A Language Management Approach to Language Problems

Integrating macro and micro dimensions

EDITED BY

*Goro Christoph Kimura
and Lisa Fairbrother*

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Table of contents

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Goro Christoph Kimura
Lisa Fairbrother

Introduction

What is a language management approach to language problems and why do we need it?

Lisa Fairbrother and Goro Christoph Kimura
Sophia University

1. Introduction

Language problems have been the subject of research from a wide variety of perspectives, ranging from individual interactional issues, including communication breakdown and attitudes towards languages or varieties of language and their speakers, to issues relating to language policy and planning (LPP) at the national or supra-national level.

Considering the wide range of language issues, in recent years there has been increased interest in examining the treatment of language problems at different levels of society, including, but not exclusive to, institutional language policy and how it actually plays out in individual interactions. As Johnson (2018, p. 63) states, "[t]here is a general agreement in the field that language policy should be conceptualized and studied as multiply levelled (or layered)". However, there is still much discussion on how to relate these different levels and Johnson (2018, p. 63) points out that "[q]uestioning and reconceptualising the macro-micro dialectic is becoming an important feature within LPP research."

Among the various approaches proposed to tackle this issue, language management theory (LMT: Jernudd & Neustupný, 1987; Neustupný, 2004; Nekvapil, 2009) provides a unified framework to address behaviour towards language problems on different levels explicitly and comprehensively. In their description of LMT, Baldauf and Hamid (2018, p. 52) point out that "although language management theory is situation oriented, it can go beyond the immediate context to consider language or communication problems at the societal level or deal with language in the sense of both corpus and status planning".

Using LMT as a unifying theoretical concept, the chapters in this volume will examine the links between micro and macro dimensions in their analyses of a variety of language problems. This body of work will illustrate how no analysis of

language problems can be considered complete without also taking into consideration elements of different dimensions. We will argue that the LMT framework, in particular, is able to show the characteristics of these dimensions clearly and thus can make a contribution to connecting the often separate micro- and macro-focused research trends in sociolinguistics, especially when combined with a conceptualization of micro and macro dimensions as a continuum of intertwining elements.

The following sections will first provide a brief overview of LMT and assess its position in relation to other theories. Next, the conceptualizations of macro and micro in sociolinguistic research so far will be questioned, highlighting the theoretical weaknesses in past research, both within LMT and other theories. After introducing the conceptualization of micro and macro used in this volume, we will then outline the general organization of the volume.

2.   What is language management and why is it a useful concept?

First, we have to note that the term "language management" in sociolinguistics is not a direct application of the term "management" as used in business studies and economics. The central issues of "language management" are not necessarily related to corporate governance or economic success. The concept of management in "language management" is better understood as a notion similar to "health management", for example. As we all somehow manage our health, we manage our language, too. For example, some of us may take a very strategic, well-planned approach to managing our diet, exercise and mental health, while some may just respond to problems as they occur, and others may ignore all minor twinges until a serious life-threatening problem occurs.

Second, the use of the term varies also within sociolinguistics. Although the term "language management" has been used recently by Bernard Spolsky (2004, 2009), his use of the term should not be confused with language management theory (LMT), developed by Björn Jernudd and Jiří Neustupný in the 1980s. Scholars have argued that Spolsky's use of the term "language management" would be more aptly described as a domain-focused approach to traditional language policy and planning (Baldauf, 2012; Nekvapil, 2016; Fairbrother, Nekvapil & Sloboda, 2018), in contrast to the process-oriented metalinguistic focus propounded by LMT. Indeed, Sanden (2014) categorizes Spolsky's approach as a "sub-concept" of classical language planning, whereas she views LMT as a theory. While LMT might be more aptly characterized as a "model" (Jernudd, 2009), it can be regarded as a theory if we understand a sociolinguistic theory in the sense of Schlieben-Lange (1973, p. 105), "as a universal categorical framework to deal with the relationships between language and society".

LMT starts from the assumption that language activity is comprised of two activities: "generation" or, more precisely, "production and reception", and "management" as metalinguistic activities aimed toward it (Nekvapil, 2006, p. 95; see also Jernudd & Neustupný, 1987; Neustupný, 1999). Building on Fishman (1972), the former can be called "language behaviour", the latter "behaviour toward language" (Nekvapil, 2016, p. 14). LMT focuses on the latter, as a prerequisite to better understand the former.

This focus on language management (LM) derives from a critique of the prevalent stance in approaching language problems at the time of the emergence of the theory. As Jernudd explains in chapter two of this volume, it was the recognition of the multi-level characteristics of language problems and the gap between language planning and actual language users that led to the development of the theory from the outset. Since its earliest beginnings LMT has always emphasized that language problems are not just an issue for powerful language planners and policy makers on the national, regional and institutional level, but also for individual language users in their everyday interactions. Jernudd (1993, p. 133) stated that "[t]he language-management model seeks to explain how language problems arise in the course of people's use of language, that is, in discourse, in contrast with approaches under [Joshua A.] Fishman's definition of language planning which takes decision-makers', for example governments', specification of language problems as their axiomatic point of departure." This is in stark contrast to conventional LPP research at the time where "users are not represented directly and at best only indirectly as anonymous participants in political processes" (Jernudd, 1993, p. 138). Similarly, Neustupný (1997, p. 30) argued, "[w]e should not start from abstract discussions about community languages derived from the macro level, but we should start from grasping how participants in actual contact discourse are evaluating languages" (*authors' translation*).

As a result of this stance, the central tenet of LMT is its process-based model, which focuses attention on behaviour towards language, beginning with our expectations of what *should* be *non*-problematic, the noticing of language incongruities that do not match our expectations, the problematization (or not) of those incongruities, leading to the formulation and implementation of plans to try to remove or resolve those problems. Although there have been several adaptations of the processual model over the past 30 years, the basic language management (LM) process involves the following key stages:

1.   A deviation is noted from a norm or expectation
2.   The noted deviation is evaluated (negatively, neutrally or positively)
3.   An adjustment plan is designed
4.   The adjustment plan is implemented

The process can stop at any of the stages, i.e., noted deviations may *not* be evaluated, adjustment plans may *not* be designed, or adjustment plans may be devised but *not* implemented. As the LM model does not look at language problems as existing in a vacuum but rather as the product of the management behaviour of particular actors, ranging from ordinary language users to specialist language planners and policy makers, it makes it easy to pinpoint not only *who* is undertaking the noting, evaluation and adjustment design and implementation, but also based on *whose* norms or expectations. Therefore, one of the strengths of LMT is the ability of this framework to be applied to a wide variety of language problems on different levels of society, ranging from discourse in everyday interactions to organizational-level language use, to national and supra-national level policy. Although Lanstyák (2014) aptly points to the fact that processes in larger social units are much more complicated, the basic stages are essentially the same (Kimura, this volume).

The process model of LMT was originally developed from the interactional framework of 'correction theory', developed by Neustupný in the 1970s, which focused on the processes involved in the removal of language problems from discourse. As such, from its onset, LMT was distinct from other approaches to language problems. In particular, the first stage of the noting of deviations from norms, clearly distinguishes LMT from approaches to problems in language use such as error analysis (Corder, 1967). Whereas in the framework of error analysis, the researcher is responsible for determining what is to be defined as an error or not, often based on standardized norms, LMT takes an emic approach and switches the focus to actual language users or other agents' behaviour towards language, and the conceptualization of language problems as certain actors themselves perceive them. With regard to LPP, Jernudd and Neustupný (1987) criticized the tendencies of some early language planners to claim to act on behalf of communities, without actually consulting the communities themselves (see also Jernudd, this volume).

LMT's specific focus on norms, or expectations about language use, reminds the researcher to trace each noted deviation back to what the participants themselves expected appropriate language behaviour to have been, rather than just assuming that deviations from standard norms will be noted. In fact, detailed analyses of discourse have shown that deviations from standard norms are often *not* noted as deviations by participants in interaction. As Nekvapil (2016, p. 18) explains:

> [i]n sociolinguistic research it is important to find out not only what common speakers subject to management, but also what they leave unnoticed… There may, actually, be a profound difference between what is understood as a problem by linguists and between what everyday users consider a problem (it is not uncommon for experts to see as problematic phenomena which everyday users do not even note).

Further research on the concept of noting has examined what kind of phenomena will be noted, under what conditions noting will occur, and how noting in everyday interactions connects to macro-level management (Marriott & Nekvapil, 2012).

The stage of noting shares some similarities with markedness theory (Jakobson, 1972), which considers 'marked' utterances to be "conspicuous, out of the ordinary with respect to a certain point of reference or prototype" (Coulmas, 2005, p. 90). Indeed, many linguistic phenomena that can be objectively described by linguists as marked may be noted as deviations from norms. However, what differentiates LMT from markedness theory is its focus on *who* is doing the noting and *whose* "certain point of reference or prototype" the deviation is being noted against. LMT does not simply presuppose that "[i]n each society there is a normal linguistic usage" (p. 90) but rather focuses on how what kind of language users orient towards their own and others' language use in practice. A further difference is that LMT does not concentrate on noting alone, but integrates this stage as part of the management process.

