen division, and the Swedes are from the Gothenburg division, visiting the Danish site.

The speech rate is fast, they speak indistinctly, and the talk is in Swedish or Danish, respectively. In the recordings with the three Swedes being among themselves, Lis uses her local accent freely, which she does not when speaking with Danes; there she downgrades her accent instead. Analytically, this downgrading can only be inferred by comparison between different types of data.

In the beginning of Example 1, Lis, Erik, Karl and Ulf have interacted for approximately five minutes. The subject of conversation has mostly been business-related, with references to the preceding meeting; the fact that they are being recorded has also been discussed. About 20 seconds before the beginning of the excerpt they have started to talk about how Karl and Ulf support different Swedish football clubs and that their clubs played a match the previous weekend. The excerpt lasts half a minute.

Example 1

Karl: Ja, det var lite så för att (0.6) för att om dom inte kommit, dom kommer
att komma. Jag är säker på det. Jag tror, dom är ett bra lag, men dom var
inte mogna riktigt för serien här än, så dom kommer, och nästa gång
kan det lika gärna vara.
[Yes, it was a bit to because if they don't come, they will come. I'm sure
of that. I think they are a good team but they weren't really ready yet for
this series, so they will come and next time it could just as well be.]
(0.6)
Erik: Sid (.) sidder du og undskylder, at Ulfs hold (.) at I ikke tabte?
[Ar... are you apologising that Ulf's team... that you didn't lose?]
(0.7)
Karl: Va?
[What?]
Erik: Sidder du ⌈og undskylder, at Ulfs hold tabte?⌉
[Are you making apologies for Ulf's team losing?]
Ulf: ⌊Ah men ah men⌋ ⌈försök att vara lite storsint här nu eh⌉
[well, please, be a bit generous here]
Karl: ⌊Aj jo, men jo, men⌋ jo, men alltså, jag...
[Yes but, yes but, yes but so, I...]
Ulf: xxx
Lis: Det är bara för att vi skal säga: Ne:j Linköping är bäst!
[It's just so that we'll say no: Linköping is the best!]
(Erik, Lis and Ulf are laughing, while Karl continues to speak)
Karl: Jag skulle vilja ha, jag skulle vilja ha: (0.3) dom två lagen i finalen, det tror
jag skulle vara väldigt, väldigt god finallag.
[I would like, I would like... those two teams to be in the finals. I think that
they would make really good teams for the finals.]

The excerpt shows minimal adaptation with all four speakers staying within their base language, i.e. Swedish for Karl, Ulf and Lis, and Danish for Erik. Although the conversation has been about both business and pleasure, there is no indication of a need to switch to English.

The following example 2 is also an example of adaptation within the base language, but the adaptation goes much further than in example 1. The participants are the same three Swedes as above (Lis, Karl and Ulf, only Karl produces speech) and one Dane, Sus, who works in Company 1's kitchen in Copenhagen. Sus' base language is Danish. The Swedes have just arrived at the table when Sus approaches them to tell her about her upcoming trip to Sweden where she will pick up a piece of furniture.

This is an example of slow speech rate and clear articulation; both Karl and Sus are doing their best to make themselves understood by each other, and Sus is also trying to adapt her pronunciation, e.g. in the words Sverige ('Sweden', line 1), kommode ('chest of drawers', line 15), Ljusne (a Swedish city, line 33) and Gävle (a Swedish city, line 40). The conversation lasts 35 seconds, and this excerpt is only 20 seconds. The words in italics in Sus' speech deviate from standard Danish.

Example 2

1	Sus:	Jeg kører til *Sverige* (0.4) her i næste weekend.
2		[I'll drive to Sweden... this coming weekend.]
3		(0.6)
4	Karl:	Gör du det?
5		[Will you?]
6		(0.2)
7	Sus:	Ja.
8		[Yes.]
9		(0.4)
10	Karl:	Va, ska ⌈ska⌉ du ända upp i ⌈Norge?⌉
11		[Are you going all the way up to Norway]?
12	Sus:	⌊Ja.⌋ ⌊Jeg ska...⌋
13		[Yes.] [I'm going...]
14		(0.2)
15	Sus:	Ja, nej, jeg skal op og hente en *kommode*!
16		[Yes, no, I'm going up there to pick up a chest of drawers!]
17		(0.6)
18	Karl:	En kommode.
19		(Karl repeats 'kommode')
20	Sus:	Ja!
21		[Yes!]
22		(0.6)
23	Karl:	Vart ska du någonstans då da?

24		[Whereabouts are you going?]
25		(0.2)
26	Sus:	Ja, den skal jeg have i min bil, og så ⌈kører jeg den her til København.⌉
27		[Yes, I'll have it in my car and then I'll take it to Copenhagen.]
28	Karl:	⌊Ja, men hvor?⌋
29		[Yes but where?]
30	Karl:	Var i Sverige åker du och hämta ⌈den?⌉
31		[Where in Sweden will you pick it up?]
32		[lyːsnɛs]
33	Sus:	⌊I⌋ øːh Lysnæs!
34		[In eh Ljusne!]
35		(0.7)
36	Karl:	I Lyːs...?
37		[In lys...?]
38		(0.3)
39		[djɛːvla]
40	Sus:	Nord for *Djävla*!
41		[North of Gävle!]

In example 2, both parties are doing a lot of work in understanding and being understood: They allow not completely understood utterances to pass for the moment, and the participants answer according to what they think is the question rather to what is actually being asked, e.g. the question: where Sus is going (line 23) is answered as if the question had been about the chest of drawers and the transportation back home to Denmark. There are no cities called Lysnæs [lyːsnɛs] (line 33) or Djävla [djɛːvla] (line 40), but Ljusne [jʉːsnɛ] and Gävle [jɛːvlɛ] exist. Karl can presume that Sus is going to an existing place in Sweden (from the notion that people usually say meaningful things), so although he might not understand Sus' adapted Swedish pronunciations, he can continue the conversation. Sus' adaptation can stem from various impressions; the impressions can be formed according to city names written on a map and pronounced the way she thinks is Swedish, a hypercorrection, or a repetition of what she has heard a Swede say, or perhaps a combination of these.

Both Karl and Sus stay within their base languages, but Sus makes at least one attempt at saying something in Swedish in *Sverige* (line 1) with tone 2, which could be a reproduction of her experience with the Swedish language. The case of *kommode* (line 15) is more complex. In Danish, *kommode* is means a chest of drawers, which is called *byrå* in Swedish, while *kommod* in Swedish means a washstand. Sus might just use the Danish lexeme *kommode* with a supposedly Swedish pitch contour, or she tries to say *kommod* (with the wrong pitch) adding a Danish ending (-e). Karl repeats what Sus said, and Sus says: “Yes!”. Karl leaves the topic and asks whereabouts she is going to pick it up. What Sus was to pick up in Sweden, will remain uncertain, like what Karl thinks, Sus is going to pick up. Neither of them, though, seems to experience a communication problem. The English translation in the transcript, ‘chest of drawers’, reveals an analytical choice made by the transcriber and indicates a methodological challenge that unfortunately cannot be dealt with here.

4.2 Adaptation to recipient’s language

The following two examples will show inter-Scandinavian speakers who use features from the recipient’s base language displaying productive knowledge of the recipient’s base language.

Ulf Teleman suggests that the movement from small lexical changes within one’s base language to lexical changes within the recipient’s base language is almost natural: “Kanske väljer man ord som ‘spörja’ i st.f. ‘fråga’, ‘begynna’ i st.f. ‘börja’. Nästa steg är att plocka in ord från motpartens språk i sitt eget tal. [Perhaps one chooses words like ‘spörja’ instead of ‘fråga’, ‘begynna’ instead of ‘börja’. The next step is to use words from the counterpart’s language in one’s own speech.]” (Teleman 1987: 79). As mentioned before, these covert strategies are not possible to demonstrate in an analysis of actual interactions; only by interviewing the speakers afterwards could one reveal if this strategy had been used (if the participants are at all aware of their linguistic strategies). The development from strategy one towards strategy two, implied in the quote from Teleman, is disputable, as the choice between strategy one and two in the data appears rather dependent on the individual resources of the speakers rather than their inter-Scandinavian proficiency, as example 3 will show (and example 1 has shown).

Example 3 shows adaptation within the recipient’s language with a minimum of adaptation towards the recipient’s language. The participants are: a Dane (Birgit) with Danish as her first language and a Swede (Malin) whose first language is Swedish. They both work at the site in Copenhagen, and Malin has lived in Denmark for several years. The interaction in the excerpt takes place five minutes after they have arrived at the table. The topics so far have been the fact that they are being recorded, work issues and spare time. Malin’s opening question in example 3 comes after a long pause, initiating a new topic: whether Birgit has received any insurance money after a trip to Turkey where she fell ill. Birgit and Malin communicate primarily in their base languages with a minimum of adaptation, but Birgit reuses Malin’s *kolla* (line 4), not in the supine, the way Malin used it, but in the infinitive and with a long consonant [lː] unknown in

Danish. This is not only a reproduction, but also an active reconstruction requiring knowledge of Malin's base language. The word in italics in Birgit's speech (line 4) deviates from standard Danish.

Example 3

1	Malin:	Har du kollat något mer med dina brev sådär?
2		[Have you checked your letters any more?]
3		(1.4)
4	Birgit:	Ja, der er ikke noget at *kolla*.
5		[Yes, there is nothing to check]
6		(0.7)
7	Malin:	Är det inte det? Men din privata:?
8		[Isn't there? What about your private...?]
9		(0.6)
10	Birgit:	Nej.
11		[No.]
12		(0.7)
13	Malin:	Inte där heller?
14		[Nothing there either?]
15		(0.4)
16	Birgit:	Nej.
17		[No.]

Birgit's *kolla* is both a lexical and a phonetic adaptation as she pronounces it [kɔlːa] with a long [lː]. Birgit does not say: "ja där är inte något att kolla", so she is far from using Swedish. Her adaptation occurs within a string of minimally adapted speech. The example therefore underlines the difficulties in placing a case like hers within the two strategies. In comparison with Sus in the second example, Birgit displays solid productive knowledge of Swedish.

The last example is from a conversation between one Dane (Betina) with Danish as her first language, one Finn (Helena), with Finnish as her first language and Danish as her base language, and one Swede (Jan) with Swedish as his first language. The example is with maximal adaptation within recipient's base language. Betina and Helena work at the Danish site in Copenhagen, Jan at the Swedish site in Gothenburg. Helena frequently adapts and speaks almost Swedish. Jan also participates in this conversation but not productively in this excerpt, which lasts for 10 seconds, within a conversation lasting 15 minutes. At this point, they have interacted for eight minutes and have discussed work-related as well as spare time-related topics. Helena starts talking after a pause of 23 seconds in the conversation and thereby initiates a new topic. Throughout the conversation, Helena and Betina use strategy two and adapt a great deal to Swedish.

While Betina's adaptations have similarities with Sus' adaptations from Example 1, Helena's adaptations, as will be shown in example 4, display firm knowledge of Swedish. The words in italics in Helena's speech deviate from standard Danish.

Example 4

1	Helena:	Min søster, hun *jobbar* i: e:hm i Stockholm, altså næsten ehm (0.9) *två dagar* (.)
2		*varje* ˇ*vecka* eller el⌈ler⌉ *två dagar* hver *annan* ˈ*vecka*, ja ja.
3		[My sister, she works in Stockholm almost eh... two days... every week or
4		or two days every second week, yes, yes.]
5	Betina:	⌊Aha.⌋
6		[Okay.]
7	Helena:	Hun bor i Helsinki, men altså...
8		[She lives in Helsinki but...]
9		(0.6)
10	Helena:	Men altså, arbej... *jobbar* i Firma X.
11		[but wor... works in Company X.]

Also here, within one production of adaptation we see a variation in the pronunciation variation of the lexical item *vecka* (line 2); first with tone 2 (ˇ*vecka*), then with tone 1 (ʹ*vecka*). In standard Swedish, the word *vecka* has tone 2. It is also notable that Helena uses *Helsinki* (line 7) (like in Finnish) and not *Helsingfors* (like in Swedish, in Danish both variants are possible). *Søster* (line 1) is also a Danish word (*syster* in Swedish).

Jan does not adapt, neither within Swedish nor to Danish in the conversation with Helena and Betina. This asymmetrical adaptation pattern is very common in the data: only one part of a speaker constellation adapts to the other when the adaptation is within the recipient's base language.

The four discussed examples are typical for the data in the way that they demonstrate Scandinavians' varied linguistic adaptation strategies when interacting in inter-Scandinavian.

5 Concluding discussion

The ability to communicate in inter-Scandinavian may slowly be dying out, as some people have claimed – although more evidence for that would still be required – but this is definitely not the case in this informal workplace context. Contrary to expectation, in my data there were only instances of inter-Scandinavian communication and no use of English between the Scandinavians. Although the Scandinavians are good at English, and English is the corporate language of Company 1, the Scandinavian employees choose to communicate in inter-Scandinavian during lunchtime, both when interacting with fellow in-house employees, with employees from the company's other Scandinavian sites, and with external guests.

At meetings the employees of Company 1 speak English "for levelling native language diversity" (Neeley 2014: 2) and to ensure mutual understanding between the transnational employees. The following quote from Andersen and Verstraete-Hansen (2013) might form part of the answer to the question of why the Scandinavians do not opt for English at lunchtime although, according to the literature, it takes a great deal of effort and encouragement to keep a conversation flowing in the Scandinavian languages: "Selv i de nordiske lande er der tendens til, at der ikke kan kommunikeres på skandinavisk, men derimod at der tales engelsk til nordiske møder for at sikre, at der er *fælles forståelse* om budskaberne etc. [Even in the Nordic countries, there is tendency to use English at the Nordic meetings because inter-Scandinavian communication does not work and to ensure that there is *common understanding* about the messages etc.]" (Andersen and Verstraete-Hansen 2013: 58, [emphasis mine]). At the lunch table, however, the common understanding does not *need* to be ensured; the comfort and relaxation of speaking one's first language is very important in informal workplace contexts, which is stated clearly by Neeley: "To those for whom the lingua franca is not a native language, it can never be a neutral auxiliary, but must always be a replacement for their own native tongue" (Neeley 2014: 2). Tange and Lauring (2009) have studied the use of a corporate language (English) and what that entails. They have identified language choice and language use in informal settings of multilingual workplaces as one of the barriers to social interaction, resulting in "language clusters" that "take[s] the form of informal gatherings between the speakers of the same national language (...)" (Tange and Lauring: 2009: 224). The lack of informal English competences may not be the only reason why employees gather in language clusters at lunchtime, as suggested by the authors under the heading "thin communication" (Tange and Lauring 2009: 226). In a multilingual company, in which the local language is accepted as "social language", the choice of the language spoken at lunchtime is not controlled by the need of optimizing communication but is an example of "phatic communion": "(...) a type of speech in which ties of union are created by a mere exchange of words" (Malinowski [1923] 1972: 151). The key functions of lunch talk mentioned by Negretti and Garcia-Yeste are informal exchange of information and establishment of social relations at work (2015: 109). At lunchtime the point is not to communicate content but to bond through talk, to build up community: "They [i.e. the words] fulfil a social function and that is their principal aim" (Malinowski 1972: 151). That could be the reason why it is not so important that everything is understood and the switch away from the language to communicate content to the "social language" makes people more relaxed. It is perhaps in these types of small talk, in these instances of phatic communion, that people feel most at ease with receptive multilingualism, since they do not have to move out of their first language's "comfort zone".

This receptive multilingualism here is called inter-Scandinavian to stress the fact that it is not only a question about receptive skills when Scandinavian communicate; productive skills play a role as well, both within the production of one's one base language and within that of the recipient. The very high degree of variability in the performances of inter-Scandinavian was unexpected, as was the infrequent use of English. According to research in the field, Scandinavians choose to communicate in English or inter-Scandinavian, for the most part in a non-adapted way. My data, on the other hand, show a great deal of adaptation work, both within the Scandinavians' own base language and within the recipient's language, and it seems that although the adaptations sometimes require much hard interactional work, inter-Scandinavian is definitely preferred to English in this context.

This study has shown a very high degree of variability in the adaptation strategies that Scandinavians use to achieve intercomprehension: Depending, *inter alia*, on their individual linguistic resources, Scandinavians use very different strategies in interaction. They can adapt within their base language or their recipient's base language. As can be seen from the above examples, adaptations like those employed by Sus that are constructed with shared or apparently shared Danish and Swedish lexical items (*Sverige* and *kommode*, respectively) are considered to be adaptations within the speaker's base language. On the other hand, adaptations like Birgit's *kolla* that are language switches are considered adaptations within the recipient's base language, even though they consist of only one word.

In my data, the largest number of examples of adaptations stays within the speaker's base language: of the 34 participants, 20 adapt to their interlocutors, but remain within their own base language. Only 5 persons do not perform any adaptation. The rest (9 participants) adapt to the language of their interlocutors by using features from the interlocutors' base language.

Inter-Scandinavian interaction is a personal affair, and adaptation strategies depend on the level of experience and the individual's language resources. Long- and short-term contact provides various patterns of adaptation, which again also depends on the individual's attitudes towards not only neighboring languages, but also to the strategies that are found useful. Thus, the data show a very high degree of variation. Inter-Scandinavian communication works and is a good example of linguistic diversity as a resource in informal workplace settings, although the competence to interact in inter-Scandinavian appears to be an invisible skill to the employees themselves.

There might be a tendency for inter-Scandinavian intercomprehension to be declining. Young people might not know how to and therefore do not want to communicate in inter-Scandinavian. If this is the case, it could lead to a lack of competences in a Scandinavian workplace, where inter-Scandinavian is permitted and used as "social" (and "working" but not "meeting") "language". Sociolinguists like to note that people use whatever resources are available to them in order to communicate. However, if one wants to use all the linguistic resources available, one needs to know about linguistic features from other languages that could be relevant to use in a specific interaction.

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Transcription conventions

:	Stretching of the preceding sound
⌈ ⌉	Overlap markers top line
⌊ ⌋	Overlap markers bottom line
xxx	Unintelligible word or phrase
(0.3)	Pause, length measured in seconds
(.)	Pause, less than 0.2 seconds
(text)	Transcriber's comments
[]	English translation

Neil Bermel and Luděk Knittl

The linguistic landscape of a Czech heritage site: Recording and presenting the past and present of Hrubý Rohozec

Abstract: In this study, we examine the linguistic landscape of Hrubý Rohozec, a stately home in the northern Czech Republic that is open to the public, as well as that of the surrounding town of Turnov. In doing so, we describe the visual environment of signage and written language use in the stately home, and suggest how and why the practices of signage and display differ from area to area around the stately home, as well as how the situation at Hrubý Rohozec differs functionally and ideologically from the local environment. The evolving history of the building, the particular nature of the information conveyed, the projected audience and the ideological stance towards them and towards the home's history all contribute to a complex picture facing the observer.

Keywords: linguistic landscape, language ideology, Czech, German, multilingualism

1 Introduction

The current study looks at the visual linguistic environment in and around a stately home in the Czech Republic. Drawing on the confluence of methods and tools employed in linguistic landscape research, we have asked how the study of a structured, didactically-oriented environment such as a heritage site influences the use and distribution of visual manifestations of language, and in what way this linguistic environment differs physically and functionally from that of the town outside. Our goal is to lay the groundwork for a more extensive study of language contact and display, in this context and others outside it.

In sections 2 and 3, we will look at some approaches to linguistic landscape and describe how our current study is positioned with respect to them. Sections 4–6 look at the setting of the town of Turnov, where our study takes place, and present some quantitative and qualitative data about its linguistic landscape; these are summarized and analyzed in section 7. Section 8 moves on to the Hrubý Rohozec estate, which is the focus of our study. In sections 9–12, we examine different areas within the estate that visitors have access to. Section 13 considers a specific kind of intertextual hybridity – the rendering of personal names – that

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is found throughout those areas. We then confront analyses of material from the town with those from the estate in the concluding section, and consider the implications of our findings for the frameworks used in the field.

2 Linguistic landscape

The study of *linguistic landscape* (LL) takes in a variety of approaches used to describe the physical and social territories occupied by different groups via the physical positioning of languages in their spaces. Applied originally to multilingual urban areas in which overlapping language communities were autochthonous (Landry and Bourhis 1997), it utilized clues in the visual environment, including the arrangement of signage on institutions and commercial establishments as well as informal notices, to draw conclusions about the spaces created by and for these communities to mark their presence and signal the communities' relationships to each other. What are essentially socially-motivated constructions combine in these situations to create a gestalt for the visitor or experiencer (Ben-Rafael et al. 2010: xvi).

One way to engage with the diversity of approaches in LL is to look at the nature of the questions it attempts to answer. Ben-Rafael et al. (2010: xix) delimit four theoretical perspectives that they see as being the main influences on LL enquiry: (1) *power relations* explained by the relation of codes, including authorship by "top-down" and "bottom-up" actors (see section 6)[1]; (2) *instrumentality and rationality,* which seek "good reasons" for the use of particular codes by actors; (3) *competition,* which emphasizes the use of different languages to "seduce" viewers; (4) *identity markering*, meaning the display of ties that bind actors and clients. We will see later the extent to which these areas are influential in our target destination.

Another angle is to examine the related but divergent topics analyzed in LL studies. From the core research area, described above, of native language communities in juxtaposition, LL has been extended to the study of immigrant communities (e.g. Barni and Bagna (2010) on Chinese and Romanian presence in Italian cities) as well as the appearance of languages and varieties whose use is not based on residence, but which rather index status, modernity and

1 Ben Rafael et al. use the term *code* in what they call "a 'Bourdieusian' perspective", but it seems to mean in fact a language or language variety, although those are undoubtedly a subset of the term *code*.

wealth, such as English in Phnom Penh, Berlin, Seoul (Kasanga 2012; Papen 2012; Lawrence 2012). However, in recent years it has been extended to other sorts of analyses, such as those that examine the visual presence of languages that index heritage, e.g. Luxembourgish in Wisconsin (Horner 2011), or the language of art installations (Guilat 2010) and memorials (Shohamy and Waksman 2009: 322–326).

The last of these articles is particularly useful for looking at dimensions of LL activated in more curated settings; Shohamy and Waksman take an initial sounding for such an analysis by looking at the *Haapala* memorial to the migration of Jews to Palestine. They suggest focusing on five sources of meaning and information: "(1) The geographical location, placement and design; (2) the photographs and their titles; (3) the written texts; (4) the multilingualism; and (5) the people who activate and negotiate the meaning" (2009: 323). Our current analysis looks only briefly at (1), because the location of the castle cannot be said to result from the deliberate choices of the curators of the exhibits within it, but we engage with all of areas (2)–(4), while (5) figures in our future plans.

As a research area, LL draws on a variety of disciplines that reflect the varied tools needed to explore its different aspects. The interpretive nature of the work has made a link with *semiotics* natural; Scollon and Scollon (2003) have integrated this with methods from *urban geography* in work that looks more generally at the significance, function and role of signage. Qualitative ethnographic techniques for observation and interviews show the link with *sociology* more general and the *sociology of language* in particular. The obvious interaction with *language policy and planning* has been a subject of investigation (Shohamy 2015; Sloboda 2009; Guilat and Espinosa-Ramírez 2016). Quantitative methods found across the social sciences appear in many works. And the social questions raised in this research are explored through various forms of *discourse analysis*, including Critical Discourse Analysis. Some of this shades into the study of the language(s) of *advertising*, which look more generally at the role of different languages and their status and functions in society (e.g. Piller 2001, 2003). We make use of selected items from this toolkit; in this phase of work the general ethnographic techniques, urban geography and advertising analysis have been most relevant, although we have drawn on geosemiotics and language planning as well.

Finally, as it moved beyond the prototypical situation of multilingual visual environments described above, LL spread into studies that emphasized the hybridity of discourse (Pennycook 2012), in which multilingualism becomes not simply a socially constructed property of a given space, but a reflection of the varied repertoires of speakers in that space, i.e. we move from the implicit notion of competition for "the" best space to one of coexistence, in which the use of languages is shared. As the horizons of LL studies have expanded, our understanding of what concepts are indexed by the use and choice of particular languages has also evolved and broadened, which brings us to the research questions explored in this contribution.

3 Our project

Our project extends a LL analysis to museums and national heritage sites, using the example of Hrubý Rohozec, a stately home in Turnov, Czech Republic. Our interest in this came about because museums and historical monuments exhibit languages in juxtaposition in specific ways that differ from other locations. In these locations, a "native" population presents the subject matter, often of significance to the national narrative, to a visiting audience from home and abroad who have varying levels of knowledge and interest in what they are seeing.

Scollon and Scollon mark these areas out as "exhibit-display spaces" and point out that "… these exhibit-display spaces are set aside as not being open for public use, or at least not 'use' in the sense that we may act upon them or alter them" (2003: 170). They are thus less relevant from the point of view of "mainstream" linguistic landscape case studies in that these exhibits or displays are carefully curated and are not open to the same degree of social modification and "bottom-up" influence as the canonical city center or ethnically mixed district. However, such a study can be more closely aligned to those by Guilat and by Shohamy and Waksman mentioned in section 2.

In our exploration, we use visual and textual clues to distinguish the tensions between the *informative* and *symbolic* functions of multilingual signage (Landry and Bourhis 1997). In other words, we are interested not only in what is being conveyed, but also in the significance of the choice. That significance derives from the *indexicality* or "connotational significance of signs", following Scollon and Scollon (2003: 2–8), who work in the framework of semiotics, and Blommaert and Rampton (2011: 5), who adapt their definition from earlier sociolinguistic explorations of code-switching. We furthermore attempt to derive from our findings some conclusions as to the *linguistic ideologies* that underlie the practices we observe, working as suggested in Nekvapil and Sherman (2013: 85–86) from practice to ideology rather than vice-versa.[2]

2 While we draw where possible on work on multilingualism as cited here to provide insights into the visual linguistic environment, our analysis, being based on existing written forms, falls outside the scope of classic sociolinguistic studies or of the Language Management Framework. This is because we do not look at either the unconscious manipulation of codes through time

The data in our project derive from several sorts of sources.

Students walked the central area of the town of Turnov, collecting 120 photos and 90 video clips of multilingual signage. This was benchmarked against a 1 km walking inventory of all signage along Turnov's major routes, which provides a "snapshot" of how languages are used in general around the town. In the building and grounds of Hrubý Rohozec, students collected 49 photos and 67 video clips of signage and exhibits.

Use was also made of texts that form part of the site's regular working practices. We looked at tour guides' texts in Czech; the local website; brief tour descriptions in English; and two glossy brochures in Czech sold at the concessions stand, which run to c. 20 pages each.

In addition, use is made of additional contextual information about Hrubý Rohozec and the region available from public information sources.

These materials are used for the most part qualitatively, with conclusions being arrived at through triangulation of results from different areas. This is the first step in data gathering and analysis for a linguistic landscape study, which in further stages of the project are complemented by an observation of the behavior of reaction of *social actors* (tour guides, other staff, visitors of various nationalities) in the linguistic landscape of the estate and the town. Scollon and Scollon (2003: 14) highlight social actors as one of four components considered in geosemiotic analysis and this will be pursued as part of ongoing research.

4 The town of Turnov

Turnov (German *Turnau*), pop. 14,335,[3] lies 76 km northeast of Prague in the Bohemian "vnitřní pohraničí [interior borderlands]". This term refers to areas historically settled by Czechs, but close to the traditionally German-speaking Sudetenland that formed the actual borderlands of the Bohemian kingdom. In practice this was of course not a sharp dividing line; the inhabitants' nationalities were mixed, although Czechs predominated. The 1930 census shows that of Turnov's 8,593 inhabitants, 8,253 declared "Czechoslovak nationality", 125, or 1.4%, declared German nationality, 107 Hungarian, 19 Russian, 13 Jewish and 12

or the conscious attempt to manage them – although either could, with a change of focus, be attempted in further studies.

3 Figures from the Czech Statistical Office (Český statistický úřad (2013)).

Polish.[4] The proportions in the area at large seem to have been broadly similar to that in the town and had not dropped over time; the Czech Statistical Office reports that in the 1921 census, 1.2% of the population of the Turnov county court district (*soudní okres*), or 373 out of 31,440, had declared German nationality.[5] This compared with a national picture in which almost a third of the population in the Czech lands declared German nationality (3,061,369 of 10,010,000 in 1921; 3,149,820 of 10,670,000 in 1930).[6] The German population left during the forced expulsions of 1945 and 1946 and has not been renewed. Local figures record 326 foreign residents (origin undifferentiated) in 2012.[7]

Laws in the Czech Republic give only limited guidance on the use of language in the public sphere. Czech does have the status of the country's *operative language* (*jednací jazyk*) according to the country's Administrative Code (part 2, chapter II, § 16): "Operative language: (1) Proceedings are undertaken and documents prepared in the Czech language. Participants in proceedings can take part and documents may be presented in the Slovak language as well."[8] The Czech parliament and government have on several occasions decisively rejected proposed laws that would declare Czech to be the *state language* and would establish the spheres and situations in which it must be used.

In terms of the visual environment, the Municipalities Act (*Zákon o obcích*) of 2000, subsequently amended, states (part 4, § 29) that "The name of a community, its neighborhoods, streets and other public places are always given in

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4 Figures from the 1930 census are available on third-party sites; ours here come from the civic organization Valka.cz (2007), which maintains a detailed website of facts and statistics about the Second World War. The interwar censuses of 1921 and 1930 paid special attention to nationality (*národnost*) as distinct from citizenship (*občanství*). In line with president Masaryk's conception of a single "Czechoslovak" nationality that would provide the republic's Slavs with a convincing majority over the Germans and Hungarians living respectively in the Czech lands and Slovakia, no distinction was made between Czechs and Slovaks.

5 Figures from the Czech Statistical Office (Český statistický úřad (2008)). Historical postcards of Turnov's main square and streets from 1900–1916 accessed on www.fotohistorie.cz seem to support the census data in showing a largely Czech population: the only signs visible on them are in Czech (*hostinec* 'pub', *módní obchod* 'fashion shop', *kavárna* 'café', *dopisnice a psací potřeby* 'postcards and writing supplies', *sklad* 'storage', *U Českého granátu* 'The Czech Garnet' (pub name)).

6 Figures from the Czech Statistical Office (Český statistický úřad (2011)).

7 See Město Turnov (2012).

8 Our translation. The status of Slovak here as a quasi-operative language is notable; the Czech state will not undertake to act or provide material in Slovak, but presumably due to the long tradition of receptive bilingualism between the two countries it is permissible in such situations for Slovaks to communicate and provide documents in their native tongue. For a fuller discussion, see Filipová (2009) and Kolman (2008).

the Czech language," but does not mention anything further about the languages used elsewhere than in nomenclature.[9] Notably, there is no justification of why Czech should be used, nor is there any prohibition against or mandate for the use of foreign languages such as English.[10]

Turnov has a manufacturing base, but it is also one of the gateways to the Czech Paradise recreation area, a popular destination for walking and winter sports, and a significant number of tourists visit the town. In 2012, the year before our data collection took place, Turnov's Tourist Information Centre (TIC) registered 45,086 enquiries to its office, of which 42,480 (94.2%) were Czech and 2,606 (5.8%) from abroad. Of those foreign enquiries, 786 came from Germans, 586 from the Netherlands, 331 from Austrians, 255 from nearby Poland, 219 from Russians, 193 from France, 84 from Slovaks, 67 from Danes, 50 from the UK, and 35 from Italians.

Excluding the Slovaks, who utilize receptive bilingualism for communication with Czechs, we have a total of 2,522 enquirers who would in all probability look for materials and signage in a language other than Czech. Of those, 1,117 (44.3%) came from the German-speaking countries of Germany and Austria, while non-German-speaking countries accounted for 1,405 (55.7%). English is widely spoken in the Netherlands, Denmark and if that is added to the small number of UK enquiries, we get a total of 703 foreigners (27.9%) who can be presumed to be highly fluent in English. These proportions are broadly similar across the region; in TICs in the Czech Paradise area, 96% of visitors are Czech and the remaining 4% are primarily German, Dutch and Polish.[11]

9 Our translation. The Act goes on to note: "In a community settled by members of national minorities, the name of the community, its neighborhoods, streets and other public places and names of buildings of government departments and regional administrative units are also given the language of a national minority if, according to the most recent census, at least 10% of the citizens of that community declared themselves members of that minority, when the representatives of the national minority concerned request this through the council for national minorities (§ 117, para. 3) and when that organ rules in favor of recommending this proposal" (our translation). This has sometimes led to protracted and heated discussions in areas where minority populations reach or approach the legal thresholds, as documented in Sloboda et al. (2010). However, as can be seen from the above figures, no national minority in Turnov is even close to this threshold, and so no such mandate exists for official nomenclature in any language other than Czech. The full details of the law are contained in Sbírka zákonů České republiky (2014).

10 The use of "minority" languages, such as German or Polish in certain regions, would fall under the exception for national minorities described in the previous footnote.

11 Source: Bohemian Paradise Association (Sdružení Český ráj (2013)). Visitors to TICs may be an unrepresentative sample, but there are no more reliable studies available. Available tourist surveys of e.g. the Liberec region (see Pour and Naar (2011)) are heavily weighted towards

If we were to go by numbers of native speakers, our figures suggest that the second language of any signage directed at tourists would be German. However, as we will see below, this is not the case.

5 A quantitative look at linguistic landscapes in Turnov

To set our findings in context, we need an overall estimation of how much signage in Turnov utilizes languages other than Czech. To this end, a 1 km survey was undertaken to map all the signage on a major thoroughfare. The survey began at the Turnov railway station and continued along Nádražní ulice – the main road leading to the E442 motorway – and from there past the roundabout along ulice Palackého in the direction of the town square, finishing at the junction with Koňský trh. On this trip every sign on the main road was noted and classified. The path was then repeated in the opposite direction on the other side of the street, to catch details and e.g. signs on the sides of buildings that are visible only from one side. The idea for a typology like this can be found in e.g. Reh (2004: 4), although ours is slightly more detailed given the different sociocultural situation of the Czech Republic.[12] A total of 435 signs were identified, with the breakdown given in Table 8.1:

foreigners and only approximate what was believed to be the status of the three largest visitor groups (Germans, Poles, Dutch). The goal in the Pour and Naar study seemed to be to get large enough "cells" of respondents to evaluate their responses with statistical validity for each group, but this makes the sample unrepresentative. The TIC data in this respect are more useful for our purposes. Looking at how these figures have developed in subsequent years, we can see that while overall visitor numbers have grown, the proportions remain broadly constant: Turnov TIC registered 50,271 enquiries in 2016, with 47,301 Czechs (94%) and 2970 foreigners (6%). The most numerous foreign enquiries were the 768 Germans (26% of foreigners), 520 Netherlanders (18%), 352 Poles (12%), 267 Russians (9%), 157 French (5%), 146 Britons (5%) and 101 Slovaks (3%) (Sdružení Český ráj (2017)).

12 Scholars have noted the difficulties of reducing linguistic landscapes to quantifiable figures (see e.g. Jaworski and Yeung (2010: 158)). Huebner problematizes the exercise further, noting, "… the resulting analyses afford equal weight to a 3×6 inch sign reading 'pull' adjacent to the handle of a shop door, to a 2×5 foot banner hanging from a light pole advertising a movie, and to a 20×40 foot sign proclaiming the name, telephone number and products of the shop itself …" (2009: 71). However, the continuing efforts to obtain quantitative measures testify to their potential usefulness. We took the following decisions to operationalize the deceptively simple question "how many signs are there":

– Only traffic signs with writing on them were recorded (many have only symbols);
– Multiple identical paper signs in a window counted as one sign, cf. Hult (2009: 99);

Table 8.1: Types of signs in Turnov.

Type of sign	Cz	Cz/Eng	Cz/Ger/Eng	Cz/Ger	Eng	Intl*
Shop signs (main name)	78	1	1	1	3	5
A-signs on pavement	15					
Street signage	10					
Personal notices**	178					
Advertisements	85				2	
Informational signs	56					

Notes:
* This takes in internationalisms like *WC, BUS, TAXI, STOP* but not wordless signs or symbols.
** *Personal notices* are mostly cards placed in display cases offering services or items for sale; these are sometimes glued to lampposts or walls. They are often handwritten. This largely overlaps with Reh's category of "written announcements" (2004: 4).

From these figures it is clear that Turnov presents a largely monolingual visual appearance, with signs containing foreign languages largely limited to English and German, but in minuscule proportions (under 2% of signage). However, when multiplied out across the entire central area of Turnov, there is plenty of material to work with even within this 2%.

6 A qualitative look at languages in Turnov

We found that at least three non-local languages – English, German and Polish – had some presence, and that this made more sense when considered through a more "metrolingual" approach than has traditionally been used in linguistic

– Signs saying only *AKCE!* 'Sale!' or *SLEVA!* 'Discount!' were not recorded. These were in virtually every shop window in the area;
– Signs that only contained a brand name were disregarded (although see Edelman (2009) on the implications of this decision);
– The boundary between an "informational sign" and an "advertisement" is slippery. We treat as an *advertisement* anything (1) with persuasive text if in the shop or (2) a sign alerting to the existence of a shop or product elsewhere. For example, a sign in a clothing shop saying *košile, kalhoty, ponožky, doplňky* 'shirts, trousers, socks, accessories' is treated as informational in nature. However, *rifle dnes již za jenom 499 Kč* 'today, jeans for only 499 crowns' is an advertisement;
– Signs on plastic sheeting affixed to railings that give a store name and address were considered to be advertisements rather than information.

Figure 8.1: Sign describing access to tourist information recordings.

landscape studies, i.e. the signs made most sense when the languages they referenced are explained as part of the linguistic "toolbox" of the native Czech population. This approach can be described as a graphic form of *polylanguaging*, as per Jørgensen et al. (2011: 33): "the way in which speakers use features associated with different 'languages' – even when they know very little of these 'languages'."

The sign in Figure 8.1 provides a convenient metaphor for the use of languages in Turnov. It gives access to information in four languages: Czech, English, German and Polish. The quadrilingual information, however, is not four direct translations. In Czech we are directed to press the numbered button; in English, to press #-1 and a number; and so forth. It both establishes an implicit priority of languages (default, first through third non-defaults) and prescribes different activities for each language. What we have are *parallel texts* aimed at diverse audiences, rather than *direct translations* aiming at conveying the same message to all readers, a feature that Reh terms "complementary multilingual writing" (2004: 14–15)

Czech is universally the default language in Turnov. Even at the railway and bus stations, where foreign travelers might be expected to arrive, foreign signage is minimal. The two signs in Figures 8.2 and 8.3 show this starkly.

Figure 8.2 is the list of daily departures. It has the word ODJEZD in large letters, centrally, with the translations ABFAHRT and DEPARTURE *(sic)* to either side. The remaining text of the sign is entirely in Czech, so the non-speaker is left without critical information about the days of travel, type of train and routing.