However, just because a deviation has been noted from a norm or expectation, or "an 'ideal' state of affairs" (Lanstyák, 2018, p. 68), this does not mean that it will become a problem. The stage in the process that determines whether a noted deviation will actually become a problem or not, is the evaluation stage. Indeed, noted deviations may not be evaluated at all, or they might be evaluated neutrally or positively (Neustupný, 2003). In discourse, it is only when a negative evaluation has been made and a noted deviation is turned into an 'inadequacy' that we can clearly see that a deviation has actually been problematized (Neustupný, 1994). Thus, LMT draws our attention not only to the problem as it surfaces in discourse or gets mentioned in policy statements, but also to the cognitive processes involved in determining whether a particular language phenomenon will be regarded as a problem or not.

The following two stages of the LM model focus on the processes involved in trying to remove the inadequacy or resolve the problem in other ways. LMT draws our attention to the fact that even though plans may be made to attempt to overcome problems, they may not actually be implemented. In addition, adjustment plans might not even be designed at all, and a negatively evaluated deviation might just stop at the evaluation stage. In these cases, there may not be any evidence at all in the discourse or policy statements that these processes took place. Therefore, without accessing actors' internal metalinguistic processes, or examining the processes leading up to the formulation of a language policy, we might never have the chance to access these phenomena at all. Indeed, in most approaches to language problems, the target of analysis is the visible product of these processes, either of an overtly expressed negative evaluation (although many evaluations will just occur cognitively and will not be expressed in discourse) or

an implemented adjustment. However a product-focused approach overlooks the complex processes being undertaken below the surface of discourse and misses language problems that are not overtly expressed and adjustments that may have been designed but not implemented.

This aspect also differentiates LMT from conversation analysis (CA). Although LMT shows some similarities with conversation analysis in the questions raised and methodology, "[c]onversation analysis focuses chiefly on the *implementation phase*; LMT, on the other hand, aims at encompassing *all* phases of the management process" (Nekvapil, 2016, p. 17; see also Sherman, this volume). Additionally, the emphasis that LMT places on introspection (see Fairbrother, Nekvapil & Sloboda (2018) for further discussion), rather than relying solely on observable behaviour, clearly differentiates LM from CA. Due to LMT's interest in cognitive issues, it also has affinity with language ideology studies (Kimura, 2017a).

Kimura (2014, also this volume) adds a final feedback stage to the processual model in his conceptualization of the LM model as a circular, rather than linear process. In this way, he brings LMT into line with other theories of language planning and studies concerned with other fields of human behaviour that emphasize the assessment of implemented policies, which often trigger the start of new management processes. Discourse-based research applying LMT has also shown that the management of language problems in interaction does not merely end after a negative evaluation or the implementation of an adjustment. For example, Fairbrother (2018) has shown that we sometimes metacognitively reprocess our past management processes, resulting in re-evaluations of our past noted deviations, or we may even stop noting future deviations due to the formation of new norms or expectations.

Another characteristic of language problems, as conceptualized in the LMT framework, is their scope, including not only language in the narrow sense but also communicative and sociocultural features of interaction (Neustupný, 2004). Discourse-based research using LMT has revealed that in interaction participants do not necessarily focus on deviations from standardized norms, but rather their attention is often focused on message transmission, so communicative problems seem to have more prominence in their awareness (Fairbrother & Masuda, 2012). As interaction in a broader sense, separate from purely linguistic issues, is often also the object of management, Fairbrother (2000) has suggested that the term 'interaction management' might be a more accurate description of certain processes. A further characteristic of LMT is that 'management' is understood to include 'self-management' as well as 'other-management' (Neustupný, 2004). Whereas policies aimed at others are central in most approaches to language policy, LMT explicitly includes all types of management.

3. The position of LMT in relation to other approaches to language policy and planning

From the perspective of LPP, LMT takes a unique position. Baldauf and Hamid (2018) position LMT as one of at least five 'schools' within the field of LPP, the other four being:

1. The classical school: a historical-structural approach developed from the classical theoretical literature with its roots in modernism
2. The domain focused school: an approach that focuses on different domains of language policy (the family, workplace, religion, public space, schools, etc.) and examines related practices, beliefs and planning
3. The critical studies school: an approach that critically questions "the hegemonic approaches found in classical language planning" and aims at "social change to reduce various types of inequalities"

(Baldauf & Hamid, 2018, p. 55)

4. The ethnographic school: "a layered approach that allows policy texts with their underlying constructs of power relationships to be related to various actors in local communities who are engaged in the policy making and implementation process, to illuminate the ways in which policy works or is dysfunctional"

(Baldauf & Hamid, 2018, p. 54)

Of course, these are just tendencies rather than rigid 'schools'. In reality there is much overlap among these approaches which can be, and often are, combined in concrete research. When positioning LMT among these schools or tendencies, the basic question is how they position LPP within language activities on the whole.[1]

The approach of the classical school has been characterized by a separation of "language policy" and "language practice" (Kimura, 2005; Martin-Jones & da Costa Cabral, 2018). A terminologically unique, yet indeed typical example of this stance is Calvet's work (1996), which divides language activities into the two categories of "in vivo" and "in vitro". The former refers to the practice of everyday language activities, while the latter is explained as intervention into such practices. Calvet (1996, p. 123) concludes with the question: "dans quelle mesure l'homme peut-il intervenir sur la langue et les langues?" [to what extent can man intervene in language and languages]. This question clearly shows that Calvet sees intervention into practice, basically what language policy is all about, as something additional to ordinary language behaviour.

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1. For a brief general comparison on the commonalities and differences between these different schools and LMT, see Nekvapil (2016).

The domain focused school, as represented prominently by Spolsky (2009), takes a similar stance. While expanding the notion of "policy" to include practice, ideology and management, where "management" is understood as "conscious and explicit efforts by language managers to control the choices" (Spolsky, 2009, p. 1) in opposition to practice, Spolsky's framework in fact echoes the typical distinction of the classical school. It sees language management as something that goes beyond ordinary language behaviour, typically pursued by special language managers in specific instances. This stance is evident as Spolsky (2009, p. 261) raises in essence the same question as Calvet: "We are left then with two basic questions: can language be managed? And if it can, should it be managed?"

These approaches can be regarded as being based on "epistemological naturalism" (Kasuya, 1999), a notion of language that sees language policy as a specific 'artificial' activity distinct from usual 'natural' language activities: When it is deemed that language should not be left in its 'natural' state, language planning is carried out 'artificially'.

The separation of policy from practice has been increasingly criticized, however. Shohamy (2006, p. 48), while basically approving the framework of Spolsky, considerably expands the realm of language policy (LP):

> While LP is often perceived on a national political level, it is not always the case, as LP can exist at all levels of decision making about languages and with regard to a variety of entities, as small as individuals and families, making decisions about the language to be used by individuals, at home, in public places, as well as in larger entities, such as schools, cities, regions, nations, territories or in the global context.

Shohamy then goes on to question that "if LP is defined in broader terms, beyond the explicit conscious decisions about languages… then what is the difference between policy and practice?" (p. 163). Her answer is that the boundaries between policy and practice become less distinct because "[p]olicy is practice and practice is policy" (p. 165).

The critical studies school has also been critical of the separation of policy from practice and attempts have been made to broaden the study of language policy. For example, Tollefson (2002, p. 420) suggests that the problem with the study of language policy in the past was that "it paid too little attention to the language practices and attitudes of communities affected by language policy and planning." In recent years, the critical school has largely merged with ethnographic approaches with regard to the policy/practice divide (Tollefson & Perez-Milans, 2018), leading to the stance expressed by Shohamy being further developed and elaborated in ethnographic approaches to LP. McCarty's (2011) edited volume, for example, examining the links between ethnography and language policy, begins with the following statement:

> Policy is not a disembodied thing, but rather a situated sociocultural process – the complex of practices, ideologies, attitudes, and formal and informal mechanisms that influence people's language choices in profound and pervasive everyday ways. (p. xii)

The authors in McCarty's volume then come to the same conclusion as Shohamy. For example, Hornberger and Johnson (2011, p. 285) raise a similar question: "by broadening the definition of 'language policy' in these ways, we are left with the question, 'what *isn't* language policy?'" Johnson (2013, p. 9) repeats this question in his overview of research trends in language policy associated with the ethnographic approach: "If so many concepts, phenomena, and processes are considered 'language policy', the question may arise: 'What *isn't* language policy?'" He then takes a critical stance toward this trend of blurring the distinction between policy and practice:

> I argue that without ongoing conceptual refinement, "language policy" may become so loosely defined as to encompass almost any sociolinguistic phenomena and therefore become a very general descriptor in which all language attitudes, ideologies, and practices are categorized. (p. 24)

The trends depicted here seem to go to the opposite extreme of the classical and Spolskyan schools, by not distinguishing different types of language activities at all.

An LMT perspective, however, takes a different stance to both of these perspectives. In contrast to the first two schools, LMT considers language management an essential, integral part of human language activities (Kimura, 2005). Lanstyák (2014, p. 326) notes that "[o]ne of the great merits of LMT is that it makes the issue of human intervention into discourses or into the language system an organic part of language theory." From the viewpoint of LMT the questions raised by Calvet and Spolsky, regarding whether languages can or should be managed, do not make sense, as humans are constantly intervening in and managing language. As Nekvapil and Sherman (2015, p. 5) point out, "people essentially cannot *not* manage their language", so, in other words, LMT situates 'management' as a part of practice. The question raised by Spolsky makes sense only if we understand 'management' as 'manipulation', as Kikuchi (2010) has suggested. From the perspective of LMT, the questions raised by Calvet and Spolsky can be responded to in the following way: *The question is not to what extent humans can intervene or should manage language. Humans are already incessantly intervening in and managing language. The question to be asked is rather, who is intervening, where (in what kind of situation or social context), in what way, for what purpose and with what kind of consequences?* As mentioned in the previous section, for LMT, management begins in everyday interactions. Thus, the "total absence of social interaction" (Sloboda, 2010) in Spolsky (2009) is one of the main differences

between his conceptualization of language management and its conceptualization in LMT. For further differences between the two approaches, see Dovalil (2011), Jernudd (2010), Sloboda (2010), and Sherman (this volume).

The difference with recent trends in critical and ethnographic approaches is that LMT researchers do not take the stance that policy and practice are inseparable, but rather, they clearly distinguish "language behaviour" (communicative acts) and "behaviour toward language" (the management of communicative acts).

Whereas classical language policy research has distinguished LPP but not integrated it with ordinary language activities, more recent tendencies have made efforts to integrate LPP into practice, but have expanded language policy so much that it can mean everything. LMT shows a third way by distinguishing management, yet at the same time integrating it as part of ordinary language activities. It distances itself both from approaches regarding intervention as something external to the 'natural' flow of language, as well as approaches that put everything into one pot. As Nekvapil (2016, p. 19) puts it, "LMT is essentially a linguistic, or more precisely a sociolinguistic theory, which elucidates one important aspect of language use, namely its management."

Davies and Ziegler (2015) have criticised LMT, arguing that its framework is only able to reveal "explicit efforts aimed at the production and reception of a particular language use" (p. 231) and overlooks the non-planned "invisible hand processes" "of linguistic homogenization in everyday acts of communication" (p. 231). However, as previously mentioned, the central focus of LMT is "behaviour toward language" and as such it is only concerned with "the production and reception of a particular language use" when that becomes the target of language management, or develops as a result of other language management processes. The LMT approach does not claim to cover every aspect of language activities. As Nekvapil (2000, pp. 166–167) further elucidates, the "characterization of the language situation through language management alone is necessarily incomplete." Moreover, the critique that LMT is concerned only with explicit efforts is based on a misunderstanding. Regarding "non-planned" processes, the focus on various actors' actual spontaneous management in discourse has, in fact, been a cornerstone of the development of LMT. As Jernudd (1993, p. 134) points out, "people will not change use of a feature of language unless individuals pay attention to the particular features, at least in short-term memory… in the process of discourse". Thus, the process of "linguistic homogenization in everyday acts of communication" necessarily involves language management.

On the other hand, there are other approaches that position LPP within the scope of general language activities, without falling into the trap of seeing it as something 'artificial' or 'unnatural'. For example, Gazzola (2014) consciously

delimits the scope of policy analysis. While acknowledging the existence of policy in practices, he argues as follows:

> [I]t is useful to keep separate the respective role of public authorities and other actors, because an excessively wide definition of language policy decreases our capacity to make useful distinctions between actors' *practices* on the one hand and *public policies* on the other hand, that is, a set of deliberate interventions in society designed and implemented by public authorities.   (Gazzola, 2014, p. 21)

He clearly states that "we disregard micro-level language planning since it is often not possible to distinguish it from simple practices" (Gazzola, 2014, pp. 21–22). But on the other hand he also makes clear that he does not restrict LPP to the state-level, as was central in the classical approach. One of his criticisms of Calvet is the distinction between "in vivo" and "in vitro", as it presupposes a *laissez-faire* state before language intervention occurs (Gazzola, 2014, pp. 22–27). This deliberate evolution of the classical approach evident in the policy analysis approach to LPP could be described as a "revised classical" stance in LPP. This stance is epistemologically similar to LMT because it views LPP as an integral part of language activities, yet methodologically it is quite dissimilar, being based on political and economic sciences. From the viewpoint of LMT, policy analysis could be regarded as an approach focused on one type of management, namely, institutional management, embedding it more firmly in social, political and economic contexts than the sociolinguistic approaches.

In sum, the unique contribution of LMT to the other approaches and to the field of language problems as a whole can be summarized as:

1. Highlighting that humans are constantly managing their language activities, or if we understand language activities in a broader sense, that managing is an integral part of our language activities. In other words, if we notice something that could/should be managed in language production and reception by ourselves or by others, language management begins. In this respect LMT shows a third way between a too narrow view of human intervention into language that overlooks a great part of such activities, and a too wide view that misses the essential distinction of different types of language activities.
2. Providing an analytical framework, including a set of introspective methods, to look at processes behind the curtain of visible/audible language activities. Only by focusing on cognitive activities towards language problems can we gain access to the full range of processes leading up to actual observable behaviour. This aspect is often lacking in other approaches and we argue that sociolinguistic approaches in general, and studies on LPP in particular, can benefit from the analytical orientation provided by the LMT framework.

Despite differences relating to the policy/practice divide, we argue that LMT should not be regarded as a separate school in isolation from the others, but rather that it can come into fruitful dialogue and collaboration with others. There are many similarities with the ethnographic approaches in particular and in fact a number of scholars working with LMT have taken an ethnographic approach (e.g., Kimura, 2015; Muraoka, Fan & Ko, 2018). The main characteristics of the ethnography of language policy provided by Johnson (2013, p. 44), such as inclusiveness and the linking of different scopes, layers and types of language planning, the focus on the process, and the concern with power and ideology, are indeed very similar to the themes taken up in LMT research. The possibility of interdisciplinary collaboration with the "revised classical" stances found in policy analysis approaches is also an interesting and pressing topic that should be addressed in the future.

To further clarify the contribution of LMT, in this volume we will focus on the micro-macro connection. However, due to considerable differences in the conceptualizations of micro and macro, we limit our scope here to those approaches to language problems prevailing in sociolinguistics.[2] Regarding power and ideology there is another volume currently in preparation (Nekula, Sherman & Zawiszová, forthcoming; see also Bárat, Studer & Nekvapil, 2013; and Kimura, 2017a).

4. Conceptualizations of the micro and macro in sociolinguistic research on language problems

Reflecting on the evolution of the study of LPP, it can be said that the scope of research has broadened from state-centred language policy to include various organizations, and even language planning carried out by individuals. This tendency can be traced across different schools. It is worth noting that even Haugen, whose name is often mentioned in relation to the classical approach, argues that "[i]t must not be overlooked that every user of a language is in a modest but important sense his (her) own language planner" (Haugen, 1987, p. 627).

In most sociolinguistic language planning research the different levels of society where language planning takes place have been conceptualized in terms of macro and micro. In traditional views of language planning, 'macro' has been understood as the level at which language planning decisions are made, particularly "[l]anguage planning taking place at the level of the state or language planning performed by state/governmental institutions" (Nekvapil & Nekula,

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2. For a discussion on macro-micro as social structure vs. interaction in relation to LMT, see Nekula and Nekvapil (2006).

2006, p. 307), and planning occurring below the state level has been referred to as 'micro planning'.

Some models have applied the terms 'macro' and 'micro' with additional wording. For example, in Chua and Baldauf's (2011) model 'supra macro planning' refers to planning undertaken by national governments and international bodies, 'macro' refers to regional planning, whereas 'micro planning' refers to the planning undertaken by local organizations/institutions, such as schools, and community groups, with 'infra micro planning' referring to smaller units, including families and individuals.

In some other models, an extra level, commonly described as the meso or mezzo level, is added to describe planning taking place at the institutional or organizational level. Kaplan & Baldauf (1997) see the planning undertaken by local governments as the 'meso' level situated in between the national 'macro' level and the 'micro' level, which they use to refer to planning occurring in companies, schools and hospitals, etc. On the other hand, Ali, Baldauf, Shariff and Manan (2018) argue that "it is acknowledged that language planning may occur at three levels: macro (polity level), meso (organization / community level), and micro (individual level)" (p. 142).

In the ethnographic approach, the micro is extended to explicitly include interaction, and the question is asked:

> What language policy studies would "look like" if we investigate policy as a practice of power that operates at multiple, intersecting levels: the micro level of individuals in face-to-face interaction, the meso level of local communities of practice, and the macro level of nation-states and larger global forces.
>
> (McCarty, 2011, p. 3)

Despite the varying terminology, with even the same researcher, such as Baldauf, using different terms, basically the fundamental conceptualization prevailing in sociolinguistics is the same: macro indicates separate large-scale social strata whereas micro refers to small-scale social units.