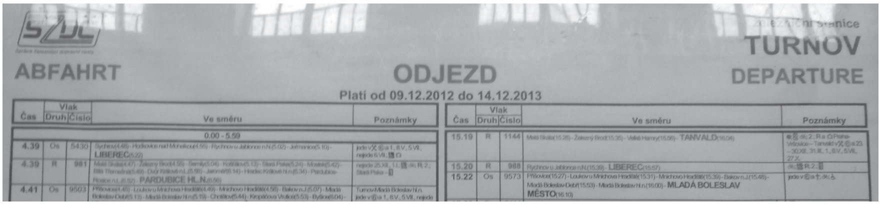


Figure 8.2: Daily departures from Turnov railway station.

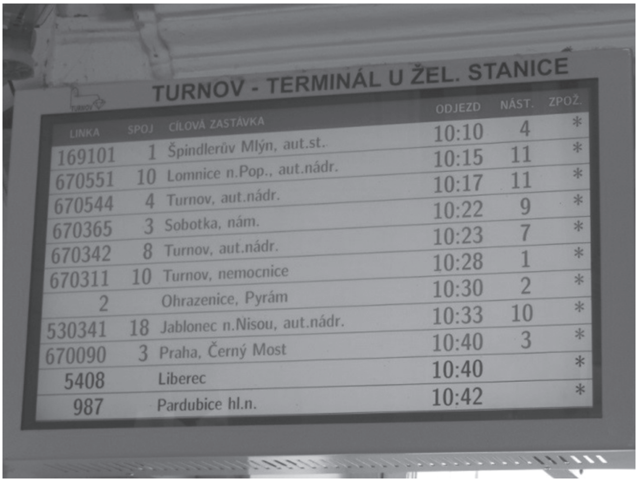


Figure 8.3: Turnov bus terminal departures board.

The bus terminal departures board makes no concessions at all to foreign travelers; while some information can be intuited from format or context, the non-speaker could easily confuse the route number (column 2) with the boarding area (column 5) and would not be able to figure out which bus goes to the main bus station *(aut. nádr.)* and which to the hospital *(nemocnice)*.

The most telling image is that of the international ticket counter at the railway station (Figure 8.4). The only information here in any foreign language is a tiny sign with the opening hours (lower right).

Tourist signage in Turnov also foregrounds the primarily domestic nature of the tourist market. A large advertisement for the Regional Tourist Information Centre (Figure 8.5) is headlined in Czech (partially visible, *Regionální turistické informační centrum*), with an English translation of some of the text beneath (but not the photograph captions).

A prominent feature of the linguistic landscape in Turnov is what we could term *pseudomultilingualism,* as shown in Figures 8.6a and 8.6b. This is neither monolingualism nor multilingualism, but something in between. These signs select key words imported into the periphery of the Czech vocabulary, which

Figure 8.4: International ticket counter, Turnov railway station.

Figure 8.5: Advertisement for the Tourist Information Centre.

(a) (b)

Figures 8.6a–8.6b: Examples of pseudomultilingual signs.

replace the domestic or domesticated equivalents: *restaurant* over *restaurace*[13]; *fastfood* over *rychlé občerstvení*; *pizzeria* over *pizzerie*; *cafe* over *kavárna*; *taxi* over *taxík* or *taxislužba*; and *nonstop* over *celodenní provoz*.

7 The presentation of languages in Turnov

Language presentation was in some cases predictable based on what has already been described. Rather than finding a clear-cut difference between so-called “top-down” and “bottom-up” texts, however, we found a different allocation and patterning of languages.

Top-down texts can be defined as those that “start off from foci of public authority to reach ‘common citizens’,” while *bottom-up* texts “are produced and presented by countless actors who – as individuals or corporate bodies – generally sprout from the public and address it on behalf of what they offer.” The research question asked about this is: “…how far[…] directives originating from the top of society’s hierarchies, specifying policies derived from the dominant culture – are congruent with courses of action taking place in the LL and stalking ‘from below’” (Ben-Rafael 2009: 49).

Within the top-down category of texts, we found that official documents (timetables, price schedules) produced by national bodies and local government,

13 Although actually both words are used in this sign: *restaurace* is in smaller type above the name.

e.g. Czech Railways, the Czech National Heritage Institute, Turnov town council, the National Geographical and Cadastral Office and others presented information typically in three languages: Czech, German and English, in that order. We might intuit from this the presence of some official language management as per Nekvapil and Sherman (2013: 92) the "[m]anagement of the linguistic, communicative and socio-cultural reality" that exists outside the texts themselves. We did not find evidence of any published strategies or any legal basis that might underlie them, aside from those in the Administrative Code or the Municipalities Act discussed in section 3; this could be the subject of further enquiry and exploration with e.g. local officials and decision-makers who influence how the signage is presented.

However, a second category of top-down texts behaved differently. This consisted of informational material, i.e. signage and notices from tourist centers and individual museums. Their texts were presented first in Czech, secondarily (if at all) in English, and then possibly in German if a third language appeared. These were more similar to the use of language in typically bottom-up texts from larger restaurants and certain local firms.

A national discourse reflecting the importance of German as the most prominent regional neighbor is thus present to some extent, but it is not thoroughly carried through texts from top-down producers. Instead, many of those reflect more of a bottom-up perspective, with German frequently absent from the level of informal, local representation and a single foreign language – English – predominating. The decisive factor in the choice of languages thus seems not to be a division between top-down and bottom-up producers, but a more complex series of motivations that may be partly procedural and partly functional, and leads us to ask for greater granularity in assessing how top-down texts arise.[14]

As we dig down, we find that the asymmetry of the three main languages is replicated consistently. For example, a local establishment with the pseudomultilingual name *Restaurant Plaudit* advertises itself on a billboard. The text is in Czech, but the billboard features German and British flags (indexes that presumably suggest to foreign visitors that the staff will be able to communicate in the relevant languages, or at the very least that a multilingual menu is available), as well as a prominent arrow and the internationalism "100m" to show where it can be found. The menu is in fact in three languages: Czech, English, German, in the

14 In similar terms, Malinowski (2009) problematizes the uniformity of the *top-down, bottom-up* labels and shows that when individual Korean shop owners in Oakland, CA are consulted about the use of language in their signage, a multitude of conflicting explanations emerge. This observation about signage in Turnov could thus productively be followed up with qualitative interviews to deepen our understanding of how linguistic differences in top-down texts arise.

expected order. However, a specials board is only in Czech. The foreign language patina is only on the surface.

A large percentage of the English words found around Turnov are in the names of shops, products and companies. The large menu in the window of the *Life Food Restaurant* is entirely in Czech; if we do not know Czech, the description of *Agentura Promotion* on its billboard will not tell us that it specializes in large-format printing jobs; and the text of a poster advertising the *Bona Spray Mop* is clearly aimed only at speakers of Czech, to explain to them what such a thing is for (*Snadné čištění podlah – nasprejuj a setři!* 'Makes floor cleaning easy – just spray on and wipe off!'). Drilling down to the level of handmade signs, notice boards, opening hours, etc. we find foreign languages have virtually no presence on the streets of Turnov.

In summary, some foreign-language signage in Turnov is directed at the tourist trade, while other signs are not aimed at foreigners and are merely aspirational for local Czechs. The most salient difference is not between top-down and bottom-up texts, but between certain highly conventionalized top-down texts and others. For non-tourist-oriented commercial signage, as O'Barr (1994) points out, the "secondary discourse of advertising" is the implicit message promulgated by the use of foreign languages, and here English (as in the Bona Spray Mop advert) is not informational in nature; instead, it is more likely to serve as the "authoritative voice" of the advert (Piller 2001: 161), in which there is a bilingual addressee who is sophisticated, fun, international, future-oriented, success-oriented (Piller 2001: 163).

To set this in the framework proposed by Ben-Rafael et al. (2010: xix), *power relations* and *identity markering* thus do not seem to be highly relevant in explaining multilingualism in Turnov. The appearance of foreign-language texts is down instead to *instrumentality and rationality,* and in some places to *competition* in the sense of the cachet ascribed to English. As far as these functions go, signage in the town is grounded in the limited but nonetheless apprehensible multilingual repertoire of the Czech community. Foreign languages are represented primarily at the top, appellative level, which attracts attention and enables certain kinds of interactions. Native-language signage in Turnov, however, is the "matrix" or default choice. It is the only reliable access to details. It is in this context that we now turn to consider the case of Hrubý Rohozec.

8 The Hrubý Rohozec estate

Hrubý Rohozec is located on a cliff above the River Jizera, on the outskirts of Turnov. The entrance is from ulice Bezručova, a main road on the west side of town. Visitors arrive walking along Bezručova from the railway or coach station, or can park in a car park at the side of the road that has several tourist information signs about the estate and the region, a small café and the entrance to a metalworking firm. They proceed through the gates through a landscape park to the building's main entrance.

The visitor figures have been stable over the past few years. For 2009, the last year for which nationality statistics were kept, there were 23,592 Czech visitors (80.2%) and 5,815 foreign visitors (19.8%). There are five year-round staff members, including a manager, two guides, a caretaker and a cleaner,[15] and there are numerous seasonal workers, mostly guides but sometimes other craftsmen and tradesmen as well.

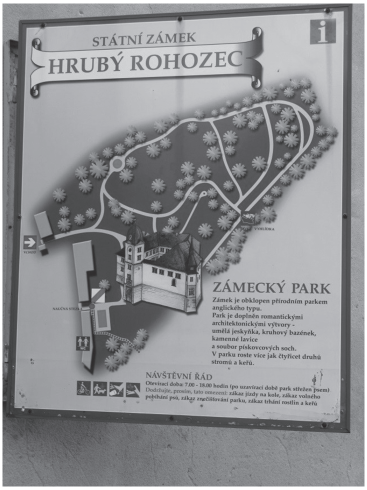
The building – originally a fortified castle (Czech *hrad*) but converted and renovated several times over the centuries into a luxurious stately home (Czech *zámek*)[16] – forms an irregular quadrilateral around a courtyard. It has three floors and extensive cellars. We can identify three distinct functional areas in the estate: an area for *visitors*, including the grounds, the courtyard, the ticket office, the shop, and the café; an area for *staff*, including the manager's office, the storage rooms, the tour guides' rooms, and other locations that are closed to the public for safety reasons, such as the tower; and an area for *exhibits*, which includes the cellars, on the ground floor the footmen's room, the estate office and the servants' kitchen, as well as most of the upper-floor apartments that formed the living area of the dynastic family.

Visitors move freely around the visitors' area; they are not permitted to enter the staff area; and they may enter the exhibit area by ticket only and in the company of a guide. The linguistic appearance of these areas reflects their differentiated functions.

9 The visitors' area

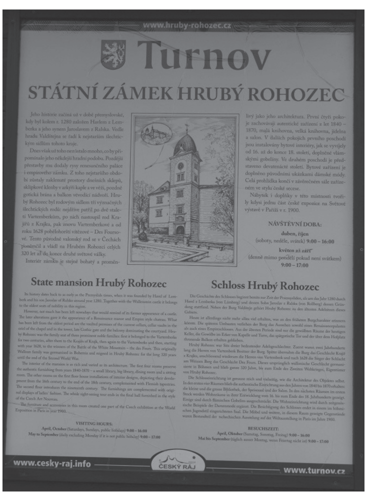
At the entrance gates, the visitor is met by signage in a variety of language permutations. Most of the signs respect the hierarchy found in the town at large for non-official signage: Czech is always present, sometimes exclusively as in (8.7a); or with English as in (8.7b). When all three languages are present, Czech

15 Data from the Czech National Heritage Institute directory: Národní památkový ústav (2014).
16 The distinction between *hrad* and *zámek* is a firm one in Czech, but it cannot always be replicated in English, where 'stately home' is an ungainly term. We do thus on occasion refer to it as a 'castle', although a Czech would not use the corresponding term.



(a)

(b)



(c)

(d)

Figure 8.7a–8.7d: The entrance to Hrubý Rohozec.

predominates and German is third, as in (8.7c). Only in the case of one small sign (8.7d) are German and Czech present without English.

Occasional signage in this area consists of small A-stands, which are printed or written exclusively in Czech, as in (8.8a)–(8.8d). Some, as with (8.8a) and (8.8b), seem designed purely to attract attention or point the visitor in the right direction; others, as with (8.8c) and (8.8d), alert the visitor to things they can do: try the café or hire picnic accessories and games such as croquet to use in the grounds.

(a) (b) (c) (d)

Figure 8.8a–8.8d: Occasional signs in the estate grounds.

Once visitors enter the main building through the gates, they can wander freely through the courtyard and the three public rooms: a foyer, the ticket and gift shop, and the café. Information about the estate and the tours, printed on glossy posters as in (8.9a), is in Czech, then English. Occasional documentation, such as the sign over the plaster model of the castle in (8.9b), which has been printed off and tacked in place, is only in Czech.

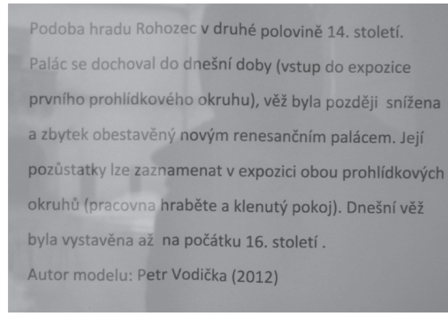
At the ticket office desk there are four pages of information on admission and ticket prices that are centrally prepared in the regional office of the National Heritage Institute and are required to be on display; these texts follow a uniform format for sites across the region.[17] In conformity with the ordering noted for such official signs in town, the text is in Czech, German and English (in that order). However, the translations are not equivalent to the main text, as there is some material that is not translated. In (8.9c) we can note that while each category of ticket price is translated into both foreign languages, the heading ("First or second tour – price of entry, with supplement for tours in foreign languages") is not translated, and neither is the note beneath them ("All visitors, including those not required to pay, must present themselves at the ticket desk"). As elsewhere in town, the details are available only in the local language.

Signs to nearby attractions, such as other heritage sites, festivals, etc. are posted on walls in the colonnade. These are monolingual Czech, with one exception: a poster advertising the Turnov Synagogue, which evidently aims to attract Jewish visitors from abroad.[18]

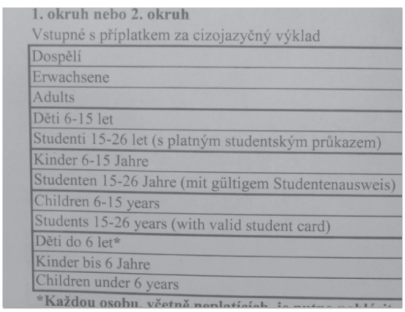
17 Identical wording is found, for example, at Trosky: www.hrad-trosky.eu/vstupne/, last accessed 27 October 2014.

18 The synagogue is not a working one, but serves as a museum and belongs to the local council: http://www.synagoga-turnov.cz/, last accessed 26 October 2014.

(a)



(b)

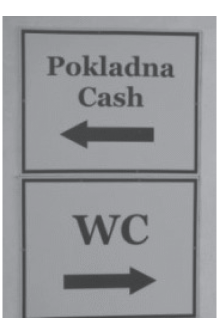


(c)

Figure 8.9a–8.9c: Signs inside the building.

As in most public spaces, a variety of additional, locally produced signs direct visitors to points of contact and tell them what to expect. Some important ones are bilingual and make use of symbols and internationalisms to meet the needs of other visitors, as in (8.10a)–(8.10b).

Signs with less significance are often monolingual, as in (8.11a)–(8.11b). Only the Czech visitor, therefore, will know that the café has a display of ceramics from the town of Zvířetice for sale, or that if he is seated in the outdoor café area, he will have to go inside to the counter to order his drink.



(a)

(b)

Figures 8.10a–8.10b: Bilingual signage in the courtyard and building.

(a)

(b)

Figures 8.11a–8.11b: Monolingual signs in the courtyard and building.

In summary, in the visitors' area, English signals an "official" announcement or "headline" communication that orients the visitor to the basics of where he can acquire his ticket, find the restrooms or get some refreshment. Czech serves as the "matrix" or "underlying" language, and is the only medium in which details and further information are supplied. German is present only rarely; and other languages are absent until requested.

If we look at the visitor figures for the stately home and the area as a whole, we might have expected German to have a more prominent visual presence. As previously remarked, native speakers of German constitute by far the largest contingent of visitors to local and regional TICs, and the proportion of foreign visitors to Hrubý Rohozec seems to be significantly higher than at TICs (5.6% at TICs as mentioned in section 3; and 19.8% at Hrubý Rohozec as mentioned in section 7).

However, the strategy of foreign language use at Hrubý Rohozec is consistent and clear. Over 80 percent of visitors can use Czech, and hence Czech appears on all signs, in first place, often in larger type. For the remaining scant 20 percent, English is provided as an international language, and no further national or linguistic group is privileged by having their language foregrounded. We have seen that native English visitors to the area are minimal in number and so English here functions purely as a lingua franca: it is not intended for the English, but rather for the entire visiting community.[19]

19 Nekvapil and Sherman (2013: 105–107) reported finding an ideology prevalent on the premises of one German company in the Czech Republic that underlies claims such as "German is not used here", despite what turned out to be the presence of some German texts. It is possible that a similar ideology underlies the situation in Turnov and Hrubý Rohozec; qualitative interviews

We will pass over the staff area of the estate, where any signage is exclusively in Czech, and turn to the exhibit area, which occupies most of the main building.

10 The exhibit area

In contrast to the visitors' area, entrance to and movement about the exhibit area is controlled. Entrance is by tour ticket and three tours are offered, covering the first-floor apartments; the second-floor apartments; and the cellars and staff rooms. All visits to the rooms on the three tours are accompanied and a tour in Czech is provided. Visitors move through the rooms with the guide, who explains the contents of each room. Non-Czechs are given photocopied booklets covering the high points of the tour in their language; these are available in a variety of languages, including Italian and Dutch.[20] Tours in foreign languages (English, German, Italian) are given occasionally, when a suitably qualified guide is available and a request is placed in advance.

This method is traditional in the Czech Republic; it is an effective, economical way of opening a large site to the public without the extensive staffing that would be needed to cover forty-plus rooms if free access were given. In addition, the tours move from room to room as a group and so no signage is needed, preventing unwanted, anachronistic clutter. We might well ask, then, what is interesting about the exhibit area. To uncover this, we will need more information about the history of the castle and its inhabitants.

11 The Des Fours Walderode family

Hrubý Rohozec as a building has existed since at least the fourteenth century, and since the 1630s has been associated with the French Catholic Des Fours

would be needed to establish whether this is so. Similarly, their finding that English use is underlain by an ideology of "one can get by in English" is consistent with its use as a general form of address to foreigners and between non-native speakers in Turnov and Hrubý Rohozec.

20 A Dutch visitor commented favorably on the quality of the translation in the Dutch tour notes, while our British students remarked on the evident non-native quality of the English ones. This highlights another feature of the internationalization of English: quality-control processes at the agency used evidently differ between Czech-to-English and Czech-to-Dutch translations, with more stringent criteria for "naturalness" driving the latter. The status of so-called "International English", which is accessed by all, with no need for native-speaker "approval" of English texts, is a well-known phenomenon; see e.g. Seidlhofer (2003).

family. The Des Fours were granted the estate in the Thirty Years' War as Czech Protestant nobility across the kingdom were deprived of their lands and exiled by the Habsburg victors. Over the years, the family intermarried with German and Hungarian nobility, becoming the Des Fours Walderode line, and were eventually Germanized, in a pattern seen across the Czech lands.

As we have noted, Turnov and the surrounding area were part of the traditional Czech-speaking territory of the kingdom and thus many estate staff, as well as the merchants and tradespeople the family dealt with, were Czech. With the increasing use of the Czech language that began and gathered pace throughout the National Revival in the nineteenth century, this trend intensified. It culminated in the independence of Czechoslovakia after 1918, when the German speakers became a recognized minority with delimited linguistic rights in the context of a "majority" Czechoslovak state.[21]

As with many Germanophone Czechoslovaks, the Des Fours Walderode patriarchs are said to have sided with the pro-German Sudeten cause in the run-up to the Second World War, and the last heir to Hrubý Rohozec, Karel Des Fours Walderode, is widely reported to have been a member of Henlein's Sudeten German Party, with its strong connections to the Nazis. Upon the annexation of the Sudetenland in 1938 and the establishment of the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia in 1939, Hitler offered all "ethnic" Germans in Czechoslovakia citizenship in his Reich, and the Des Fours Walderodes accepted, as did many others.

It was on this basis that in 1945, the so-called Beneš Decrees stripped the family of their property and citizenship rights. Two years later, Karel successfully petitioned to have his Czechoslovak citizenship reinstated, in a decision that one modern newspaper has called "difficult to explain".[22] But in 1948, in the aftermath of the Communist coup and before he could affect the restitution of his property, Karel fled to Austria and gave up his Czechoslovak citizenship once more.

The estate passed into the hands of the Czechoslovak state, like all property confiscated from capitalists and German expellees, and was unused for a while. For a time, it served as a storeroom for museum artefacts; later it was opened to the public with an exposition consisting of furniture borrowed from the state depository.

21 For these reasons, the Des Fours Walderodes are excellent candidates for the sort of interrogation suggested in Jørgensen et al. (2011: 32) as to the meaning and significance of the term *native speaker*.

22 This is one of many ongoing restitution cases in the Czech Republic, but it has nonetheless received extensive public attention; see among other media accounts Česká tisková kancelář (2008, 2009), Švehla (2011), Charousek (2010).

After the Velvet Revolution of 1989, Karel Des Fours Walderode sued to have his citizenship reinstated, and in 1992 was successful on the basis of the 1947 reinstatement. His request for the restitution of family property including Hrubý Rohozec was also accepted, but in 1994 the court cast doubt on the validity of some of the documents supporting the 1947 return of Karel's citizenship and froze the restitution. The cases continued a roundabout journey through the Czech courts, and in 2000, with the restitution of the family property still in abeyance, Karel passed away.

A year later, the court reinstated Karel's citizenship posthumously and his wife, Johanna Kammerlander, renewed the restitution case. In the period from 2003 to 2013, the case travelled through several courts, each of which overturned the previous finding. A recent verdict again stopped the restitution of the castle, but a 2015 decision in a county court has allowed Kammerlander to recover some family property, paving the way for further restitutions (Česká tisková kancelář 2015), and in 2017 a lower court decision ordered that Hrubý Rohozec be restituted to her (iDNES.cz 2017).

In the meantime, experts from the Czech National Heritage Institute discovered a complete set of 1930s insurance photos in a cellar, and in 2008 began a complete revamping of the way the interiors were curated. The goal was to present a slice of contemporary life of the Des Fours Walderode family during the interwar period, using the extensive stores of furniture that had remained in the building. The new exhibits began to take shape under castle manager Jindřich Zeman and have continued under the stewardship of the current manager, Jiří Holub, with new areas being opened to the public as they are restored.

12 The language of Hrubý Rohozec's history

Thanks to its long and varied history, the estate's visual environment reflected the multilingual practices of its inhabitants. Among the languages visible in the exhibit area are Czech, Croatian, English, French, German, Hungarian, Italian, Japanese and Latin. Many of these can be found in the extensive library and book collection; others are found on the numerous paintings, drawings and sketches that hang on the walls. As the current exhibits are based on interwar photographs, we can take this as a more or less accurate reflection of how they would have looked in the 1930s. The exhibits also contain an admixture of elements chosen and placed by curators on tables, desks and floors to give visitors the feeling that the Des Fours Walderode family have just now stepped out, leaving behind their open books, maps, correspondence, newspapers, toys and games.

Many of the pictures, engravings and prints on the walls have captions; these are largely in German and Latin, with some French.[23] Some languages, like Croatian, appear primarily on the hunting trophies displayed prominently on the top floor. Others, like Hungarian, are best represented in the book collections.

To a large extent, the placement of these items is dictated by the existing photographs. We will thus focus on the elements where there was some curatorial discretion. Here we can see a position, deliberate or unconscious, being taken: it emphasizes the inhabitants' multilingual abilities and the facility with which they must have switched between linguistic codes.

German, as the family language of the Des Fours Walderodes by the 1930s, features most prominently in the materials presented for our viewing. An occasional table in the library, for example, features an album and three German books: *Katalog der Deutschböhmischen Ausstellung – Reichenberg 1906* [Catalog of the German Bohemian Exhibition – Liberec, 1906]; *Praktische Tourenblaubuch für Automobilisten* [Practical Blue Book Tour for Car Travellers]; *Kriegskarte 1943* [War Map, 1943] – this is in Figure (8.12a).[24] One in the Green Salon features German-language ladies' fashion magazines (see Figure (8.12b)).

In the room of Karel Des Fours Walderode, the glassed-in bookcase in Figure (8.13) has a prominent display of books that include Hitler's *Mein Kampf* and Goebbels's *Vom Kaiserhof zur Reichskanzlei*. Political affiliations attributable to the last Des Fours Walderode to own Hrubý Rohozec are thus unobtrusively underlined.

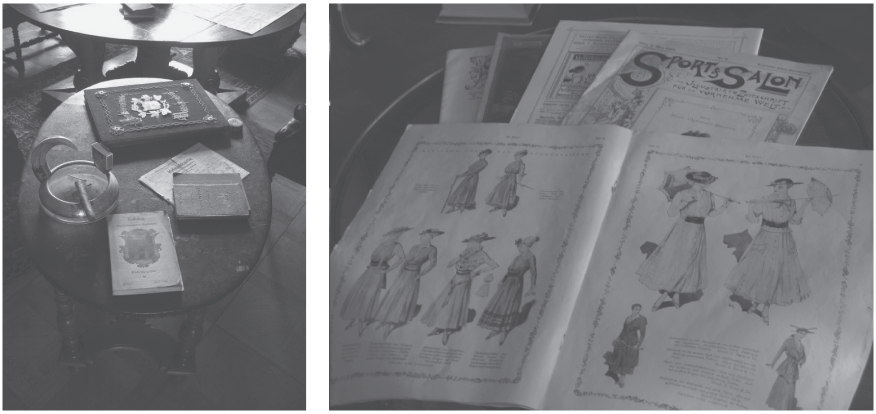
Czech books are also on view in various places throughout the building: a prayer book is on display, for example, and a number of French books appear, such as a pedagogical manual (*Méthode de Lecture*).

Ephemera presented for our viewing are largely German, although there are a number of Czech ones, such as a star chart and a children's board game *Člověče, nezlob se*.[25] The best attested class of these Czech ephemera are bills and invoices from local merchants and tradesmen, as seen in Figure 8.14. As might be expected in a largely Czech-speaking region, most of these are in Czech, although a couple are in German (as in the display below, where two Czech texts are on top and a German one is partly obscured beneath them).

23 There are also a series of pictures of ships with Italian captions, and Japanese items brought back in the 1920s by Count Kuno Des Fours Walderode, who had served in the diplomatic service there.

24 An earlier photo of this room found in the brochure *Zámek Hrubý Rohozec* shows what are evidently different books on this table, so these displays can change.

25 The equivalent board game in English-speaking countries is called *Headache* or *Ludo*.



(a) (b)

Figures 8.12a–8.12b: Displays of books and magazines.

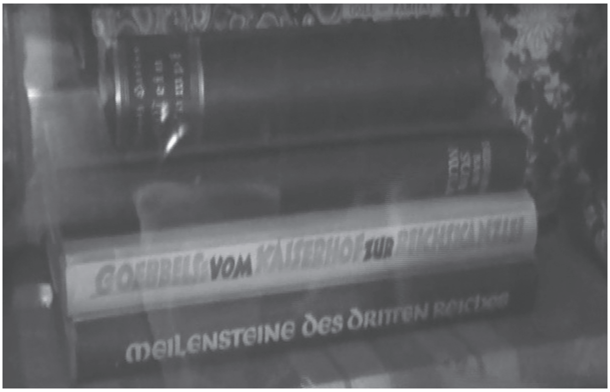


Figure 8.13: Books by prominent Nazis.

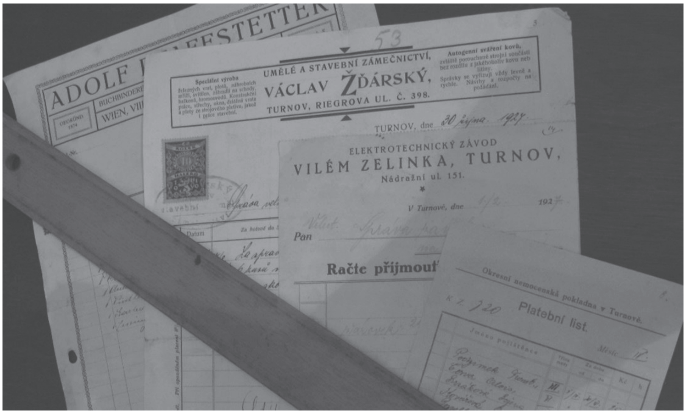
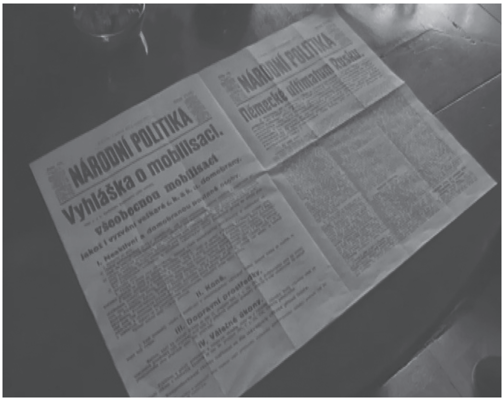


Figure 8.14: Tradesmen’s bills in Czech and German.

Newspapers are often displayed in twos and threes: primarily German, secondarily Czech, in one case each Hungarian and English. These come from the early war years (1938–1939). The front pages have articles concerning the annexation of Czechoslovakia and the impending war with Russia (see Figures 8.15a–c).

Overall, Hrubý Rohozec under the Des Fours Walderode family is portrayed as a multilingual environment with German as the matrix language. In the older materials, found mainly in the form of pictures and books, German and Latin predominate, with a smattering of French, Italian and Czech. In the newer materials and ephemera, other foreign languages such as Croatian, Spanish and English appear. The curation thus caters to the largely Czech-speaking visitors, but also subtly highlights various historical points. The family's connection to the Nazi regime is explicated through the choice of materials, as are its connections to the surrounding Czech environment. What emerges is a more complex portrait of a family that put itself on the wrong side of the twentieth century's bloodiest conflict.

(a)



(b)

(c)

Figures 8.15a–8.15c: Displays of newspapers.

13 Names and linguistic affiliation

The reader may have noticed that while we have emphasized the family's Germanophone status, we have typically referred to its members by names that are clearly not entirely German. In doing so, we follow the practice common at Hrubý Rohozec and other Czech historical sites, which uses Czech versions of forenames where possible but frequently leaves the foreign surname (in this case usually German, but sometimes French, Hungarian, Italian or Dutch) unchanged.

We turn to these names now because they are found in a mixture of places within the linguistic landscape and on its periphery, and thus form part of the way we are guided to associate the past of the castle with the present linguistic set-up. The names are occasionally found on signage; they occur in printed form in the foreign-language room guides on the tour, and in the souvenir brochures that can be purchased at the shop; and they appear in the lengthy scripts that the tour guides must master. In the first instance, we are dealing clearly with signage as part of the linguistic landscape. In the second, these materials are read during tourists' visits to the estate, and so are more of an accompaniment to the landscape than strictly being part of it. In the final case, these texts are learned by the tour guides, who then modify and individualize them for their own tours: they provide the frame for part of the working practice of the heritage site (essentially what Scollon and Scollon (2003: 16–17), following Goffman, term the "interaction order") but the names in them form part of the lived experience of the site alongside its visual environment.

As Edelman has shown, decisions about what language a name is "in", or whether names in fact can be "in" a language, are not straightforward; they are often culturally conditioned and involve an element of discretion, but simply assigning them to the matrix language "would mean loss of interesting information because of the special role that names play in the LL" (2009: 152). If the names themselves contain hints of multilingual practice in visual (and oral) form, we are thus within our ambit here to ask how these names are seeded in the visitor's consciousness and what characteristics of the original inhabitants are indexed by the format of the name. In places the use of names constitutes a specific kind of multilingual patterning that forms a sort of micro-level landscaping.

A few words are in order first about how we distinguish these names. In some instances Czech and foreign names look and function similarly in a text, but there are other places where the orthographic or cultural conventions employed mark the name as Czech in format or non-Czech. There are three main places in which these differences are shown.

First, some male forenames have national equivalents (Czech *Jindřich* vs. German *Heinrich,* Czech *Karel* vs. German *Karl,* Czech *Ludvík* vs. German *Ludwig*), as do some female ones (Czech *Anna* vs. German *Anne*, Czech *Johana* vs. German *Johanne*).

Second, male surnames have no characteristics that would allow us to distinguish a Czech name from, say, a German one, but female surnames do have such a characteristic: they add a suffix to create the so-called *feminized form* (*přechylovaný tvar*), such that a woman with the Dutch surname *Coudenhove* could be rendered with the feminine surname suffix as *Coudenhoveová*.

Finally, there are origin indicators specific to particular languages, such that German *von Waldstein* is rendered by the analogous construction in Czech as *z Valdštejna*. These can either be completely assimilated to Czech orthographic conventions as in the previous example, or they may be incompletely assimilated, with the Czech prepositional phrase but the original toponym rendered in German orthography (*Trautmannsdorff* instead of a Czech **Trautmansdorf* or *Mayersbach* instead of a Czech **Majersbach*).

For this purpose, we surveyed the personal names in the publication *Hrubý Rohozec a rody Des Fours a Des Fours Walderode*, a tourist brochure which tells the story of prominent members of the Des Fours Walderode family. The 30 names therein fall into the following categories:

Table 8.2: Names and language.

Czech forename(s) and foreign (usually indeclinable) surname:	Czech forename(s) and indeterminate (probably foreign, but declinable) surname:
– Barbora Markéta Khuen de Belasi	– Filip Josef Gallas
– Marie Emanuela Buquoy de Longueval	– Jan Filip Joendl
– Marie Johana Köppe	
– Klára Kappler	Czech forename(s) and Czech surname:
– Gabriela Karolína (von) Wydenbruck	– Albrecht z Valdštejna
– Augusta Gabriela Coudenhove	– Karel Rohan
– Helena Isabela von Wydenbruck	– Petr Biron
– Mikuláš Des Fours	– Marie Antonie Černínová z Chudenic
– Ludvík Des Fours	
– Albrecht Maxmilián Des Fours	Czech forename(s) and mixed (part Czech, part foreign) surname:
– Karel Josef Des Fours	
– František Antonín Des Fours	– Marie Anna z Eggenburgu
– Josef Des Fours Walderode	– Marie Polyxena ze Schönfeldu
– František Václav Des Fours	– Karolína Josefína z Colonna-Felsu
– František Vincenc Des Fours Walderode	– Marie Gabriela z Trauttmansdorffu
– Theodor Gabriel Des Fours Walderode	– Marie Františka z Mayersbachu
– Mikuláš Vladimír Des Fours Walderode	
– Karel Bedřich Des Fours Walderode	Foreign forename and foreign surname:
	– Louis Des Fours Walderode

While there are some small inconsistencies,[26] the overall pattern is clear. Forenames are translated into Czech, regardless of whether the person was Czech or not. Surnames, however, are most frequently left unadapted or only partially adapted, with clear reminders of their foreign origin (spelling with doubled consonants or non-Czech letters).[27]

This strategy has a clear textual and cultural logic. Giving the forename a Czech form makes it possible to decline the nouns and thus to indicate the proper syntactic case required, facilitating its integration into the text and improving the text's overall readability. At the same time, it implicitly makes their referents part of "our" history, rather than casting them as complete foreigners. However, they are not completely Czech; they are also partially "other", being either of German or other foreign nobility, as evidenced by the surnames.[28] These hybrid forms thus come from an established tradition in Czech historical writing that underlines their referents' liminal status between in- and out-groups.

14 Conclusions

Our explorations have led us in two directions. We have examined the contemporary visual environment in the town and on the estate, looking at how the local language is used in contrast with any foreign languages that appear. We have also investigated the way languages are used to portray aspects of the estate's past, giving a glimpse into the way languages and the national characteristics they index fit into the historical narrative. The outcomes in town and estate are dissimilar, but we have seen similar or related processes at work in both, suggesting that even in the same broader environment, the selection of languages yields

26 Louis Des Fours Walderode, brother of Karel Bedřich and Maximilián, is not translated as Ludvík; and Marie Antonie, who alone of the females has a truly Czech surname (Černín), is the only one to have the Czech feminine ending attached to it (Černínová). The name *von Wydenbruck* does not consistently appear with *von* in front.

27 An exception in this text is represented by Albrecht z Valdštejna, better known as Albert von Wallenstein; he, like many well-known non-Czech historical figures, has a full Czech equivalent.

28 When the logic of giving the Des Fours and their relatives Czech forenames was queried, the castle manager pointed out that most of the servants would have been Czech, and would undoubtedly have referred to their masters and visitors by a Czech name. This is unlikely to have formed the original rationale for this choice, but it does support the above view: we see the masters from the servant's perspective, and are thus connected to them and divided from them at the same time.

divergent results in e.g. the public sphere in a medium-sized town and the highly specific setting of a heritage site.

As we have seen, multilingualism in the town of Turnov is an example of polylanguaging: its foreign-language texts are not generated by communities of foreign origin, but are provided from the native Czech's linguistic toolkit. Rather than a clear distinction between texts by origin (top-down vs. bottom-up) we found it more useful to propose a procedural or functional categorization, which we have termed *official* vs. *informational* approaches to the selection and inclusion of languages: *official* documents and signage contained Czech, German and English in that order, while *informational* signage of non-official provenance was given in Czech and secondarily in English, with German either coming third or more frequently being absent. Polish was found only rarely, despite Turnov's location less than a 50km drive from the Polish border. In these situations, English and German are presented for communication with tourists: they are outward-facing. We also commented on the frequent inclusion of English words and phrases (although rarely entire texts) in situations where they are not fulfilling any practical function, and instead may hinder the communication of the message to an entirely Czech, only partially English-literate audience. In these situations, we look for another function for the inclusion of English phrases, and find a likely explanation in the generally acknowledged fact that English abroad frequently indexes status and lifestyle, adding cachet and modernity to products and services.

In all these situations, however, Czech is the matrix language: it is the key to information at all but the most superficial level. In Turnov, then, it seems that the discourses Nekvapil and Sherman (2013) found in multilingual Czech workplaces as part of work practices are reflected in the town's visual environment. One can "get by" with English and at times with German, although by and large "German is not used here" – but we could add a further potential ideological claim, which is that "To get the full story, you need Czech".

The situation at Hrubý Rohozec mirrors and extends this analysis. Few texts here – possibly only the ticket price signage – are functionally *official* in character as described above; the vast bulk are *informative* and seem to have been locally designed to solve a communicative problem. Following the line of enquiry suggested in Shohamy and Waksman (2009), we have looked at the items displayed; the texts provided to accompany the items and exhibits; and the multilingual signage framing the visitor experience. Non-Czech texts in the visitor areas highlight for tourists the most necessary information, against a background in which Czech is the everyday communicative staple; as in Shohamy and Waksman's museum, the local language offers "benefits" that English-only visitors are "deprived of" (324). Non-Czech texts in the exhibit areas describe the estate's plurilingual inhabitants; status here is indexed to the masters' plurilingual behavior, demonstrated through the display of cultural artefacts that in the main feature languages other than Czech. Returning again to Ben-Rafael et al. (2010: xix) and to our earlier finding that *instrumentality and rationality,* as well as *competition* played a role in language choice in the town, we can here see that the same situation applies in the visitor areas, but in the exhibit areas we also find evidence as well of *power relations* and *identity markering* in the particular choice of items displayed and the way names are translated and rendered.

The hybridity of informational texts containing names bears similarities to the polylanguaging found in the community, where individual words and phrases from foreign languages are used to index status and prestige. The pattern of domesticated first name plus fully or partially foreignizing surname claims a space for the referents as local but not entirely so: their identity is marked as an inexact fit to modern, conventional conceptions of nationality. Both these phenomena describe the influence of ideology broadly defined, as per Woolard (1998: 5–9): a set of interests representative of the experience of a particular social position that are presented as universally true, which may be linked to the exercise of power. In the case of the town, the exercise of power is the persuasiveness of the advertising or notice; in the case of the castle, it is the didactic framework of the information provided (the expert historian imparting information to the visitor).

Shohamy and Waksman's framework deals with two languages in juxtaposition – a local language and a single "international" one – but our current example contains at least two that reach beyond the native audience. The two languages other than Czech most in evidence throughout the estate – English and German – are distributed in ways that highlight the opposition in their development. This historical dimension to multilingual texts was noticed by Blommaert and Rampton, who noted the possibility that any specific text "bears the traces of worldwide migration flows and their specific demographic, social and cultural dynamics" (2011: 2). In addition to examining practical motivations for the use of local and tourist languages, then, we open the possibility that the way they are employed in a contemporary exhibit may be connected to or may derive from their historical baggage, or lack thereof. Essentially we suggest that ideologically founded motivations for the use – and lack of use – of specific languages be included in this list.

In the tourist areas, German functions as a peripheral tourist language, found on official signage and some informational notices. In exhibit areas, it is the matrix language, with German-language items far outnumbering those in Czech or other languages.

English, by contrast, has a marginal place in the exhibit area of the building, appearing only occasionally in the castle library or in ephemera, where it is presented as an exoticism. In the visitor areas, however, it is the dominant foreign language, with the amount of information available visually in English far exceeding the only occasional signage in the second most common foreign language, German.

Hrubý Rohozec is thus portrayed as a space with a richly varied multilingual past, whose inhabitants were well connected to families and places across Europe. The exhibit items, however, hint at the end result of the Des Fours Walderodes' close connections with the German language and German culture, and this multilingual, multicultural sophistication is thereby linked to one of the great upheavals in the Czech twentieth century – displaying what Blommaert and Rampton have termed "marks of historical struggles over real and symbolic power" (2011: 3). A language on the periphery of this Central European space, barely registering in the mixture of German, Latin, Czech and French exhibit items, has in the visitor areas all but completely supplanted the other regional languages as the main bearer of information for foreign tourists. The castle's multilingual past is reflected and transmitted in a very different multilingual present.[29]

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Part III: The position of English and other languages on local and international labor markets, implications for language and education policy

Tobias Schroedler

The value of foreign language skills in international business for native English speaking countries: A study on Ireland

Abstract: This chapter examines the value of foreign language skills in the exporting economy and in international trade in native English-speaking economies. Ireland will serve as an example of an English-speaking country, which is highly reliant on services and exports. Ireland stands out amongst other European economies due to its export dependencies. Gaining over 60% of the country's GDP from exports, it appears evident that international business and trade are of crucial importance, particularly in economically challenging times. English in business and commerce certainly plays an important role as a bridge language. However, it will be pointed out that languages other than English have been underestimated and that skills in these languages can hold great potential in trade expansion and the regaining of economic prosperity. Based on a highly interdisciplinary theoretical framework, the study brings together quantitative macroeconomic index data and qualitative expert interview data from high profile stakeholders in international business. In its conclusion, the chapter will not only identify what the trade opportunities between Ireland and central Europe could be, but also, what implications the above analysis of global economic performance and issues in international trade have for language education policy making.

Keywords: value of language education; languages as human capital; language economics; language in international business; economics of language education policy

1 Introduction

This chapter examines the value of foreign language skills in the exporting economy and the expansion of international trade in native English-speaking economies. Ireland will serve as an example of an English-speaking country, which is highly reliant on services and exports. The data presented in this chapter originate from a study of the language needs of Irish businesses and the economy in general. While Ireland is officially bilingual, with its first official language being Irish, it has been widely established that only a small minority of the population have some degree of fluency. Moreover, the teaching of Irish is *de jure* and *de facto* not part of foreign

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language provision in the Irish education system (Harris and O'Leary 2009). Therefore, this study limits itself to the potential benefits of languages other than English or Irish. Ireland stands out amongst other European economies due to its export dependencies. Gaining over 60% of the country's GDP from exports, it appears evident that international business and trade are of crucial importance, particularly in economically challenging times. English in business and commerce certainly plays an important role as a bridge language in many cross-border dealings and having a native English-speaking population may seem to make matters easier at first sight. However, this chapter will demonstrate that the value of foreign language skills has been underestimated and that these skills can hold great potential in trade expansion and the regaining of economic prosperity.

The chapter explores the potential advantages of an improved foreign language education system for English-speaking economies, based on both economic and sociological theoretical approaches to the value of foreign language skills. Despite having a relatively well functioning export sector, it is argued that Ireland needs a better domestic supply of foreign language skills in order to improve its competitiveness within the world market. In a first step, a purely macro-economic index analysis will show how the native English-speaking world's economy has developed vis-à-vis the French-speaking, German-speaking and Spanish-speaking world markets. This quantitative analysis of various indices (i.e. GDP, GDP per capita, FDI and GPI) in combination with supply and demand considerations in the language job area, as well as export and import figures, provide the basis for the subsequent qualitative analysis.

Through a series of theory-generating expert interviews with international business and trade experts (Irish trade organizations, CEOs of international chambers of commerce, trade diplomats and chief managers), the study provides support for the credo that English as a business lingua franca may not be enough to build successful and sustainable business relationships. With particular focus on trade between Ireland and central European markets, this section evaluates the potential opportunities which Ireland and indeed similar economies would have, if foreign language skills were more commonplace among employees in the business and trade sector. With close reference to some salient quotations from the expert interviews, the argument that successful international business relationships require the command of languages other than English will be clarified. Despite most initial business communication being done in English, it will be shown that, in order to build long-term, profitable business partnerships, the languages of respective trade partners are very important.

Finally, the chapter will identify what the trade opportunities between Ireland and central Europe could be and furthermore, what implications the above analysis bears out for language education policy making. Combining the quantitative macroeconomic analysis with the implications from the analysis of a range of expert interviews, strong conclusions in favor of an urgent need to improve foreign language education can be reached.

2 Theoretical background

The connection between economics and education can be analyzed on many different levels. Research not only focuses on the resource allocation of governments to educational institutions and investment in the implementation of certain policies, but also takes into account economic considerations of families, certain groups of students and individuals (Brewer and McEwan 2010: v). For most of these economic analyses of education, human capital theory has proven to be the most feasible basis for carrying out research in this field (Eide and Showalter 2010; Franz 2006; Grin 2002).

The way in which human capital theory is applied to research into the economics of education differs across projects depending on the investment or outcome factor a study is aiming to explore. A broad definition by Eide and Showalter describes human capital as follows:

> Human capital refers to intrinsic productive capabilities of human beings. These capabilities can be increased through investment in things such as education, on-the-job training, and health. Human capital is viewed as an asset that generates a flow of services, most often measured as earnings, although broader measures of output are also used. (Eide and Showalter 2010: 27)

Education is generally seen as an investment. Technically, this investment is often supported or provided by governments in the form of free or even mandatory education. Other research, however, incorporates the element of choice and focuses on voluntary decisions made by individuals. The fact that language skills constitute a component of human capital is however commonly agreed upon: "Language skills are an important form of human capital. They satisfy the three basic requirements for human capital: they are embodied in the person; they are productive in the labor market and/or in consumption; and they are created at a sacrifice of time and out-of-pocket resources" (Chiswick and Miller 1995: 248).

It is also important to introduce the concept of *value of language*, not only for the application to human capital theory, but also for political and, therefore, policy discussion. Metaphorically, languages are occasionally referred to as *treasures* or linguistic diversity is referred to as *linguistic wealth*. These denotations, however, cannot *per se* be translated into economic terms of value (Grin 1997). For purposes of simplification, Grin suggests that "when something is [economically] valuable in the eyes of social actors, this is usually reflected in their behaviour" (Grin 2003: 36). Based on this assumption, he deduces that if endangered languages were considered valuable, they would, hence, be learned and used. In order to clarify that this does not mean that some languages have no value or less value, Grin introduces the concepts of market value and non-market value (Grin 2003).

A language has a market value if it is transferrable into monetary profits or if a price can be assigned. If, for example, "speaking language X makes it easier to sell goods to the X-speaking public [...] [it] gives rise to higher profits or if an X-speaking employee earns more, only because he speaks language X, X has a market value" (Grin 2002: 20). Non-market value of a language, on the other hand, is mostly concerned with individual actors and their taste. Some people may value certain languages because "knowing language *X* gives access to X-language culture, facilitates social contact with members of the *X*-speaking community, etc" (Grin 2002: 20–21).

As an extension to the purely economic conceptualization of language as human capital, a second layer of theoretical awareness in the topic area, a sociological understanding of language as capital can be helpful. Most prominently in this field is the work of Pierre Bourdieu. In his essay on "The Forms of Capital", Bourdieu (1986) introduces three different types of capital; economic capital, social capital and cultural capital. In these theories of capital and their application to languages the concepts of market and exchange are of central importance. Bourdieu uses various terms such as capital, market, profit or exchange borrowed from the language of economics. Their meaning is, however, strictly limited to the application of his social field theory and the different forms of capital.

Linguistic behaviour, such as utterances and expressions, can be understood as the product of the interaction of the *linguistic habitus* with the linguistic market (Bourdieu 1991: 17). People anticipate what linguistic value their utterances (linguistic products) will receive on the interlinguistic market and in other fields or markets. The anticipation implies that decisions – either a conscious product or strictly driven by the subconscious *linguistic habitus* – are made to increase the value of one's speech in a certain context. This practical competence of knowing how to increase the value of one's linguistic output is not equally distributed among every member of a society. Different speakers "possess different quantities of 'linguistic capital' – that is, the capacity to produce expressions *à propos*, for a particular market" (Bourdieu 1991: 18), which explains why individuals speak in a particular language, dialect and tone appropriate to the market or field they are in (e.g. family, education, job-market, etc.).

Just like other forms of capital, linguistic capital reflects the position of an individual in a social space. Therefore, the efficiency of using language is an index "of the quantities of linguistic capital [...] which they possess. The more linguistic capital that speakers possess, the more they are able to exploit the system of differences to their advantage and thereby secure a *profit of distinction*" (Bourdieu 1991: 18).

The transfer of Bourdieu's theory, which is primarily concerned with variations in the command of one's L1, to foreign languages can easily be made (Silver 2005: 50). If a speaker speaks several languages, his linguistic capital increases as he/she has access to several linguistic markets. Alongside the linguistic capital, the cultural capital increases to the same extent. The speaker gains access to cross-cultural participation (literature, arts, media, etc.), increases his/her opportunities for travelling (for holiday, work or study purposes) and is likely to develop a general openness towards other cultures (Martinovic 2011: 24). Moreover, Bourdieu comes very close to describing and therefore, confirming a human capital theory model too. Under the label of *la réproduction sociale*, he describes that social mobility in a downward sense is unlikely. With particular reference to the French society, we learn that through investment in education of their children, wealthy parents would often have the opportunity to secure the family's social status.

Applying these concepts of *value of language* or *language as human capital* to the discussion of language education policy can be complicated. Economic considerations in language policies or, subsequently in language policy analysis, is a fairly recent development (Grin 2006: 77). As with all policies, language policies have economic implications, which include the costs and benefits of policy implementation. Generally, one may assume that policies should aim at increasing economic wealth within a society (Grin 2006: 82). However, it remains rather complicated to assign a monetary value to language, hence the idea of increasing welfare in a society through language policies becomes problematical.

Grin suggests that language policies promote movement away from a given linguistic situation or environment towards a new, supposedly better linguistic environment (Grin 2003, 2006). The distinction between market value and the non-market value of languages described above may be of central importance here. Setting up an economically preferable language policy may, in theory, require the diminution in significance of a minority language. This, however, is not applicable to the situation in Ireland as the teaching of Irish is not considered foreign language education. As mentioned in the very beginning of this chapter, Irish is not part of the foreign language curriculum, it is, and would remain, compulsory in primary and secondary education through the entire schooling career of each pupil. A finite judgment, however, of what is economically better or preferable remains difficult.

The following analysis will highlight and discuss some of the features relevant to economic considerations in language education policy in Ireland. As a final addition to the theoretical conceptualization of language as capital, parts of the work of Heller and Duchêne (2012) are very interesting to note, particularly for the Irish context. The authors introduce the concept of *tertiarization* of the modern world, which is "centered on information, services and symbolic goods" (Heller and Dûchene 2012: 9). In this context, large parts of the Irish job-market constitute a prime example of tertiarization in which the knowledge of languages is considered important and valuable. This will be further clarified in the next section, which will begin with a description of both the foreign language education situation and the economic setup of Ireland, after which both macroeconomic data on potential target language markets and the results of expert interviews on the subject matter will be presented.

3 Situation in Ireland

From an economic viewpoint, Ireland stands in an unprecedented and unique position. The rapid changes in its economy and society over the last few decades have led the country from a mostly agricultural production economy to one of the most service-reliant and IT-reliant economies in Europe. With the onset of the recession and deteriorating economic conditions in the latter part of the first decade of the 2000s, the country has been left with a number of problems which have some relevance to issues of language education. Issues such as open jobs in the service industry which require foreign language skills, emigration opportunities for young professionals or general business opportunities for Irish companies who seek to expand on their exports are some of these concerns.

According to the Eurostat survey "Key Data on Teaching Languages at School in Europe 2012" (Eurostat 2012), the language education situation in Ireland displays significant weaknesses when compared with other European countries. In the various statistics and reports on European comparison in terms of foreign language education and skills, Ireland ranks in the bottom third or quarter (European Commission 2012a, 2012b). One explanation might be that Ireland is the only country (apart from Scotland) where foreign language education is not compulsory at any stage throughout the education system (Eurostat 2012: 128). While there is still a majority of secondary school pupils enrolling in foreign language classes, the learning outcomes, particularly with regard to communicative skills, remain far below the European average (Council of Europe 2008). There are a number of frequently cited explanations for this phenomenon. The first argument is usually related to the interdependence between the two above-mentioned issues, stating that due to the absence of a language education policy, there is a complete lack of coherence in the curriculum (Little 2003). With regard to language planning or state intervention on foreign language learning, there has been one noteworthy initiative, namely the *Pilot Project on the Teaching of Modern Languages in Irish Primary Schools* which was launched in 1998. However, it remained a pilot project for over a decade and despite generally positive attitudes (Harris and O'Leary 2009) it was discontinued. A different frequently named issue when attempting to explain the below-average performance of the foreign language education situation in Ireland is related to the fact that Ireland is *de facto* a native English-speaking country. Due to the dominance of English as a lingua franca, individuals and society may perceive a lack of necessity to learn other languages (Riordan 2014). Regardless of the explanation, there is a series of consequences of this unfortunate situation, which will be highlighted later in this chapter.

In terms of the Irish economic setup, there are two striking features which are immediately relevant to this study, namely the IT-service sector and the Irish export dependency. Almost every major US MNC (multinational company) in the IT sector has set up either its EMEA (Europe, Middle East and Africa) or its European headquarters in Ireland. Amongst others, Google, Facebook, Twitter, Amazon, IBM, Paypal and Dropbox operate their entire European business from Dublin. These and other US MNCs employ over 115,000 employees in Ireland (American Chamber of Commerce Ireland 2013). A majority of the jobs in the IT service industry, which is estimated to be in the 10,000s, would require fluent language skills in at least one of the languages relevant to the EMEA markets. This situation demonstrates one salient feature of the Irish economic setup from which we can deduce a comparatively high demand of speakers of foreign languages. The second important aspect, in this context, is the significant share of exports in the Irish GDP. Ireland has a long history in exporting goods, originally starting with agricultural goods and has expanded to a considerable amount of pharmaceuticals and eventually added its large service industry's exports. In 2012, goods worth 119 billion USD were exported, which is approximately 60% of the country's GDP (Central Intelligence Agency 2013).

For each of the two above mentioned factors in the Irish economic setup, there is one issue which needs to be mentioned at the outset of this chapter. With regard to the first factor, the presence of the US IT-MNCs and their demand of a multilingual workforce, there is a very visible problem. Considering the insufficient supply of foreign language skills in the domestic workforce, it is known that a large majority of the workforce in these *language* jobs is made up by other European nationals. This, of course, is not a problem *per se*, but there are effects which create problems both for the employers and the Irish economy. Companies such as IBM and Paypal have publicly criticized what they view as the insufficient supply of foreign language skills in the Irish workforce. The employers' argument, here, is that they are looking for employees who stay with the company on a long-term basis, which particularly young professionals from other countries do not do, since many of them tend to gain experience for a few years and move back to their home countries. This argument can be quantitatively verified using census data, which demonstrates that a disproportionally large number of EU immigrants come to Ireland in their late 20s and leave in their early 30s (Government of Ireland 2012). Moreover, the job market finds itself in contentious situations, having up to 4000 job vacancies for young professionals who speak a language other than English in Dublin alone, which cannot be filled due to a lack of supply of foreign language skills in the domestic workforce. This situation becomes particularly severe for language job vacancies which require language skills of economically comfortable target groups (i.e. Nordic languages, Dutch and German). In 2013, the German-Irish Chamber of Commerce and Trade estimated that up to 2000 job vacancies requiring a fluent command of German could not be filled due to these problems.

The second noteworthy aspect regarding the Irish export sector is its distribution. A disproportional amount of exported goods are traded to English-speaking markets. With 35.4% of all exports going to the US (18%) and UK (17.4%) markets, the uneven distribution becomes evident when looking at exports to bigger or respectively closer markets such as Germany (8.4%) or France (5%). There is a considerable potential market share here which particularly the small- and medium-sized businesses (SMEs) could exploit from increased trading with continental European markets, if language skills were more commonplace. This is one of the most prevalent topics, which emerges in the qualitative data, presented later in this chapter.

4 Macroeconomic data

As mentioned above, for the study presented in this chapter, both a quantitative and a qualitative analysis of the need and value of foreign language skills were conducted. This section will present the quantitative macroeconomic analysis. In order to determine the market value of each of the three most popular languages in the Irish education system, a databank of macroeconomic indices was compiled. All data was gathered from the most reliable sources (IMF 2014; World Bank 2014; CIA World Factbook 2014) and put into the researcher's own databank in order to facilitate meaningful analytical procedures. The aim of this was to show how the native English-speaking world's economy has developed vis-à-vis the French-speaking, German-speaking and Spanish-speaking world markets.

In order to do this, a body of countries representing each language area had to be defined. Choosing materiality criteria according to population size and total GDP output helped to define the four different language areas. To represent the Spanish-speaking world, the 12 largest economies were chosen (Argentina, Bolivia, Chile, Colombia, Cuba, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Guatemala, Mexico, Peru, Spain and Venezuela). These 12 countries account for over 90% of the world's Spanish-speaking population and for over 95% of its accumulated GDP output. The French-speaking world is represented by 11 countries, out of which three (Belgium, Canada and Switzerland) were only partially taken into account according to their percentage of French-speaking population (Algeria, Belgium, Canada, Cameroon, Congo, Côte d'Ivoire, France, Morocco, Senegal, Switzerland and Tunisia). Similar to the Spanish-speaking estimate, this accounts for approximately 90% of the world's French-speaking population and 95% of its accumulated economic output. The German-speaking economic area consists of Austria, Germany and Switzerland (partially). Finally, an approximation for the English-speaking world had to be set up as a reference point. In order to do so, all OECD member states were taken (Australia, Canada (partially), Ireland, New Zealand, the UK and the USA) and the three largest economies from both Africa and Asia were added (South Africa, Sierra Leone, Nigeria, India, Pakistan and the Philippines).

For the 36 countries featured in the dataset, all GDP, GDP per capita, Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) net inflows and Global Competitiveness Index (GCI) figures and values from 1995 to 2015 were collected. This naturally allowed for a considerable range of various different analysis procedures to compare the macroeconomic performance of the four different language areas. The three following figures will illustrate some of this analysis.

As a first analytical step, and in order to provide a holistic overview, Figure 9.1 illustrates the accumulated sum of all countries' GDP in the four different language areas. This means that for each year between 1995 and 2015, all GDP values of the relevant countries were added. In Figure 9.1, the sums (in trillion USD) of the different language areas are presented in the four different graph lines. The English-speaking economies are represented by the solid grey line, the French-speaking economies in the black broken line, the Spanish-speaking economies in the black dotted line and the German-speaking economies are shown in the grey dotted line.

It should be evident that the English-speaking world holds a prevailing dominance over the last two decades. This is not only the result of the inclusion of the enormously high GDP output of the USA, but also by the rising economic superpower India. The Indian GDP, for example, has risen by over 510% over the last two decades. Comparing the other three graphs, it can be observed that the French-speaking and the German-speaking economies have improved

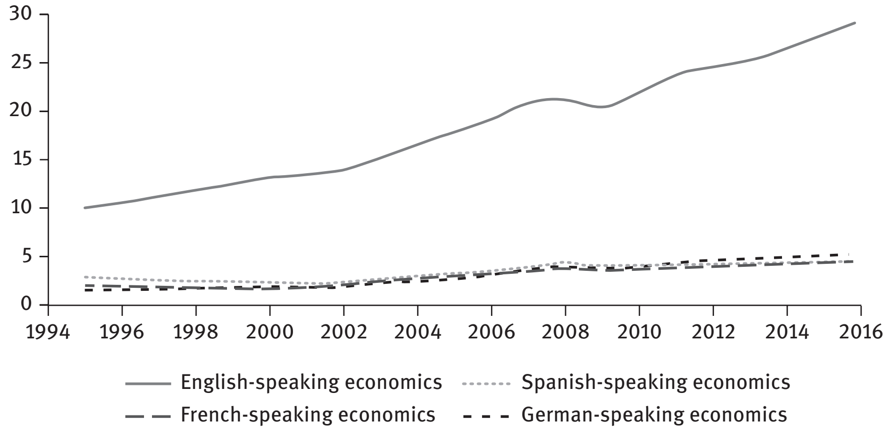

Figure 9.1: GDP sum (in billion USD).
(Data sources: International Monetary Fund 2014; The World Bank 2014)

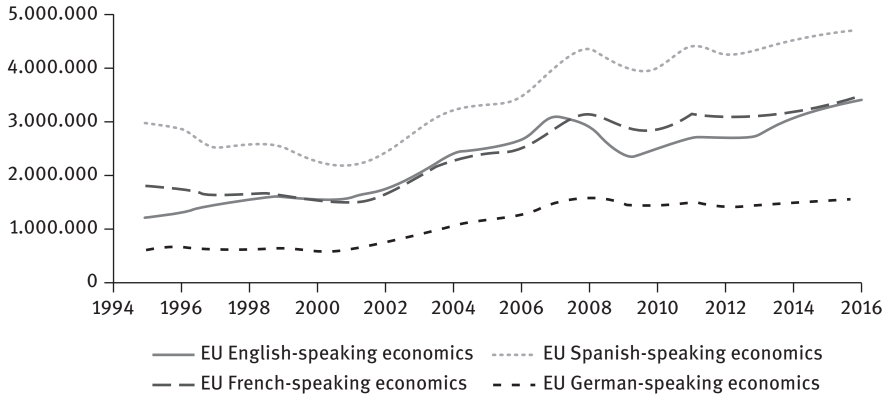

Figure 9.2: GDP sum Europe (in million USD).
(Data sources: International Monetary Fund 2014; The World Bank 2014)

steadily over the years, with the German-speaking countries outperforming the French-speaking by a rather small margin. The Spanish-speaking world, however, started out as the weakest among the three in 1995, but clearly outperforms the other two in 2015.

Figure 9.1 implies that English remains uncontested by the other three languages in global economic terms. If the analysis is, however, broken down to a European comparison, matters change considerably. Figure 9.2 illustrates the GDP output (in USD) by each the German-, French-, Spanish- and English-speaking European population.

In this illustration, it can be seen that there is a dominance, in macroeconomic terms by the German-speaking population in Europe. Moreover, it can be seen that the European French- and English-speaking populations have produced a rather similar GDP output over the years. This shows that in the European market, German is not only numerically the dominant language, but also has the highest economic activity in GDP terms. The European French-speaking population has between 5 and 10% more speakers numerically compared to native English speakers in Europe and has performed slightly better than the English-speaking economies between 2008 and 2015.

Taking the number of speakers of each language into consideration in macroeconomic analyses logically leads to a comparison of GDP per capita figures. For Figure 9.3, a weighted mean value of GDP per capita developments (taking into consideration the population differences between the member states of each economic area) was calculated.

On a global level, we can see that the individual wealth, and therefore, the individual purchasing power, of the German-speaking population are far higher compared to the other three groups. Furthermore, it can be seen that, over the past decade, the individual wealth of the French-speaking world is considerably higher than that of the world's English- and Spanish-speaking population. The informative value of this might be debatable, but as a final noteworthy aspect, Figure 9.3 reveals that the English-speaking population is the poorest in GDP per capita terms in this comparison on the global scale.

A GDP per capita analysis comparing the European markets would reveal very few differences between the European German-, French- and English-speak-

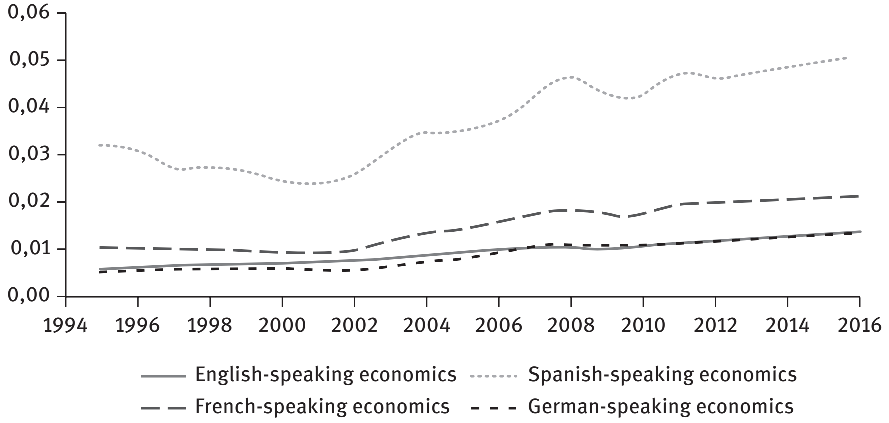

Figure 9.3: GDP per capita weighted mean average (in million USD).
(Data sources: International Monetary Fund 2014; The World Bank 2014)

ing populations. Differences between these three markets, in this indicator of individual wealth, would be under 5% in recent years. The same analysis of the European Spanish-speaking population would reveal that they remain far below the other three.

5 Expert interviews

With the macroeconomic analysis described above in mind, a qualitative data collection in the form of expert interviews on the need and value of foreign language skills was conducted. Following a concise description of the methodological foundation of the expert interviews, this section will present a discussion of the findings regarding four salient categories. The categories represent some of the coding assigned to the interview data, which will not be discussed in detail in this chapter. The first category will discuss the imbalance in Irish-European trade and the opportunities other potential target markets would provide. The second category describes and discusses competitiveness disadvantages which arguably come with a lack of foreign language skills. The third part will discuss potential benefits from improved language education for SMEs. Finally, the fourth category addresses sustainability aspects in business and trade with regard to foreign language skills.

Methodologically, the expert interview has a relatively short history. Of course, at all points in time there have been experts on certain matters, who may have been consulted for advice, but as a social science research method the expert interview only dates back to the 1980s and early 1990s (Bogner et al. 2009: 1). Situated in a variety of qualitative research methods, it has, however, become a widely accepted method of data collection over the past number of decades (Meuser and Nagel 2009: 17). The acknowledgement and the view on what constitutes expertise, or in other words who is an expert, however, has been diversely discussed over the same time. Collins and Evans (2002: 239) describe three waves of expertise, starting with the "golden age" in the 1950s. Expertise became an increasingly problematic construct in its second wave after the 1980s. The democratization of knowledge (see: Giddens 1990, 1991) and the changing knowledge dynamics in modern society led to a recognition crisis of experts (Bogner et al. 2009: 5). As a reaction to this and other challenges of the expert status, Collins and Evans (2007: 3) suggest a "realist approach" to expertise. This approach is reflected by many authors in the present-day literature who place emphasis on the construction of reality through the analysis of the expert, his/her *group* and the researcher (Hitzler et al. 1994; Meuser and Nagel 2009: 18; Bogner and Menz 2009: 49–50; Pfadenhauer 2009: 82). Bogner et al claim that "there is no such a thing as *the* expert interview" [emphasis in the original] (Bogner et al. 2009: 6). Various methodologically diverse approaches have emerged, which range "from quantitative measures through to the use of experts as a form of information source [...] and the theoretically demanding, resolutely qualitative approach" (Bogner et al. 2009: 6). In order to conceptualize this, Bogner and Menz have developed a typology of the expert interview, in which they differentiate between three forms: the exploratory interview, the systematizing interview and the theory-generating interview (Bogner and Menz 2009: 46–48).

The third type of expert interviews, the theory-generating approach was considered the most relevant to the study presented in this chapter. This relatively new approach, put forth by Bogner and Menz, describes the attempt of a "communicative opening up and analytic reconstruction of the subjective dimension of expert knowledge" (Bogner and Menz 2009: 48). Through this form of expert interview the researcher attempts to (re-)conceptualize implicit stores of expert knowledge in order to formulate a theory. Overall, this method uses a thoroughly inductive approach to formulate theoretically rich reconceptualization step by step in order to eventually reach a "formal" theory by its conclusion (Bogner and Menz 2009: 48).

In the practical application of the theory-generating approach, researchers are characterized as co-experts or informed lay-persons in terms of interviewer / interviewee relations. Researchers would use an open and flexible topic guide which can be readjusted for each interview according the areas of expertise of the interviewees.

For the data collection presented in this chapter, the theory-generating approach was closely followed. Based on topic guides, which were adapted for the experts from the different areas, the relevant knowledge was gathered in an inductive way and analyzed accordingly to provide a basis for relevant theory construction. These results could then be analyzed and discussed in relation to the various macroeconomic datasets, educational statistics and other relevant numerical data.

Two main foci were set as principle concerns of the data collection. Firstly, the interviews aimed to uncover the value of foreign language skills on the job market and in international business and, secondly, the potential economic benefits of improved foreign language education. Therefore, it was essential to find experts who had wide experience in international business and trade, who had inside knowledge from multinational and multilingual companies and who had at least some expertise regarding the interaction and interdependence of foreign language education and the economy.

With this aim in mind, a number of potential experts were contacted. The response from business and trade representatives, trade and language diplomats and analysts was very positive. Overall, eight experts agreed to participate. These 8 experts were: (1) Tony Donohoe, head of the education and skills committee of the Irish Business and Employers Confederation; (2) Dr. Nora Condon, who is a senior consultant for FAS, the Irish training and employment authority; (3) Cliona McGowan, the director of the Ireland France Chamber of Commerce; (4) Colin Smyth,[1] senior manager in a government organization for the development of Irish business and trade; (5) Ralf Lissek, the CEO of the German Irish Chamber of Commerce and Trade; (6) Javier Moral Escudero, the director of the Spanish Commercial Office in Dublin; (7) Philippe Milloux, the director of the Alliance Française in Dublin; and (8) Dr. Georgia Herlt, the deputy director of the Goethe Institut in Dublin.

The interviews lasted between 20 and 40 minutes each, in which some participants were naturally more eager to share their views and opinions than others. Every interview was recorded using an MP3 digital audio recorder and on a PC using the standard Microsoft recording software as a back-up. The qualitative expert interview data consists of the eight different interviews described above. The data contains approximately 3 hours and 11 minutes of audio recordings data and close to 26,000 words of transcripts. In order to structure this amount of data, different codes for the various reoccurring topics and themes were developed. Through careful and close reading of the interviews, and the creation and readjustment of different codes, all relevant statements from the interviews were filtered into categories.

5.1 Interview data presentation and analysis

In the following analysis, some selected quotations from the expert interviews will be presented and discussed. The four most relevant codes in relation to this chapter will serve as a structure to explain and discuss the experts' opinions. In the first part, labelled "Irish-European Trade Balance", the experts' views on the lack of trade between Irish businesses and continental European markets will be presented. The second code, chosen for presentation, here, is called "Competitiveness" and contains data which evaluates possible competitiveness disadvantages that come with a lack of foreign language skills. The third part, "Benefits for SMEs", presents interview data on the opportunities and benefits which small- and medium-sized enterprises could gain from a better supply of foreign language skills within the domestic workforce. The fourth and final code, chosen for this analysis, is called "Trade Sustainability" and addresses the relevance of foreign language skills for sustainable international trade relationships.

1 A pseudonym for the expert's name and affiliation had to be used due to research ethics constraints.

5.1.1 Irish-European trade balance

This subsection addresses the imbalance of Irish exports and trade towards English-speaking markets and the potential the export market could develop by entering other European markets. In earlier parts of this chapter, two very important aspects with regard to this topic have been explained. Firstly, 17.4% of Irish exports go the UK, but only 5% to France and 8.4% to Germany, which illustrates a certain imbalance in terms of European business and trade from Ireland. Secondly, from macroeconomic viewpoints, it can be seen that both France and Germany are bigger markets when measured both in total GDP output and also in terms of population (France only by a small margin).

In the following quotation, Cliona McGowan, the director of the Ireland-France Chamber of Commerce, clearly points towards this direction:

> I think the key challenge is to make the most of what the opportunity is there and let me explain. I strongly feel there is a lot of opportunity between Ireland and France that has not been touched upon. I think first of all from a cultural point of view in the business world, there is great opportunity for collaboration, because from a cultural point of view, Irish people do tend to be Francophile and the French actually love the Irish people. So we have a great platform from which to do business. [...] I would say that Ireland and France are very compatible.

In this excerpt from the interview, the expert points out that the opportunities and the potential in terms of business and trade have by far not been exploited enough. Actual local proximity can be seen as a diminishing factor in the globalized world and in addition to that, Ms. McGowan explains that more positive cultural attitudes could lead to improved business relations, which she sums up as follows:

> I mean, our biggest trade partner is the UK but there is no reason why we shouldn't be trading equally as much with France, I mean there is every opportunity, but we're not, because France is seen as being, well, they speak French there.

This second excerpt gives an evident indication that the lack of language awareness and language skills leads Irish business to a form of neglect towards France as a potential trade partner. The expert points out that apart from the language barrier, there should be no reason why Ireland should not be trading as much with France as it does with the UK.

A majority of the other experts, particularly the CEO of the German-Irish Chamber of Commerce and Trade, completely independently, made very similar statements. Based on both the quantitative statistical and macroeconomic data and also the qualitative expert interview data, some important inferences can be made. It can be shown that Ireland as an English-speaking economy favors English-speaking trade partners by a considerable margin. With this in mind, the expert interviews provide strong indications of resulting issues. Firstly, despite English being a major global business lingua franca, there is still a significant language barrier when it comes to doing business with continental European markets. Secondly, a great deal of business and trade opportunities are being missed out on, which could have very positive effects on the Irish economy.

5.1.2 Competitiveness

In terms of the Global Competitiveness Ranking, Ireland has attained moderate results (2013: GCI rank 27). Over the last decade Ireland has been slightly better positioned than Spain (2013: GCI rank 36) and slightly worse compared to France (2013: GCI rank 21) on the Global Competitiveness Index. With Switzerland (2013: GCI rank 1) being the best performer followed by Germany (2013: GCI rank 6) and the UK (2013: GCI rank 8) among the relevant European markets, this can be seen as a moderate performance for Ireland, considering its structural weaknesses and its fragile economic developments over the last decade. A thorough explanation of the Global Competitiveness Index assessment would go beyond the scope of this analysis, but among its 12 measurement pillars are various areas where the countries' institutions, its labor force and, most importantly, different levels of education are measured (World Economic Forum 2013, 2014). Both the GCI performance and the structural weaknesses within the domestic skills supply are important to bear in mind for the following analysis.

Earlier in this chapter it has been shown that the Irish foreign language education system ranks among the weaker performers in European comparison. This may arguably be only a small aspect in the assessment of the countries' education system and the level of qualification of its workforce. However, the opinions expressed by numerous experts hinted at a severe competitiveness disadvantage due to the lack of foreign language skills in the domestic workforce. Colin Smyth, who is a senior manager in a government organization responsible for the development and growth of Irish enterprises in world markets, states the following:

> [B]usiness is increasing internationally and Ireland is a small country and we export 70–80% of what we produce and the more we can speak the languages of the customers we sell to, the better we'll be positioned in terms of competitiveness and to compete strategically in that competition. I mean, that to me is a no-brainer, but as I say, if you see it, you see it, if you don't, you don't.

In this statement, it can be seen that the expert emphasizes the importance of language skills with regard to competitiveness. The quotation also carries some amount of disenchantment, which, in the context of the interview, came from a repetition of certain problems in the Irish education system and culture. The expert promoted the view that over a long period of time, nothing had changed with regard to the promotion of foreign language skills in Ireland.

Other experts also pointed out the importance for Ireland to broaden its workforce's expertise towards multilingual and multicultural openness. Due to Ireland's economic structure and its well-performing service and export sectors, the availability of these features seem essential. On top of the need for multilingualism, Tony Donohoe, the head of the education and skills committee in the Irish Business and Employers Confederation, points out the importance of cultural receptivity, which is necessary to attract business and compete internationally as a small country:

> It's the cultural receptivity that we require as well you know, that comes with being a small country in a globalized world. We just need that openness.

The second major point, when discussing competitiveness in the Irish context, is the intra-European competition between countries when attracting incoming investment. Ireland has been largely successful in that regard by positioning itself as an easy gateway into Europe for the US MNCs. This, however, has not remained unchallenged. Not only by lowering corporate tax, but also through expertise in the workforce, other European countries compete for this incoming investment. As described earlier, the shortage of German speakers on the Irish job market, for example, could be solved by moving certain departments of the IT service sector to other countries where it is arguably easier to find German speakers, such as the Netherlands or to Eastern Europe. As Ralf Lissek, CEO of the German-Irish Chamber of Commerce points out:

> [M]aybe some of the American companies will decide in two or three years or maybe next week, we go to an Eastern European place to get our people and we don't have to stay in Ireland.