Within the framework of LMT, there has evolved a specific conceptualization and terminology to tackle the issue of different scales and complexity of LM, namely "simple" and "organized" management (Jernudd & Neustupný, 1987). Whereas simple management refers to the "simple correction process in discourse", "without any theoretical components", organized management "addresses itself not to discourse but to language as a system. It is characterized by the presence of theoretical components, by a complex social system (there are « specialists » involved, etc.) and by a specific idiom for discussing language issues" (p. 76). Jernudd and Neustupný's conceptualization of organized management shows that rather than the societal *level* where management takes place, their focus is the *object* of management: The

object of simple management is 'discourse without any theoretical components', whereas the object of organized management is 'language as a system'.

Further elaborating the distinction, organized management has more recently come to be characterized by the following features (Nekvapil, 2012, p. 167; 2016, p. 15):

a. Management acts are trans-interactional
b. A social network or even an institution (organization) holding the corresponding power is involved
c. Communication about management takes place
d. Theorizing and ideologies are at play to a greater degree and more explicitly
e. In addition to language as discourse, the object of management is language as system.

The distinction is further explained as follows:

> Language management in LMT is… not merely a matter of institutions (the position of classical language planning), but also an issue of the everyday linguistic behaviour accompanying the ordinary use of language in concrete interactions. This everyday management is terminologically called simple management (or discourse-based management, or "on-line" management). In opposition to that, management performed by institutions varying in complexity is technically called organized management (or institutional management, or "off-line" management).[3]
>
> (Nekvapil & Sherman, 2015, pp. 6–7)

However, the problem with conceptualizations of micro and macro as specific social units or the binary distinction between simple and organized management is that rather than being distinct categories, these conceptualizations have been shown to have blurred boundaries.

The blurred boundaries between the macro and micro have been pointed out in some recent LPP research. For example, studies focusing on classroom interaction have observed language policies being developed in discourse, such as "practiced language policy" (Bonacina-Pugh, 2012) and "micro-level language policy-in-process" (Amir & Musk, 2013).

From an ecology of language perspective, Hult (2010, p. 13) points out that:

> The breakdown of social organization in micro-macro terms is appealing in its apparent ability to identify specific layers and the occurrences within them

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3. 'On-line management' is more precisely defined as "LM taking place in the same interaction" and 'off-line management' as "taking place either before the inadequacies occur, with the aim to prevent their appearance or after their occurrence, but in another interaction" (Lanstyák, 2014, p. 328).

> that might relate to any particular set of behaviors. Making sense of behaviors in terms of these layers can prove difficult, though, because the strata are ultimately an abstraction. Linguistic ecosystems, like biological ones, do not always have sharp boundaries.

He argues that the "layers" emphasised in much LPP research "are essentially the result of an analytical lens" (p. 14), and the "levels" they describe merely reflect the focus of the researcher at that specific time. On the other hand, he asserts that a focus on the duality of the macro and micro runs the risk of overlooking more complex processes, including the "'micros' within macro levels, such as the multiple moment-by-moment interactions among policy stakeholders when writing or debating a national language policy" (p. 18). He goes on to warn that "it may not be ideal to attempt to render fluid and dynamic relationships across continuous dimensions of LPP situations using terms that connote poles of a continuum, lest the gray area in between become lost" (p. 14). This holds true to the description of single and organized management cited above, where possible types of management lying between "everyday management" undertaken by individuals and "management performed by institutions" and other organizations are often omitted.

This issue of blurred boundaries can be further illustrated in cases of the use of the metaphors 'bottom-up' and 'top-down'. Nekvapil and Sherman (2015) explain that the macro refers to the 'top-down' management of institutions, whereas the micro refers to 'bottom-up' management conducted by individuals:

> In LPP, the "macro" and "micro" metaphors refer primarily to a varying degree of complexity of social processes (one of their uses in sociology). The "top-down" impact is more complex and there is often the work of institutions behind it, which is why it is labelled as "macro", while the "bottom-up" impact may be simpler, often the work of individuals, which is why it is understood as "micro".   (p. 2)

They further elaborate that 'top-down' refers to:

> the initiators of the change or the actors who possess significant power, while the 'bottom-up' direction is associated with actors who do not have such a degree of power. It follows that actors working 'top-down' often enforce their intended changes more easily than those working 'bottom-up'.
>
> (Nekvapil & Sherman, 2015, p. 2)

Although there are many cases that fit this description, Dovalil's chapter in this volume concerning destandardization and demotivation convincingly illustrates that institutions sometimes do not in fact have the power to implement adjustments and the power of actual language users may be stronger than the pressure being exerted 'from above'.

A top-down/bottom-up conceptualization also implies some kind of conflict between the different levels and that the 'top' and the 'bottom' are somehow pushing against each other, which is not necessarily the case. Therefore, it is doubtful that a bottom-up/top-down conceptualization can really reflect the range of complexity that actually exists between the different societal levels and the management processes undertaken among them (Kimura, 2015).

Additionally, the top-down/bottom-up postulation gives the impression that the relationship between the different types of management and the agents undertaking it is merely a vertical bi-directional connection, which could mislead the reader to imagine that those are the only connections possible. Other researchers applying the LMT framework have shown that there are in fact other connections possible, such as a spiral effect, where problems noted at different levels build on one another and increase in complexity (Ali et al., 2018), or a horizontal relationship (Švelch, 2015, p. 164).

The dualistic metaphor of 'top-down' vs. 'bottom-up' can be said to be a relic of the classical separation of policy from practice, discussed in the previous section. It still prevails in some subfields of LPP specifically concerned with different levels of social units, such as linguistic landscape studies. As research has advanced, however, it has become clear that this dualism is too simplistic and untenable (Kimura, 2017b). Although this separation has been overcome theoretically in the ethnographic approaches, the convenient dualism can still be seen in some ethnographic writings. For example, McCarty (2011, p. 278) claims that, "[t]he ethnography of language policy reveals itself as a method uniquely suited to explore the connections (or lack thereof) between top-down and bottom-up." She goes on to argue that "LPP ethnography sheds light on interactions between bottom-up and top-down LPP layers" (McCarty, 2011, p. 282). On the other hand, the same author states that:

> the ethnography of language policy is not so much about uncovering how macro-level LPP acts on people at the micro-level, or even about conveying on-the-ground information back to policy makers, but rather it is about how people themselves actively create, contest, and mediate LPP at multiple levels – micro, meso, and macro.
> (McCarty, 2011, p. 285)

McCarty's argument thus suggests that it is better *not* to use this convenient dualism. Johnson (2013) also argues in this direction, pointing out that "the terms *top-down* and *bottom-up* are *relative*, depending on who is doing the creating and who is doing the interpreting and appropriating" (p. 10). He also argues (p. 108) that:

> dichotomizing conceptualizations of top-down and bottom-up language policy that delimit the various layers through which policy develops, and dichotomize

divisions between policy "creation" and "implementation", obfuscate the varied and unpredictable ways that language policy agents interact with the policy process.

Similarly, it would be beneficial for LMT also to abandon this dichotomizing metaphor, and the dualistic conceptualization of simple and organized management, in order to be able to account for the more complex reality (Kimura, 2015).

5.   The conceptualization of the micro and macro in this volume

Reflecting on the theoretical weaknesses in previous studies attempting to describe the connections between the micro and the macro, it is useful for LMT to restart from the original distinction made by Jernudd and Neustupný (1987). There, simple management was not merely discourse-based, but rather its target was 'discourse without theoretical components'. This original definition obviously leaves open the possibility that 'discourse *with* theoretical components' can exist, and also the possibility that the management of 'language as a system' may take place in discourse in individual interactions. Therefore, the elements that have come to be included in *either* simple *or* organized management in reality can intersect. Similarly, although Jernudd and Neustupný (1987) included trans-interactionality in their original explanation of organized management, simple management has also been shown to be trans-interactional in certain cases (Fairbrother, 2018).

When considering these overlaps between the micro and the macro, a comment made by Neustupný (1997) in a later Japanese paper is particularly illuminating.

> The central government level is often referred to as the macro level… However, the macro and micro levels are continuous. Is there really a clear boundary between them? If there is a boundary, then where that boundary lies needs to be clarified empirically, based on specific cases of each [level]. Take, for example, central and regional governments and educational organisations; in reality there can be cases where the adjustment strategies they use are exactly or practically the same. In strictly controlled communities, even the media may be part of these groups. Moreover, depending on the community, just as, for example, the ministry for labour and the ministry for education are agents that undertake completely disparate actions, it can be assumed that there are cases where national governments are internally divided into a number of factions. One of the important tasks for language management is to explain how these various agents constitute what kind of framework on the whole.   (p. 30, *authors' translation*)

In Neustupný's view, then, the macro and micro are *not* conceptualized as separate homogenous social stratifications, but rather seen as a continuum without clear

boundaries. Furthermore, in a pre-LMT consideration of two types of correction acts, which later came to be termed simple and organized management, he also argued that "there is a gradual transition from one to the other type of correction and little can be gained by an attempt to impose a clearcut boundary between the two" (Neustupný 1978, p. 251).

More recently, Sherman (2016) has taken a similar stance, arguing that simple and organized management "should be viewed as a continuum" (p. 194). She gives an example of a non-native speaker correcting himself in discourse, which could be defined as simple management if the purpose of the correction was merely to make himself more easily understood at that moment. However, there is also the possibility that the speaker was self-correcting in accordance with codified norms in order to avoid discrimination, which could place the correction within the realm of organized management, because of the clear presence of theorizing and ideology concerning appropriate language use.