Along similar lines of argument, the experts from the language and culture institutes who were interviewed for this study provided further evidence. Georgia Herlt, the deputy director of the Goethe Institut said:

> I see the great gap at the moment, you know, it's very evident, you hear it from everywhere. Companies all come along and say "look, we have so many jobs, but we need the German speakers" and we haven't got them.

The two excerpts above provide further indications that a lack of foreign language skills can lead to competitiveness disadvantages. It has been shown that aspects of competitiveness which have to do with language skills range from sales aspects to attracting business aspects to professional maintaining aspects of investment and business. By employing native speakers from other European countries, Ireland can cater for most of its language needs. However, it appears evident that, if the basis of foreign language skills among its domestic workforce was improved, the Irish competitiveness would benefit substantially.

5.1.3 Benefits for SMEs

The previous two sections have looked at the importance of foreign language skills, mainly on a greater level, with relevance to multinational companies. Over the course of the expert interviews, however, a certain reoccurring position was the benefits of language skills for small- and medium-sized companies. The relevant issues which were raised in this context concerned two problems. The first issue for SMEs concerns, again, the lack of prevalence of foreign language skills among the Irish workforce. This leads to technical problems for SMEs in doing business on a daily basis. Since very few employees speak foreign languages and professional translation is sometimes either not considered or too expensive, business and trade with continental European markets can be problematic. Colin Smyth for example, points out that Irish companies who do try to trade with non-English speaking markets experience major problems. Talking about SMEs and the absence of both language skills within the company and professional translation, he points out the following:

> If people do start in Holland in Europe, well, they can get the idea, well, it's very easy to do business through English, 'cos everyone speaks English. However, when you move into France, or move into Spain, or move into Italy, or even into Germany, first of all you find out, English language skills are less, or they might be at a certain level within the company, perhaps at sales and marketing level, when you get into the finance people or you get into the technical people, you actually have to deal with to develop successful business relationships, you might find out their level of English is not as good as you think it might be. Also, they're not comfortable speaking English, because they tend to be in finance and technical people tend to be speaking a technical or financial vocabulary and they know that vocabulary in their own language, they don't know that in a foreign language.

Even if the first problem with regard to language skills can be solved in international trade of SMEs, the expert argues that beyond first agreements, these skills are crucially important. The expert's point, here, is that first sale agreements can be made either through English, or by a sales employee who may speak the respective foreign language, but that this is not enough in international business and trade on a small or medium level. Smyth acknowledges that most Irish businesses would consider selling to the UK first, but then explains that:

> [A]fter that, if you're looking for sizeable sales in France or Germany, then you need to speak French or German, [...] because even when you've made the sale a lot of the negotiation after that, when it comes to technical details, there are issues, there are ongoing problems, you need people in sales who speak the language, but you also need people back in the factory who speak the language, so they can liaise with their counterpart in your customers. [...] If you can answer their questions quickly and solve them and they will give you more business, new business will develop.

The second possible problem for SMEs, which is arguably a result of a common lack of foreign language skills among the Irish workforce, is concerned with unquantifiable missed business opportunities. According to several experts, a great deal of potential business and trade is not realized, because it is not even seen as an opportunity in the first place. Tony Donohoe points at a certain level of narrow-mindedness in smaller companies when it comes to sales opportunities with non-English-speaking markets:

> We [Ireland] have been very successful at attracting multinational companies and they've brought their own language demands, but the indigenous sector, I always use the phrase "it doesn't know what it doesn't know", in other words: it doesn't know the opportunities that it's missing out on by not broadening its horizon. So, if you're a small- or medium-sized company, your first instinct is to go to the UK to export and unfortunately for a lot of other companies it doesn't stretch beyond that.

This credo, *"it doesn't know what it doesn't know"*, was mirrored in the statements of several experts. Many hinted at the fact that business opportunities in continental European markets are often not even considered. This argument, however, naturally comes with a serious limitation as Colin Smyth points out:

> You don't know what you don't know. Therefore it's not an opportunity being missed, because we never saw that opportunity. It becomes a self-fulfilling thing. Sure, I know, but it's very hard to prove you could have got a contract because of language skills. But you know that there is a benefit language skills bring about in companies. You see how successful companies are who do have language skills who do talk to their companies. And when you think about other companies, if they have people of similar language ability they could

> be as successful, too, and they're not. But you can't draw a straight line between one and another empirically. You kind of know it, but it's hard to prove it.

This final statement summarizes the issue rather well. Smyth boldly underlines the problem that smaller companies are not considering certain business and trade opportunities and he explains that there are numerous successful companies who prioritize language skills. Therefore, there are forceful indications that opportunities are being missed out, but the extent of this lack of opportunities can hardly be quantified, which might arguably be helpful in order to construct an even more solid argument.

5.1.4 Sustainability

The last category of discussion in this chapter is concerned with the importance of foreign language skills for sustainability of business and trade relations. The analysis in the previous category revealed glimpses that first transactions and agreements can be made through English, but that there is a limit to this. Stephen Hagen's PIMLICO report (2011) for the European Commission is one of various striking examples of the potential which inner-company investment into foreign language skills can hold. On its title page, former German chancellor Willy Brandt is quoted saying "If I am selling to you, then I speak your language, *aber wenn du mir etwas verkaufst, dann musst du Deutsch sprechen* [..., *but if you're selling to me, you have to speak German*]". This idea infers that in business, the language of the buyer should be spoken. The experts did not confirm that the language question is a question of business direction, but the representative from the Irish business and employers' confederation, Tony Donohoe points out a similar idea:

> If you're selling to somebody, they might politely have the initial conversation in English but beyond that the customer wants to be sold to in their own language.

This shows that, for successful business interaction, language skills are valuable. First interactions and deals may be conducted through English, but in order to sustain and improve business relationships, skills in the trade partner's language are certainly beneficial, as Colin Smyth explains in detail:

> The other issue, of course, is what people tend to ignore is that by speaking the language you actually make a better personal relation with the people, because it shows to them that you are going through the bother to getting to know their country, to learn the language. You kind of got to like the place, 'cos why would you ever bother learning the language if you

> don't like the country or the people who speak it? So, in the back of their mind [...] there's always the appreciation, if you're speaking my language, you must like my country and be in my culture and it's probably true, because the brain might not allow doing it otherwise. [...] That shows that you've made an effort as far as they're concerned and then there's a view that they probably should reciprocate that effort and that means that the door is more open to you. They are more likely to give you the best possible break in business terms where a situation is even. Therefore, it does develop not only good business relationships, but also personal relationships. At the end of the day, once you get a contract, what maintains that contract is very often personal relationships not just business relations. It's not kind of the product or the service, it's "can I trust a person, will they let me down, can I rely on them" and they tend to give the contracts to people they know they like and they can trust.

This statement raises various relevant aspects. Firstly, the expert points out that a command of the business partner's language shows appreciation. This appreciation of the respective language and culture, according to the expert, opens doors in business terms. Secondly, Smyth speaks of the best possible break in business terms as a result of the above described language skills. Finally, and most importantly, the expert explains that language skills help develop trust and good personal relationships. These positive personal attitudes can then very often sustain and extend business relationships.

As mentioned before, several experts have explained similar phenomena. According to the international business and trade experts, the maintenance of business and sustaining relationships is often more important than initial deals. In other interviews, it was argued that smaller first deals can grow and that more business can be developed, provided the communication both in trade and in technical terms runs smoothly between companies.

6 Conclusion

This chapter has provided insights into the Irish economic structure from various different angles and has discussed the role of foreign language skills in this regard. The macroeconomic analysis of the French-, Spanish- and German-speaking economies of the world has provided an overview of their economic activity in comparison to the English-speaking world. It has been shown that the English-speaking markets produce a far higher economic output in total GDP terms. However, the analysis also uncovered that within Europe, English would only be in the third most successful out of the four. Moreover, it has been shown that in terms of individual wealth measured by GDP per capita, the world's English-speaking population is the poorest compared to the other three language areas. These analytical aspects gave some indications of the global and European importance of languages other than English in economic terms. Combining this with a closer look at the Irish economic structure, with its important yet unilaterally distributed export sector, further quantifiable support for arguments towards the importance of more language skills in the country's workforce are provided.

Taking this statistical analysis as a basis for discussion, further knowledge was elicited from the expert interviews. The segments of these interviews, which were selected for presentation in this chapter, gave a detailed account of the need of an improved domestic supply of foreign language skills in Ireland. While most experts represent their institutions and affiliations, very frank and honest opinions were provided. Firstly, it has been demonstrated that due to this lack of language skills, trade opportunities with European markets are missed out on. Secondly, it was shown that this lack of language skills also leads to considerable competitiveness disadvantages for the country's economy, both for outgoing and for incoming business. Thirdly, a number of experts claimed that small- and medium-sized enterprises would benefit greatly in business terms if foreign language skills were more commonplace amongst the Irish workforce. In this regard, it was argued that improved language skills would also lead to an advantageous broadening of horizons and improved cultural receptivity which in turn may lead to improved international business and trade. In the fourth category, the experts asserted that in terms of maintaining business and in the process establishing sustainable trade relationships, foreign language skills were hugely valuable.

This analysis bears several implications for language education policy considerations. Given the fact that Ireland is the only European member state which has no compulsory foreign language education, the insufficient supply of language skills in its domestic workforce may not be surprising. It has, however, been demonstrated that this lack of foreign language skills represents a severe situation in terms of the country's human capital. Moreover, it has been shown that the sociological value of language in international business dealings is crucially important, too. Catering for language needs by employing foreign nationals does not appear to represent best practice when it comes to long-term economic considerations. Therefore, convincing indications for an urgent need of a better supply of foreign language skills in Ireland's domestic workforce have been identified.

Mirroring Grin's (2003) view on the economics of language policy, which posits that language policies should promote movement away from a given linguistic situation or environment towards a new, supposedly better linguistic environment (in economic terms), certain conclusions for language education policy considerations can be reached. Aside from all arguments related to the social, cognitive and cultural benefits of language learning, which are equally important, the analysis in this chapter has demonstrated – in economic terms – that an improved language education system would help to meet the language demands of Irish businesses. In light of this, one may argue that it is desirable to establish a coherent framework or policy for foreign language learning in the Irish education system. Given that the pilot project for integrated foreign language learning mentioned above was discontinued and that Ireland is the only European nation state where foreign language learning is not compulsory at any stage in the curriculum, the lack of continuity and coherence of language learning creates certain problems for Irish businesses and employers. Based on the analysis of the expert interviews presented above, it can be argued that a politically promoted and more structured approach to language education planning can help to create a domestic supply of foreign language skills, which is needed on the job market. In economic terms, a rising market value of foreign language skills has been observed and it appears likely that State investment into this part of the education sector would increase returns in the form of tax revenue for the Irish economy. Some parts of the analysis went even further and indicated that remaining inactive regarding a language education policy could even have negative impacts on the economy.

Policy implementations of this kind naturally require time and a favorable political climate, therefore the discussion of a potential foreign language education policy has certain limitations. However, overall it was shown that in the current economic condition of the country, a more efficient foreign language education framework would be greatly beneficial. It appears unlikely that the language skills demands of the strongly positioned US IT-MNCs or the well-performing Irish export sector will vanish in the near future.

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"It's good to have a language under your belt": The value of foreign languages in the Greek job market

Abstract: Language skills have become an essential qualification for job seekers, especially in countries whose national language is not considered as commonly used for international business. Against this backdrop, this paper reports on a study concerned with the landscape of language demand in the Greek job market by means of systematic indexing of job advertisements in daily/Sunday press, specialized job agencies and company websites. The results indicate that although a low percentage of job postings explicitly refer to a language requirement, it is common in senior, high skilled positions. Languages are also more in demand in specific industries including: informatics, shipping, science, law, agriculture, engineering and economics. In this paper we report on the findings of this work and discuss the implications for language policy on a national level including the introduction of a wider variety of language at Higher Education (HE) level.

Keywords: job adverts, language skills, soft skills, Greek job market, language capital

1 Introduction

Diversity, mobility and flow of technological innovation are key characteristics of globalized, modern societies. In this context, today's labor market is fluid and emphasis is placed on flexibility; the certainty and structure of the second half of the 20th century (Kalantzis and Cope 2008) have given way to fuzziness. Concepts such as "job for life" do not apply to the lived experience of the workplace and the expectation is that employees change jobs as well as careers in their work life time. Further to this, economic changes since the 1970s have brought about a rearrangement of the workplace structure, and placed new demands on employees to possess a set of "soft skills". This includes a whole range of activities such as self-management, self/team leadership, teamwork and communication, intercultural and language skills. The "soft" metaphor and the connotations that come with it, does not do justice to the significance of skills (or lack of) in a whole range of areas that have put the individual under more pressure in the neoliberal workplace (see Gee, Hall and Lankshear 1996). It is also part of a rhetoric that commodifies and reduces

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human capital to lists of skills and competences. Although this is a significant issue, it goes beyond the scope of this paper which only discusses the commodification of language.[1] Languages constitute a valuable asset for individuals, can increase employability, and correspond to an individual's knowledge capital in a Bourdieusian sense (see also Kubota 2011).

When faced with the decision of what language to learn, the individual is influenced by the prevalent beliefs on the market value of this language and the institutional and regulatory support (schools, teaching resources and state language policies) available. These beliefs relate to the value or status assigned to language learning and use held by individuals in various domains such as family, school system, workplace, mass media and state language policy (Spolsky 2009). They are usually affected by historical, economic and geographic factors and are expressed in people's practices in relation to language choice, their institution of choice (public or private), and the time, effort and money invested in it. Beliefs, practices and language management authorities that seek to regulate them interact with one another in shaping language policies (Spolsky 2009).

While there is a rich body of research on the importance of soft skills for employment (e.g. Bennett 2002; Marchal, Mellet, and Rieucau 2007; Lee and Han 2008; Reeves and Hahn 2010; Vandermeeren 2005), there is dearth of research into the significance of language skills in job adverts and particularly in the Greek workplace context which is largely unresearched (cf. Angouri 2009). Studies that investigate the use of English in job adverts (e.g. Herat and McLoughlin 2010) have shown that the wording and the discourse used confirm the dominant position of English as a global language but argue that only a small number of adverts includes reference to language skills (e.g. Gunnarsson 2014). There are fewer studies that go beyond English and are concerned with the demand of language skills at entry level, e.g. Genc's (2012) research on the requirements of the Turkish job market.

In our paper we set out to investigate the language demand by Greek enterprises at the level of entry, as it can be inferred from recruitment requirements appearing

1 Recent applied and sociolinguistic research has convincingly argued on the limitations of perceiving language as a static entity that corresponds to the official or national variety of state. Sociolinguists in particular have shown the limitations of the distinction between a language and dialect and it is by now commonly agreed that these divisions are political and not linguistic. In our paper we do not probe further into this and we use the term *language* in relation to the context of the study, namely job adverts including reference to linguistic knowledge. The reader is referred to Roberts (2007) or Angouri (2014) for a discussion of a range of cases from different multilingual workplace settings where the political and ideological issues in relation to language use are explored.

in job postings. Considering language competence part of human capital, we will approach the matter in terms of Spolsky's approach to language policy, consisting of beliefs, practices and language management. We will first consider the beliefs on the value of language learning and use as reported in the literature and survey studies concerning the family, business and educational system in Greece. We will then investigate the business domain practices as reflected in job advertisements in Greek media and company websites. Attention will be paid to the discourse of the job postings in as far as they reflect beliefs and practices in the marketplace. Finally, drawing conclusions on the results of our survey, we draw recommendations for policy and identify areas for further research.

2 Language as capital

For Bourdieu (1986), language is part of cultural capital defined as the set of skills, patterns of behavior and communication, academic qualifications and credentials that the individual consciously or subconsciously acquires through upbringing and schooling. He places language capital within the embodied cultural capital which comprises elements such as artistic tastes, attitudes and behaviors. Cultural capital develops over time alongside the individual's socialization. The socialization style and network membership form part of an individual's social capital. While not "directly convertible into money" (Bourdieu 1986:47), the benefits of cultural and social capital are indirect, in the form of skills and qualifications (cultural capital), and in the form of social ties and group membership (social capital). Language, as part of the individual's cultural capital on which his/her social status is determined, acquires value in both tangible (financial gains) and intangible (professional opportunities, social inclusion, group membership and social ties) terms (Angouri and Miglbauer 2014).

From a different angle, Chiswick and Miller (2007) define language skills as a form of human capital because they meet three conditions: a) they are sought after by the job market and improve employability potential of the individual, as well as earnings, b) their acquisition involves cost in educational expenses, effort and time expended by the individual, and c) they are inseparable from the individual that owns them, they are "embodied" in the individual. From this point of view, language and language use is part of the individual's repertoire and resource for meaning making. Hence a narrow skills-based approach to language reduces the value added that we all bring to society generally and work particularly.

Keeley (2007: 29) defined human capital as "the knowledge, skills, competencies and attributes embodied in individuals that facilitate the creation of personal, social and economic well-being”. According to him in the knowledge economy the competencies needed are effective language, computer and self-management skills and intercultural competence (p. 62). However, language often becomes a proxy for “cultural” competence (another problematic term). Language and cultural skills get lumped together by business managers (see survey-based studies on European corporate needs, such as ELAN 2006; ARCTIC 2014); and language skills are treated as indicators of the existence of cultural skills. From this perspective, language becomes an asset not as structure or code but as a gateway to intercultural communicative competence perceived as gained through language acquisition (see Holliday, 2010 for the limitations of this argument). Language skills in a sense become “meta-skills”, in that they become the means for the acquisition of soft skills required in the globalized knowledge society, as well as evidence that the individual possesses market friendly character traits. They indicate, for instance, the level of effort the individual is willing to invest and his/her openness to new challenges and opportunities. For employers language skills are indicators of the competence to learn, acquire new skills when required by the job demands, similar to Kubota’s (2011: 249) “self-initiated learning”. It is in this sense that language skills comfortably sit with other “soft” skills (e.g. communication, interpersonal, negotiation) in the neoliberal rhetoric.

At the same time, languages are also significant competitiveness indicators for multinational companies (MNCs) (Ilon and Paulino 1997). Successful and competitive enterprises are characterized by functional capability in a number of languages, most typically high competence in English and fluency in at least two additional languages (ELAN 2006). The 2011 EU-funded PIMLICO project attempted to quantify the significant impact of language management strategies on sales turnover. The participating companies (MNCs and Small-Medium Enterprises) attributed a minimum increase of 16% in their export turnover to primarily three language management aspects: multilingual website adaptation, recruitment of native speakers and use of local agents where language problems appear. On the other hand, from the sample of 1964 companies participating in the ELAN (2006) survey, 11% attributed loss of a contract to poor language skills.

Bringing it all together, there are a number of interesting observations: language is under represented on job adverts but it is in high demand in businesses. Language constitutes a competitiveness factor but often language skills are lumped together with a whole range of other activities and finally language is often seen as a proxy for other skills and abilities. In this study, we aimed to investigate the perspective of the Greek marketplace in this respect, i.e. how far Greek employers (in the private or public sectors) acknowledge the potential of FLs for the vitality of the local economy.

3 Multilingualism in the EU

In the EU context, language skills have been represented as associated with free mobility and European identity. Increasingly, however, the value of language is "measured" in an economic light. In recent policy documents, multilingualism is associated with employability for the individual and increased growth potential for companies. The instrumental goal set by EU Policy documents for each individual is to have command of at least two languages in order to benefit from (or cope with) the competitive, internationalized job market and for the EU economy to become competitive on a global scale. (Official journal of the EU 20.12.2011).

While multilingualism is promoted on a supranational level, the language learning scene is dominated by the steady increase of English in the European market. The situation in the EU is characteristic of the contradictory nature of language policy planning and implementation (Grin 2003). In abstract terms, the EU promotes multilingualism, but, in effect, possibly for cost-effectiveness, practices do not indicate commitment to linguistic diversity. To the contrary, a particular group of languages seem to be more prominent than others. For instance, official documents tend to be published in dominant European languages (English, German, and French) and Commission documents themselves acknowledge that the importance of teaching and learning additional languages has not been embraced by society- from pupils and their families to policy makers (Spolsky 2009). The language most learned as L2 is English, mostly spoken by the 25–64 working age-group and it is also the language most widely taught at schools. In practice both the official administration and the societal practices are dominated by the English language.

The reinforcement of English as a lingua franca has been attributed to its high communication potential as hypercentral language. A hypercentral language (de Swaan 2010) constantly increases its communication potential as more and more people use it (see also Phillipson 2006 on Lingua Economica): the large number of speakers that English had accrued as a result of British colonization was further increased due to the fact that it was the language spoken in the largest global economic power, the US, and the existence of many EFL/ESL speakers around the world. In this sense, an asymmetry is observed between the capital that is invested by speakers of the hypercentral language and that by speakers of less frequently spoken languages. This asymmetry further reinforces the gravitational pull of the hypercentral language. Speakers of less frequent languages tend to choose the language that offers the largest potential for direct communication with the largest number of people and this is the case with the Greek context.

4 The value of language in Greece

Greece has a long tradition of investing in language education through private institutions, called frontistiria, and language certification, which holds a more permanent value than it does in other countries. Angouri, Mattheoudakis and Zigrika (2010) drawing on a study with post-secondary education students in rural and urban areas found that it is not just the knowledge of English that is an important qualification for the job market (88.40%) but its certification (78.86%) as well. Certification is mostly emphasized by the family, (as 85.5% of the students admitted) which reproduces the social norms in the community. Frontistiria have also been found to be established in the students' beliefs as the place to learn language (69%) rather than state schools in which mixed-ability classes, lack of focus on certificates and the lack of tuition fees (a paradox) proved to be the main demotivating factors. Angouri et al. (2010) also report pre-crisis data (Batziakas 2006 in Angouri et al. 2010) according to which 80% of Greek school children attend language schools and Greek families spend on average about 800 million euros on fees and textbooks.

The importance of certified knowledge has also been indicated in a study of Greek primary school students. Mattheoudakis and Alexiou (2009) in a survey of 356 primary school students found that even at such young age students of higher socioeconomic background have a higher level of English language competence than their lower socio-economic status peers. This is mainly due to early private tuition at home or in private language schools. Despite these differences the importance attached to language certification equally applies across social strata. Parents are willing to prioritize language education "over other personal or family needs" (p. 242) as "they have already realized that knowledge of English, job-finding and money-making are closely related" (p. 247). Family investment in language schools and certification clearly show the strong historical and societal beliefs on the significance of language for personal economic development.

Private language institutes were, at least until a couple of years ago, a "burgeoning industry" in Greece preparing students for language certification exams (Dendrinos, Zouganelli, and Karavas 2013: 18). According to the official private-language-institute-owners' website, for the school year 2012/13, 6,564 language institutes, were in operation, attended by 510,575 students. Given that the school age population in the same school year was 1,278,076 students (IOBE 2013), this is a significant percentage. Although there are no recent figures, our estimate is that this disposition has become even more prominent in the current economic context and with a large number of Greeks migrating for work and better life conditions. In the language teaching and certification industry, English holds the lion's share of the market with 87.9%, while German has significantly increased in popularity at 5.4%, particularly since the recent debt crisis, Germany has become a popular destination for job seekers. French (4.1%), Italian (1.3%) and Spanish (0.82%) follow in order of descending popularity. This follows similar trends on the European level where English continues to hold the same percentages of speakers (38%) while other languages such as French, German, Spanish and Russian face decreasing trends (Eurobarometer 2012: 19).

Meanwhile, in the Greek public education, the first, mandatory, language is English (starting at the 2nd grade, age 7), followed by a choice of French or German (5th grade, age 10). The level of competence in the English language reached in Greek state secondary education is supposed to be "B level" according to the Common European Framework for Languages (CEFR, Council of Europe 2001). Before the economic crisis, additional languages were added in line with EU multilingualism directives. In 2005/6 Italian was introduced in some lower secondary schools, Spanish was introduced in 2006/07, while in the school year 2008/09, a pilot project involved the teaching of the Russian language in five lower secondary schools (Eurydice 2012). These projects were short-lived due to lack of resources and only a small number of schools benefited from the wider offer.

The dominant language certification ideology is, unsurprisingly, also reflected and enacted in the official language policy and particularly visible in public sector posts. Job openings in the Greek public sector are processed by the Supreme Council for Civil Personnel Selection (ASEP). In accordance with EU directives for multilingualism, ASEP recognizes five major EU languages (English, French, German, Italian and Spanish) plus Russian. ASEP ranks candidates by means of a point system, assigning points for degrees and professional experience as well as computer and language skills. Language competence, even when not explicitly mentioned in the job description, gives the applicant a competitive advantage in the selection procedure. We discuss this further in the context of our study.

An important issue, however, is that Greek language policy does not seem to be informed by or aligned with the market needs. For instance, foreign direct investment-FDI activity in the country during the last decade is dominated by the major European economies of Germany and France with 12,406 and 8,239 million euros respectively, while investments from English speaking countries (USA, UK and Canada) amount to merely 6.349 million euros (Bank of Greece 2016). One could expect that this would be reflected in the languages spoken in the job market, but instead it seems to consolidate the power of English as the language of international business. Similar practices have been observed in Nekula, Marx and Šichová's study of the Czech Republic (2009). Greek state policy as also reflected in ASEP has limited effect on societal practices. The Greek perception of multilingualism reflects the asymmetry associated with the hypercentral (English) language: a society with limited resources which chooses the (hypercentral, i.e. English) language with the highest communication potential.

5 The study

5.1 Method and data

The aim of our research was to investigate the market demand for language skills as represented on written job adverts. The procedure adopted was the systematic indexing and analysis of language requirements as posted on job advertisements in daily/Sunday press and specialized job agencies and company websites. Our corpus included all job advertisements posted in the press and on 70 major Greek and multinational companies' websites over a three-month period, September-November 2012. The total number of posts available was 24,524 with a declining trend in the 3-month period of indexing: 11,142 in September 2012, dropping to 7,378 in October, to, finally, 6,004 in November. Eurostat job vacancy rates recorded similar declining trends for the years 2013, 2014 and 2015. The Greek economy is rather dependent on tourism (seasonal employment) and relevant recruitment takes place in the second quarter of each year. There were almost equal numbers of job openings in the public (47.37%) and the private (52.63%) sectors.

Specifically we set out to investigate:
(a) the number of job advertisements that explicitly stated a language requirement,
(b) the variety/ecology of languages in the market and the level of competence required,
(c) the languages demanded in the different occupational domains,
(d) language requirements in the different levels of hierarchy/seniority and education.

We present our results below.

5.2 Results

5.2.1 Job postings with explicit language requirement

A low number of advertisements, contrary to our expectations, mentioned a language requirement, only 1754 (7.15%) of the total. The number of vacancies requiring a language in the three month period was: Sept=581, Oct=488, Nov=685. Of these, 251 posts (14.31%) were in the public sector, while 1503 posts (85.69%) were in the private. The reason why only 251 posts in the public sector indicated language can be attributed to the fact that knowledge of language is promoted in the Greek public sector (ASEP, see section 4) and only in specific cases the advertised role required a specific level of language competence.

Apart from the relative demand for the different languages in the job market, a number of interesting points can be made with regard to the discourse of the job postings:

(a) The language requirement is ambiguous, e.g. a requirement of good/very good/fluent English, without any reference to language certificates or level of language competence according to CEFR (or other indicators), or the specific language skills mostly needed for the job. We decided to code reference to *kali gnosi* 'good knowledge' of the language as B2, *poli kali* 'very good' as C1 and *aristi* 'excellent' as C2. We also assumed that if the advertisement was written in the language, the requirement was minimum C1. When there was requirement for "native speakers"[2] we retained the reference in our coding.

(b) In most job advertisements language knowledge appears at the end of the text together with computer knowledge. This can indicate that for some employers the English language which was the most frequently demanded and computer competence are basic literacy skills. It also echoes Keeley's (2007:62) suggestion that communication skills are the "ability to use 'tools' like language and computers effectively" and are the competencies people need to have in a knowledge economy. This clustering of language and computer skills was also observed in the ARCTIC (2014) study. Interestingly though, clustering of skills solely involves English rather than any other language. Representative examples are provided in the quotes below (translated from Greek) from the job postings of our study:
   – *...knowledge of English and computer literacy.*
   – *...do you have knowledge of English and the ability to use MS Office / internet.*
   – *excellent computer skills and very good knowledge of English.*
   – *...excellent knowledge of English and at least C, C++, and Java.*
   – *...candidates must have good computer skills and excellent knowledge of English.*
   – *...excellent knowledge of language and use of retail computer software.*

(c) very few advertisements (10 in total) mentioned more specific skills required.

2 We acknowledge the term "native" is ideological and problematic; we only use it to reflect the lexical choices in the texts we analysed.

– *...excellent knowledge of Greek and English (written and oral skills).*
– *...very good knowledge of English (advanced/ proficiency level).*

This is in line with other studies that showed job adverts are inconsistent in the framing of language competence (Herat and McLoughlin 2010).

5.2.2 The privileged position of English

The dominance of the English is also confirmed by our project: of the 1754 posts requiring language competence, 1534 (87.45%) specified command of the English language. German is the next FL in market preference with 46 vacancies (2.63%), followed by Spanish (14 posts, 0.80%), Italian (13 posts, 0.74%) and French (7 posts). In terms of the level of competence required, the vast majority of posts require high command of English (71.9%) and German (67.4%), i.e. proficient users of the language (C level according to the CEFR).

Other languages in demand by the market are Russian (11), Chinese (11) and Bulgarian (11), Georgian (9), Arabic (9), Urdu (7), Pashtu (7), Farsi (7), Swahili (7), Amharic (7), Punjabi (6), Bengali (7), and Turkish (6) in declining order. Additional languages mentioned in fewer than 5 posts are Albanian, Japanese, Swedish, Serbian, Slovenian, Danish, Dutch, Finnish, Norwegian, and Czech. Although the occurrence of all these languages is low in market demands, the level of competence required is: C1, C2 or native speaker competence as openly indicated in the postings. Box 10.1 presents the ecology of languages, other than English, grouped geographically.

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a. *African (14)*: Amharic (7), Swahili (7).
b. *Asian (47)*: Bengali (7), Chinese (11), Farsi (7), Japanese (2), Pashtu (7), Punjabi (6), Urdu (7).
c. *European* (123): Albanian (2), Bulgarian (11), Czech (1), Danish (1), Dutch (2), Finnish (1), French (7), Georgian (9), German (46), Italian (13), Norwegian (1), Russian (11), Serbian (1), Slovenian (1), Spanish (14), Swedish (2).
d. *Middle Eastern (1*5): Arabic (9), Turkish (6).

Box 10.1: The ecology of languages other than English in the dataset.

5.2.3 Demand for two languages

The number of vacancies requiring two languages is low: 113 (0.46% of the total). French (27) appears to be the most popular choice followed by English (17) and then German (15). Here again the majority, 55.75%, requires proficient, C level of competence. The most frequent combinations of languages are English and other (Western/Southern/Eastern) European languages (German, French; Italian, Spanish Russian and Bulgarian) as well as English and Chinese in declining order.

5.2.4 Language in relation to occupational domains

Table 10.1 summarizes the results in relation to the different occupational domains. Professions related to languages (i.e. translators/interpreters and language teachers) present a different set of requirements unsurprisingly. In all other occupational domains language skill is an additional qualification. The informatics (IT) industry mostly demands language proficiency (73.31%) and

Table 10.1: FL demand frequencies by occupational domain in order of descending frequency.

Occupational domains	Number of vacancies	Public	Private	1 FL	2 FLs
1. LANGUAGES	154	75 48.70%	79 51.30%	154 100%	1 1.54%
2. INFORMATICS (IT)	622	111 17.85%	511 82.15%	456 73.31%	4 0.64%
3. SHIPPING	161	35 21.74%	126 78.26%	79 49.07%	6 3.73%
4. SCIENCE*	37	27 72.97%	10 27.03%	18 48.65%	–
5. LAW	25	1 4.00%	24 96.00%	11 44.00%	4 16.00%
6. AGRICULTURE	48	10 20.83%	38 79.17%	17 35.42%	5 10.42%
7. ENGINEERING	305	153 50.16%	152 49.84%	62 20.33%	3 0.98%
8. ECON/BUS. ADMIN.	1157	731 63.18%	426 36.82%	230 19.88%	16 1.38%
9. HUMANITIES*	251	229 91.24%	22 8.76%	39 15.54%	–
10. GRADUATE INTERNSHIPS*	615	499 81.14%	116 18.86%	70 11.38%	29 4.72%
11. MARKETG/ SALES	2442	– 0.00%	2442 100%	277 11.34%	12 0.49%

continued

Table 10.1: Continued

Occupational domains	Number of vacancies	Public	Private	1 FL	2 FLs
12. OFFICE CLERKS*	1452	333 22.93%	1119 77.07%	122 8.40%	18 1.24%
13. EDUCATION	1224	1056 86.27%	168 13.73%	52 4.25%	–
14. MEDICINE	1405	1286 91.53%	119 8.47%	42 2.99%	1 0.07%
15. TECHNICIANS	3050	782 25.64%	2268 74.36%	59 1.93%	12 0.39%
16. OTHER*	11386	6236 54.77%	5150 45.23%	67 0.59%	2 0.02%
17. ARTISTS	190	52 27.37%	138 72.63%	1 0.53%	–

Note: **Science*: graduates in chemistry, biology, marine biology, science, mathematics, research lab analysts and a seismologist. *Humanities*: archeologists, psychologists, sociologists and social workers. *Graduates*: university or higher technological institute graduates without specific field of specialization for internship positions, NGOs, community service, embassy attachés, plus a small number (<10) in the domains of journalism, public relations, communication specialists and librarians. *Office clerks*: all sorts of secretarial positions such as senior secretary, (executive) personal assistant, office administrator/ assistant, administrative clerk, HR assistant, conference clerk, and claims officer/ handler. *Other*: clearers, house assistants, baby-sitters/ nannies, night/day guards, background actors/extras, hotel grooms/maids, concierges, cemetery workers, office messengers/ushers, school bus steward and a significant number of delivery jobs.

job postings reflect the domination of English in the world of computers and programming, as 97.2% of them specify English as a language of preference. The shipping industry advertises the majority of job openings in English (43.6%) and this is also reflected in their requirements of at least one language in the job description. Half of the vacancies (49.07%) in this domain require English. Similarly, almost half of science graduates posts (48.65%) require a language. Legal postings (although very few) are also mostly advertised in English indicating high demand not only for one language (44%) but the highest in the second language (16%). More than a third of the jobs in agriculture (35.42%) require a language. The agricultural domain also indicates the second highest percentage (10.42%) in two-language requirement. About a fifth of the engineering (20.33%) and economics (19.88%) posts require a language, mainly English again. A notable absence from the list of occupational domains is the tourism industry, only 12 job openings. This could be explained by the seasonal nature of the work, the high season for Greek tourism being the summer. Our study was conducted during the winter months.

5.2.5 Languages in relation to seniority and education levels

Entry level posts are more likely to require knowledge of a language and for those roles applicants are expected to have the linguistic competence as part of their skills portfolio. As Figure 10.1 demonstrates, 73.72% of the entry level posts specify a language, in contrast to 21.78% of executive posts and 4.5% of managerial ones.

Requirements for one or two languages stand at about the same level for all the three levels of hierarchy. When focusing on vacancies that require a second language, the percentages of higher level posts increase: from 21.78% to 22.12% for the executive posts and from 4.5% to 5.7% for the managerial posts. Thus, the second language requirement could also be related to career progression, which echoes a senior manager in Angouri's (2013: 572) qualitative study of the multilingual reality in multinational corporations stating that "language is a kind of power for us if we are to play an active role and be successful".

In relation to educational level, comparing graduate (N=6,247) to non-graduate (N=18,277) posts, we observe that the language requirement is accentuated the higher the educational level. Of the total number of advertisements, 21.91% of the graduate posts require one language and 1.22% two, while for non-graduate posts the percentages fall to 2.11% and 0.2% respectively. When focusing only on the vacancies that require linguistic competence, 71.55% of the posts refer to graduates and a further 6.5% refers to postgraduate level of education (Figure 10.2). This further confirms the claim that language can be an important employability tool for graduates.

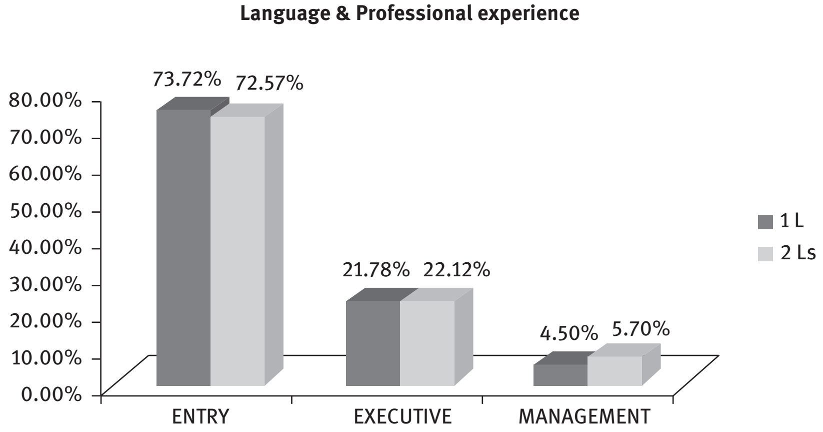

Figure 10.1: Language demand in relation to professional experience.

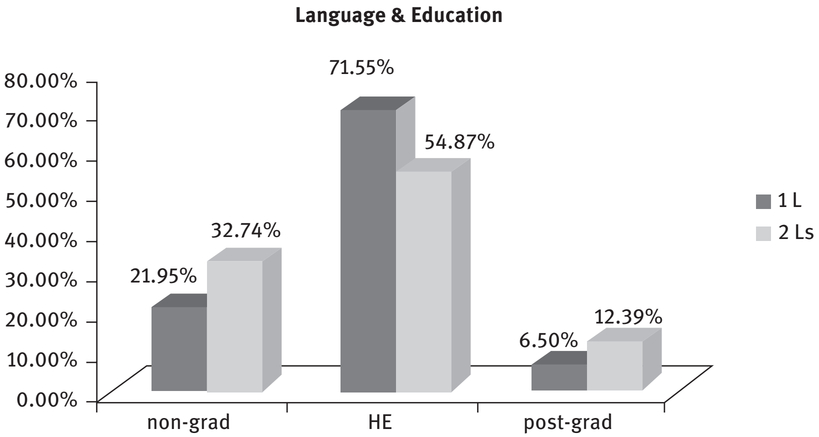

Figure 10.2: Language demand in relation to education level.

Turning to vacancies that require competence in two languages, the percentages further affirm the above and verify the fact that, instrumentally speaking, post-graduates (12.39%) should have two languages "under their belt" (quote from interview data not discussed here). In non-graduate posts, percentages increase from 21.95% requiring one language to 32.74% requiring two and especially in the private sector posts requiring a second language amount to 43.37%. The level of competence of the language required is that of a proficient user, C level, 74.12% for the first language and 55.75% for the second.

6 Discussion and implications for language policy

Our findings indicate a possible discrepancy between the importance attached to language learning by the Greek society, macro discourses and language policy makers, on the one hand, and the business language requirements in job adverts, on the other. Despite the high esteem placed on language learning by the Greek society as indicated by the efforts and funds allocated to language tuition and certification and the Greek language policy in education and the public sector, only a low percentage of job postings specify a language in their requirements. When they do name a language, demand for English prevails. The level of language competence required is advanced, CEFR level C. This is in line with Herat and McLoughlin's (2010) study, which has shown the privileged position of English in job adverts as well as ambiguity in how language competence is framed and associated with other traits or skills.

The low percentage of explicit language requirements observed in Greek job postings is not a completely novel finding. A survey of language needs in multinational companies in Europe similarly found that only approximately 10% of job postings mention language skills at recruitment (Didiot-Cook et al. 2000). Similar results have also been indicated in Japan where Kubota (2011:257) observes a "gap between the discourse that elevates English as an essential language for work and the actual demand". In our study this is demonstrated by the wide variety in the ecology of languages demanded in the Greek job market, albeit the small percentage. The ambiguity in how language competence is expressed may also be intended to provide recruiters with the leeway to hire the candidate with the most effective combination of skills, priority given to what may be considered core skills. This relative trade-off between the specialization and/or expertise (hard skills) and its availability in the job market is also indicated in Angouri (2013) and Kubota (2011). In other words, language knowledge seems to be the value-added to other "hard" skills.

The low percentage of explicit language requirement in the Greek job market, coupled with the ambiguity noted in the texts, could indicate that language knowledge and proficiency is, for the majority of Greek employers, seen as either part and parcel of the basic literacy skills along with knowledge of computing or expected as given. Diverse attitudes towards language skills are also encountered in other countries (though mainly English speaking, see Bennett 2002; Marchal, Mellet, and Rieucau 2007; Reeves and Hahn 2010). For instance, Mulkerne and Graham's study (2011) showed that employers treated language skills as indicators of interpersonal and intercultural competence, particularly focusing on the ability to work with people from diverse backgrounds and to adapt to new situations. And the Department of Education, Science and Training of the Australian Government listed language skills along with reading, oral communication, information communication technology and numeracy as key employability skills (Cleary, Flynn, and Thomasson 2006: 14). This is in line with our findings too.

The official language policy in Greece, reflected in the state curriculum and the regularization of language knowledge for public sector/civil servant posts, seems to promote English, on the one hand, and a standard set of European languages, on the other (German, French, Italian and Spanish in particular), which constitute an extra bonus in the recruitment process irrespective of the needs of each post. This is more in line with the common EU policy regarding languages, rather than a language policy deriving from the specific market demands. What our study indicates is the necessity for the educational system to offer more choice through the curriculum and particularly at HE level at which institutions are more autonomous regarding curricular decisions and can more easily reflect fluctuating market needs. Languages that are geographically and economically significant for Greece (e.g. Chinese or Balkan and Slavic languages) constitute a visible omission. Greek students are part of an increasingly multilingual and diverse environment from a young age in primary and secondary education; accordingly the official language policy can take a more dynamic and current approach to language learning, one that is closer to the speakers' points of reference and interests. The latter is also important given the commitment to language learning at societal level.

On the EU level, our findings confirm the position of English (Eurydice 2012) as a language of global mobility (de Swaan 2001; Ferguson 2006). It dominates the business world, scientific communication, and education curricula, despite EU, evidently unfulfilled, initiatives to promote linguistic diversity. It is a language propagated by the international media, whose teaching is facilitated by the available resources (both material and human). This significance of English for global professional communication has also been shown in other studies. For instance, in Gunnarsson's (2009) study of career-oriented websites of five Swedish multinational companies, multilingualism was mainly interpreted in the corporate world as command of English. Any other language requirement (e.g. Russian, German or Spanish) was in addition to English and the native language according to the specific job requirements and/or location. Thus, employers required knowledge of English and any additional languages were optional or associated with the location of the post.

In our study, the occupational domains mostly requiring language competence (apart from teaching, translating and interpreting) are IT, shipping, science, law, agriculture, engineering, economics and humanities in descending order. The IT industry exhibits high demand for the English language, as, by the nature of the subject, it is heavily dependent on it (Herat and McLoughlin 2010). For the shipping industry, language is a necessity given its international orientation, while for the sciences, the demand for English could be associated with the knowledge capital produced in the Anglophone world. The domains that exhibit lower requirement relate to posts that are intended for the local market, for instance, advertisements for local accountants and tax auditors (civil service). Given the amount of international trade, however, even this was against our expectation. We consider important for future research to pick on this and examine the influence of the crisis on the life of companies situated in Greece as well as how much language learning is taken for granted and not explicitly mentioned in the market.

The requirement of two languages appears high in law, agriculture and shipping. The great majority of job postings requiring linguistic competence refer to graduate and post-graduate candidates, while a language can potentially assist non graduates in their job hunt. Two languages are often a requirement for senior posts indicating a possible hierarchy balance between those who "have" this capital in businesses (Gunnarsson 2014).

A final observation concerns English Language Teaching in Greek State education. A gap was observed between the language level reached in compulsory secondary education (CEFR- B level: independent user) and the competence level sought by the marketplace (CEFR- C level: proficient user). This gap could be catered for at HE level, which will further benefit young graduates in their job search, as was indicated in our study.

The gap between the competence level sought by the marketplace and the competence acquired by Greek people is suggested by the fact that, despite the strong societal beliefs regarding the value of language learning and certification, Greeks themselves are more modest in their self-perceived level of competence. According to Eurobarometer (2012: 15) Greeks who speak a language well enough to engage in conversation (57%) stand just above the EU average (54%) while those speaking two (15%) or three (4%) languages are well below it (25% and 10% respectively). Meanwhile, while most Europeans learn languages motivated by the prospects of job mobility, the Greeks' main motivation in learning languages is to improve their job prospects locally (69%) and to study abroad (54%) (Eurobarometer 2012: 64). Nevertheless, there has been a notable increase (by 12%) in Greeks' aspiration for working abroad since 2005 (Eurobarometer (2012: 85). An important issue open for future research.

To conclude, the present study provides a starting point in exploring the language requirements in the Greek market in relation to occupational domains, competence level, seniority and education levels. Further research, including data from employers and employees are needed to complement the study reported here. On the whole, the issue of national language policy is multi-faceted, affected by many social, historical and economic factors. Language policy needs to balance ideals of cultural diversity, social wellbeing as well as inclusion and economic gain. These often come head-to-head. We argue, however, that higher significance to the importance of language in the Greek context is highly timely given the condition and challenges faced by the economy. In this context, knowledge of languages becomes a way for the individual to access or stay in paid employment (Mahili, 2014) but also allows the country to become more active in the international arena. We know though from other research (Angouri, 2013) that the lived reality of the multilingual workplace is more complex than what the job adverts show. This is an issue that future studies in the Greek speaking context can usefully address.

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Vít Dovalil

Qual der Wahl, or spoiled for choice? English and German as the subject of decision-making processes in the Czech Republic

Abstract: This paper deals with the position of English and German in the Czech Republic. It concentrates on the following general research questions: (1) what do the decision-making processes regarding the choice of foreign languages look like? (2) To what degree are economic concerns declared to be a motivating factor for the choice to learn a foreign language? The research is based on two main data sources: (a) media discourse concerning foreign language teaching and (b) interviews with agents influencing and immediately participating in these processes (principals or directors of various types of schools, parents and their children, private teachers). According to recent statistics, English and German are the most frequently chosen foreign languages in the Czech Republic. In spite of the fact that the Czech Republic neighbors on economically strong German-speaking countries and that employers demand German skills in the business and job market, the socio-economic and ideological tendencies continue to favor English.

Keywords: language management, business, English, German, language-in-education planning, social actors

1 Introduction. Overview of the sociocultural context of English and German in the Czech Republic

Business is the very domain – along with entertainment, technology and higher education – in which English has spread at the expense of other languages (Ammon 2015: 77–84). English is frequently taken for granted as the international lingua franca of business, but this view does not take local constellations or other languages in this function into account. This paper provides an analysis of the position of English and its comparison with German in the Czech Republic as it has been viewed and shaped by various actors during the last decade. Special attention is devoted to these agents' economic activities within educational business (e.g. private language schools) as well as to the economically and ideologically based decisions made both by public

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institutions and by foreign language learners. The Czech foreign language situation, with the dominant position of English as well as the gradually weakening position of German, has been discussed in several recent studies (see for example Kaderka and Prošek (2014); Eichinger (2014); Ammon (2015: 328–334); Dovalil and Engelhardt (2012); Lopuchovská (2012); Gester (2011); Šichová (2011); or Dovalil (2010)). This development dovetails with general long-term tendencies in other member states of the EU and falls into the trends of globalization which characterize one part of the current post-modern era (Neustupný 2006). This dominant position of English has begun to be categorized as imperial, postimperial or neoimperial.[1]

The current relatively weak position of German has to do with negative attitudes and stereotypes (or even prejudices) toward Germans and German which reflected the dominant position of Germans in Czech-German relations for centuries. The negative stereotypes are shared by a non-negligible part of the Czech population. German is said to sound hard and not nice, or German is said to be a difficult language (Dovalil and Engelhardt 2012: 12; Nekvapil and Sherman 2013: 104). These socio-cultural constructs are accompanied by the most widely spread language ideology expressed through the phrase *English is enough*. In line with this ideology, English is viewed as the only meaningful language to learn, because everyone else is doing so, making themselves understood practically under all circumstances. In other words, there is the prevailing belief that "one can get by in English in all situations" (Nekvapil and Sherman 2013: 107). Paradoxically, this belief may appear convincing in connection with German at first glance, because the German-speaking population in Europe is one of the well-educated communities having relatively good English skills.[2]

The statistics collected by the Czech Ministry of Education confirm the strong dominance of English as the most frequently chosen foreign language in the education system of the country. Despite this fact, interest in German has always remained strong enough to maintain at least the second rank, and the numbers of those who choose German began growing again in 2013.

If we reflect the situation in primary schools (see Figure 11.1), we can see an increasing distance between these two foreign languages between the school year

1 For more details dealing with different facets of these attributes related to English see Phillipson (2009: 26–70) who also observes a shift from linguistic imperialism to communicative imperialism (Phillipson 2009: 5). Similarly, Fishman (1998) considers the position of English to be so strong that it has redefined the linguistic order of the current world.

2 For more details concerning the period 2007 – 2015, see the statistics of Eurostat at http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php/Foreign_language_skills_statistics.

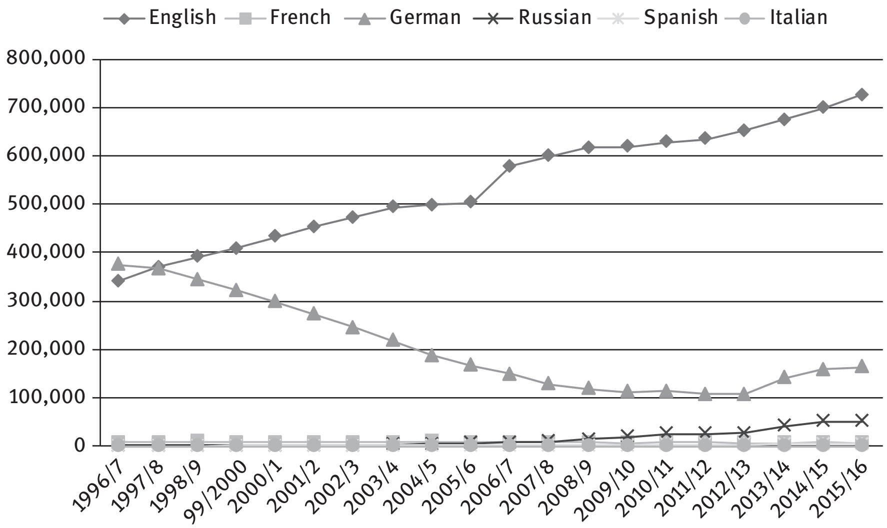

Figure 11.1: Primary schools (6–15 year-old pupils).
Source: Ministry of Education of the Czech Republic (October 2016).

1996/1997, the last year when German ranked higher than English, and the school year 2012/2013, the last year when only one foreign language was mandatory in the primary schools. A second mandatory foreign language was introduced in September 2013.

The total number of those who chose German was constantly dropping from more than 374,000 pupils in 1996 to the lowest point of only 106,000 in 2012 when this tendency shifted. Probably as an effect of the introduction of the second compulsory foreign language, the interest in German started growing and amounted to 163,000 pupils in 2016. The number of pupils learning English increased without interruption from 341,000 to more than 725,000 during the same two decades.

The numbers of those who learn Spanish, French and Italian are two or even three orders lower. Thus, only 6,862 pupils learned French in the school year 2015/2016, which are e.g. 2,000 learners fewer than in the school year 2004/2005. The numbers of those learning Spanish amount to 5,268 in the school year 2015/2016 and 1,036 in the school year 2004/2005. Italian was learned by 172 pupils in 2016 and by 49 in 2005. Interestingly, the situation of Russian is somewhat different. Although the demand for Russian was similarly low more than 10 years ago (3,968 pupils in 2005), it has been rising since 2008 again. In 2016, almost 51,000 pupils learned this language in the primary schools.

In connection with the decline in the total number of all pupils attending secondary schools, the development looks different in this segment of the school system (see Figure 11.2).[3] The numbers related to German have been decreasing since 2003 with an indication of stabilization after 2013, which corresponds to the situation in the primary schools. However, in contrast to that, the secondary schools were also seeing declining figures of the pupils learning English from 436,000 in 2009 to 381,000 in 2016. This tendency is explainable by the overall demographic development.[4] Similarly to the primary schools, neither Spanish, nor French or Italian is chosen frequently in the secondary schools. This also holds for Russian ranking among rather marginal languages. However in contrast to the primary schools, the distance between English and German on the one hand, and the other languages on the other is lower (only one order). Nevertheless whereas almost 23,000 pupils learned French, 22,000 Spanish and more than 30,000 Russian in the secondary schools in 2016, only 452 pupils learned Italian in that year. Interestingly, this was distinctly less than in the case of Latin (7,760 pupils).

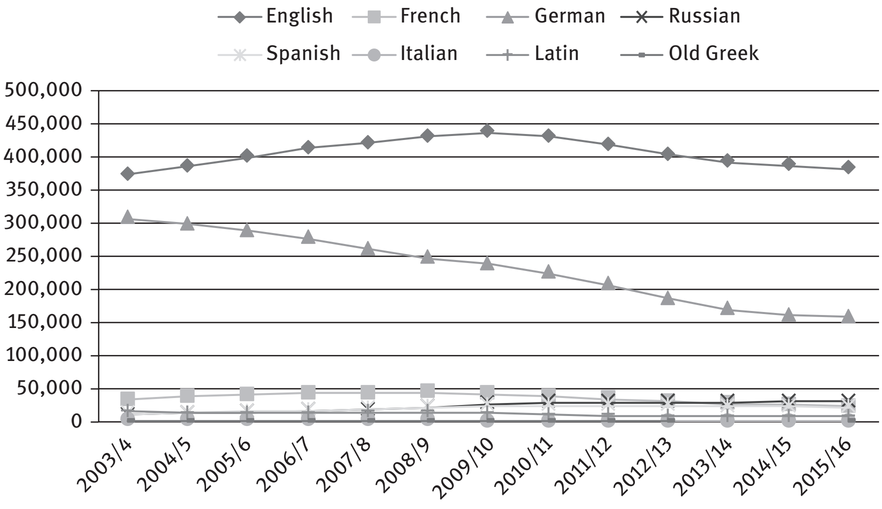

Figure 11.2: Secondary schools (15–19 year-old pupils).
Source: Ministry of Education of the Czech Republic (October 2016).

3 Unlike in the case of the primary schools mapping the whole 20-year period since 1996, the data available for the secondary schools only allow us to outline the development since 2003.

4 Comparable data showing the changes in Hungary between 1989 and 2010 are summarized by Bruen and Sheridan (2016: 151). The tendencies of the development in Hungary and the Czech Republic are almost identical. A relatively marginal difference can be found in the time since when the demand for English has been higher than in the case of German. In Hungary, this happened approximately three years later than in the Czech Republic – in the school year 1999/2000.

The last figures show the situation in the specialized post-secondary schools (termed *Fachhochschule* in German) which are attended by students who have already passed the school-leaving exam (see Figure 11.3). This type of school was introduced into the education system in 1996. The available data, therefore, reflect the whole period of existence of these schools without gaps. Interestingly, although the numbers of students learning English have been higher than in the case of German from the very beginning, the parallel development copying the total numbers of students can be observed for more than the first 10 years. Since approximately 2009, the difference between the interest in English and German has also increased. While the position of English remains relatively stable with figures oscillating between 15 and 17 thousand, the numbers concerning German continue dropping and reached 5,000 in 2016.

Having outlined this overview of the tendencies from the macro-perspective, it should be stated that (any) conclusions concerning the real interest in the respective foreign language would be rather inaccurate, because these figures do not say much about the decision-making processes.

Although the political and socio-cultural context of the current language-in-education planning in the Czech Republic is very different from that of Czechoslovakia prior to 1990, when Russian was the first compulsory foreign language particularly for political reasons (for more details see Neustupný and

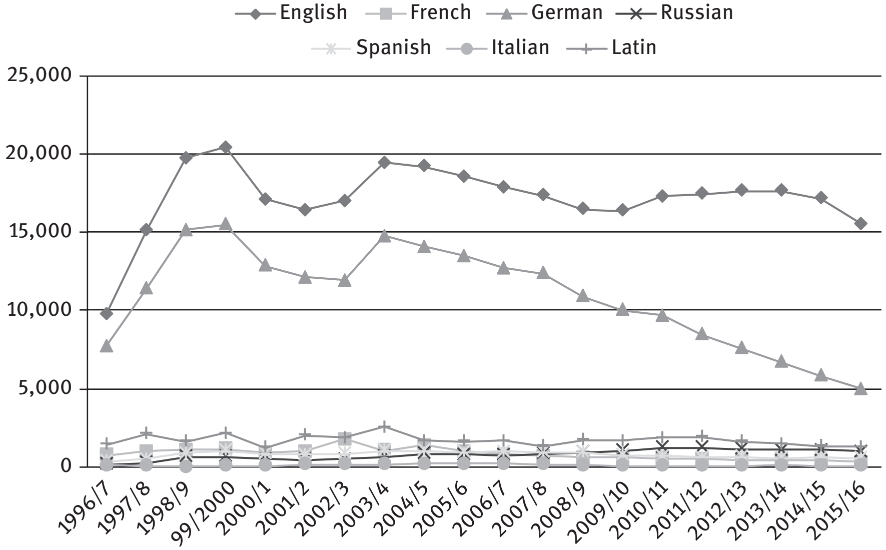

Figure 11.3: Specialized post-secondary schools.
Source: Ministry of Education of the Czech Republic (October 2016).

Nekvapil 2006), the decision-making processes regarding foreign languages are of course not entirely politically free either. The decisive resource – admittedly less visible if compared to the ideological doctrine from the period before 1990 – which intensely influences these processes in the education system from the macro-level can be found in the Framework Educational Program for Elementary Education. Generally speaking, the authors of this document prefer English to other foreign languages and do not devote specific attention to the languages of neighboring countries.

Nevertheless, strong business ties with these countries are another aspect constituting the sociocultural context of foreign languages. From the economic point of view, Germany and Austria are the strongest neighbors as well as the most important business partners of the Czech Republic.[5]

This aspect goes hand in hand with the fact that in the case of the Czech Republic "the access of the multinationals [= multinational companies] to Central Europe has often been perceived […] rather as a matter of the sensitive binary international relationship, particularly, a Czech-German one" (Nekvapil and Sherman 2013: 88). At the same time, it is necessary to admit that the role of geographical proximity cannot be assessed unequivocally, because "[g]lobalization, regionalization, and localization are all happening concurrently. They are, however, at different strengths in different parts of the world at any given time" (Fishman 1998: 37) .

The spreading of English at the expense of other languages in multinational companies may be perceived as "neutral in power relations" (Nekvapil and Sherman 2013: 106). In these contexts, on the one hand, English – as a lingua franca – is believed to be equally foreign for all non-native speakers. On the other hand, English does not have to have similar neutral effects in higher education, where it has been introduced as the language of instruction in many countries since the 1990s. Symptomatically, the reasons for this kind of internationalization are commercial in nature. Ammon (2015: 623–642 and 670–682) argues that in spite of some economic advantages e.g. for Germany, the promotion of programs with English as the language of instruction may lead to further weakening of the status of German or even to a specific diglossia, accompanied by the domain loss (science) and regressing elaboration of German.

5 The Czech economy depends to a considerable extent on export to the neighboring countries. According to the Czech Statistical Office, Germany has been the biggest business partner since the 1990s with an almost 30% share in the total volume of the Czech foreign trade (as of 2015) (www.czso.cz). Many Czechs realize this, and some of them are even afraid of this degree of economic dependence (Nekvapil and Sherman 2013: 105).

2 Theoretical framework

The decision-making processes regarding foreign languages represent diverse forms of behavior towards language which is realized in various discourses. Discourse is conceived of as a sum of written as well as spoken texts (utterances) related to overarching topics. Texts serve as means through which actors can act and participate in the discourses,[6] and as tools to achieve specific purposes. Discourses are classified according to several criteria in here: actors – both producers and recipients – characterized by their social status, economic and political power; interests pursued by actors; settings (social contexts) in which these actors act; genres of texts, and topics.[7]

As various forms of the behavior towards language are the object of research and this behavior is dynamic in character, the tools for data collection and analysis are derived from language management theory (Nekvapil and Sherman 2015; Nekvapil 2016).[8] Noting specific language-related phenomena, actors produce texts, through which these metalinguistic activities become accessible for, and may be perceived by, other participants. They can, in turn, add further texts. If an actor evaluates the noted phenomena the management process can go on. If this evaluation is a negative one, it can induce the need to design adjustments to solve the identified language problems. The process can come to an end when the actors participating in this discourse are able to implement the adjustment plans.

The processes are characterized by cyclical nature and they may finish at any of the phases (noting, evaluation, adjustment design, implementation). Depending on actors, simple and organized management are distinguished. Individual interlocutors take part in the former kind of language management, while organizations participate in the latter one. The organized management (see Nekvapil 2016: 5) is the default case in this research, because

1. various institutions act in the discourse about foreign languages;
2. these institutions' management acts exceed individual situations and contribute to the establishment of complex networks comprising both individual language users, and organizations;

6 Out of numerous approaches to the concept of discourse, I refer to that of Adamzik (2001: 254) and Spitzmüller and Warnke (2011: 22–25) in here. This approach roofs the texts and locates the discourse at the top of the hierarchy of the levels of language system.

7 All criteria are too complex to be elaborated on in more detail in this paper. Applied to individual actors, Zhao (2011: 910–912) categorizes their roles into four types (with gradually decreasing level of influence): people with *power*, people with *expertise*, people with *influence*, and people with *interest*.

8 A detailed overview of the language management theory would exceed the proportions of this paper. Therefore, I am going to point out only the most important features to make the application of the theory to the data analysis transparent.

3. the actors communicate about the management acts;
4. the discourse is rich in ideological as well as theoretical interventions;
5. in addition to language used in interactions, the object of management process may also become language as system.

All language management acts take place in specific contexts, which create preconditions for the progress of the processes. According to the theory and considering the complexity of the cycles of organized management analyzed in this paper, the socioeconomic (or in a wider sense sociocultural) management represents the foundations indicating the factors which either impede, or drive the successful acquisition of English and German. The efforts aimed at good knowledge of these languages can only turn out well provided these sociocultural circumstances of language acquisition encompassing language-ecological as well as ideological aspects can be managed favorably.

There are two more levels of language management elaborating on this very complex sociocultural management: communicative management and the linguistic management in the narrow sense. Communicative management is located as the middle level between the very complex sociocultural and the linguistic level (for more details see Nekvapil 2016: 7, or Nekvapil and Sherman 2013: 91). It is this third level that concerns language knowledge, i.e. the management of grammatical, spelling, pronunciation, and lexical structures of the language. According to the theory, solutions to language problems should start with the sociocultural management and they should move from the communicative to the linguistic management in the narrow sense. Referring to this recommended order, when the sociocultural management having effects in favor of the respective language either does not take place, or fails, the theory is able to explain why the knowledge of this language is unsatisfactory in the end.

The economic component of the sociocultural management has been studied from several perspectives so far. Strubell (1999) and Darquennes (2007) operate on the interplay of demand and supply factors, which underpins the strong economic basis of the interconnected factors. Ideological or cultural elements of language acquisition which would comprise economically disadvantageous forms of behavior are not built in.[9] The perspective of recipients (process of learning, not teaching a language) is at the forefront (see Figure 11.4).

9 This comment refers to situations in which someone learns a specific foreign language for religious or emotional reasons, which may cause economic loss (at least for a certain period of

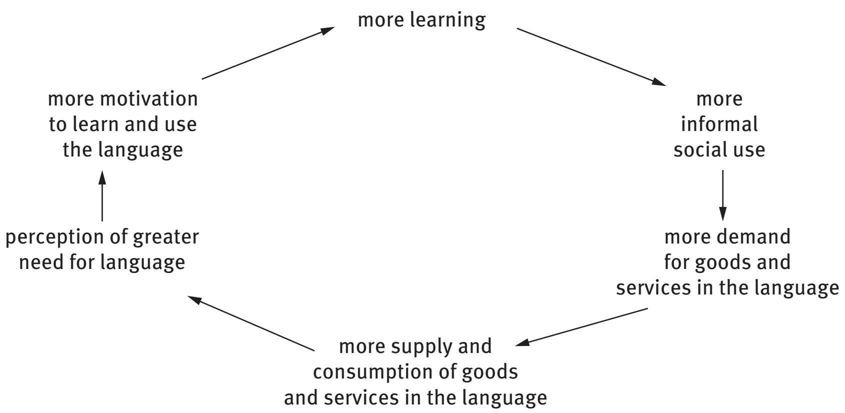

Figure 11.4: Catherine Wheel model (Strubell 1999: 241, see also Darquennes 2007: 70).

The arrows show the favorable direction resulting in the improvement of the language knowledge and they can be related to the situation of English (not only) in the Czech Republic. But the explanatory force of the model works, even if the arrows showed the opposite direction. The quantifiers *more* and *greater* would have to be replaced by the opposite *less* and *smaller* to describe the decreasing interest in, and consequently the lower knowledge of, e.g., German. The critical turning point depicting the change of the one tendency into the other can be found in any component of the model. The demand factor is very complex, though. One of the possibilities influencing, or even deforming the demand for foreign languages (= "more learning" above in the model) are educational programs and school curricula. They determine which language(s) the pupils are supposed to learn when and in which order.

Discussing the supply-demand-interplay and the economic value of languages and goods, Coulmas (1992: 81–83) refers to the necessity to distinguish the utility value ("Gebrauchswert" in German) from the exchange value ("Tauschwert").[10] The utility value of languages is easily observable, because it turns out in using the respective language in communication with other people. To give the

time). This language acquisition goes on although it does not pay off. It is disadvantageous in purely economic terms of cost-benefit-analysis (Grin 2003: 87–88).

10 Coulmas (1992: 82) exemplifies the difference between these kinds of value in the following way: Diamond rings have a low utility value, but a high exchange value. The opposite usually holds for food (high utility value, but low exchange value). However, goods/services as such do not correspond to languages in many regards. Grin (2003: 34–37) identifies several important features which rule out any simplified comparison of goods/commodities/services and languages.

reader an idea of the essence of this value, he refers to the concept of communication radius of a language – the more people use a language, the higher utility value this language appears to have (Coulmas 1992: 84). However, Coulmas (1992: 87–90) adds at the same time that although this quantitative feature cannot be ignored, it cannot be overestimated either, because the mere fact that one can just make him/herself understood with someone else is not decisive: What also matters are the functions and contents of communication. When it comes to what a person needs or wants to get to know or communicate in a specific context, the utility value of a specific language may vary.[11]

A related approach which reflects the exchange value of languages is termed commodification of language (Heller 2010). In this process, services and skills are turned into objects for commercial use. Commodification of language draws upon the observation that language skills may also be interpreted as a means of production (typically in such language-centered economic activities as language teaching, translation, tourism, marketing and advertising, performance art, or call centers) and that such skills are exchangeable for money.[12]

All these economic ways of thinking have to do especially with the evaluative phase of the management process which, eventually, results in a decision about the choice of the preferred languages. Although this economic reasoning does not explain all decisions about foreign language choices (see footnote 9 above), it helps elucidate at least the part of the argumentation related to opportunity costs in which the economic evaluation of competing languages becomes apparent.[13]

Unlike goods and services, language use is characterized by non-rival consumption and impossibility of exclusion.

11 This argument is demonstrable in situations in which transfer of knowledge matters: Some pieces of information related to Czech literature or history may not be published in English, which is why the utility value of Czech is in this context higher than that of English. Individual private and emotional needs to know a specific language would be yet another circumstance which co-determines this value. See also the culture-based debate about the value of Russian in Bruen and Sheridan (2016: 156), or Coulmas' (1992: 90) reference to the fact that there was no Bengali journal for biochemistry, which made knowledge in this field through Bengali unavailable etc.

12 The central economic role of commodified languages as a means of production can be seen both in "the means through which work is accomplished (the work process) and as a product of labor (the work product)" (Heller 2010: 104).

13 The opportunity costs are, in addition to the cost-benefit-analysis, another tool of economics which can be transferred into the economic evaluation of learning languages. Opportunity costs represent loss/benefit an individual could have suffered/received, if s/he had taken an alternative action (e.g. learning English instead of German).

3 Data collection and methods

The data collected for this research come from two kinds of sources: media discourse and semi-structured interviews. The Czech media discourse is represented by 40 print and online texts published between the winter of 2009/2010 and the spring 2017. The media discourse consists predominantly of newspaper articles, press information issued by state authorities, and reports. The main criterion for the selection of these texts was their topic, that is, the situation of foreign language teaching and learning with a particular focus on the economic value and popularity of English and German (see the appendix). The print articles were collected during regular reading the newspapers; the online articles were looked up through google.cz by means of the key words "English in Czechia" and "German in Czechia" formulated in Czech. Both regional and supraregional/national media were taken into account. Internet discussions about the dis/advantages of German and English are exemplified in one case. Actors participating in this discourse are usually journalists working for the respective media.

The semi-structured interviews were recorded with the following actors: principals and heads of the curriculum departments of public schools, parents and pupils. 2 towns in eastern Bohemia, 2 towns close to the border with Germany and 2 towns in Silesia were selected. Several schools in each location were visited. These interviews were conducted between March 2011 and May 2012.[14]

In Silesia, 9–12-year old pupils were recorded in groups comprising three or four persons. Parents were interviewed in eastern Bohemia. These interviews took place during and immediately after meetings organized by schools for parents to discuss various topics, one of these being the choice of foreign languages. In total, 84 interviews were recorded during this first period.

The actors from the business sector are represented by one owner of an educational agency in another larger town in eastern Bohemia, one teacher from this town who also worked as an interpreter/translator, and one director of a private language school in Prague (run and owned by a limited liability company). Interviews with the actors from the educational agency in eastern Bohemia were recorded in March 2014. The director of the language school in Prague was interviewed in December 2015.

The global strategy of the semi-structured interviews builds on theory-driven questions which can be derived from the language management process. The phases of the process are described by verbs (note, evaluate, design

14 The interviews in the towns close to the border with Germany as well as a half of the interviews in eastern Bohemia and Silesia were recorded by Oliver Engelhardt.

adjustments, implement) which – along with other synonyms – were used as predicates in interrogative sentences. Power hierarchies and economic aspects were targeted.

The principals were asked to talk freely about the current situation of foreign languages of the respective school first. The goal of the narrative part was to let the interviewees identify the main problems in this field (noting and evaluation) and describe the solutions (adjustment designs). Then, questions about internal school practices in which foreign languages are offered and chosen were focused. One part of the interview was devoted to the relations between the respective school and its superior authorities. These interviews took 25 – 35 minutes.

As mentioned above, the decision-making processes carried out by parents and pupils were reconstructed not in the face-to-face interviews, but in the group interviews. This part of the data was collected in connection with meetings of teachers with parents. These conversations, whose focus was defined by the central question *which first/second foreign language are you going to choose for your children and why*, did not take more than 15 minutes.

The group interviews with pupils were organized by the respective school. The groups comprised three or four children who were supposed to answer two main questions – *which languages do you (want to) learn (and why)* and *how (by whom) was this decision influenced*. The conversation with each group took no more than 20 minutes.

The interviews reflect the processes going on at the micro-level. These actors' influence turned out as relatively limited, admittedly. They can be classified as "people with interest":

> These people are ordinary citizens at grass-roots level, who passively or unconsciously get involved in making a decision on language use for themselves, often accidentally, partially because of their occupations. [...] Their below-the-radar participation seems to be extremely intermittent and ad hoc, and is limited to rare occasions, but their individual attitudes toward language use taken as a collective can affect societal language behavior in a significant way. (Zhao 2011: 910)

However, in correspondence with language management theory, the behavior of the actors who represent the micro-level is not explored in isolation. The macro-level is also added. Besides the media discourse summarized in Section 4, the macro-level is represented by organized management as it is conducted through the documents of the Ministry of Education. A specific German-related case of the analysis at the macro-level is provided by the Goethe-Institute in a coalition with the embassies of Germany and Austria.

4 Media discourse

In the analyzed texts, no preferences in favor of a specific foreign language are presented overtly. Thus, readers of these texts may get an impression of impartial and unbiased statements, the purpose of which is to describe the "real" situation of foreign languages, preferences, advantages and disadvantages concerning specific languages as well as various problems related to language teaching.

In the texts, the following common features occur repeatedly:

1. Popularity of individual foreign languages is usually derived from statistical overviews. Learning foreign languages is almost exclusively connected with economic reasons and job activities. The business and job market are the main contextual background of the articles. Arguments for learning foreign languages which would emphasize cultural points of view and reflect broader socio-cultural phenomena such as mutual close relations or the fact that the countries border on one another are rather rare. The knowledge of English is generally believed to be indispensable, or just obvious. In connection with English, no differentiation in terms of segments of business, the labor market and individual jobs is carried out.
2. In contrast to the first point, explicit statements like *English is NOT enough* or *English is standard and only people with knowledge of an additional language (for example German) are sought after* also appear. Taking this aspect into account, English is no longer viewed as a "usual" or "normal" foreign language comparable to others. Two strategies can be identified in this respect:
   (A) An article deals with the topic of foreign languages in a general sense, and probably for stylistic reasons, English is used synonymously with "foreign language".
   (B) A statement about English not being viewed as a foreign language is published explicitly. This position corresponds to a thesis which Phillipson (2009: 82–100) relates to all of Europe. From this point of view, the knowledge of English does not entail any added value.
3. The growing reflection of the utility of German above all in the job market can be observed (doctors, nurses, highly qualified technical and craftsman's professions). Thus, economically oriented reasons appear even more salient than in the case of English. This has to do with the higher added value of any foreign language other than English (see the previous paragraphs). The high value of the knowledge of German does not hold for regional contexts of the borderlands only. German has been more in

demand since 2014, over one hundred thousand jobs are reported to be offered to people with the knowledge of German, which helps to achieve higher income (e.g. by 15%).

4. Negative evaluation referring to the low level of the knowledge of foreign languages is another stable and visible line within the media discourse. This holds even more specifically for German. It is German companies investing in the Czech Republic which repeatedly complain about the lack of people with at least some knowledge of German. Interestingly enough, the German employers are willing to prefer applicants with German skills to the professionally qualified applicants without German. These employers are able to provide additional training for such applicants. In these cases, German appears even more important than English. Typically, it is the German-Czech Chamber of Industry and Commerce that points out the disproportion of potentially existing, but unused opportunities for employees as well as business activities in the Czech Republic.
5. In connection with the fourth point related to German, the Czech media also refer to the good practices and job chances of Czechs who would like to work in Germany (or who have already done so) and need some German skills. Articles and reports of this kind were published in connection with long-standing problems and low salaries of nurses and doctors. Interestingly, one such media wave appeared before May 2011 when the restrictions on the free movement of workers in the internal market of the EU were not allowed to be prolonged any more.[15] The fact that the labor market in the German-speaking countries became accessible to Czech citizens might have intensified the foreign language-related public debates.

Surprisingly, it is rather rare that systematic attention is devoted to educational programs in the media discourse. This part of the organized management carried out from the macro-level is explored in the next section.

15 Unlike the English-speaking Great Britain and Ireland, Germany and Austria insisted on the restricted mobility of workers coming (not only) from the Czech Republic (Czech citizens), Hungary, Poland, Slovakia and several other new EU member states as long as possible. It was as late as May 1, 2011, i. e. 7 years after the Czech Republic joined the EU, when this transitional period ended. For the position of German, paradoxically enough, this policy is likely to have further weakened the interest in German in the Czech Republic at that time. These effects contrast with Germany's and Austria's parallel efforts to support German.

5 Public and private sector. Selected actors and their decision-making processes about foreign languages

5.1 Ministry of Education and Framework Educational Program for Elementary Education

Language-in-education planning and its implementation do not take place independently of the socio-economic conditions and power hierarchies. Since foreign language teaching co-determines the economy in the public sphere as well as in private business it is needed to analyze the macro-frameworks in which foreign language teaching takes place. The most powerful institution that influences the decision-making processes concerning foreign languages in terms of top-down organized management is the Ministry of Education. The tool by means of which this kind of language management is carried out is the Framework Educational Program for Elementary Education (hereinafter referred to as FEPEE).

As it is issued by the National Institute of Education governed by the Ministry, this document is a part of the hierarchically ordered regulations of language policy. On the one hand, the FEPEE has to comply with the National Educational Program and the School Act (No. 561/2004 Co. as subsequently amended) at the macro-level of the education policy of the country. On the other hand, the FEPEE serves as a basis for school educational programs which represent the projection of the education policy into the activities of individual schools.[16] This hierarchy may lead to centralistic enforcement of FEPEE regardless of what the regions – for instance, those bordering on Germany and Austria – may need or prefer.[17]

The passages directly concerning the relation between English and German can be summed up in the following points:

16 For specific details on the legal status of FEPEE and its role within the Czech educational system, see the provisions of paragraphs 3, 4 and 5 of the School Act and Gester (2011: 11–14). The most recent version of this program can be downloaded from http://www.nuv.cz/file/433. (Only a version in Czech is available as of 12 February 2017).

17 The regional needs can be seen in the higher demand for German in connection with business and various kinds of occupation (waiters, shop assistants or nurses) in which people commute across the border on a daily basis to earn more due to the knowledge of German (Dovalil and Engelhardt 2012).