Sherman gives further examples of teachers upholding macro-level norms in discourse through their correction of hypothetical language problems in the classroom and she also illustrates how individual language learners following less traditional learning trajectories may conduct their own organized management when designing their language learning (p. 195). Indeed, in addition to being an issue of organized management, deciding which language to learn and to what extent, is also part of an individual's language management. Furthermore, as the research of Beneš and colleagues (2018) at the Language Consulting Centre of the Institute of the Czech Language illustrates, 'language as a system' can also be managed *in discourse* in individual interactions with experts. It is clear that in such cases the borderline between simple and organized management is not so clear cut, even though they have been commonly postulated as separate contrasting entities. In addition, although he did not elaborate, Lanstyák (2018, p. 92) has shown how simple management and organized management may partly overlap.

In this volume, we aim to expand this line of thought, especially paying attention to the fact that in some cases elements of organized management are observable in simple management and vice-versa. Based on this conceptualization of the micro and macro as a intertwining continuum rather than separate entities, the characteristics so far attributed to simple or organized management, as represented in Table 1, can no longer be regarded as discrete categories but as, at least theoretically, freely combinable elements. Therefore, rather than categorizing 'behaviour toward language' as either macro or micro, it will be more precise to describe it as 'more macro-focused' or 'more micro-focused'. This then demonstrates another distinction from the management concept of Spolsky (2009), who sees the continuum as merely a one-dimensional scale, ranging "from individual to supranational" (p. 13). Our conceptualization also includes more elements than

the conceptualization of a scale based on time and space proposed by Hult (2010). While sharing with Hult the same criticism of dualistic conceptualizations, we do not subscribe to his opinion that the terms micro and macro are necessarily dualistic and emphasize 'discrete layers'. Rather, we argue that setting two poles and denoting their elements can be useful to illuminate the 'grey area' between them.

Table 1. The elements associated with simple and organized management in past research

	Simple management	Organized management
Object of management	Discourse	Language as a system
Locus of management	Within the discourse ("on-line")	External to discourse ("off-line")
Duration	Within a single interaction	Trans-interactional
Agents	Individuals	Organizations/institutions
Actors	Ordinary language users	Specialists
Communication about management	Not present	Present
Theorizing	Not present or covert	Present and explicit, special terms used

We would argue that, in principle, all macro treatments of language problems involve features of the micro to some extent. For example, negotiations over the selection of problems to manage, and negotiations over the formulation of policies by governmental organizations and their subsequent implementation by various institutions will all take place to some extent via the discourse of individuals, in both, or either, spoken and written form. Conversely, macro language issues, such as issues of language standardization concerning language as a system, may be managed in the everyday interactions of individuals, far removed from government organizations and other institutions. This is the case when a speaker points out the (standard) ungrammaticality of their interlocutor's language production and corrects it.

As Figure 1 illustrates, there may be rare cases where language management is focused only on the micro or only on the macro adhering to the features illustrated in Table 1, but the majority of cases of management will involve some form of intertwining between the different dimensions, with some including more macro-focused elements, while others include more micro-focused elements. On the micro-only end of the continuum, language users may undertake purely simple management, i.e., they will manage localized language problems in 'discourse without theoretical components', such as in cases when mishearing and misunderstanding occur, which do not explicitly relate to language as a system.

In the opposite most extreme form of the macro, an autocrat may, without any consultation with others, introduce a new elaborated policy that will be carried out by institutions.
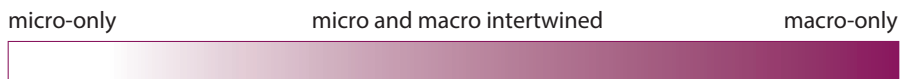
micro-only   micro and macro intertwined   macro-only

Figure 1. The conceptualization of the micro and macro as a continuum

6.   The organization of this volume

The individual chapters in this volume, all explicitly applying LMT, aim to shed further light on micro-macro connections and improve our overall understanding of the interrelation between the different types of LM. Irrespective of their departure point and the types of LM they foreground, all chapters include a consideration of the micro-macro relationship.

Mainly due to the background, professional career and engagement of the two initiators of the theory, Björn Jernudd and Jiří Neustupný, the LMT approach has become rooted in East Asia and Central Europe, two distinct areas with very different language issues. As Nekvapil and Sherman's (2009) volume illustrates, this has led to the development of different research strands stemming from the different language problems of relevance in each of these regions. Kimura (2013) has argued that there are two complementary strands of work that have become major streams in LMT research: (1) the work emanating from Japan, with its focus on individual "contact situations" (Neustupný, 1985), and (2) the work emanating from the Czech Republic, building on the historical research tradition of language cultivation advanced by the Prague School. The former stream has placed emphasis on the analysis of management foregrounding simple management, while the latter's strengths lie in its deeper concern with elements of organized management.

By foregrounding and combining the strengths of the East Asian and Central European research, areas which both have their own strong traditions of sociolinguistic research predating the approaches today internationally subsumed under the notion of sociolinguistics, this volume aims to counter the dominance of theories and frameworks from other, mainly Anglophone regions, and provide alternatives to better understand world language problems. While language problems relating to English are addressed to some extent, another key point of this volume is its focus and its presentation of lesser-known language problems in both of these regions, where the strong relationship between nation state and language is now being questioned. The volume includes contributions from scholars in the fields of contact situation and LPP research from Japan and Europe.

The individual chapters selected for this volume have been developed from papers given at the Fourth International Language Management Symposium held at Sophia University in Tokyo in September 2015, which aimed to bring together the distinct research strands of LMT research in the East Asian and Central European contexts. The volume is organized in four parts. Part I provides a theoretical overview of the development of the theory and key trends in LMT research focusing on both micro and macro dimensions, while Parts II, III and IV focus on recent empirical studies, focusing in turn on (1) the management of contact situations, a central theme in the East Asian research, (2) standard varieties, a typical issue in the Central European research tradition, and finally, (3) the reflexive role of the researcher, a so far unattended area in LMT research.

The three chapters in Part I present a historical and regional overview of the development of LMT, with a focus on key micro and macro perspectives. In chapter two, Björn Jernudd places LMT in its historical context and addresses the weaknesses in the first attempts at language planning that led to the development of the theory. He argues that a shift in the conceptualization of language problems from national and regional issues, to a focus on *whose* language problems they are, laid the way open for the development of LMT with its focus on the agency of both individual language users and the organizations attempting to solve such problems.

Chapters three and four outline the development of LMT-based research in the East Asian and Central European contexts. In chapter three, Sau Kuen Fan outlines the development of LMT research in the East Asian context, emphasizing the central importance of the concept of the contact situation. She explains how this focus on 'situation' has led to a wide body of micro-focused interaction-based research, paying particularly attention to the language issues of language learners and migrants. She argues that this approach enables researchers to adequately take into consideration both the situational and broader-reaching contextual factors surrounding discourse-based language problems as well as highlighting the complexity of individual contact situations within the context of globalization.

Tamah Sherman then traces the development of LMT research from the Czech Republic, with its long tradition of language cultivation as part of the Prague School, to other areas of Central Europe, against the backdrop of the rapid social and political changes occurring during the 1990s. She argues that what distinguishes LM research in Central Europe is its focus on "language-related inequalities" both of minority communities within the region, as well as the regional languages within the broader international context, and the power dynamics that underlie such inequalities. She highlights how traditional concerns with language cultivation have resulted in a body of research attempting to explore the links between LPP on the macro level and interactional problems on the micro level.

Reflecting the importance researchers in LMT have placed on the analysis of concrete cases and empirical data, all the subsequent chapters present case studies to illustrate the above mentioned three central themes of this volume. A consequence of the conceptualization of micro-macro as a continuum of intertwining elements is that these terms are used in a relative sense, in relation to different types of management within the continuum. Thus, each paper explicitly mentions which elements can be identified in each given context.

Part II presents three studies of management with a focus on language problems occurring in contact situations in East Asia. The authors explore how problems in individual interactions can be contextualized in relation to broader macro-level issues and policies. The chapters in this section focus on four separate processes of LM in contact situations: intercultural interaction management, language selection, diverging and intersecting management. In chapter five, Hiroko Aikawa highlights the processes involved in the everyday management of the use of English in Japanese workplaces by speakers from different language and cultural backgrounds. She provides examples to illustrate how due to an overreliance on their L1 norms, her participants were often unable to accurately identify the source of the various interactional problems they experienced and this misidentification of the cause of individual-level micro language problems led to ineffective adjustments implemented on the organizational/institutional level.

In chapter six, Kanako Takeda and Hiroko Aikawa shift the target of research to the academic context in their analysis of the language use of overseas students with their Japanese peers and professors in an English-medium science programme at a Japanese university. Although on the national level the Japanese government has introduced several policies to increase the number of English-medium programmes in an attempt to attract overseas students and globalize Japanese universities, the experiences of students demonstrate that in their everyday interactions there is a clear need for both Japanese and English language support. Students' management of their language selection reveals a complex web of factors that influence their choices, ranging from their own insecurities and sensitivity to their interlocutors' preferences and proficiency, to acquiescence to unequal power dynamics.