1. The first foreign language is termed by the unmarked expression *foreign language* in FEPEE. Although English is not defined as the first mandatory foreign language overtly at any point in the document, the authors of FEPEE prefer English in another indirect way (see point 4 below). This restricts the choice of the first foreign language within the Czech school system.
2. The Barcelona principle *mother tongue plus two* is supposed to be implemented by the introduction of the second compulsory foreign language. FEPEE calls the second foreign language *additional foreign language*. The choice of this additional foreign language is exemplified by the following (in the order listed in FEPEE): German, French, Spanish, Italian, Russian, Slovak, Polish or yet another foreign language. Provided English is not chosen as the first foreign language, it must be chosen at least as this additional foreign language.
3. The other recommendation of the European language policy, according to which the languages of the neighboring countries should receive attention, is not elaborated in any more detail.
4. In spite of the changes carried out in connection with the introduction of the second compulsory foreign language in 2013, the essential restrictions concerning the first foreign language remained. The only change of the formulation from the previous version consists in the replacement of the modal verb "must" with the form "should be". Thus, since September 1, 2013:

   > [...] **English should be offered primarily**; when the pupil (his/her legal representative) chooses a foreign language other than English, **the school has to demonstrably familiarize the legal representatives of the pupil with the fact that the education system does not necessarily provide continuity of the chosen language** when the pupil changes to another primary or secondary school. (Source: Framework Educational Program for Elementary Education 2013, paragraph 7.2, page 120, translation and bold characters mine)

More specific details concerning the additional foreign languages go on as follows:

> From the school year 2013/2014 on, another foreign language is defined as a part of the educational area *Language and language communication*. Given its possibilities, the school integrates this additional foreign language into the curriculum from the 8th grade on at the latest. The minimal extent amounts to 2 lessons a week. Due to the increasing importance of foreign languages, the school must use these lessons only for this additional foreign language, or – in justified cases – for the consolidation of the first foreign language [...]. (Source: Framework Educational Program for Elementary Education 2013, paragraph 7.2, page 120, translation mine)

The predominant standing of English appears in the wording of the subsequent paragraph according to which "the school must offer the English language to those pupils who did not choose English as their foreign language" (i.e. their first foreign language).

The supporters of English argue in favor of the restricted choice of the (first) foreign language from the macro-perspective. They refer to the limited resources of the Czech Republic that should be able to guarantee a good level of foreign language teaching. As Daniel Münich, member of the former National Economic Council of the Czech government, put it in a radio interview on July 29, 2011, the Czech Republic cannot afford to provide all pupils with good level of teaching several foreign languages at the same time. That is why, he argued, one language must be preferred. His behavior toward English corresponds to the ideology according to which English is enough, because one can manage with English both in Germany and in Austria.[18]

However, the general preference of English as cited above in the crucial paragraph 7.2 of FEPEE may discourage pupils or their legal representatives from choosing e.g. German as their first foreign language. This fact clashes with some provisions following from the international treaties which the Czech Republic undertook to fulfil.[19] The wording of paragraph 7.2 of FEPEE places foreign

18 The National Economic Council was constituted in 2009 to make suggestions which would help to stabilize the Czech economy during the economic recession at the time and to recover from its negative effects. Experts in several fields (the business and financial sector as well as academia) became members of this body (https://www.vlada.cz/cz/ppov/ekonomicka-rada/narodni-ekonomicka-rada-vlady-51371/). D. Münich suggested recommendations for the education system. Interestingly enough, he did not argue against this kind of competition (opportunity costs) between other school subjects, e.g. between chemistry and history, geography and physics. In his opinion, the lack of resources had to do with foreign languages. Similarly to many other people arguing in favor of English without critical reflection, he took the higher numbers of English learners and the lower numbers of German learners in schools to be the reason why English should maintain its dominant position. He did not admit that these numbers could also be a result of the preference as it was formulated in FEPEE (personal communication in late August 2011). In this case, the effect may be conflated with the cause.

19 Members of the German-speaking minority are concerned who would like to learn German at least as their first foreign language. According to Article 7, paragraph 2 of the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages "[t]he Parties undertake to eliminate, if they have not yet done so, any unjustified distinction, exclusion, restriction or preference relating to the use of a regional or minority language and intended to discourage or endanger the maintenance or development of it." Similar provisions are set in Article 14, paragraphs 1 and 2 of the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities and in Article 25, paragraph 2 of the bilateral Czech-German Treaty on Good Neighborliness and Friendly Cooperation. According to this Czech-German Treaty, "the Parties shall make every effort to spread the teaching of the language languages other than English at a disadvantage in an indirect, but quite effective way. Pupils (their legal representatives) who would prefer a language other than English as their first foreign language are discouraged from doing so, because learning this other language is (probably) in vain when the desirable teaching continuity is not ensured. The discrepancy between the goals set in the FEPEE and the commitments defined by the international law appears striking.

The ministry's behavior toward foreign languages demonstrates significant differences in favor of English. The relevant supporters of German acting at the macro-level can be found primarily in the Goethe-Institute and in the embassies of Germany and Austria. Their behavior is explored in the following section.

5.2 Goethe-Institute and Embassies of the German-speaking neighbors. The ŠPRECHTÍME campaign

Unlike in the case of English, where sociocultural management works in favor of the language and generates social networks of actors in which it pays off or even appears indispensable to learn and to improve English, a specific set of adjustments turned out to be necessary to help German in this regard. A public campaign, the name of which corresponds to a Germanism in the Czech language meaning "we speak German" – *šprechtíme* represents such a measure of the socio-cultural management aimed at improving the prestige of German.[20] This goal can be identified using the Catherine wheel model (see Section 2 above) as efforts to increase the public *perception of greater need for German*, which should bring about the subsequent positive effects in motivation and learning. The campaign was begun in September 2011 by the Goethe-Institute, one of the prominent

of the other country in schools as well as in other educational institutions" (translation from Czech mine).

20 The Goethe-Institute had a representative questionnaire research carried out in May 2010 in which competence of the Czech population in German – compared to English, Russian, French and Spanish – was explored. Experts from Institute for Social and Economic Analyses (ISEA) addressed 1061 respondents in the whole country who were older than 15 years. The most important findings related to German are summarized as follows: 55% of the respondents declared German "quite important", 31% even "indispensable". 77% agreed to the statement that "German is useful for getting a job". Although 50% of the respondents did not consider German important for life in general, they agreed to the proposition that German was important for getting a job. 54% out of those who declared good knowledge of German claimed that they also spoke English well. The most frequent incentives for learning German were "my parents wanted it", "school", "teachers or schoolmates", "necessity for my job/career", "my relationship to the country and culture", and "school exchange or studies abroad" (Matějů 2010).

actors promoting and spreading German language and culture internationally,[21] and by the Austrian and German Embassies in Prague. Its main goal is to provide people interested in German with as much information as possible about the opportunities to learn it, about educational offers, language competitions and exchange programs designed for schools, public events organized by regional partners of this project and many other aspects related to German.[22] Apart from these rather general objectives, and based on the recommendations issued by the German-Czech Chamber of Industry and Commerce, the creators of this campaign decided to engage the attention of students of business and of technical universities more specifically.

Similarly to marketing strategies addressing the general public, the most visible and complete form of this campaign is its online version. Unlike in the fall and winter 2011/2012 when people could come across posters on public transportation and in the newspapers, this kind of publicity has ultimately disappeared. From the methodological point of view, the impact of this campaign on the target audience's behavior toward German is hard to estimate, because the main supporters did not have the effects evaluated globally (for more details illustrative of the difficulties in evaluating the success rate see Filipová 2016: 111–112). Although the actors (the Goethe-Institute and both embassies) realize that their adjustment designs need to be implemented on the micro-level, it is not ruled out that the implementation is failing.

Although this campaign devotes attention to the business sphere in which German has especially promising potential, there are other actors whose activities represent prototypical language-centered business. As a part of the growing "language-teaching industry", these cases correspond to one form of the commodification of language (Heller 2010: 108–109). They are explored in the next section.

5.3 Business in education: A private agency in eastern Bohemia (Pardubice)

After the political changes in 1989, private business entered all economic activities including the educational sphere. Teaching foreign languages became a free trade, which enabled to run both private language schools, and to offer private

21 The strategies of activities carried out by the Goethe-Institute in various European countries support the values of European integration and European multilingualism, which is considered unthinkable without German. However, other regions of the world are not ignored. The main addressees of the programs promoting German are educated social classes. It is assumed that these activities are not carried out at the expense of, or even against English (Ruckteschell 2007).

22 For more details see www.sprechtime.cz and www.goethe.de/ins/cz/prj/jug/spr.deindex.htm.

face-to-face lessons by natural persons. The educational agency in Pardubice, a regional center of around 90,000 inhabitants, was founded in 1994. It offers 3 kinds of courses which most often take place at weekends: intensive courses of English, German, French, Russian and Spanish, special courses for companies, and individual courses. The prices amount to 100–120 CZK per hour and person (approximately 4 euros according to the exchange rate as of mid-March 2017), and they depend on the kind of course, not on the language. The English courses have been more lucrative than the German ones from the very beginning. The most important clients of this agency are 20–25 companies from the region. The owner of the agency cooperates with a stable network of 20–30 language teachers working as freelancers with individual business licenses. Due to the additional salary costs (health insurance, social security), the owner has no employees with regular labor contracts. As an effect of the personal stability of the network, no new jobs were advertised in 2014.

In the 2013/2014 school year, for the first time in the history of the agency, no intensive German courses were opened. Due to the dropping demand for German beginning in the late 1990s, German courses have had to be subsidized by English courses since the 2008/2009 school year.

This agency advertises its services predominantly on the internet. In the period between1994 and 2004/5, it sent out catalogues to its clients (companies). This practice has been limited since 2005. For economic reasons, the agency informs its customers about subsidies offered by the European Social Fund to promote foreign language education in the Czech Republic. Successful applications submitted by the customers who profit from this fund mean a substantial financial contribution to the economic stability of the agency.

5.4 Business in education: Private language school in Prague

The other business subject, a language school with headquarters in Prague, was founded in 1998. It has 8 branches in the Czech Republic. Apart from several variants of foreign language courses (group courses, individual conversation courses, courses for companies and several more kinds), this school offers translation and interpretation services as well as some other language-related commodities: Its business activities include the sale of textbooks and other teaching materials. Although the school was offering courses in 53 languages in December 2015, the core offer concentrates on English, German, Russian, Italian, French, Spanish and Czech for foreigners. One year-long (September through June) general course costs between 20,900 CZK and 34,900 CZK (i.e. between 775 and 1,300 euros). The director presents the school as very open and willing to accommodate its customer's language-related wishes. Thus, the driving force of the school is the demand:

> I1: Whoever comes up with- eh eh we just try to arrange for a lecturer to carry out the teaching. […] I admit, it's complicated. Not long ago eh I had to arrange for Hebrew with specialization on accountancy, that was tough. The customer realized that eh eh and replaced it by English in the end.

Just like in the case of the agency operating in Pardubice, the management of this school also cooperates with a stable network of teachers who work as freelancers. Their total number amounts to 200. Around 70 persons teach English, fewer than 20 teach German. But 40 German lecturers would be needed. Regular labor contracts are too expensive, because the employers have to pay additional costs on behalf of their employees (health insurance and social security) in such cases. From the employers' point of view, it pays off to hire a freelancer instead of an employee in order to avoid these additional costs. As for the salaries, native speakers in particular have higher expectations, and the management of the school has to negotiate levels which are acceptable for all parties.

To find out why participants attend the courses, the school has distributed questionnaires several times in the past. Mostly, the course was a gift, or the participants needed the course for their work or in order to make themselves understood on vacation abroad. Language courses as a benefit offered by employers were yet another variant. These facts indicate that the participants do not invest their own income to learn the respective language. Traditional private payers are in the minority. This holds particularly for younger students who have already passed their school-leaving exam and who are supported by their parents.

Thus, the sociocultural circumstances managing the demand for foreign languages are of manifold nature. The economic basis cannot be derived from the fundamental interest of a person in a foreign language. In order to preserve the student status, which exempts them from the duty to pay social security and health insurance, young people start attending full-time language courses. In other cases, as long as employers can raise funds for their employees, these employees are willing to attend the courses. The demand for the language courses is based on indirect circumstances in numerous cases.

> I1: As soon as the companies stop paying benefits the people stop attending the classes, because they aren't interested in the courses anymore or they don't have their own financial means. […] On the other hand, the companies also need to exhaust this kind of budget and sometimes, they decide to prolong a course for this very reason.

As far as German is concerned, the director of this school noted a rapid increase in the demand for it. However, English has always been crucial. Unlike in the case of the agency in Pardubice, this language school does not subsidize unprofitable courses with more lucrative ones. However, the prices of courses do not depend on the language either. Just like in Pardubice, it is the type of the course that determines the price.

5.5 Private teacher and interpreter/translator

The perspective of a private language teacher working for the agency in Pardubice can be provided through an interview with a teacher who was born in 1947. His language-centered business activities fit in the concept of commodified languages understood as a means of production (Heller 2010: 104). The foreign language biography of this person is extraordinarily valuable, because it provides evidence of the changes caused by the dropping demand for German and increasing demand for English during the 1990s and after 2000 (see the factor *more demand for goods/services in the language* in the chain of factors interconnected in the Catherine wheel model above). These changes are reflected in the behavior of an individual person who felt forced to adjust his foreign language knowledge to a considerable extent. As he put it, German had been enough before 2000, although he observed that English began to dominate the foreign language market at that time. However, in order to maintain his income, he had to brush up his English knowledge in the late 1990s.[23]

> I2: Before two thousand eh one could live well on German. I had enough work, this wasn't a problem at all. But but it changed after that, definitely eeh if you didn't want to lose a part of your income, English became necessary. I had to brush it up.

His professional experiences before and during the 1990s included activities as interpreter/translator for a large company with national importance concentrating on engineering and heavy manufacturing in another town in eastern Bohemia not far from Pardubice. He had a regular labor contract there. He commented on several situations in which he had used German as a lingua franca. German-only in com-

23 A somewhat different kind of the adjustment design and implementation from the 1990s is exemplified by Nekvapil and Nekula (2006: 318). A man started learning English after the age of 40. Later, he became a manager of a German multinational company in the Czech Republic. After he got this position he had to start learning German, because the German director of the company preferred German to English. This changed after a Czech person became the new director. English began to be used more frequently.

munication with business partners from the German-speaking countries was the default case (including the situations of the first contact). English as a lingua franca was not an alternative option, as nobody came up with such an idea back then:

> I2: I don't recall any attempt ever on the part of our German native speaking partners to propose English.

Apart from that, he was also working as a freelancer for the educational agency in Pardubice between 1994 and 2007. He taught intensive courses. His contracts with the agency were always made for one year only. There were no price differences between the English and German courses. He experienced extraordinarily high demand for German during the first 5 years:

> VD: And how eh how would you describe the demand at that time? did you experience anything noteworthy?
> I2: Oh yes, CROWDS of people applied for the courses. You had to know somebody to get in! But this changed around two thousand when people started travelling more to Greece, Turkey and Egypt. Fewer lecturers taught German […] courses got shorter and shorter.
> VD: And how would you estimate the proportion between German and English?
> I2: Eh the less German, the more English. […] People might have realized that they could not learn both languages equally well.

This essential transformation of the behavior corresponds to the strategy based on the opportunity costs. He observed that both languages found themselves in a competitive relationship and decisions in favor of one language only seemed inevitable. However, he himself was able to cover the costs for both. As a retired person, he can still make some extra money with translations of specialized texts from German. Interestingly, he noted a renewed higher demand for German after 2012.

5.6 Public schools

5.6.1 Parents and pupils

The features of the opportunity-costs-argumentation discussed above are also recognizable in the sphere of public education. Though this sphere is less affected by the supply-demand-interplay than private business, it does not lie outside of the economically co-determined reality either. Parents declared in the interviews that they considered the possibility of choosing a language to be a value. At the same time, working of language ideologies often appeared. Owing to the generally perceived difficulties in learning foreign languages, they argued that English is enough:

> I3: It's good to have a possibility of choosing foreign languages eh we appreciate that. But […] I think that ONE language should be enough […] English is the most important language anyway as you certainly know- […] you cannot manage everything, priorities are necessary.

If the parents were asked about the languages in a comparative perspective, German was understood as difficult and hard, whereas Russian and English were considered to be easy. Moreover, the image of English was associated with modernity. References to the higher communication radius of English in comparison with German also appeared (i.e. the utility value in terms of Coulmas 1992).

Surprisingly, the level of acquired knowledge did not play an important role. What was seen as necessary was the children's ability to make themselves understood, even if the future of the children and their job expectations were often mentioned as an argument. Only in this context, the geographic closeness to the German-speaking neighbors was pointed out when German was viewed as advantageous:

> I4: […] I learned German and it did pay off, indeed. I have been running my business here in [a town in eastern Bohemia] since the early nineties and I have customers from Germany eh I am satisfied they come regularly. One can negotiate without interpreters, which saves quite a lot of money by the way. And I hope my son will take the business over from me one day, so so German will be necessary for him.

In several cases, the parents declared that they had discussed the foreign language choices with their children thoroughly. Small local business owners who were successful due to German were mentioned as good examples of everyday experience bringing the foreign language closer to practical life.

Although the other sociocultural aspects influencing the decision-making processes are not as directly business-related as the examples above, they are not less relevant. They have to do with the parents' assumed capacities to help their children learn the respective foreign language.[24] Qualification and personality of teachers as well as school partnerships abroad were another frequent argument. The parents referred both to good and bad practices of German and English teachers which influenced their decision-making processes. However, if a "bad teacher" was presumed to teach the second foreign language, which was German or Russian in most cases, the tendency to prefer information technologies, physical education or other subjects to this second foreign language appeared very clear.

Pupils' decisions concerning their foreign language choices arise mainly in the discussions with their parents. Language ideologies surrounding foreign languages appeared regularly – German was considered hard and ugly, while French was taken for beautiful (see also Nekvapil and Sherman 2013: 104). The pupils ascribed these aesthetic qualities independently of whether they learned the respective language by themselves. Only some older pupils reflected the (potential) usefulness of the language they had decided to learn. The usual economic and job-related reasons were mentioned in most cases.

5.6.2 School administration

The utterances given by the school administration were characterized by aspects which distracted the main topic of the language-centered decision-making processes. Broader context concerning the respective school as a whole was taken into account. Hence, the recommendation *mother tongue plus two* remained practically unreflected. The principals did not mention this feature of the European language policy, which could have co-determined their decisions, in any single case. They declared that they did not have enough time to be interested in these idealistic principles after they had been asked about. Instead, they often referred to various organizational barriers in schools:

24 Just to select several examples, the children were supposed to choose the same language which their parents had learned before, or for which affordable beginner courses could be organized. In other cases, the parents proclaimed that the groups of schoolmates to which their children belonged had to be taken into account and maintained. If possible, the children should stay in the same class and learn the same foreign language as their friends. In connection with classes of the respective language, some parents also complained about bad placement of foreign languages in schedules. In quite a lot of cases, this holds especially for German as a second foreign language. It suffers from lack of interest when these classes are taught rather late in the afternoon (for more details see Dovalil and Engelhardt 2012: 11–15).

> I5: We have difficulties in drawing up education plans, or in ensuring teaching continuity. A principal has hard life ((sigh)) eh we need to deal with pressing issues other than foreign language teaching. You have to have a school kitchen repaired, a dining hall or a gymnasium.

The process of finding out foreign language preferences is carried out by means of questionnaires. Only rarely was the school administration interested in the parents' opinion and arranged for meetings to discuss more details. And it was even rarer for the parents to address the school administration directly in connection with foreign languages.

When the principals were asked specifically about paragraph 7.2 of FEPEE and the degree to which they were guided by it the answers were all but uniform. Many principals implemented this passage as it was laid down, but several evaluated it very negatively. Emotional attitudes were also articulated:

> I6: It's discrimination, it's discrimination. You know my heart beats for German, it has its tradition and I always say that it's very useful for Czechs. If I could I would cross it out.

Surprisingly, not all principals were conscious of this passage in FEPEE. As one principal put it, regardless of what exactly is stated in this document and how, English is learned by most people worldwide, and hence it is the most important language anyway. Arguing in this way without further differentiation, he complied with the utility value of a language derived from its communication radius, which Coulmas (1992: 84) views as simplified.

Although the cases of parents who would have liked their child to learn German or Russian as the first foreign language were not frequent, they did occur. Referring to the FEPEE, the principals often demonstrated that they turned some recommendations into normative instructions in their decision-making practice. Especially in connection with their numerous duties, they explained this practice by acting in compliance with the superior authority, which makes their life easier. Doing so, they have a possibility of referring to a regulation, if problems should arise.

A serious long-term problem which was regularly noted by many principals and evaluated negatively was the qualification of teachers and the related costs:

> I7: Eh eh everything costs something you know one cannot ignore the facts. And teachers also cost something eh don't forget that either. And provided you may choose eh you may choose a cheaper option so why wouldn't you do that? To put it purely economically it happens

> that an unqualified English teacher is simply cheaper than a qualified German teacher in the end […] just like in normal business.[25]

Based on the data quoted in the last example, a hypothesis could be formulated according to which the socio-economic management of the Czech school system leads to preference of English at the expense of other foreign languages. This may, in turn, appear to be an unexpected connection with the general orientation of FEPEE.

6 Conclusion

The situation of English and German in Czechia, as it is analyzed in this paper through the lens of language management theory and by means of related socio-economic tools, can be summarized in the following way: The actors operating on the micro-level have to deal with different problems than those on the macro-level. Many people do not experience a language problem which would relate specifically to German. What the majority of the actors note and evaluate negatively is the low level of competence in foreign languages as such. Learning English and improving English skills are seen as the most appropriate adjustment design to solve this problem. Although it is not possible to say how successful the implementation has been, because adequate data have not been collected, the negative evaluation related to the low level of foreign language knowledge as summarized in the media discourse gives reasons for the hypothesis that the implementation is failing. The fact that new articles concerning foreign language skills (regardless of which language is discussed) are published represents new cycles of language management processes. Hence, the adjustments designed by the institutions at the macro-level do not reach the interlocutors at the micro-level in many cases.

The *Šprechtíme* campaign is derived from the expectation of actors supporting German that the Czech population should speak German better, or that this population could be aware of the advantage consisting in good German skills both in business and in private life. It can be interpreted as effort to make the Czech population note a problem, or as an opportunity (adjustment design) to solve a

25 It needs to be added that a solution to the problem of unqualified language teachers is being slowly implemented, because the Ministry of Education decided to raise the salaries of the teachers in regional schools. Apart from these efforts, the legal possibilities of employing unqualified teachers were limited. In spite of this positive development, the problem remains in existence. According to the data of the ministry, the ratio of unqualified German teachers both in primary (15%) and secondary schools (10%) was lower than in the case of English (20% and 14% respectively in the school year 2013/2014).

German-related language problem if some people evaluate the level of their own German skills negatively. However, *Šprechtíme* is an adjustment designed by the actors at the macro-level. Although it seems to meet some interlocutors' needs at the micro-level (business people, engineers and other technical professions as the main addressees of the campaign), no detailed data describing the implementation at the micro-level are available. To reach the micro-level in favor of German, more cases of best practices showing the successful careers of individuals with good knowledge of German would appear appropriate.

Another adjustment designed to improve the knowledge of foreign languages was the introduction of the second foreign language as a compulsory school subject in 2013. Although the Ministry of Education had shared the negative evaluation of foreign language knowledge with many other actors long before, the adjustment was approved as a part of FEPEE as late as 2013. Its implementation can hardly be assessed yet; the fact that increasing numbers of pupils are learning German as an additional foreign language says little about their actual language skills. Moreover, the Ministry of Education tends to present as results (implementation) only some approved adjustment strategies (in other words, it offers evidence of *output* as opposed to *outcome*).

The specific problem of continuation of the second foreign language teaching has not been noted by the ministry. Or, if other actors make the ministry note this question, the ministry does not share the negative evaluation of the fact that only the teaching of English should be continually ensured. This problem is not noted by many other actors in schools (principals, parents) either. This explains why the management process related to the free selection of foreign languages does not go on to reach further phases. Contrary to such expectations, the language-in-education planning in the Czech Republic discourages those who would like to improve or to start learning German as their first foreign language and continue learning this language at higher stages of the school system. This may eventually have a negative impact on the competitive abilities of a part of the population of the Czech Republic.

The hypothesis that a substantial part of the Czech population does not expect high knowledge of German, which would require devoting more attention to this language, explains the simple fact why the German-oriented management processes do not take place. The expectations are not clear enough, which is why we can observe that various uncertain feelings and beliefs (ideologies) concerning the different importance of English and German influence the choice of foreign languages. This happens despite the information about very good business and job opportunities for people who speak German (as reported by the German-Czech Chamber of Industry and Commerce, or German and Austrian investors). The business-oriented part of the media discourse does not share the ideological opinion that English should be enough.

Only a part of the decisions concerning the foreign language choices has an immediate economic basis in terms of *a need to know a foreign language to get a (better) job*. This economic argumentation does not have to be as business-related at first glance as in the cases of private schools and freelancers who work for them. A part of the demand for foreign language courses is generated by indirect economic incentives which have to do more with the socio-economic status of the participants than with their preferences for the respective language. In such cases, their enrolment in a course is primarily a way of avoiding economic costs, and not to learn the chosen language. These costs would arise if these young people did not have student status, because they would have to pay for social security and health insurance by themselves. Otherwise, these payments are covered by the state for the students below 26 years. Such patterns of the behavior of young people toward foreign languages are not marginal when socio-economic factors are considered.

This is relevant because a part of the actors operating from the macro-level (central institutions, a part of media) argues using tendencies based on statistics, which may in turn affect the vague feelings concerning the importance of the respective language at the micro-level. This strengthens the mutual impact between the vaguely perceived importance on the one hand and the decisions made on the other hand (Dovalil and Engelhardt 2012: 20). Generally speaking, drawing upon the ideology according to which English (as a lingua franca) is enough, the sociocultural management works in favor of English, which can be confirmed by the Catherine wheel model as well as by the mainstream within the language-in-education planning.

Hence, if we return to the question raised in the title of this paper as to what extent people in the Czech Republic are spoiled for choice when foreign languages are concerned, we can conclude that the education system does not offer too many choices which would considerably complicate the decision-making processes of the foreign language learners. Generally speaking, if a selection is too broad it may cause discomfort and difficulties in making the best decision. But this does not seem to be the case of the Czech Republic – neither in terms of what the school system offers, nor in terms of deliberation concerning the decisions made by most learners. However if we directly focus on English and German in business, some people might be in a quandary after all if they did not like to learn both languages. The general preference for English as it is pre-determined by FEPEE does not correspond to the business sphere interconnected with German and Austrian investors who also generate numerous opportunities in the Czech job market in favor of German.

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Appendix: List of analyzed articles

1. Nein, nechceme němčinu [Nein, we do not want German] (respekt.cz, 23. 9. 2009, Bára Procházková)
2. Znalosti němčiny se platí zlatem. Český bábel [Knowledge of German is paid in gold. The Czech Babel] (respekt.cz, 4. 10. 2009, Bára Procházková/Michal Komárek)
3. Deutsch ist besser. Učte se víc německy, žádají firmy [Deutsch ist besser. Learn more German, companies require] (3. 2. 2010, Radek Pecák)
4. Pro německé investory je němčina důležitější než angličtina [German is more important for German investors than English] (CIO, Patrik Khudhur, 9. 2. 2010)
5. Výuka cizích jazyků ve školách: Obrat k lepšímu, ale dobrých učitelů je málo [Teaching foreign languages in schools: A change for the better, but there are too few good teachers] (Hospodářské noviny, 16. 2. 2010, Jana Machálková)
6. Jen polovina umí cizí jazyk, ostatní se nedomluví [Only one half knows a foreign language, the others cannot make themselves understood] (Mladá fronta dnes, 16. 12. 2010, Radka Wallerová)
7. Tradiční evropské jazyky válcuje asijská “formace” [Traditional European languages are beaten out by the Asian “formation”] (Hospodářské noviny, 17. 1. 2011, Petr Býma)
8. Soumrak výuky jazyků. Stačit má jen angličtina [Doomsday for teaching foreign languages. English is supposed to be enough] (Hospodářské noviny, 1. 3. 2011)
9. Experti navrhují počítače místo němčiny [Experts propose teaching computers instead of German] (Hospodářské noviny, 1. 3. 2011, Jana Machálková)
10. NERV se plete [National Economic Council is wrong] (respekt.cz, 11. 4. 2011, Bára Procházková)
11. Angličtina, nebo němčina? To si dobře rozmyslete! [English, or German? Think it over thoroughly!] (žena.cz, 8. 12. 2011, Monika Kuncová)
12. Známky vám plat nezvýší. Angličtina to dokáže [Good grades will not increase your salary. English will] (Metro, 27. 6. 2012, Adam Váchal)
13. Práci v Německu má 30 tisíc Čechů, Němci chtějí víc [30 thousand Czechs have a job in Germany. Germans would like more] (aktualne.cz, 11. 7. 2013)
14. Pracovním inzerátům vládnou angličtina a němčina [Job advertisements are dominated by English and German] (jobs.cz, 23. 7. 2013, Lenka Kovaříková)
15. Češi mluví špatně anglicky. Hůř než Maďaři či Poláci [Czechs speak English badly. Worse than Hungarians or Poles] (aktualne.cz, 6. 11. 2013, Zuzana Kleknerová)
16. Trendy v jazykové poptávce Čechů? Vracíme se k ruštině a němčině, láká nás i čínština [Trends in the language demand of Czechs? We are returning to

Russian and German, we're also attracted to Chinese] (studentpoint.cz, 2. 2. 2014, Anna Dudková)
17. Jazykovky musely s cenami dolů [Language schools had to bring down prices] (Lidové noviny, 20. 5. 2014, Radka Kvačková)
18. Němčina frčí [German is in] (studenta.cz, 16. 6. 2014)
19. S němčinou se vám v Česku otevírá přes sto tisíc pracovních míst [German opens up more than hundred thousand jobs in Czechia] (studenta.cz, 17. 6. 2014)
20. Příběhy absolventů: Jak se stali profesionály ve svém oboru [Stories of graduates: How they became professionals in their field] (studenta.cz, 26. 6. 2014)
21. V Čechách platí: němčina nad zlato. Rozhovor s Markem Dusilem, ředitelem jazykové školy a nakladatelství Polyglot [What holds true in Bohemia: German more valuable than gold. Interview with Marek Dusil, head of the language school and publishing company Polyglot] (hrnews.cz, 27. 6. 2014)
22. Angličtina je standard. Firmy chtějí lidi s portugalštinou nebo němčinou [English is standard. Companies want people with Portuguese or German] (Hospodářské noviny, 13. 7. 2014, Zuzana Keményová)
23. Uchazeči o práci podceňují znalost jazyků [Job applicants underestimate language knowledge] (novinky.cz, 22. 8. 2014)
24. Nezaměstnaní na Karlovarsku studují němčinu [Unemployed people in the Karlovy Vary region study German] (uradprace.cz, 7. 1. 2015, Kateřina Beránková)
25. Češi neumí německy, stěžují si německé a rakouské firmy působící v tuzemsku [Czechs can't speak German, German and Austrian companies investing here complain] (rozhlas.cz, 16. 1. 2015)
26. Poslední krok, který ti chybí k získání kariéry šéfa [The final step you need to take for a higher management career] (studenta.cz, 19. 1. 2015)
27. Angličtina vytlačuje ze škol němčinu. Na vzestupu je i ruština [English is forcing German out of schools. Russian is also on the rise] (rozhlas.cz, 20. 1. 2015)
28. Pět důvodů, proč znalost němčiny výrazně pomůže vaší kariéře [Five reasons why German will substantially help your carrier] (Institut jazykového vzdělávání ijv.cz, 14. 5. 2015, Helena Staňková)
29. Angličtina nestačí. Znalost druhého jazyka zvyšuje plat [English is not enough. Knowledge of a second language raises salaries] (ekonomicky-denik.cz, 18. 7. 2015)
30. Pečujte o romštinu a němčinu, vyzvala Česko Rada Evropy [Take care of Romani and German, Council of Europe appeals to the Czech Republic] (novinky.cz, 14. 12. 2015)
31. Kariérní cesty ve financích: angličtina samozřejmostí, s němčinou se příjmy zvýší [Career paths in finance: English is obvious, incomes increase with German] (cfoworld.cz, 1/2016)

32. Zaveďme angličtinu jako úřední jazyk. Většina Čechů by se ji naučila a získala tak velkou konkurenční výhodu [Let's make English an official language. Most Czechs would learn it and gain a great competitive advantage] (respect.cz, 11. 6. 2016, Marek Švehla)
33. Kromě angličtiny zaměstnavatelé nejčastěji požadují němčinu a francouzštinu [Apart from English, employers most often require German and French] (novinky.cz, 16. 6. 2016)
34. Zahraniční tisk: V EU vzroste úloha francouzštiny a němčiny na úkor angličtiny [The foreign press: The role of French and German will increase at the expense of English] (zet.cz, 28. 6. 2016)
35. S němčinou lépe než s angličtinou [Better off with German than with English] (iteplice.cz, 6. 8. 2016)
36. Angličtinářů je v Česku pomálu [There are two few English teachers in Czechia] (Metro, 12. 10. 2016)
37. Němčina poráží španělštinu [German defeats Spanish] (Metro, 30. 11. 2016, Filip Jaroševský)
38. Neumíme německy. Firmy jedou lovit zaměstnance do Berlína [We can't speak German. Companies go hunting for employees in Berlin] (finance.idnes.cz, 13. 4. 2017, Kateřina Hovorková)
39. Němčina je žádaná [German is in demand] (Metro, 26. 4. 2017)
40. Proč se učit anglicky [Why learn English] (Respekt, 15. 5. 2017, Jiří Sobota)

Miya Komori-Glatz and Barbara Schmidt-Unterberger

Creating the international managers of tomorrow, today? Stakeholder perspectives on English-medium business education

Abstract: As the world becomes increasingly globalized, higher education institutions are coming under ever more pressure to offer internationalized programs and to prepare their graduates for a multicultural workplace. Teaching through English is frequently seen as a solution to address both needs, particularly in business schools. Drawing on theories of the sociolinguistics of globalization, this chapter uses a multilevel approach to examine the interplay of internationalization processes and English-medium education at Europe's largest business university and to illustrate how decisions made by the university management concerning policy and program design are reflected in intercultural student practice. The results of research synthesized from two research projects reveal that the university uses internationalization strategies and the implementation of English-medium instruction to profile the institution successfully in a competitive global higher education market. They also show that both sets of stakeholders perceive the intercultural dimension of English-medium education as providing added value. However, it also becomes clear that there is a need to take a more critical approach to the role of explicit language learning on such programs.

Keywords: English-medium instruction (EMI), English-medium programs (EMPs), higher education, business education, competitiveness, internationalization, language learning

1 Introduction

Just before the end of the twentieth century, Held et al. noted that "[g]lobalization may be thought of initially as the widening, deepening and speeding up of worldwide interconnectedness in all aspects of contemporary social life" (Held et al. 1999: 2). While worldwide interconnectedness is not new – particularly in the two fields of academia and business – the rate at which these connections are growing is unprecedented. Despite the economic crisis which hit a peak in 2008–2009, global trade stands at higher levels than ever before, with capital and migration flows rising even more rapidly (UNCTAD 2012: 11).

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This has numerous implications for providers of business education, who are confronted with an increasingly globalized higher education market on the one hand and the need to prepare their graduates for an international labor market on the other. At the same time, the internationalization processes that aim to address these needs bring with them a new set of challenges that arise from trying to develop a multilingual and multicultural learning space. One of the most frequent solutions to these challenges is to introduce English as a/the medium of instruction; however, this is not unproblematic, either.

This chapter aims to highlight the interplay of internationalization processes and English-medium education at Europe's largest business university, WU Vienna.[1] It starts with a theoretical overview of the research frame, positioning the study at the interface between the sociolinguistics of globalization and higher education in Europe. The main part of the article synthesizes research from two projects to illustrate how decisions made by the university management concerning policy and program design are reflected in intercultural student practice. In particular, it will focus on three main areas: profiling the university in a competitive global higher education market, perceiving the intercultural dimension of English-medium instruction (EMI)[2] as preparation for an international career, and the role of explicit language learning on English-medium programs (EMPs). The main original contribution of this paper is to integrate perspectives from across the macro- and micro-levels to provide a uniquely holistic overview of policy and practice at a single institution where EMI is largely seen as a logical consequence of internationalization.

2 The sociolinguistics of globalization

As societies become less static and increasingly heterogeneous, the role(s) and use of language are also changing. As early as 2003, the *Journal of Sociolinguistics* ran a special issue on "Sociolinguistics and globalization" (Coupland 2003a), and the "timeliness of globalization as a theme for sociolinguistics" (Coupland 2003b: 465) is no less relevant several years later, with many researchers still building on it (e.g. Duchêne and Heller 2007; Blommaert 2010; Coupland 2013; Kramsch 2014). Yet in (international) business studies itself, language has been

1 http://www.wu.ac.at/structure/en/about (all websites last accessed 28 December 2015)

2 Following Wilkinson (2013), we use the term *English-medium instruction* (EMI) to refer to tertiary-level education which teaches through the language of English but does not have an explicit language focus and is located in countries that are not traditionally English-speaking. English-taught degree-level programs delivered in countries such as Austria, Spain, Denmark or Japan are therefore referred to as *English-medium programmes* (EMPs) in this paper.

"a surprisingly neglected subject" (Piekkari, Welch, and Welch 2014: 9; cf. Feely and Harzing 2002: 6) and even called the "orphan" (Feely and Harzing 2002: 2) or the "lost continent" of management research (Holden 2002: 225–35).

The authors of this chapter share the view that language is "closely implicated in the construction of identity and values and in the dynamics of allegiance and exclusion" and that sociolinguists "have essential insight to lend to interdisciplinary inquiry on language as a key mechanism in social, cultural, psychological and cognitive processes" (Mallinson and Kendall 2013: 163). Analyzing the role(s) and use of language in the business context thus not only serves to fill that gap but can also help those in management positions to determine strategic policies that can result in optimal practices and outcomes.

We also argue that both business and academia "are influential, high-stakes environments where language is deeply involved in all their principal activities" (Mauranen 2012: 66). As Coupland (2003b: 467) notes, "under globalization, communities interface with and impact upon one another, and [...] language is both a medium and a marker of new forms of interdependence". The business university can therefore be seen as a fascinating microcosm where management and education come together, and the interplay of global and local can be observed through language policy and practice.

At the same time, the study of globalization has contributed to the development of sociolinguistic thought, as the increasing interconnectedness of societies across the world is reflected in the "need to explain the various forms of interconnectedness between levels and scales of sociolinguistic phenomena" (Blommaert 2003: 609). In other words, any attempt to understand the context of the globalized business or university setting requires an "integrationist" approach that bridges "macro-social concerns and the analysis of local communicative practice" (Coupland 2014: 2). As societies become less static and the units of analysis less bounded (e.g. multinational corporations or internationalized universities), the analytical approaches used to investigate them must also become more fluid, dynamic and complex (cf. Dafouz and Smit 2016).

An "ecology of language" approach offers a research perspective that is "inherently both holistic and dynamic" (Hornberger and Hult 2010: 282). It is defined as "an approach to thinking about multilingualism that focuses researchers on contextual interconnections in language contact situations and their wider implications for sociopolitical actions, including multilingual LPP [Language Policy and Planning]" (ibid.). This can be operationalized, as proposed by Dafouz and Smit (2016), using Spolsky's (2004) tripartite model, which comprises the three components of "language management", "language practices", and "language beliefs". This approach takes a multilayered view of the interface between explicit policy (i.e. management decisions), actual language use, and the ideologies that inform both, respectively (Spolsky 2004: 5–14). While an ecology of language approach is by no means restricted to examining the higher education context, it is particularly useful in this setting as the university itself is a multilayered data site that is inextricably embedded in a wider sociopolitical and academic context.

3 Globalization and internationalization in European higher education

The perceived "dominance of English as an international business language" (Marschan-Piekkari, Welch and Welch 1999: 379) can be said to have resulted in it becoming both "medium and marker" (Coupland 2003b: 467) of internationalization processes in both companies and universities concerned with business education. Introducing English as the medium of instruction is often seen as a means to internationalize the university context (Coleman 2006; Altbach and Knight 2007; Wilkinson 2013; Dafouz and Smit 2016; Jenkins 2014; Unterberger 2014), particularly in the field of business studies (Wilkinson 2011: 111), given its prevalence as a popular choice for the language of multinational firms.

A frequently cited definition of internationalization which also highlights the interplay of different layers of analysis comes from Knight (2008: 21), who states that: "Internationalisation at the national/sector/institutional levels is the process of integrating an international, intercultural or global dimension into the purpose, functions or delivery of higher education at the institutional and national levels". The three terms "purpose", "function" and "delivery" indicate that the internationalization of higher education can take various forms and affect all areas and levels of an institution. While the most obvious ones are student and staff mobility, internationalization activities also take place at the curriculum and university management levels, a strategy also known as "Internationalisation at Home" (IaH) (Crowther et al. 2000). Given that average figures continue to show relatively low levels of student mobility (official Erasmus figures lie around 10%; EC 2013: 13), IaH represents a key approach to internationalization. It allows students to be exposed to an internationalized study environment – not only those that are going on an exchange abroad. In terms of language policy, this has resulted in a sharp rise in the implementation of English as a/the medium of instruction to address the challenges of this environment.

While using English may represent the means by which a university becomes internationalized, economic factors often provide the motivation. This can be seen in the results of large-scale surveys conducted by transnational academic organizations. For example, the International Association of Universities' 3rd

Global Survey Report reported that "[i]mproving student preparedness for a globalized/internationalized world" was ranked "by a substantial margin" as "the most important rationale for internationalization by respondent HEIs [Higher Education Institutions]" (Egron-Polak and Hudson 2010: 21). Similarly, "attract[ing] foreign students" and "mak[ing] domestic students 'fit' for the global/international labor market" were selected as the most frequent reasons for offering English-medium instruction in the 2008 Academic Cooperation Association (ACA) survey (Wächter and Maiworm 2008: 13), and these results were also confirmed by approximately 80% of the respondents that participated in the follow-up 2014 survey (Wächter and Maiworm 2014: 54). The rapid spread of English as a medium of instruction in HEIs across Europe thus frequently represents a strategic response to meeting the future needs of their graduates, many of whom expect to enter a work environment which is regarded as being both multicultural and dominated by the use of English.

There has also been a commercial turn in university management and its discourse. Education is included in the set of multilateral rules covering international trade in services administered by the World Trade Organization and known as the General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS) (see Knight 2008: 13; Tilak 2011: 17, 28). This has had a substantial impact on the way education is perceived and provided. Students are seen as "consumers", "customers" or "clients" rather than learners (Maringe 2011), and "[m]inistries of trade, commerce, and foreign affairs, and 'entrepreneurial groups' play a stronger role than ministries of education in formulating [...] education policies [under GATS terms]" (Tilak 2011: 88). When analyzing LPP in the university setting, therefore, it can be argued that neither the macro-perspective of the broader socio-political context nor the micro-level of the students or "clients" can be ignored.

4 Stakeholders in international business education

Supply and demand at business universities are inextricably intertwined with ongoing internationalization processes in higher education and the aim of preparing graduates for entering a globalized professional environment. From the employer's perspective, Ambos and Ambos argue that "the true raison d'être of the MNC [multinational corporation]" is "the ability to leverage its knowledge globally" within a set of organizational networks which are "characterized by separation through time, space, culture and language" (Ambos and Ambos 2009: 1). Business universities are therefore expected to equip students with the necessary skills set(s) to make them "fit for the global [...] labor market" (Wächter and Maiworm 2008: 13) and thereby boost their employability. At the same time, students expect to benefit from a high-quality education that will offer them enhanced (and frequently international) career opportunities. Of course, the notion of what constitutes a high-quality education will vary greatly in scope and degree depending on the individual context, situation and point of view. However, for many institutions, "integrating an international, intercultural or global dimension into [their] purpose, functions or delivery" (Knight 2008: 21) is believed to enhance the quality of the education they provide.

Gaining accreditation with agencies such as EQUIS,[3] AACSB[4] and AMBA[5] may be seen as a means of measuring the excellence of their business and management education; in order to be awarded these prestigious accreditations, a high degree of internationalization at the curricular as well as organizational levels is crucial (Unterberger 2014: 92). For example, EQUIS assesses the institution by examining, among other things, "[c]ourses taught in English in non-English speaking countries" and "the ability of faculty to teach in English" (EFMD 2015: 67). Furthermore, league tables such as the Financial Times MBA Ranking[6] or the Financial Times European Business School Ranking[7] include factors like international faculty, students, board, mobility and course experience in their calculations; the more international aspects an institution has, the better it will score. The number of English-taught courses and programs also stands in direct relation to inclusion in the Times Higher Education World University Ranking.[8] While there is still some debate about the correlation of a university's level of "Englishization" and its world rank (Hultgren 2014), English does seem to be widely perceived as a means to gain a competitive edge on the global higher education market.

For the university faculty, mobility is a key advantage, as is the opportunity to work with colleagues at partner universities and, increasingly, companies all over the world. Indeed, they are under increasing pressure to develop these networks as well as to increase their output in English. At the same time, the perceived enhancement of the university's reputation through such activities can be regarded as a benefit to themselves as well as the university management and

3 http://www.efmd.org/accreditation-main/equis
4 http://www.aacsb.edu
5 http://www.mbaworld.com
6 http://www.ft.com/intl/cms/s/2/5728ac98-7c7f-11e3-b514-00144feabdc0.html#axzz3FfNPLuIs
7 http://rankings.ft.com/businessschoolrankings/european-business-school-rankings-2015
8 http://www.timeshighereducation.co.uk/world-university-rankings

the city or country in which the university is located. In turn, the latter need to provide an academic and socio-political infrastructure which will enable the institution to attract high-caliber international students and staff.

In order to illustrate the demand and supply flows among the various stakeholders involved in today's internationalized tertiary business education, Table 12.1 below provides an overview of the various stakeholders' input and expected benefits.

Table 12.1: The demand and supply flows of the internationalized university

Stakeholders	***DEMAND*: what stakeholders expect to gain from the internationalized university**	***SUPPLY*: what the internationalized university expects to gain from the stakeholders**
Government	– excellent international reputation of the country's universities – taxes and economic growth resulting from consumption by students and staff – well-trained, highly skilled and employable labor force	– national infrastructure, including the ratification of supranational mobility and alignment agreements such as the Bologna Process and an attractive physical/geographical location for the university – provision of funding
Prospective employers/ industry	– well-trained, highly skilled graduates who have the knowledge and experience of working in an international/globalized context – collaboration with high-quality academic partners (image enhancement; feedback from research; low-cost, high-caliber labor from interns) – development of academic & professional networks	– career and training opportunities for graduates – industry partners (for internships, project work, case studies and "real-life" practice) – provision of funding for research – remuneration for employees (interns, academic consultants, etc.) – sponsorship (for academic projects, university buildings, etc.)
University management	– enhanced university reputation, leading to increase in student numbers & quality – opportunity to attract high-caliber international faculty – improved rankings – increase in tuition fees & funding	– institutional infrastructure for research, teaching & studying – institutional infrastructure for training & education of graduates – organization/provision of funding for teaching & research, student projects & scholarships

continued

Table 12.1: Continued

Stakeholders	***DEMAND***: what stakeholders expect to gain from the internationalized university	***SUPPLY***: what the internationalized university expects to gain from the stakeholders
Faculty	– career opportunities – development of academic & professional networks – reputation of working for/at top university – funding	– high-quality teaching & research, possibly in collaboration with industry partners and increasingly in English – feedback to industry – collaboration with renowned international research partners – development of academic & professional networks
Students	– high-quality education – career opportunities – international experience (e.g. through exchange semesters, joint degrees, etc.) – development of social & professional networks	– international backgrounds/ variety of L1s – enhancement of university's reputation as successful alumni – payment of tuition fees

Although the table above presents an apparently idyllic cycle of supply and demand, it is important to note that it does have a darker side as well. There is the potential danger that external factors such as university rankings or the aim to recruit large numbers of international students will lead to a rather rushed implementation of EMI (e.g. Räisänen and Fortanet-Gómez 2008: 20). In such cases, "organizational and pedagogical implications tend to be overlooked" (Unterberger and Wilhelmer 2011: 94) and the university management's desire to internationalize an institution fast by using EMI could negatively affect the program's quality in many respects. For instance, the teaching staff might require preparation to use English as the language of instruction, and the university management needs to decide on the required language proficiency of students as well as how this will affect teaching and curricula in general. Moreover, curriculum planners and program designers need to make decisions regarding the role of language teaching in the EMPs. Regrettably, some researchers detect a "general lack of awareness about the pitfalls and possibilities of EMI" (Hellekjaer 2007: 68). For example, Räisänen and Fortanet-Gómez' survey found that ESP classes remain exceedingly rare and discipline-specific language skills "are often considered additional and secondary to the main curriculum", generally being "thought of as generic skills" (2008: 2). Other studies investigate whether English-medium teaching creates additional workload (Hellekjaer and Wilkinson 2003; Tatzl 2011), whether it causes language-related problems of some sort (Vinke 1995; Vinke, Snippe, and Jochems

1998; Hellekjær 2005, 2009, 2010; Björkman 2010; Airey 2011; Evans and Morrison 2011), and whether there is the need for language support for teachers and/or students (e.g. Vinke, Snippe, and Jochems 1998; Airey 2004; Hellekjaer 2007; Klaassen 2008; Kling and Hjulmand 2008). Perhaps (un)surprisingly, most of these studies concluded that it does and there is. Indeed, such are the challenges of the multilingual and multicultural learning space that 'IntlUni', a three-year ERASMUS project, was established to identify and offer recommendations for overcoming them.[9]

Despite these challenges, however, the ACA surveys' (Wächter and Maiworm 2008, 2014) and the IntlUni project's (Millar and van Mulken, n.d.) results indicate that the implementation of EMI is an increasing trend in higher education, particularly in business schools. On the one hand, business universities are responding to pull factors such as the demand from both prospective students and their future employers for a "global" education and experience with valuable international corporate and academic partners; on the other, they are confronted with concrete legislative or state-led initiatives such as the Bologna Process as well as the requirements laid out by the highly desired accreditation bodies such as EQUIS or international university rankings. With their graduates looking to be competitive entrants to the global labor market, business universities are under increasing pressure to strengthen their own competitive edge.

5 EMI at Europe's largest business university

At WU Vienna, Europe's largest business university, seven out of fifteen Master's programs are taught entirely through the medium of English.[10] As an Austrian state university, students from the EU, Iceland, Liechtenstein, Norway and Switzerland do not pay tuition fees for the prescribed standard duration of the course, and others pay relatively low fees compared to other business schools.[11] Of a total student body of 22,781 registered for the 2013/14 academic year, 6,241 were international students (though it should be noted that almost a third of these come from neighboring Germany). With approximately 1000 students leaving and entering the university on mobility programs each year, around 160 individual courses per semester are taught in English (WU 2014: 2). The university fell consistently in the mid-range across the 2014 league tables, though it is also a

9 http://www.intluni.eu

10 http://www.wu.ac.at/programs/master/en/

11 In 2014/15, non-EU students were required to pay € 726.72 per semester (cf. http://www.wu.ac.at/students/org/tuition/tuition-fees-regulations/en/). Compared to other renowned business schools such as LSE (UK) or HEC (France), these represent fairly modest fees.

member of the highly-ranked CEMS[12] Global Alliance in Management Education and holds the "triple crown" accreditation from all three agencies, AACSB, AMBA and EQUIS.[13] While it is difficult to argue that any individual institution represents a "typical" scenario (cf. Millar and van Mulken, n.d.: 1), these figures, combined with Vienna's geographical location at a crossroads between northern and southern, eastern and western Europe, certainly makes it a valuable and interesting site for research into English-medium education at a business university with an international outlook.

As already mentioned, the two projects at the heart of this paper both use WU as their research site. Unterberger's dissertation (2014) examines the national and institutional context while Komori-Glatz analyses language and interaction among students on English-medium master's programs. Together, the projects provide a uniquely holistic overview of the policy and practice being carried out at a single institution. Unterberger's project identifies and analyses policies, practices and program design at macro- and micro-levels. To examine the national level, a status quo survey of EMPs at business faculties in Austrian state universities and a policy analysis of national internationalization strategies were conducted. This was then complemented by a case study of English-taught degree programs at WU, which included an analysis of institutional internationalization policies, interviews with the program managers, and a course description analysis. By combining descriptive statistics in the status quo survey with a qualitative content analysis of policy documents, the course descriptions and the interview data, the study yielded comprehensive findings into EMP program design and delivery.

In order to gain an insight into the student perspective, Komori-Glatz' ethnographically-inspired study collected data from three student groups as they worked on a single, discrete project. In each group, half the students were Austrians and half non-Austrians, from countries as diverse as China, Romania, Finland and Brazil. The resulting data sets consist of audio/visual recordings of their meetings, the groups' Facebook chats, the reports and recordings of their final project presentations, and reflective interviews conducted after the end of the project. The interactional data presents the students' actual language use and enables triangulation of the practices that are self-reported in the interviews.

12 CEMS is "a global alliance of leading business schools, multinational companies and NGOs that together offer the CEMS Master's in International Management (MIM). The CEMS MIM is a pre-experience postgraduate degree open to high-caliber, internationally minded, multilingual students enrolled in a Master's in Management program at one of the CEMS member schools". (www.cems.org)

13 http://www.wu.ac.at/strategy/accreditations/international/accreditations-equis-aacsb-amba/en/

In this paper, we will focus on the students' and program managers' perceptions of the implementation of EMI to reveal the interplay between policy and practice. By focusing on both the macro- and the micro-levels of English-medium instruction, the two projects combined offer a holistic picture of EMPs in business studies at an Austrian HEI and illustrate how key themes related to internationalization and language learning are manifested at Europe's largest business university.

6 Profiling the university on the international higher education market

As indicated in Sections 3 and 4, many European universities perceive English-medium instruction as a means to internationalize their programs and thus compete on a wider stage. In Austria, this seems to be primarily an institutional concern rather than a national one, as Unterberger's (2014: 133–157) analysis of institutional and national internationalization policies[14] shows. While the latter focus more strongly on increasing mobility as the major concern of internationalization, the institutional documents clearly show that, from the perspective of the university management, EMI is closely connected to institutional profiling and competitiveness in the global higher education market. The analysis of institutional internationalization policies indicates that EMI at WU has entered the *Profiling* phase.[15] As can be seen in the extracts below, the motives behind implementing English-taught degree programs are strongly influenced by the aim to increase the institution's prestige, create a brand image and compete successfully on the higher education market.

14 The national policies used are reports on the realisation and implementation of the Bologna reforms at Austrian institutions of higher education. They provide insights into the government's perspective on internationalization processes at national higher education institutions. The institutional documents comprise WU's development plans, a performance agreement between WU and the Ministry of Science and Research, and a document on WU's internationalization strategy. The variety in the types of policy documents allows an analysis of internationalization processes from multiple perspectives.

15 Wilkinson (2013: 9–11) examined the political, cultural and institutional motives behind the implementation of EMPs at Maastricht University and identified five phases of EMI: *Cross-border*, *Europeanization*, *Consolidation*, *Globalization* and *Monetization*. Unterberger then proposed *Profiling* as the sixth phase. For a detailed discussion of the phases, see Unterberger (2014: 146—157).

> (1) WU positions itself vis-à-vis benchmark business and economics universities [...] and additionally wants to attract students from abroad. Therefore, a significant share of the programs will be exclusively offered in English.
>
> Policy extract (institutional document)

> (2) Strategic goals, profiling, university development: [...]
> Continuous development of WU's internationalization in teaching and research. In particular, this includes: [...] Expanding the range of master's programs, with about half of them taught exclusively in English.
>
> Policy extract (institutional document)

> (3) Good positions in rankings and a possible acquisition of the three most important international accreditations (triple crown) are not an end in itself but an outward sign of WU's international reputation. [...] Quality standards are not supposed to be defined by WU itself but have to face up to international criticism and have to comply with the demands of the globalized world of education.
>
> Policy extract (institutional document)

The interviews with program managers confirmed that EMI has entered a phase in which the university management considers it a successful strategy for improving an institution's international standing and profiling in the global higher education market.

> (4) Whenever you want to have the best students, you also have to compete with other universities and tempt them away from the competition. [...] This can also be noticed in the international applications. If someone submits a GMAT [General Management Admissions Test score], you can see where this also has been submitted to [...]. [Frequently] there are big names on that list and we don't get a lot of these [students] if they are accepted at LSE, ETH, Maastricht, Stockholm, or at a good American university. In 8 out of 10 cases [our program] is then outdone. The GMAT now shows us that we are on the right track because there is nothing above LSE, Rotterdam, ETH and Stockholm. [One of our] long-term objectives is therefore that while we currently get 20% of these students, at some point we want 80% of them.
>
> Interview quotation (EMP program manager)

> (5) Obviously, you want to establish a reputation for the program. You want the students to come to Vienna not only because the city is so beautiful and because of WU but also because of the program.
>
> Interview quotation (EMP program manager)

These quotations show that both the authors of the official institutional policy and individual program managers see EMI as a means and an opportunity to internationalize the university's programs and thus attract a higher caliber of (international) students. There is also an explicit reference to other universities with which WU sees itself in competition.

With regard to the question of how important the language of instruction was when choosing a course, the reflective interviews with the students showed varied responses. WU offers a German-language master's in management but not in marketing. Consequently, for one of the Austrian marketing students, EMI was relatively unimportant when choosing a program:

> (6) For the program itself it wasn't important for me to be international because I just wanted to make a marketing master [...] if it would have been in German I would have also gone for the German program.
>
> Interview quotation (Fabian,[16] Austrian student)

This seemed to be the case for many of the students who had done their bachelor's at WU, whose primary concern was to do their master's at the same institution (and in the same city). However, other students saw EMI as a means to attract international students, which could in turn be perceived as a particular benefit of the course:

> (7) I guess [EMI is] also the opportunity to allow others from other countries that don't speak German to study here otherwise we wouldn't have so many international students which is really one of the best things of this program.
>
> Interview quotation (Carina, Austrian student)

For the international students themselves, value for money seemed to be the decisive criterion. The reasonable costs of living in Vienna, combined with low (or no) tuition fees, were weighed up against the perceived quality of the program. Many had not heard of WU before they started looking at schools; their choice was largely informed by the university's position in the international league tables.

> (8) I was looking just at the Financial Times really and different other rankings to look for good schools and also because it was really much cheaper than others so I was comparing basically good schools that are on the rankings and then the prices and things like that.
>
> Interview quotation (Rafael, Brazilian student)

> (9) I started doing the research I didn't know all the available schools so I used the I think it's the Financial Times ranking and I was checking all the schools.
>
> Interview quotation (Qingling, Chinese student)

16 All names are pseudonyms, which are used to report the individual students' views.

Since some of the international students did not speak much, if any German before they came, offering fully English-taught programs clearly played an important role in their choice. Firstly, had the courses not been taught entirely in English, these students would not have been able to consider them at all. Secondly, it can be argued that the inclusion of several EMPs in the university's offerings improves WU's competitiveness in the rankings, which apparently do play a crucial role in determining a prospective student's choice of institution. Finally, the use of EMI to attract international students seemed to be regarded as advantageous by all the students.

7 EMI and internationalization as preparation for a global career

Even for Fabian, whose choice of program was not determined by the language of instruction (cf. extract 6), the presence of international students on the course was a (perhaps unexpected) benefit. In fact, he even expressed it in terms of Internationalization at Home:

> (10) I really liked it because of the international flair the students from abroad all the other different languages different cultures different backgrounds [...] I've never done an exchange semester and it's some kind of *international atmosphere* but with the nice feeling of being *at home*.
>
> Interview quotation (Fabian, Austrian student; authors' emphasis)

Without exception, all the students stated that they enjoyed having a diverse student body in general, even if some admitted that they found it frustrating to work with certain individuals.[17] As well as simply viewing the diversity of their cohort positively, however, some use it actively for their own personal development. For example, Maria found working in intercultural groups was more difficult than working with other Austrians, and used the opportunity to move beyond her comfort zone and confront herself with the challenge now to lay a solid foundation for the future:

17 In such cases, the students were generally anxious to stress that they were not sure if these difficulties arose from personal or cultural differences.

(11) At the beginning I could choose between this group and another group with only Austrians and I wanted to try this group because of the international people also because I wanted to force myself to speak English and also because I think it's more interesting I think it's more challenging.

Interview quotation (Maria, Austrian student)

The university management's internationalization strategies thus appear to be having the desired effect, as these quotations seem to reflect a correlation between the beliefs embodied in the official university policy documents and the beliefs – and language use – of the students on the institution's English-medium programs. It can thus be argued that the EMP is a high-pressure, but low-stakes environment where students can develop skills that will be crucial in their future careers, particularly if these are expected to include an intercultural element and/or the use of English as a lingua franca (i.e. as the chosen/only feasible medium of communication between speakers of different L1s; cf. Seidlhofer 2011: 7). This is also intimated in the university's development plan:

(12) Internationalisation at WU has reached a very advanced level which directly influences the university's strategic direction. The fierce competition between universities is fueled by numerous factors: the internationalization and globalization of the education landscape, the increased mobility of students and researchers, as well as the emphasis on life-long learning. Students demand an education which prepares them for international careers; employers demand graduates experienced in cultural diversity as well as the readiness to be globally active.

Policy extract (institutional document)

The notion that the mixed classroom setting resulting from the implementation of EMI and the university's internationalization processes can contribute to preparing the students for an international career was confirmed by the professor teaching one of the courses that the teamwork was recorded in. In this course, students had to analyze and make decisions about entering the Asian market with fast-moving consumer goods. These decisions were then entered into a computer program (referred to here as "the simulation") which then calculated their "results" in terms of revenue, market share, etc.

(13) Interviewer: Is it realistic in terms of the setting itself with the group and the mixed nationalities?

Interviewee: I can compare this very much with my own time at [name of large multinational company] the situation the simulation is played in is very very realistic.

Interview quotation (Marketing professor)

It seems that working in an intercultural team does indeed offer students on EMPs at WU the opportunity to gain and practice skills that will be in high demand in the future. Having international students on the courses is reported as being generally positive by all stakeholders. On the one hand, international students can be seen to bring a range of knowledge and experiences with them; on the other, stakeholders in the institution see this as an opportunity for local students to engage with a variety of cultures and languages as well as the challenges that arise from such contexts.

8 Language learning on EMPs

One of these challenges is the use of a second or foreign language as the medium of instruction itself. There is still relatively little research that investigates the role of language learning in EMI settings. Nevertheless, some common observations about language learning can be seen in the literature on English-medium education. Firstly, the aim to improve students' language proficiency is usually not a reason for introducing an English-taught degree program (e.g. Wächter and Maiworm 2008: 67–68). Secondly, language learning is often an implicit rather than explicit aim because EMI contexts provide opportunities for incidental language learning (e.g. Rauto 2008: 23–24).

Based on these shared assumptions about EMI, one might assume that explicitly stated language learning objectives are a scarcity in the course descriptions of English-taught degree programs. However, an analysis of 93 course descriptions of four English-medium master's programs at WU[18] produced rather surprising results, as it revealed that an astonishing 77% of all courses actually include explicitly stated language learning aims. This, in turn, means that only 23% (21 out of 93) of all the course descriptions do not contain explicit language learning aims. The language learning objective with the most occurrences (n = 43) was the category of *Increasing discussion/negotiation/communication skills*. The extracts below illustrate how this language learning aim is verbalized in the course descriptions and also show that they are indeed formulated as explicit aims. They are taken from the learning outcomes section of the course descriptions, which are usually preceded by a heading such as "After completing this course, students will be able to…" or "The aim of this course is to…".

> (14) [S]uccessfully facilitate discussions in various business contexts (meetings, negotiations, workshops, etc.)

18 See Unterberger (2014: 158–192) for the detailed results of the curricula analysis.

> professionally prepare and lead through discussions
>
> Course description extract (SIMC Program)

> (15) This class will foster the students' ability to participate in group discussions and team work.
>
> Course description extract (CEMS Program)

> (16) The capacity to detect and analyze cultural differences in communication patterns, negotiation styles, leadership behavior, and so on.
>
> Course description extract (CEMS Program)

However, despite the fact that similar language learning aims can be identified in more than three-quarters of the courses, the program managers mostly remain very vague when it comes to language learning objectives. In fact, the program managers' views are clearly divergent from the trends identified in the analysis. Most program managers believe that the input provided in an English-taught degree program is automatically beneficial for the students' English proficiency, without the need for explicit instruction.

> (17) We definitely have implicit [language learning aims]. I was very pleased to observe that their presentation skills improve considerably. When they have to present something, their presentations are well prepared and, as far as I can judge, also very good from a language point of view. [...] This is certainly a positive side effect.
>
> Interview quotation (EMP program manager)

> (18) [The development of discipline-specific language skills] is an implicit aim. It is not an explicitly formulated aim, at least not at the moment. I believe it is inevitable that students improve their English proficiency when they are enrolled on a two-year English-taught program with at least one semester abroad.
> Interview quotation (EMP program manager)

As these two interview quotes show, the program managers consider increased English proficiency a logical consequence of EMI and view this as an implicit aim of their programs, confirming the assumption that incidental language learning is promoted in English-medium contexts. Curiously, the interviews showed that the program managers are uncertain about which specific language skills students are supposed to develop in their programs and they referred only occasionally to specific skills. The majority of the interviewees, who all also teach in the EMPs, agreed that the development of subject-specific terminology is an aim, be it explicit or implicit. While it might be the most overt, and for some indeed the only, language learning aim in a setting in which content learning is strongly prioritized, the acquisition of subject-specific terminology knowledge was the aim least frequently identified in the course description analysis.

The curricula analysis of four English-medium master's programs at WU identified EAP / ESP courses (English for Academic/Specific Purposes, i.e. courses with explicit and targeted language teaching) as amounting to only 9% (i.e. 8/93 classes or 31/480 ECTS[19]) of all courses. Given the frequent occurrence of explicitly stated language learning aims in the course descriptions, it is questionable whether the proportion of EAP and ESP teaching in the EMPs adequately promotes these aims. The fact that 77% of all analyzed courses claim that students will have increased communication, presentation and/or writing skills on completion might indeed call for more EAP and ESP classes. Particularly, the teaching of discipline-specific language appears to be largely neglected as only one ESP course could be identified in the four EMPs investigated. There was also surprisingly little collaboration with WU's language department (cf. Unterberger 2012: 92–93). This confirms results of previous research, which also found that there is often no room for ESP teaching in English-medium programs (e.g. Räisänen and Fortanet-Gómez 2008: 45; Wilkinson 2008: 56), and reflects a lack of awareness among instructors about the pedagogical implications of EMI, an issue which has also been raised previously (e.g. Airey 2004; Räsänen and Klaassen 2006: 269; Unterberger 2012: 92—93). It can thus be argued that a more active approach to promoting language learning in EMPs could improve the overall quality of an English-taught program.

Like their instructors, the students also seem to believe in a learning-by-doing approach to language:

> (19) Well you get to read a lot of English and then well you I think you become better passively better at it if you just read a lot of English stuff or hear a lot of English stuff.
>
> Interview quotation (Ruben, Dutch student)

This somewhat casual and relatively uncritical approach to language learning was reflected in many of the interviews and also in informal conversations with various students on the English-medium master's programs. On the one hand, the fairly high language requirements for admission to the program and the severe competition to

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19 "European Credit Transfer System" points are widely used throughout European higher education institutions and designed to indicate the course workload and enable the comparison of study programs across institutions (for more information see http://www.studyineurope.eu/ects-system) get accepted onto the program did mean that most students claimed not to have any difficulties with the transition from a non-English-medium bachelor to an English-medium master's; several also added that their exchange semester – where many had their first experience of English-medium education – had been more challenging. On the other, it could be argued that the lack of language awareness on the part of the program managers, and the resulting lack of explicit language teaching, could lead to a corresponding lack of awareness among the students.

One of the few interviewees who admitted that he found EMI difficult at first was Fabian, for whom this was the first time he had been exposed to English-medium instruction:

> (20) The language of course in the beginning was some kind of a barrier [...] I didn't do an exchange semester so I wasn't abroad and therefore it was some kind of a barrier in the beginning because I didn't speak that much during my bachelor studies. During my work at [name of company] it was most of the time German and sometimes in English but more or less in written form and not speaking and in the beginning it was quite a challenge. I was like okay just calm down and I was not like before I wanted to say something like thinking about it how to say it but after the first three or yeah four weeks then it was okay.
>
> Interview quotation (Fabian, Austrian student)

This quotation is interesting for several reasons as it illustrates how an IaH setting can affect a student's experiences and performance. Firstly, it shows that some students do struggle with a new language of instruction. Although Fabian (cf. extract 20) claims that he did eventually acquire the skills and the confidence to contribute to class discussions, it should be noted that it took up to four weeks before he felt comfortable doing so. In a course where participation is part of the assessment criteria, this could be a significant disadvantage.[20] While it did not seem to be the case for Fabian, it could be argued that not being able to contribute actively during the crucial first few weeks could also represent a major disadvantage from a social perspective. Additionally, when reflecting on the explicit motivations for introducing IaH and specifically the notion that local students can benefit from exposure to and interaction with their international colleagues, difficulties in communicating through English, especially when speaking, might encourage students to remain with their compatriots and lead to segregation, defeating the purpose of having a multi-cultural and multi-lingual classroom. Again, this does not seem to have been true of Fabian, who later attributed his

20 For a detailed analysis of language-related assessment criteria in English-taught master's programs, see Unterberger (2014: 187–192).

better grade to the fact that, by trying to compensate for his lack of participation at the beginning of the course, he actually contributed more to the later class discussions than the other students in his group. However, for someone who was less self-confident or less self-aware, this could represent a serious challenge both to their own learning and to the overall atmosphere in the classroom. Furthermore, a self-imposed segregation of local and international students resulting from a language barrier (or even just a language obstacle) impedes students from benefitting from the intercultural experience that represents training for their professional careers.

9 Conclusions: Stakeholder perspectives on EMI

As the world – and particularly the world of business – becomes increasingly interconnected, universities are coming under more and more pressure to equip their students for working in an international and intercultural environment. Some of this pressure comes from above, with state-led educational policy decisions such as the implementation of the Bologna Reforms having a massive impact on the general structure of university programs. Teaching through English is certainly considered a key strategy in WU's internationalization processes, and WU policy makers seem to perceive internationalization, EMI and the institution's competitiveness as inseparable. Other pressure comes from below, with the students' comments in the interviews indicating that this attitude is not unreasonable. Though one Austrian student would have chosen German-medium courses if available, another explicitly said that the language of instruction made the course unique and (positively) related EMI to the presence of international students. For the international students themselves, EMI was a pre-requisite for considering the institution. The program managers' concern with the university's reputation is thus equally valid, given that for many of the international students, their final choice is based on the perceived cost-benefit of each institution, particularly with regard to the university's position in the international rankings. This seems to be influenced both by the use of EMI as well as having an international body of students and staff.

Given this emphasis on competitiveness, it is not surprising that WU Vienna is focusing its attention on profiling itself as a prestigious, international(ized) university. Even for those who do not intend to pursue a global career actively, internationalized curricula and a culturally diverse student body are considered to be hugely beneficial by both the institution and the students. Additionally, students planning to remain in Austria after they graduate are likely to have to work in English, or other languages, to a certain extent. The most recent Eurobarometer report suggests that almost a quarter of the Austrians surveyed reported that they use foreign languages at work (EC 2012: 51). Given that English is still perceived as the dominant language in international business (Marschan-Piekkari, Welch, and Welch 1999: 379; cf. Section 3), WU graduates are likely to be confronted with foreign languages at work, particularly English, even if they stay in Austria. It is therefore quite surprising that the comments from both groups of stakeholders suggest that language learning on EMPs is largely incidental. There are indications that it can – and does – happen, but we argue that there is still a need for greater awareness and the explicit teaching of language, particularly ESP skills.

Despite their best efforts to examine myriad stakeholder perspectives on EMI at Europe's largest business university, there are of course some limitations to the two studies presented in this paper. Firstly, though the situation at WU Vienna reflects that of many European universities, it offers a research perspective that is restricted to a rather specific context, i.e. tertiary business education at an Austrian state university. There are also two groups of stakeholders whose perspectives have not been examined in detail. Although all the program directors interviewed also teach on the EMPs and the teamwork project is set in the context of a specific course, neither study offers an in-depth analysis of the role of English in the classroom, or from the point of view of the teacher. Another important absence is the prospective employer. There are some studies into language, particularly English-medium education, and employability (e.g. Hellekjaer and Hellekjaer 2015). However, there is still little research on the relationship between EMI and institutional competitiveness with regard to alumni employment.

The role of English as the medium of instruction, student mobility and competition are therefore closely interrelated, especially in the field of tertiary business education. English serves to attract international students, thus improving the competitiveness of the institution. Furthermore, domestic students benefit from learning processes arising in the presence of their international colleagues, providing them with a relatively low-stakes setting in which to develop crucial interpersonal and intercultural skills. Still, while policy makers have good reasons to introduce EMI on strategic grounds, the implementation of EMPs is not without a number of challenges. The question thus remains as to how language teaching in European business universities can be optimized to support the international managers of tomorrow through both policy and practice.

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Alla Tovares and Nkonko Kamwangamalu

Linguistic diversity and language-in-educational practices in Kenya and South Africa: Challenges and responses

Abstract: One of the many challenges facing multilingual post-colonial societies in Africa has been whether to replace former colonial languages with indigenous languages as the medium of instruction in public schools and universities and, in doing so, cut off students from the international scholarly community; or retain former colonial languages as the sole mediums of instruction and, in this process, perpetuate linguistic imperialism and neo-colonialism (Phillipson 1992; Reagan and Schreffler 2005). This paper analyzes the responses of a sample university student population from Kenya and South Africa to linguistic diversity and language-in-education practices, on the one hand, and to the imperatives of the globalization and market value of English, on the other. The analysis of the interview data, complemented by ethnographic observations and group discussions, shows that the students prefer English-medium instruction and are encouraged to speak English at home because of the economic rewards associated with the language. This preference for English, however, comes at a price: the students are cut off from access to linguistic diversity in academic settings and, unwittingly, collude with institutions of learning "in the destruction of their instrument of expression" (Bourdieu 1991: 17) – the indigenous languages. At the same time, many African universities are introducing African languages as mediums of instruction (e.g., the University of KwaZulu-Natal in South Africa; Moi University in Kenya), thus presenting competition with English-medium education. However, the lack of instructional materials in indigenous languages (Gonzalez 2002; Nkosi 2014), the view of languages as bounded entities rather than fluid continua, and economic rewards associated with English as a global language complicate matters even further. All these different (and often conflicting) public and private actions and attitudes not only reflect and add to the challenges that African communities face in the age of globalization, but they also underscore that superdiversity (Blommaert and Rampton 2011), a phenomenon that has yet to be appropriately addressed in educational settings, is the norm rather than the exception on the continent and around the globe.

Keywords: linguistic diversity, Kenya, South Africa, language-in-educational practices, language attitudes and ideologies, prestige planning, language economics

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1 Introduction

One of the most crucial language planning decisions that a country can make, argues Ralph Fasold (1984: 292), is "the determination of a language to serve as the medium of instruction in school". Like many African countries, Kenya and South Africa have been grappling with the issue of the medium of instruction in the educational systems since they became independent nations in 1963 and 1994, respectively. Initially, the concern for both countries was whether African languages should replace English, a colonial inheritance, as the medium of instruction in public schools. With the advent of globalization, which has turned English the medium of communication linking communities around the globe, the concern to replace English with African language has taken a back seat. Instead, the issue now is how African languages could be made viable mediums of instruction alongside English, the global language, in the educational systems.

In this study we report on university students' responses to linguistic diversity and language-in-education practices in Kenya and South Africa, on the one hand, and to the imperatives of the globalization and market value of English, on the other. First, we present Kenya's and South Africa's sociolinguistic profiles and language-in-education practices to provide the background against which the participants' responses to linguistic diversity and preference for English as the medium of instruction in the schools will be analyzed. Second, using interview data, we analyze the participants', and – indirectly – their parents' and relatives' reported preferences for English-medium education in light of current developments in language planning, especially the notion of prestige planning (Haarmann 1990). *Prestige planning* is concerned with raising the prestige of any given language so that members of the target speech community develop a positive attitude towards it. Haarmann (1990: 104–105) maintains that the relative success or failure of any language planning activity, be it corpus-planning or status-planning, depends on the positive values or prestige with which the language is associated by the planners (i.e. *producers* of language planning) on the one hand, and the speech community (i.e. *receivers* of language planning) whose language is the target of planning, on the other. This distinction between prestige as associated with the *production* of language planning and prestige as related to the *reception* of language planning is an important one. A language policy that is not accepted by the target speech community will be doomed to fail, as happened in the then apartheid South Africa. There, the apartheid government, or whom Haarmann calls the producers of language planning, enacted legislation – the Bantu Education Act – intended to impose Afrikaans, next to English, as the medium of instruction in Black Schools. The Black population resisted the legislation, for they viewed it as the government's attempt to restrict their access to

English-medium education. The government's determination to impose the legislation and Black people's resistance against it led to the bloody Soweto uprising of June 17, 1976, in which many school children and teachers lost their lives.