Finally, Lisa Fairbrother investigates how the language management processes of individual speakers intersect with the processes of their interlocutors in a range of contact situations. By providing examples from the past literature on LMT focusing mainly on East Asian contexts, she provides a classification of different types of diverging and intersecting management and shows how the intersection of management processes in individual interactions, from the noting of deviations through to the implementation of adjustments and formation of new norms, can also span micro and macro dimensions.

The chapters in Part III posit their starting point of research firmly in national-level and supra-national level language issues, as they focus on language problems relating specifically to language standardization in Central European contexts and beyond. In chapter eight, Hideaki Takahashi presents a model to describe (de)codification processes and explores the management of standard varieties of German pronunciation by focusing on codification processes and their relation to actual language use in formal settings. He argues that recent trends in codification suggest that codifiers are paying more attention to actual language use in individual interactions, rather than merely prescribing ideal language norms.

As social norms become weaker in post-modern Western societies, the normative practices of language norm authorities may weaken as well. Against this backdrop, Dovalil focuses on two different concepts that highlight the opposite direction to standardization, namely, demotization and destandardization. Dovalil demonstrates that the difference between the two concepts can be clarified through the analysis of the processes involved. In demotization, the standard ideology is maintained, but macro-level management does not reach the micro level. In contrast, destandardization is characterized by the weakening of standard norms so that micro-level interactions diverging from the standard stop being managed from the macro-level. Dovalil shows how consideration of the micro-macro relationship is indispensable in distinguishing these two concepts.

Martin Prošek, in chapter ten, examines the dynamics of the management of standard language occurring between experts and general language users at a Czech language consultation service. He provides a variety of examples to show how 'correct' language forms are maintained, negotiated, and contested through discourse, illustrating clearly how the macro dimensions of organized management are actually carried out through discourse in micro-level interactions. The chapter also highlights the existence of meta-management, namely when LM itself becomes the topic of discussion. As a basis for future research on the structure and quality of consulting dialogues, he proposes a categorization of phone interactions between enquirers and responding linguists.

So far, the role of the researcher as part of the language management process has received relatively little attention. The chapters in Part IV aim to fill this gap by taking a reflexive stance. Emphasis is placed on the role of the researcher, either as a possible obstacle to the underlying management processes occurring on different levels, or as a bridge between micro and macro dimensions. In chapter eleven, Junko Saruhashi provides evidence to suggest that researchers' perceptional gaps, in her case relating to the broad conceptualization of the idea of marriage, may prove a hindrance to the management of smooth discourse in an interview setting. Based on her analysis of the interactions in life story interviews with first generation *Zainichi* [Japan resident] Korean women, Saruhashi demonstrates how

a lack of contextual awareness of the lived experiences of her interviewees led to dissonance in the interview. She argues that conducting microanalysis of the interview interaction can function as a self-check of the researcher, revealing their hidden misperceptions and mindset.

In chapter twelve, Goro Christoph Kimura investigates the role of the researcher as a link between various agents undertaking language management at different social levels, based on a research project conducted at the German-Polish border. He presents examples of attempts by the researcher to convey findings from research on everyday interactions to various decision-makers operating on the institutional and governmental levels. He sees the researcher as having a unique potential to bridge the gap between policy makers and language users and encourages the public engagement of researchers working with LMT.

Finally, a reflexive stance is applied to this volume itself. As an epilogue, chapter thirteen foregrounds the micro-macro continuum running through the individual chapters and highlights the potential of future applications of the LMT framework integrating micro and macro perspectives. The authors re-consider the reasons for the particular geographical spread of LMT, re-examine the management process model and synthesize the various management processes presented in each chapter, stressing the importance of cross-dimensional analysis. The authors call attention to the complementarity between the analysis of different micro and macro processes, arguing for a 'maxim of cross-dimensional analysis'.

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Theoretical perspectives of the management of language problems

The origin and development of a language management framework

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The author's reminiscences recount ideas that came together from the 1960s, out of which came Language Management Theory. Most ideas have already been articulated someplace, somehow, and are already 'out there', if anyone cares to find them. Therefore, they are available to be compiled and formulated to respond to changing societal circumstances and intellectual insights. I will attempt to identify and discuss strands of ideas that came together and that moved researchers towards articulating a LM discourse, in particular the Language Management Theory.

Keywords: language planning, language problems, correction theory, norms, language management, language management theory

1. The concepts of LMT (language management theory) and LPT (language planning theory)

Language Management (LM) as a concept coexists with Language Planning (LP) as a concept. Both concepts embrace discourses that systematize enquiry into behavior toward language, and both refer to actual practices. Authors who use the one expression often seem to mean the other. Riggs' plea for terminological clarity notwithstanding (1981), academics in the social sciences are not as concerned with definitions of concepts, as are terminologists (Suonuuti, 1997). Instead, they explore and deliberate, cast their nets for content far and wide, are reluctant to impose order, and therefore hesitate to set boundaries in their discourses. This way of reaching out can be very productive, yet, it can also lead to inefficiencies in academic discourse and possibly also to inefficiencies in research. As for LM and LP, Nekvapil (2006, 2016) clarifies conceptual differences, as does Sloboda in a review (2010) of Spolsky's (2009) book, *Language Management*, and taking into account the Japanese perspective, also Kimura (2005). As Nekvapil (2006, p. 94) explains:

> Accordingly, Language Planning Theory, together with e.g. the Language Cultivation Theory of the Prague School, represents examples of social systems of language management only. Following this terminological strategy, the expression "language planning stage of language management" may be employed (Neustupný, forthcoming) and the whole field of study may be shifted into a more historical context (cf. Neustupný, 2006).

That LP is one of several practices that can be studied under the general theory of LM is a reasonable position to take (Jernudd, 1982, 2001). It is self-evident that both the study of these systems, and the actual processes under study, must become subject to historical enquiry (Jernudd, 1996).

2.   The approach

We can attribute what we consider important at any one period of time to a Zeitgeist, the spirit or genius which marks the thoughts or feelings of a period or age (The Compact Oxford English Dictionary). All people manage their languages, albeit in varying ways, and of course people know that, and have always known that: *plus ça change, plus c'est la même chose* (the more things change, the more they stay the same). I bring up the notion of Zeitgeist because I am reasonably confident that we all flow with a collective conspiracy that obliges priority to certain kinds of work at particular periods in time.

Consequently, I will not latch my narrative to individual academic papers although I shall of course refer to many. What I see is a font of intellectual contributions of great variety. I suspect that most ideas have already been articulated someplace, somehow, and are already 'out there', if anyone cares to find them. Therefore, they are available to be compiled to respond to changing societal circumstances (and occasionally intellectual ones). I will attempt to identify and discuss strands of ideas that came together and that moved researchers towards articulating a LM discourse, in particular the Language Management Theory (LMT).

3.   Background: The 1960's

In the 1960s, modernization and the development of new states were phenomena that coincided with a particular Zeitgeist. Planning, for example, seemed an effective approach to such events. Planning at any level of enlargement in organizations and states was very much in vogue, as were systems analysis and problem-solving modeling in decision-making. Feedback was a concept that drove much modeling of behavior, especially in treatises on business management.

I myself had been thoroughly immersed in behavioral theories of the firm as well as in cost-benefit analysis and in planning theories during my studies at the Stockholm School of Economics (1961–66). For planning, the main arena was macro-economics at the level of the state. Models of stages of economic development were proposed (Kuznets, 1966; Rostow, 1960); sociologists and political scientists proposed grand theories of social political development (e.g. Myrdal, 1968; Rokkan (see Flora, 1999); Smelser & Lipset, 1966; Deutsch, 1966); and were thought to be available to inform planning for development in the new nations.

In the 1960s, sociolinguistics also emerged, and in parallel with the formation of the variationist branch of the emerging sociolinguistics discipline (building on developments in dialectology and enquiry into language change, Koerner, 1991), a socio-political branch took an interest in the language problems of developing nations, enquiring into the determination and implementation of language repertoires (Ferguson, 1966), and with the purpose to study and inform new nations' language policies. This latter branch of sociolinguistics also embraced, in particular, the study of bilingualism and language contact, which was not in the least limited to developing societies. It is unnecessary to dwell further here on the blossoming of sociolinguistics (but see Paulston & Tucker, 1997).

Once enquiry began into behavior toward language, whether merely to describe language situations or to inform language policy, behaviors toward language in general came into view and demanded study. The study of LP agencies at state levels and how they act on implementing language determination policies represents but a fraction of all our behaviors toward language. Therefore, should enquiry not also encompass, for example, European language cultivation activities, term agencies' work, language treatment in Australian indigenous communities, naming, and so much else? By broadening enquiry, one may move towards being able to formulate LMT.

And, critically, what is the link between behavior toward language and language behavior?