Another theoretical framework informing our analysis that reveals the students' preference for English-medium education is Bourdieu's (1991) theory of practice, especially such notions as fields, marketplace, habitus, and capital. Bourdieu theorizes that all human actions take place within social fields, i.e., areas of struggle for institutional resources and forms of privilege and power. He notes that the individuals who participate in this struggle have different aims – some (e.g., the elites/policymakers) seek to preserve the status quo by legitimatizing some linguistic capital – in this case, the former colonial languages; others (e.g. language activists and language professionals) seek to change the environment – each choosing differing chances of winning or losing, depending upon where they are located in the structured space of their respective positions in society (Bourdieu 1991: 14). Accordingly, individuals make choices about which language or languages to use in particular kinds of markets, which Bourdieu defines as places where different kinds of resources, or capital, are distributed. Bourdieu suggests that the distribution of such capital in the community is related in specific ways to the distribution of other forms of capital (e.g., economic capital, cultural capital, etc.) that define the location of an individual within the social space. He goes on to say that the individuals, or whom he calls *agents*, have a set of dispositions, or *habitus*, which inclines them to act and react in certain ways. In other words, the dispositions give the agents "a feel for the game", a sense of what is appropriate in the circumstances and what is not (Bourdieu 1991: 13). Within the theory of practice, linguistic products such as language or language varieties are said to be endowed with a certain value in a given *field* (or linguistic market); that is, the context in which a particular language or variety is used. In any given linguistic market, some products are valued more highly than others. Bourdieu (1991: 18) goes on to say that part of the practical competence of speakers is to know how to, and to be able to, produce discourse that is highly valued in the markets concerned. Bourdieu's theory allows scholars to understand why the vast majority of African parents in both Kenya and South Africa value and prefer such an ex-colonial language as English over their own indigenous languages as the medium of instruction in the educational system (Kamwangamalu 2016). They evaluate this language, English, as a commodity that commands an exchange value; they perceive it as more advantageous than African languages in the benefits that it can bring to the user or, in Bourdieu's terms, they see *linguistic capital* inherent in this (ex-colonial) language (Tan and Rubdy 2008). In short, many African parents associate English with a high socio-economic value because an education through the medium of English opens doors to employment opportunities both at home and abroad, while an education through the medium of an African language does not offer comparable benefits even in the local linguistic marketplace (Kamwangamalu 2016). This parental clamor for English, however, comes at a price: parents cut off their children's access to linguistic diversity and, unwittingly, collude with institutions of learning "in the destruction of their instrument of expression" (Bourdieu 1991: 17) – the indigenous languages. Drawing on Bourdieu's, Haarmann's, and related theoretical frameworks, we propose that for African languages to become viable mediums of instruction in the educational systems alongside English, they must be associated with positive economic outcomes. Any language policy short of that goal, including current efforts by many Universities in Kenya and South Africa to elevate the status of African languages as mediums of instruction in the educational systems, is unlikely to succeed. The rationale for introducing African languages as the medium of instruction in the educational systems in Kenya and South Africa will be discussed later in the chapter. The next section describes Kenya's and South Africa's sociolinguistic profiles as well as language-in-education practices.

2 Kenya and South Africa: A sociolinguistic profile and language-in-education practices

Kenya and South Africa, both former British colonies, are multi-ethnic and therefore multilingual African countries since each ethnic group has its own language. Kenya is an eastern African country with a population of approximately 34 million people speaking some 45 languages, with KiSwahili[1] as the country's lingua franca spoken by over 95% of the population. English and KiSwahili are the official languages of Kenya. During the period of colonization by Britain (1888–1962), Kenya used English as the main medium of instruction in the educational system. African languages were used as the medium of instruction only for the first three years of primary school; during that time, English was taught as a subject. Thereafter, English was used as the sole medium of instruction for the remainder of the educational system including colleges and universities. After it secured independence from Britain in 1963, Kenya chose to continue with its colonial legacy,

1 In this paper, we use the term "KiSwahili" to refer to the name of the language and the term "Swahili" to refer to the people who speak the language; however, as a few of the excerpts from the data demonstrate, in everyday discourse the terms "KiSwahili" and "Swahili" are often used interchangeably to refer to the name of the language. Similarly, we have used the terms Zulu and isiZulu to refer to the people who speak the language and to the language itself, respectively.

using English as the national language and the primary medium of instruction. Apparently, English was chosen to avoid interethnic and ethnolinguistic conflicts and preserve the country's national unity. As Ogechi (2009) points out, while for the majority of Kenyan population English is a foreign language, it is an official language of Kenya and the medium of instruction from grade 4 onwards. Moreover, standardized national examinations are written in English. At the same time, KiSwahili and other indigenous languages are used as mediums of instruction only in grades 1 through 3 and then are taught (mostly KiSwahili) as a subject at Kenyan schools and universities. Ogechi's research shows that most fourth graders and their teachers in urban, and especially in rural schools are not sufficiently competent in English nor do they completely switch to English. Instead, the students and the teachers are constantly engaged in English-KiSwahili or English-ethnic language codeswitching to facilitate teaching and learning. "Learners are not ready to use it [English] and some teachers are poor role models of both spoken and written English" (Ogechi 2009: 155). Ogechi, like the authors of this paper, does not advocate for the type of a monolingualism in which KiSwahili or another African language replaces English, but rather for a productive inclusion of indigenous languages, alongside English, in the educational process. Recently, in 2013, Kenya adopted a new language policy giving KiSwahili, Kenya's lingua franca, the status of co-official language with English. KiSwahili is now a required subject in the educational system and is used as the medium of instruction to teach such subjects as home economics and the Swahili language itself. However, the new policy does not accord KiSwahili a status such that knowledge of the language would give the speakers access to employment opportunities in the formal labor market. In other words, the market value of KiSwahili is by far lower than that of English. English is perceived to be more appealing to the masses than KiSwahili, especially in education; consequently, English is deemed to be the language in which many parents want their children to be educated. Moreover, some educators (see Kisaka 2015) view mother tongues and KiSwahili as causing interference in students' progress toward mastery of English and, therefore, advocate for the exclusive use of English as a medium of education from grade 1 onwards.

In sum, for many Kenyans, English is conjoined with employment opportunities:

- it is seen as a personal asset, as a stepping stone to getting a better job, and as a social status marker;
- it has greater prestige than KiSwahili both locally and internationally;
- it is the language of government and administration and of international communication;
- it is the language by which an individual's actual or potential socio-economic standing in the community is measured.

As the data analysis will show, these attributes of English in Kenya also ring true in South Africa, a country with a social and colonial history far more complex than Kenya's. South Africa has a population of about 53 million people speaking some 25 languages. It was colonized successively by the Dutch (1652–1795), the British (1795–1803 and 1806–1948), and the Dutch again (1948–1994), who by then called themselves Afrikaners (Kamwangamalu 2003: 229–231). During the colonial eras, each colonizing power imposed its language as the official language of the state and the medium of instruction in the schools; thus, Dutch was the medium of instruction in the Dutch era, and so were English and subsequently Afrikaans (and English) when South Africa was a British and Dutch colony, respectively. When the Afrikaners came into power in 1948, they sought to impose Afrikaans as one of the mediums of instruction in Black schools, especially in primary education, via legislation known as the Bantu Education Act. As noted above, the legislation failed because the Black population resisted it. After the demise of apartheid in South Africa in 1994, the country adopted a multilingual language policy giving official status not only to English and Afrikaans, previously the two official languages of the state, but also to nine African languages including sePedi, seSotho, seTswana, siSwati, Tshivenda, xiTsonga, Afrikaans, English, isiNdebele, isiXhosa, and isiZulu (The Constitution, 1996, Chapter1, Section 6 (1)). Despite South Africa's legislative commitment to constitutional multilingualism, language practices in education and other higher domains indicate that the country is leaning towards unilingualism in English (Kamwangamalu 2000; Webb 2002). As in Kenya, South Africa's official languages are used, each in their respective regions, as the medium of instruction only in the first three years of primary schools, especially in rural areas. In urban centers, English is generally used, along with extensive codeswitching to African languages, as the medium of instruction from grade one throughout the remainder of the educational system, including colleges and universities. It must be noted, however, that there still are some predominantly "white" schools in the Western Cape, for example, where Afrikaans remains the sole medium of instruction.

3 African languages as the medium of instruction in Kenya and South Africa: The rationale

Like many African countries, post-colonial Kenya and South Africa have been using an ex-colonial language, English, as the medium of instruction in the schools for generations. Access to high-quality English-medium education has, however, been limited to a select few, the elite, who control and reproduce themselves through the educational systems. In other words, while English has been taught as a subject and used as a medium of instruction for generations, only a small number of the population can claim its mastery. Consequently, the majority of the two countries' citizenry has been marginalized and excluded from participating in the socio-economic and political development of these polities. Pool (1993: 53) explains that policymakers purposely make their privileged and high value language, in this case English, inaccessible to everyone else since a larger ruling class would reduce the polity's total production and dilute the ruling sector's per-capita gains. They do so by making English-medium education cost-prohibitive to the most and affordable only to a small segment of the population, the elite, who have every interest in preserving the privileges with which English is associated. Giri (2010: 96) refers to the elite's preference for English at the expense of the indigenous languages in education as *linguistic elitism*, defining it as an invisible ideology that legitimizes the reproduction and continuation of a single dominant language by arguing that the indigenous languages are not developed well enough for use in education, in the economy, and in related formal domains. Pool (1993) argues that language regimes with inaccessible foreign official languages, which the general public is neither invited to, nor expected to, learn, operate to bring about and maintain elite political regimes, where powerful parents pass their exclusive privileges along to their children. When a language, English as an example, becomes associated with power and privileges, it gives power to those who are able to exploit it, the select few, and serves as a means whereby power structures are put into and maintained in place (Halliday 2003: 410).

To remedy this situation, language activists and scholars, together with such institutions as the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and its successor, the African Union, have called for African languages to become partner mediums of instruction with English in the schools. The imperative to use African languages as mediums of instruction in public schools has been reinforced by a number of factors. First, research reports from many African countries, including Kenya and South Africa, indicate that efforts to spread literacy in the two nations and in Africa as a whole through the medium of former colonial languages including English have failed. Although English has been used in Africa for over 200 years, the continent has the highest rates of illiteracy in the world (UNESCO [1953] 1995). Second, there is the widening gap between the elite (who overtly profess but privately subvert, for the reasons advanced in the previous paragraph), the promotion of indigenous languages as mediums of instruction in favor of ex-colonial languages, and the masses (who are marginalized because they have no access to the prestigious languages, for they cannot afford the cost of high-quality education through the medium of those languages). Another contributing factor to the urgency of elevating African languages and making them viable mediums of instruction consists of recent developments in language-in-education policy and practice, especially the development of the *language ecology* model (Hornberger 2003; Mühlhäusler 1996), in which any language is viewed as a resource that must be preserved. The language ecology model takes into consideration the geographic space as the locus for policies; it acknowledges that multiple languages live together in a specific locale, and people have uses for all of them; it is informed by the history of the languages in their environment; it is concerned with possibilities of language endangerment even as it upholds multilingualism as a resource (Canagarajah 2005).

This rebirth of interest in the ecology of language and, with it, *mother tongue education* appears to be informed by UNESCO's ([1953]1995) model of *mother tongue* literacy as well as by the findings, documented in several studies conducted around the world (Auerbach 1993; Lai and Byram 2003), demonstrating that children perform better at school when they are taught through the medium of their *native* language or of a related indigenous language rather than through the medium of a completely alien language; these studies show that there exists a positive correlation between the medium of instruction and the quality of cognitive and academic development:

> Not only have the children instructed in the mother tongue been found to make better gains than those instructed in a second language; a correlation has also been found between development of literacy skills in the mother tongue and the development of similar skills in a second language. (Akinnaso 1993: 269)

Along the above lines, Cummins (e.g., 1984, 1996), focusing on diverse societies, has argued that an early switch from mother tongue education to English (or any other second or foreign language) as the sole medium of instruction is detrimental to students' development, both linguistic and cognitive. Even the World Bank, which at times has vacillated on the issue of *mother tongue education* (see World Bank 1995), now acknowledges that first-language instruction results in:

(1) increased access and equity,
(2) improved learning outcomes,
(3) reduced repetition and drop-out rates,
(4) socio-cultural benefits and
(5) lower overall costs

(World Bank 2005, cited in Djité 2008: 67)

Also, there is the realization by African language activists and scholars that no European country, including former colonial powers, utilizes a language for education and other national purposes which is of external origin and is the *mother tongue* of none, or at most few, of its people (Spencer 1985: 390). Although former colonial powers have historically been concerned with the ideology of the nation-state, they now struggle to keep the European Union multilingual, especially in public and official setting where English is gaining more influence and prestige at the expense of the less powerful and prestigious languages, and the notion of multilingualism and its role in various aspects of the European Union is continuously redefined (Gazzola 2006; Krzyżanowski and Wodak 2011). Despite a long and rich history of multilingualism, "the monoglot ideologies" still underlie "most of the present-day Europe's nation-states and the 'sociolinguistic regimes'" (Unger et al. 2014: 1). While in Europe the nation-state ideologies are primarily concerned with mother tongues, in Africa they are primarily centered on former colonial languages. As Kamwangamalu (2016) notes, the implementation of the nation-state ideology in the then Western colonies in Africa has left a destructive legacy on the continent, including the following: negative attitudes towards the indigenous languages as equal mediums of learning in the educational system in post-colonial Africa; the marginalization of the indigenous languages and their speakers away from mainstream society; and their exclusion from participation in the social, political, and economic development of the continent. Alarmingly, the reported students' attitude towards African languages as potential mediums of instruction in the educational system echo the ideology of the nation-state, as will become apparent in our analysis of the interview data. The essentialist sanctioning of European languages as the only appropriate languages of schooling has marginalized and precluded the development of African vernaculars, a point that Shin and Kubota (2010: 216) also make, suggesting that the hegemony of colonial languages continues in post-colonial classrooms.

4 Data and methodology

The data for this study come from a larger interdisciplinary research project on language practices of the educated young people in Kenya and South Africa, whose goal is to automate instances of codeswitching. In July of 2013, the authors traveled to Kenya and South Africa and collected various types of data: open-ended interviews (conducted by our African research partners who share the participants' linguistic repertoires), ethnographic observations, and group discussions. Twenty participants took part in the study at each research site. The participants were mostly recruited from the student population of Moi University in Eldoret, Kenya, and the University of KwaZulu Natal (UKZN) in Durban, South Africa. In Durban, all of the participants were bilingual: English and isiZulu. In Eldoret, all of the participants were at least trilingual. In addition to KiSwahili and English (shared by all of the participants), the students' linguistic repertoires included a variety of ethnic languages: Giriama, Kikuyu, Kisii, Luhya, Luo, Kalenjin, Kuria, Kimeru, Kipsigis and Sabaot. It is worth noting that the collected data are not representative of the entire population of the two countries since the study primarily focused on a sample student population in Eldoret and Durban. However, because other studies (e.g., Coetzee-van Rooy 2014; Rudwick and Parmegiani 2013; Parmegiani and Rudwick 2014) reached conclusions similar to ours as will be presented below, the findings of this study add to a discussion of language practices and ideologies in Kenya and South Africa as well as in the African continent in general.

In contrast to sociolinguistic interview questions designed to mask researchers' interest in language, or in Schilling's articulation, "the interview questions are purposely designed to steer attention away from language itself toward topics of interest to interviewees" (2013: 92), our questions focused specifically on language and thus allowed the participants to express their metalinguistic observations about their own, their families' and communities' language practices (see interview questions in Appendix). Digital audio recorders were used to tape the interviews. The content of the transcribed interviews was first analyzed to identify initial patterns in participants' responses. Specifically, we wanted to determine how participants refer to different languages and the roles those languages play in their lives, including their academic lives, and in society at large. Then, using a thematic analysis approach, the transcripts were coded to identify the emergent themes. For instance, because such codes as "local", "tradition", "culture" were predominantly linked to African languages, mother tongues in particular, a theme of "mother tongue as a local identity marker" had been identified.

In both universities, the UKZN and Moi University, English is the medium of instruction. At the same time, in its language policy, adopted by the university council in 2006, the UKZN states that "the University will continue to use English as its primary academic language but will activate the development and use of isiZulu as an additional medium of instruction together with the resources (academic and social) that make the use of the language a real possibility for interaction by all constituencies in the University". While, at least in an official document, UKZN admits that there is "the need to achieve for isiZulu the institutional and academic status of English", no statement in regards to KiSwahili could be found on the website of Moi University. Instead, everything, including the webpage of the Bachelor's degree in KiSwahili, is written in English. As Daisy,[2] one of the interviewees, observed, "English is the medium of education

2 The names of the participants have been substituted with pseudonyms.

in Kenya. In employment it's the language that is used unless you're a Swahili teacher. [. . .] even [a] Swahili teacher still must know English".

5 Analysis and discussion

5.1 The private language of home vs. the public language of school

Our data analysis demonstrates that the participants from Moi University and the UKZN view African languages, especially mother tongues, as means of communication primarily in the private sphere (a "home" language), in rural areas, or with older lesser-educated relatives or other adults. In contrast, the participants consider English as the language of education, higher class, upward mobility, globalization, transnational business, as well as a means of interaction between people of different ethnicities; thus, they view English as linguistic capital (Bourdieu 1991). For instance, Donna from Kenya reports that using English or even KiSwahili would frame an interaction as formal as these languages remind her of being in the classroom, while her native language, Kipsigis, brings "some kind of bond" among speakers, especially among family members. Similarly, other participants, both in Kenya and South Africa, noted that using their mother tongues gives them a sense of belonging, enabling them to connect with culture and family.

(1) **You have to have come from somewhere**; you just didn't fall from the sky with English. [. . .] native language is important; it gives you that sense of identity of **belonging** to somewhere (Florence, Kenya, emphasis added).
(2) It [one's mother tongue] defines **where you come from**. [. . .] Speaking English doesn't define **my roots**, it doesn't really (Lwazi, South Africa, emphasis added).
(3) We use isiZulu because most of the family members are not educated, so we can't use English because they won't understand the- our conversation. And **our cultural background**, they don't allow us to use other languages especially if you are with elders (Sipho, South African, emphasis added).

While most of the participants equated their native languages with their local social and cultural identities, they viewed English as a way of indexing global identity:

(4) Someday I'll want to go maybe to a different country, and I can't express myself in KiSwahili when I go to that other country (Florence, Kenya).
(5) "English is a business language, so if you want to communicate with the world, you have to use English" (Bongani, South Africa).

In sum, the participants identified indigenous languages as something one has to have “to be local”, while English gives a global socioeconomic advantage, an international “social status marker” (Schmield 1991: 170). Similarly, in her study of the isiZulu-speaking youth in a South African township, Rudwick (2004: 168–169) finds that the cultural identity of young people “is constructed with reference to the mother-tongue, while the English language is merely perceived as a necessary prerequisite for living a successful life in South Africa and beyond”. Of interest, in our data the participants view African languages, including lingua francas such as KiSwahili, as something that one should know naturally, without any formal instruction. Therefore, it is not surprising that one of the participants summarized typical language attitudes in the following way:

> (6) And then people- they usually think “I’m a Kenyan I know KiSwahili. Why should [I] sit down [and] waste my time doing KiSwahili?” Yeah. Because it’s really something that is inborn. […] It’s something that is in us. […] in Kenya which community does not talk KiSwahili? […] KiSwahili is acquired like mostly naturally […]. When you are born you start to speak, the first thing you talk is either mother tongue or KiSwahili, yeah. So like there’s no need […] put more attention on KiSwahili. Let’s talk something foreign. Something like English (Florence, Kenya).

This attitude that maintaining, and especially acquiring, proficiency in indigenous languages is reminiscent of the sentiments expressed by the students in the study that Webb et al. (2004: 129) conducted in Northern Sotho: “Learners argue that there is no need to study Northern Sotho since they ‘already know the language’”.

The strict delineation between “the private language of home” and “the public language of school” is also evident in some school policies and practices in both Kenya and South Africa as reported by the participants in our study. For instance, Lily from the Kenyan Luo tribe reports that once she was suspended from school “because [she] was speaking a lot of mother tongue”. After the suspension she made a conscious decision that she calls her resolution, “from now onwards I will be speaking to everyone in English”. Interestingly when Lily started speaking English not only at school but also everywhere and with everyone, the comments that she received were as follows “Lily, you’re showing off; Lily you are showing off nowadays”. Such comments further reinforce the notion of English as the language of school, as the language of the formal situations and not of everyday discourse, especially in the private sphere. Moreover, some Kenyan educators and researchers themselves subscribe to the ideology of mother tongue as “a hindrance to the acquisition of English language”, and recommend “that school administration and teachers should enforce rules to limit the use of vernacular in students' interaction" (Muriungi and Mbui 2013: 296). In general, equating African languages with "home" and the private sphere and English with the public sphere and (inter)national opportunities is one of the main reasons why many students and reportedly their parents do not welcome the idea of using African languages as mediums of education.

5.2 Reported preference for English as the sole medium of instruction: Causes and consequences

As discussed above, because English is associated with greater socio-economic benefits (Tan and Rubdy 2008), many parents want their children to master English and prefer the English language as the medium of instruction in schools and higher educational establishments. Some of the participants, such as Florence from Kenya, report that when their parents were growing up, they were taught "mostly in [their] native language." Florence – whose mother tongue is Kipsigis –notes that the younger generation is "removed" from their mother tongue when they, as was she, are sent to boarding schools where they are taught in English and KiSwahili. This reported parental preference for English, even at the exclusion of the native language at home, is prevalent in the participants' responses from both polities:

> (7) Actually, these days most of the parents they really want their children to speak English. [. . .] We have been brought up knowing that if you're speaking English you are better than someone who is speaking Swahili (Daisy, Kenya).
>
> (8) My younger brother [. . .] is in a daycare where they speak in English. So [. . .] he does not understand [Zulu], [. . .] the best way to communicate with him maybe- it is better to use English. [. . .] I remember one day we went to my village for vacation, when time came for him to talk with grandma. Now, when he was talking to grandma she- grandma was speaking Zulu, when he- he would speak, grandma would say "talk to me in Zulu so I can understand what you are saying, and stop talking gibberish to me" (Sanele, South Africa).

The examples above underscore the fact that reported parental clamor for English and corresponding language attitudes contribute to raising a generation of young educated Africans who are removed from their native languages and, consequently, from people who speak them. In addition to creating a communication barrier between different generations, the sole focus on English could also disadvantage the students academically. For instance, Sanele is concerned that when his younger brother and his cohort "get to grade four [and] they begin" taking isiZulu, they will struggle as they lack any knowledge and practice in this language. As the examples above demonstrate, parents' reported prioritizing of English comes at a price: their children are not only moving away from their culture and traditions but also might be at a disadvantage academically if and when the educational establishments in Africa incorporate African languages into the curriculum. At the same time, it is important to point out that parents' decisions are influenced by a long history of oppression and exclusion. For instance, a senior professor at the University of KwaZulu Natal reacted rather negatively to the attempts of the university administration to introduce isiZulu as a medium of instruction:

> (9) They [the students] would be confined here. Then they will be handicapped, and they start blaming you because I still remember I hated – when I was still doing everything in the medium of Zulu. I hated it because it was, the boers [South Africans of Dutch extraction] were trying to close us down, to say "you should not understand what is happening in Joburg [Johannesburg]", let alone outside South Africa, to say "we do not want you to master English" [. . .] you won't know what is happening in the outside world.

It appears that for the professor, English was and remains the language of the elite, upward mobility, and national and international educational and employment opportunities.

5.3 The lack of instructional materials in African languages vs. the omnipresence of (global) English

In addition to a long and complex history of English as a medium of instruction, the lack of instructional materials in indigenous languages (see Gonzalez 2002; Finalayson and Madiba 2002; Nkosi 2014, for a discussion) presents another problem that African policy makers and educators who would like to (re)introduce African languages as mediums of instruction are facing. For instance, Thabo is initially enthusiastic about a possibility of isiZulu becoming a medium of instruction: "I think it's good, more especially to the people who are studying health sciences". He supports using isiZulu as a medium of instruction in health sciences because, with comprehensive health coverage, doctors and nurses might interact with the patients who are monolingual isiZulu speakers. However, his initial enthusiasm is replaced with a concern that there are few resources in isiZulu, including technical vocabulary,

> (10) Something like psychology. There's a psychological disease they call schizophrenia. What do you call schizophrenia in isiZulu? If you were to [. . .] teach psychology in isiZulu, how would you teach um lecture Freud's theory in isiZulu? I think it's quite difficult coz you'd have to invent vocabulary now coz most of these words like some technical terms found in the medicine don't have Zulu names, you'd have to invent.

As Gonzalez (2002), Finalayson and Madiba (2002) and Nkosi (2014) indicate, the intellectualization of indigenous languages – their planned growth and development – is one of the key aspects in a successful (re)introduction of African languages as mediums of instruction at all levels of education. We should note that great strides have been made at the University of Kwa-Zulu Natal to confront the dominance of English and to develop scientific terminology (Balfour 2010; Ndimande-Hlongwa et al. 2010) for isiZulu, the events of which Thabo (excerpt 10 above) is perhaps not aware. For instance, Parmegiani and Rudwick (2014: 109), following Engelbrecht et al. (2010), report that "the bilingual staff at the UKZN School of Nursing and Psychology have coined 1400 isiZulu terms for the discipline of Nursing and Midwifery".

At the same time, in the age of globalization and omnipresent mass media whose content is delivered through various platforms, English has become synonymous with modernity and technological progress. For instance, both Kenyan and South African participants noted that English finds its way into the discourse of young people not only through academic discourse but also through popular culture – most of it in English – whose terms are readily available and are easily borrowed by young people:

> (11) [The] movies that we watch [...], [in] the places we hang out people don't speak in mother tongue, the music we listen, especially music, music I listen in English mostly (Lily, Kenya).
> (12) We have taken foreign things, we look up to them too much; we no longer look at our things. [...] our languages- slowly slowly, are finishing. Slowly, slowly their levels are decreasing (Lindiwe, South Africa).

The lack of, or still developing, technical vocabulary and original (not translated) academic and literary texts in indigenous languages (Nkosi 2014) coupled with the prestige and omnipresence of English in all forms of texts, from academic to popular, presents a serious issue that African educators and policy makers have to address if they want to be successful in implementing the introduction of African languages as mediums of instruction. Thus, we suggest that prestige planning (Haarmann 1990) in Kenya and South Africa, as well as other post-colonial countries, should include concrete steps to intellectualize the indigenous languages, as the ones that the bilingual faculty and staff at the University of the UKZN are undertaking (see Moodley 2011; Parmegiani and Rudwick 2014; Rudwick and Parmegiani 2013, for a discussion). Furthermore, Turner and Wildsmith-Cromarty (2014: 309) report that the UKZN's success in introducing isiZulu as a required course for all students can be explained by the fact that the course focuses not only on the language proficiency, but also on "cultural awareness and sensitivity". Such broadening of the scope of a typical language class positively contributes to a successful implementation of prestige planning. Another aspect of the successful introduction of the indigenous languages as mediums of instruction involves creating a more cohesive approach to language-in-education policies across different levels of the South African educational system, from primary schools to colleges and universities, so that there is a continuity in expectations and requirements regarding the choice of languages as mediums of instruction. For instance, one of the participants from South Africa observed that the proposed introduction of isiZulu as a medium of instruction at the University of KwaZulu-Natal would present a challenge to many students since English remains the sole medium of instruction in the majority of South African high schools. In other words, after being educated in English in high (secondary) school, prospective university students would have to switch to isiZulu as the medium of instruction. The participant offered the following critical remarks about the lack of a coordinated approach to language-in-education policies across the South African educational system:

> (13) There's some communication breakdown between the higher education system [and] the secondary school education system. [. . .] Instead of joining, the two parties- they're doing something different [. . .], which is not really helping the two systems (Lindelani, South Africa).

Moreover, a number of studies (e.g., Brock-Utne and Holmarsdottir 2004; Heugh 2007; Probyn 2009; Casale and Posel 2011) observed the counterproductive effect that the early introduction of English as the sole medium of instruction has on students in African schools: both English and African language skills deteriorate and the overall educational achievements plummet.

5.4 Approaching languages not as bounded systems but as fluid resources in language learning and use

While considering language learning and use, educators, policy makers, and other stakeholders are often faced with the issue of the public understanding of languages as distinct and impenetrable entities. At the same time, linguistic diversity and hybridity are part of the daily experiences of most Africans. For instance, Parmegiani and Rudwick (2014: 110), building on prior work (e.g., Heller 2007; Mesthrie 2002; Ndlangamandla 2010) suggest, "Black South Africans, especially in urban areas, are more comfortable using hybrid forms of communication, such as contact languages, urban vernaculars, cs [codeswitching] and code-mixing, rather than unadulterated version of their mother tongues". Parmegiani and Rudwick (2014) go on to problematize the very notion of mother tongue in South

Africa as most speakers since birth are surrounded by a variety of languages. In a related study, Banda (2010: 221) critiques what he calls “the monolingual educational practices” in South African educational establishments, where multilingual students and teachers have to follow a one-language-in-a-classroom model — either English, or isiZulu, or Afrikaans, etc.— while in everyday life they possess and draw on multiple linguistic resources. Yet “the monolingual habitus works for the protection of linguistic hierarchies and for the *wasting of language potential* that accompanies the refusal to accept multilingualism as a general feature of a contemporary society” (Gogolin 2011: 243).

Our data analysis, as well as prior work on linguistic practices in Africa (e.g., Glaser 2000 and Rudwick 2004 in South Africa; Kang’ethe-Iraki 2004 in Kenya), indicates that linguistic diversity, including local dialects, codeswitching, mixed or “hybrid” languages (e.g., Sheng in Kenya and Tsotsitaal in South Africa), is part of the habitual everyday linguistic behavior of the participants. As our participants note,

(14) We [are] used to mix languages, maybe it is for reasons of status or we may even [to] say it’s a youth culture (Thabo, South Africa).
(15) [Speak Sheng] to identify yourself as being a youth (Alvin, Kenya).

Yet, the view of languages as bounded systems, often with the focus on a standard variety (a problematic notion itself), permeates the educational system and finds its reflection in student language attitudes (see Makewa et al. 2014; Anthonissen and Gough 1998, for a discussion). For instance, Nkosi (2014: 256) reports that the participants in her study, also the students at the University of KwaZulu-Natal, indicated that their fellow students discouraged them from learning isiZulu by stating “IsiZulu is hard”. In South Africa, Kathard et al. (2011), following Webb et al. (2010), suggest, “the rural variety is considered to be the standard, but is virtually a foreign language to urban schoolchildren who do not learn successfully using this form.” One of the participants, Thabo, confirms this by stating

(16) Since I attended a rural school, I excel in Zulu. If let’s say we speak the real Zulu right now, I can beat that person.

“Real” or “deep” Zulu, while considered standard, is not practiced in urban areas, including urban schools. With respect to standard varieties, in Kenya only the participants who majored in KiSwahili reported being comfortable enough using KiSwahili, while many other students expressed some degree of insecurity of their knowledge of the standard variety. Thus, following Anthonissen and Gough (1998), we propose that in multilingual settings the notion of standard should be approached from a pragmatic perspective. Namely, the notion of standard should be "considered in conjunction with [the] learner-indicated needs and expectations, [and] should assist planners in becoming more specific as to intended outcomes, in refining suggestions for classroom practices, as well as in deciding on assessment procedures for language teaching and learning" (Anthonissen and Gough 1998: 52). In this regard, García's (2009) and García and Wei's (2014) notion of translanguaging as a theoretical concept and as an educational approach can be viewed as helpful as it goes beyond understanding languages as bounded systems but instead views them as fluid resources. Translanguaging involves systematic combining of two or more languages "not as autonomous language systems as has been traditionally the case, but as one linguistic repertoire" (García and Wei 2014: 2) within the same teaching and learning activity that allows multilingual students to actively engage in the educational process. In a related study, Parmegiani and Rudwick (2014: 107) note, "in multilingual contexts, language should not be seen as a series of discrete 'whole bounded systems', but rather as continua across which speakers move in order to meet their communicative needs". Other scholars, such as Billings (2014), Blommaert (2010), Heller (2010a, 2010b), argue that language should be understood as a resource to be used to achieve various goals. In an African context, this means that speakers draw on a wide diversity of linguistic resources on a daily basis to meet their communication needs.

5.5 Linguistic "superdiversity" as a norm in Kenya and South Africa

Our analysis shows how different (and often conflicting) public and private language-in-education attitudes and practices not only reflect and add to the challenges that African communities face in the age of globalization, but they also underscore that superdiversity (Vertovec 2007) is the norm and an evolving phenomenon rather than the exception or a new trend in Kenya and South Africa, and on the continent in general. The notion of superdiversity was introduced by an anthropologist Vertovec (2007) to illustrate the unprecedented diversity in Great Britain precipitated by "a tremendous increase in the categories of migrants, not only in terms of nationality, ethnicity, language, and religion, but also in terms of motives, patterns and itineraries of migration, processes of insertion into the labor and housing markets of the host societies" (Blommaert and Rampton 2011: 1). For Blommaert (2005, 2010) the notions of language-as-resource and superdiversity are inextricably linked. In the age of globalization, and superdiversity, "the traditional concept of 'language' is dislodged and destabilized" (Blommaert 2010: 2).

As Billings (2014: 18) notes, Blommaert's central concern is with how particular languages or language varieties may facilitate or limit one's "social mobility and access to opportunity and institutions". Namely, different languages and varieties are valued differently in different places. Vertovec (2007: 1033) suggests that, along with health services and local authorities, school districts "have to meet the challenges of growing linguistic complexity". While superdiversity, including increasing linguistic complexity, presents new challenges for British, and European in general, policy makers and educators, it has been—as we have suggested in this paper—an ongoing phenomenon in the context of Africa. Recall that Vertovec (2007) first introduced the concept of superdiversity in Great Britain. There, just as in Kenya and South Africa, the English language is the main medium of instruction. In other words, all three countries favor English unilingualism (see Kamwangamalu 2000; Webb 2002, for a discussion), but only in Great Britain is English the mother tongue of the majority of the population, while in Kenya only 16% percent of the population report <u>some</u> competence in English (Baker and Jones 1998: 361); in South Africa, English is self-reported to be first language of 13 percent of the population (2011 census).

5.6 The importance of closing the gap between the market value of English vis-à-vis African languages

The foregoing discussion underscores the importance and urgency of careful language planning, prestige planning (Haarmann 1990) in particular, that would elevate the role of indigenous languages in Kenya and South Africa, and on the continent in general, to that of English in public domains, including that of the educational sphere with all the benefits associated with mother tongue education (Auerbach 1993). In Africa, elevating the social status of the indigenous languages has generally entailed giving the languages official recognition to bring them, theoretically, to equality with English. We argue that policymakers in Africa should learn from developments in language economics, a field of study whose focus is on the theoretical and empirical analyses of the ways in which linguistic and economic variables influence one another (Grin, Sfreddo, and Vaillaincourt 2010). In this regard, Billings (2014: 19), similar to Heller (2010a, 2010b), views language as a commodity that is "available for exchange for goods or money in particular markets", especially in a globalized economy. Understanding the interplay between economic and linguistic variables is relevant to language policy for it sheds light on why there is so much demand for English-medium skills in Africa's formal labor market, but virtually no comparable demand for African languages. The demand for English skills in the formal labor market is to be understood in terms of the market value with which English is associated: It is the language of power and of upward social mobility. The market value of such linguistic capital as African languages is determined in relation to other linguistic products in the planetary economy (Coulmas 1992: 77–85). It is, as Strauss (1996: 9) noted, an index of the functional appreciation of the language by the relevant community. For instance, Casale and Posel (2011) report that South African men with post-secondary education tend to earn 97 percent more if they are proficient in English. Moreover, the authors go on to suggest, some employers may use the English language skills as a screening mechanism in the hiring process. The participants in our study were acutely aware of the higher market value of English:

> (17) [English is] a language that can help you get a job [. . .]. If you want a job, they [the employers] will want English (Florence, Kenya).

Thus, compared with English, African languages are not as much appreciated in the formal labor market for their market value is lower than the market value of English. It is this gap between the market value of English vis-à-vis African languages that must be closed if African languages are to become, like English, the instrument for upward social mobility.

6 Conclusion

In this paper, building on and adding to other studies in Africa (e.g., Coetzee-van Rooy 2014; Rudwick 2004; Rudwick and Parmegiani 2013; Parmegiani and Rudwick 2014), we have demonstrated that young educated Africans in Kenya and South Africa view English as a type of "linguistic capital" (Bourdieu 1991) associated with upward mobility, educational and economic advancement, as well as local and especially global employment opportunities. At the same time, indigenous languages are viewed as something one just knows naturally and should not invest time or money to study formally as there are few economic benefits associated with them. We have suggested that prestige planning (Haarmann 1990) for African languages that also involves economic gains – a high value in the linguistic marketplace – is the optimal solution for policy makers and educators in Kenya and South Africa if they want to successfully introduce indigenous languages as mediums of instruction alongside English throughout the educational system. In other words, we do not advocate for the implementation of the indigenous languages as mediums of instruction at the exclusion of English; rather, we suggest that mother tongues and English be used in the educational process. Furthermore, our analysis also suggests that for a successful introduction of mother tongues as mediums of instruction, the following specific issues have to be addressed and advanced:

1. the intellectualization of indigenous languages (their planned growth and development),
2. a cohesive approach to language-in-education policies across different levels of the educational system (from pre-schools to universities),
3. a pragmatic (Anthonissen and Gough 1998) approach to the notion of a standard language and a more sympathetic attitude toward translanguaging (García 2009; García and Wei 2014) – the use of language varieties and hybridities – in and outside a classroom,
4. a more nuanced understanding of linguistic superdiversity with the focus on the particularities of each community and on various languages as resources,
5. educating the population about the benefits of mother tongue education (Auerbach 1993),
6. a concerted effort to change language planning receivers' attitude towards use of African languages as the medium of instruction in public schools. This, we have argued, can only be achieved if these languages become associated with an economic value in the formal labor market.

Finally, our data analysis shows that the deep-seated privileging of English among the participants, or in Bourdieu's (1991) articulation their habitus, might be an obstacle to a successful implementation of indigenous languages as mediums of instruction. Therefore, it is essential that African languages become associated with an economic value in the formal labor market if language policies designed to promote these languages as the mediums of instruction in public schools are to succeed. It follows, in agreement with the late prominent African educator and intellectual Neville Alexander, that "Unless African languages are given market value, that is unless their instrumentality for the process of production, exchange and distribution is enhanced, no amount of policy change at school level can guarantee their use in high-status functions and, thus, eventual escape from the dominance and hegemony of English" (2013: 108).

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Appendix

Language attitude interview questions. These questions have to be asked orally, taped, and transcribed.

1. What language(s) do you typically use with your family? Why?
2. What language(s) do you use with friends? Why?
3. What language(s) do you use in school?
4. Do you think it is important to know English? Why?
5. Do you think it is important for anyone to know his/her native language?
6. Do you mix several languages in one conversation? If yes, when and why? What languages do you tend to mix?
7. Have you noticed any difference between the way you speak and how other students talk?
8. Can you tell if someone is from your area by the way he or she talks? How can you tell?

9. If you just heard someone talk, without seeing this person, could you tell what kind of background he/she had (e.g., their level of education, position in society, political affiliation, etc.)?
10. Do you speak different languages to different people? When, where and why?
11. Have you ever tried to change anything about the way you talk? Why?
12. What are the issues that you and your friends talk about these days? Why?
13. Continue with follow-up questions that feel natural to you.

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