4. Starting point and research organization

I was a member of a team that engaged in exploratory research on LP (1968–69) at the East-West Center in Honolulu. The team[1] organized a conference in April 1969 with participation by expert practitioners and academics from several

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1. At the East-West Center in Honolulu, the team comprised of Joshua Fishman, primarily a sociologist, Joan Rubin, an anthropologist, Jyotirindra Das Gupta, a political scientist, myself (included as an economist-linguist?), and Charles Ferguson, a linguist, as an absent member.

different disciplines and countries.[2] The team's work aimed at developing a model of (f)actual, empirically observable, language planning processes, specifically in the new postcolonial states that were then emerging. One first outcome was the book, *Can Language Be Planned*? (Rubin & Jernudd, 1971).

This aim at the 'macro' level of behavior toward language and planning was a focus of choice. The team was well aware of the importance of 'micro'-level processes, and of other agents (actors) than the LP planning agency. (Cf. my review of Haugen in Jernudd, 1971.) The team's broadly encompassing awareness of other behaviors toward language was generally true. Punya Sloka Ray's statements in the chapter on 'language policy' in his book *Language Standardization*, published in 1963, took a similar position: "What is of concern here are the spontaneously formed habits of talking and listening to one another, increasing readiness to explain oneself to or to ask explanation from one another in unrestricted interchange of proposals and comments" (p. 74); and, "any native speaker of a natural language or dialect functions as some kind of a teacher during the moments of social encounter" (p. 75).

Further to the point, Haugen quotes P. S. Ray in ending his introductory chapter on Norwegian LP: "As pointed out by P. S. Ray, he [the language planner] can do so ["to foresee the wave of the future and ride it to its goal"] only if his goal is substantially the same as that which the people have unconsciously accepted as their own" (1966, p. 26).

Nonetheless, the Hawaii team chose to focus on the role of central agency. The team designed an international research project on LP processes to focus on learning about language planning agencies in new states (Indonesia, Malaysia, then replaced by Bangladesh but neither eventually studied, replaced by Sweden as a cultivation case, India, and Israel). The research plan is included in Rubin and Jernudd (1971, pp. 293–305) as the "Research Outline for Comparative Studies of Language Planning".

The team studied LP agencies from a variety of perspectives and used word naming as a measure to gauge the spread of vocabulary disseminated by the language planning agencies into their respective speech communities. The published report is the book, *Language Planning Processes* (Rubin, Jernudd, Das Gupta, Fishman & Ferguson, 1977).

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2. The meeting took place April 7–10, 1969. The participants were S. Takdir Alisjahbana, Charles F. Gallagher, Muhammad Abdul Hai, Einar Haugen, Herbert Kelman, John MacNamara, Chaim Rabin, Bonifacio P. Sibayan, Thomas Thorburn, and the research team members.

Meanwhile, and quite unremarkably, the team and 'iglopers'[3] discussed other directions of enquiry on behavior toward language. A document from October 1973 reports on discussions at a meeting at Skokloster in Sweden. This meeting was convened to scrutinize a draft report of the international research project on LP processes. Participants came from the US, Asia, Africa and Europe.[4] A summary of its proceedings (*Proceedings of the International Conference on Language Planning*, 1973, p. 5) mentions four 'recurrent basic questions' that came up during the meeting:

1. How does language planning fit with the broader phenomena of "language treatment" which include other ways the speech community deals with its language?
2. What is the relation between language planning about public policies of language *use* and language planning about the actual *forms* of the language? (These two phases or stages were referred to as language policy or status planning and language cultivation or code or corpus planning.)
3. Is there a fundamental difference between an internal linguistic theory ("teleology") in language planning and an external sociological theory of implementation?
4. Are language planning processes significantly different in developing countries and advanced, industrialized countries, or is the difference between "emerging" languages and relatively "stable" languages more important?

The third question indexes a view with an already long history espoused by, among others, Tauli (1968) who was present. Haugen discussed Tauli's treatise in a paper

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3. "Iglopers" was an in-group expression that for some time referred to an international group of students and practitioners of LP. I believe this not particularly elegant expression was inspired by the "Group for the Study of Sociolinguistics" (GSSL), a list of scholars maintained by the US Social Science Research Council. The iglop network can be loosely characterized as embracing those who came to receive the <u>Language Planning Newsletter</u>, edited and distributed by the East-West Center with Joan Rubin as its first editor. Vol. 1 No. 1, is dated February 1975.

4. The following participated: Mohamed H. Abdulaziz (Kenya/Tanzania), Erik Olof Bergfors (Sweden), Karl-H. Dahlstedt (Sweden), Charles A. Ferguson (USA), Jyotirindra Das Gupta (USA), J. E. Hofman (Rhodesia/Israel), Björn H. Jernudd (Australia), Lachman M. Khubchandani (India), Anton M. Moeliono (Indonesia), Bertil Molde (Sweden), J. V. Neustupný (Australia), Sirarpi Ohannessian (Center for Applied Linguistics, USA), Joan Rubin (USA), Bonifacio P. Sibayan (Philippines), Valter Tauli (Sweden), Richard Tucker (Canada), Elinor Barber and Melvin J. Fox (the Ford Foundation), with Bengt Nordberg (Sweden) and Barnard Barber (USA) as observers. Joshua A. Fishman (USA) and Abraham Demoz (Ethiopia) could not attend due to emergencies. Invited but also unable to be present were František Daneš (the former Czechoslovakia) and L. B. Nikolsky (USSR).

on instrumentalism in language planning (1971) and Jernudd and Das Gupta characterized it as "an expert enterprise motivated by abstract ideals" (1971, p. 198).

The first and second questions above are hardly surprising since the meeting took place in Sweden, a language cultivation speech community, at the time without so-called policy issues, and with practitioners present at the meeting. I had studied Sweden for the project, and in addition to my project reports, tabled an annotated list of references relating to language treatment in Sweden (Jernudd, 1973a). (At the time, language treatment referred to both language planning processes and acts of language cultivation (Rubin, 1973, p. vii).) Ferguson remarks in his brief introduction to the annotated list:

> This extensive list of references on language treatment in Sweden gives a valuable overview of the range of topics which appear in publications and courses of instruction in a nation which has great concern for its verbal repertoires and also self-consciousness about this concern… [and] can stimulate studies of language treatment elsewhere.   (Jernudd, 1973a, p. 1)

Thus, LM phenomena well beyond the embrace of the narrower concept of LP were recognized and explored. Socio-economic typology was linked to LM systems, and questions were raised as to how linguistic disciplinary concerns fit in the study of LP.

The central purpose of the international comparative project, however, was to study "national level [language] planning conducted under governmental auspices where planning includes indicative, regulative, productive and promotional functions" (Rubin et al., 1977, p. 5).

5.   Bundles of ideas and practices-made-visible: Two vectors in LMT development

From almost the very beginning of the team's work, issues arose that required attention, if one were to formulate a coherent model. Two of those outstanding issues were:

a. How can we account for other behaviors toward language [other than language planning].
b. How can behavior toward language be linked to language behavior (as we explore planning and other behaviors toward language).

Consequently, I will approach the development of LMT under the following two headings:

1. *What language problems are there?*
2. *How do individuals deal with language problems?*

5.1   What language problems are there?

First I take up language inadequacies that have become topics, i.e., those that have become objects of management 'off-line'. I shall deal with on-line management of discourse inadequacies, under the second question below.

Language problems were available to be seen if one wanted to look. People knew that there exist other language problems besides the language determination and development problems of new and developing states (Jernudd, 1977). The 1966 Airlie House conference (Fishman, Ferguson & Das Gupta, 1968) published its papers with 'language problems' in the plural, and the country descriptions in particular are by no means lacking analysis of the consequences on language structure as languages are promoted in use.

While Fishman, in his summing up of the Airlie House conference (1968), satisfied himself with discussing language problems in political and socio-cultural integration in states in terms of allocation and promotion of "national languages!" and "languages of wider communication", Neustupný advocated a *general theory* of language problems. He refers to his paper "First Steps toward the Conception of 'Oriental Languages'" and writes that "there are some features of languages spoken in the developing societies that are connected with other nonlinguistic features of these societies" (1968, p. 290). Further, "if any features of the communication patterns can be found that are motivated by developing features of the social structure, they will be called *developing features of communication* and we can therefore speak of developing communication" (ibid.). He threw the door wide open for expanding enquiry precisely into the full range of language problems, in this context appropriately and specifically coexistent with and motivated by features of development.

That Neustupný's paper ended up in a section of the book (Fishman, Ferguson et al., 1968) containing country case studies and not in an earlier "theoretical formulations" section, shows how a preferred direction of research on language associated with national integration and "ethnic authenticity" had presumably already been set. While the conference set course for research on planning language at the level of national society, participants were quite aware that language problems are found on all levels of decision-making – individual, group, or national.

I note, however, that Ferguson, who co-directed the subsequent research projects with their national LP focus, outlines an approach in his short paper on "language development" (Ferguson, 1968, pp. 27–35) that resonates with Neustupný's, in that same conference and volume. Ferguson's paper sketches a typology of the

linguistic aspects of "graphization", "standardization" and "modernization [of language]" as motivated by development in general.

The consensus at the Airlie House conference was that language selection, i.e., whole languages and language repertoires, should be the main focus. From the point of view of political scientists and economists describing and theorizing about modernization, language teachers and educators, and advocates and students of language maintenance, this surely seemed obvious at the time – if for no other reason than because the former are not trained linguists and because 'language policies' governed the new states' allocation of resources, and language policies address repertoires ('whole languages').

The Airlie House conference led to the language planning research project at the East-West Center. Networking around the EWC project led the path towards LMT. I met Jiří Neustupný at the conference and discovered that we were both newly appointed to Monash University earlier that year. Neustupný was very familiar with Japanese and European language cultivation, and he kept injecting both Prague School theory and awareness of cultivation practices into our discussions at Monash. His expertise on Japan introduced us to *kokugo mondai* (the issue of a standard national language) and *gengo seikatsu* (language life) as well as other kinds of correction behavior in Japan (Neustupný 1970, 1978).

We both recognized the importance of describing what kinds of problems agencies manage, and how. I took an interest in describing the range of agents who treat language problems, and in radically different societies. I visited the Shell Company in Malaysia in 1969, and also the Volvo plant in Malaysia, to enquire how they engaged with the government's language policy. I used these visits as examples to represent one level of agency among many, that of an oil company and an industrial plant; just as at other levels of enlargement, e.g., of agency, whereby proofreaders treat text problems, individual authors rewrite their manuscripts and editors 'edit' them, and so on (Jernudd, 1972, 1973b).

After the Malaysian riots in 1969 and the civil war in East Bengal in 1971 closed the doors on field work there, I ended up doing my share of empirical work in the international language planning processes project in Sweden, and on Sweden, introducing my colleagues to Swedish language cultivation. Once European and Japanese language cultivation experience had been entered into LP discourse, a vast array of language problems and agencies managing them had to be recognized, besides those that had presented themselves in a development context (mainly but not exclusively spelling and vocabulary issues, and language acquisition). Our view of language problems was therefore vastly broadened.

The Modernization and Language Development project that I coordinated at the East-West Center set out to systematically inventory language problems (see, e.g., Jernudd & Thuan, 1984; Jernudd & Uyangoda, 1987; Musa, 1987). The project

convened a research planning conference and among the invited participants were J. V. Neustupný, R. Baldauf and R. Kaplan.[5] The project was also co-responsible for conferences on language development and planning for Chinese and Pacific area languages. The Linguistic Modernization and Language Planning in Chinese-Speaking Communities conference was convened in cooperation with the East-Asian Languages Department at the University of Hawaii, September 7–13, 1983.

5.2   How do individuals deal with language problems?

"Linguistic correction" is performed by the individual. Linguists may idealize language as a system of grammatical rules but it is not as though they don't know that people talk. Languages are what people do, in talk and signing (and in derivation thereof, writing), exchanging mutually agreed Saussurean signs in their combinations. Doing talk means doing talk right, with the aim of course to get the message across (whether factual, esthetic, or emotional, etc.).

Neustupný was already presenting a correction theory by the early 70's (with its roots in the Prague School enquiry into parole) as published later in his book *Post-structural Approaches to Language* (Neustupný, 1978).

Figure 1 relates correction behavior in and towards language (Neustupný, 1978, p. 244).[6]

Neustupný elaborated on correction in the context of Dell Hymes' ethnography of speaking which he somewhat modified. A key contribution by Hymes to linguistics in the US was precisely the recognition of speech acts and the speech situation, which resonated well with Neustupný who came out of a Prague School recognition of the importance of studying parole. Incidentally, Ferguson, who

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5. September 1–3, 1983. The participants were: E. Annamalai, Richard Baldauf, Paul Brennan, David Cressy, Terry Crowley, John DeFrancis, Lili Dorton, Robert Gibson, Patrick Hohepa, Robert Kaplan, John Lynch, Francis Mangubhai, Anton Moeliono, Monsur Musa, Bobbie Nelson, J. V. Neustupný, D. P. Pattanayak, Bonifacio Sibayan, Donald Topping, Hoang Tue, Robert Underwood, Zhou Youguang. Longer-term team members of the Modernization and Language Development project at the East West Center were: Paul Brennan, Martin Combs, Bernadita Dungca, Darius Jonathan, Ruth Kovoho, Monsur Musa, Amara Prasithrathsint, Ellen Rafferty and Jayadeva Uyangoda. Richard Baldauf Jr. participated in August and September 1983. One outcome of the research planning workshop was a decision to convene a conference on Pacific languages: Directions for the future, in Vila, Vanuatu. A steering committee was formed with Terry Crowley as coordinator in Vila. It took place on August 27–30, 1984. See also Report on the conference (1984).

6. The text of this chapter was in its essentials presented at the University of Pennsylvania in 1973, where Dell Hymes then worked. It is also in my teaching notes from the pre-session to the Linguistic Institute, in the summer of 1977.
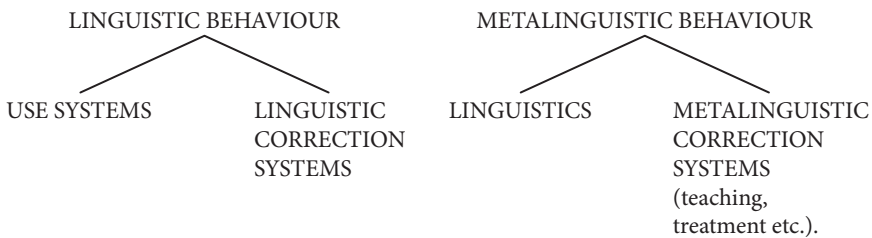
Figure 1. Neustupný's model of the "Linguistics of language problems"

taught the first courses on sociolinguistics in the US in the Linguistic Institutes, the first in 1962, also taught Hymes' model. I attended his class in 1963 when the Linguistic Institute was held at the University of Washington in Seattle (http://www.linguisticsociety.org/meetings-institute/institute/ archive).

The notion of correctness is present in one form or another in all speech communities because individuals have to comply with norms to remain members in good standing of those communities; and adjustments and decisions based on norms are made by individuals (on-line and off-line) as well as by institutions (off-line) (cf. Nekvapil, 2016, p. 12; also, Bartsch, 1985 on norms). Norms are thus reinforced and new norms are introduced.

5.2.1   *Error correction and repair*

Ideas addressing error correction, by phoneticians and psycholinguists, and repair in speaking, by ethnomethodologists and conversation analysts, drew attention to the individual's correction behavior in interaction, not merely as norm preserving, but as constitutive of language. I refer to discussions of slips of the tongue (Boomer & Laver, 1968; Goldman-Eisler, 1968; and others) and especially error correction, self-correction and repair (Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson, 1974; Jefferson, 1974; Schegloff, Jefferson & Sacks, 1977; Shimanoff & Brunak, 1977).

At the time, I thought of Neustupný's correction theory as an exponent of this collection of ideas, in his case specifically in relation to existing norms. In my view, ethnomethodology's "repair" process that keeps talk trouble free need not be constrained by existing linguistic norms although it is to be expected that in "same language" interaction, speakers do indeed often fall back on extant norms to resolve trouble. In contact communication, this need not be so. We also know from experience that repair does not always work (cf. Jernudd & Thuan, 1983, notes 4 and 6).

5.2.2   *Noticing (in language learning)*

Research in applied linguistics, notably on language learning, also took a subjective-cognitive turn. My colleague and friend since my time in Cairo in the

mid 70's, Richard Schmidt, later at the University of Hawaii (while I was at the East-West Center), took a sabbatical in Brazil and decided to learn Portuguese. He reported on his experience, and unsurprisingly his central insight led to his "noticing hypothesis":

> The principle of notice-the-gap … We have proposed that the process of noticing the gap may be the crucial point at which affective variables, individual differences, conscious awareness, and "paying attention" enter into the language learning process. We have proposed that negative input, in the form of overt correction by native speakers in conversation, also exists and can potentially have salutary effects on the learner's ability to notice the gap.   (Schmidt & Frota, 1986, p. 316)

Colleagues of his had been discussing for some time the role of feedback and consciousness in language acquisition. Language acquisition researchers at the time were discussing Krashen's theory of second language acquisition in which among other processes a 'monitor' serves a planning, editing and correcting function (Krashen, n.d.). See also, Váradi (1980, originally 1973).

Not(ic)ing in language acquisition is essential to eventually accomplish automatized and intelligible speech. Self-monitoring is an essential executive brain function to enable discourse (see Donald, 1998, on executive brain function and especially page 53 on self-monitoring). Noti(ci)ng, however, takes effort. Automatization of speech (and behavior) reduces the cost of this exertion (Pawley & Syder, 1983; Syder & Pawley, n.d.).

5.2.3   *Individual evaluation and adjustment*

While Ferguson worked to find US research funding sources to address language problems of developing nations (at first as director of the Center for Applied Linguistics with offices in Washington DC, and then as chair of the linguistics department at Stanford University), he was by no means unaware of the importance of studying individuals in speech situations. In his chapter in the published report of the international project on language planning processes, Ferguson elaborates on "users' evaluations of language" (Ferguson, 1977). Ferguson comes close to appreciating a key concept of LM, namely to "evaluate the forms of the language they use, in that they regard some forms as 'better' or 'more correct' or 'more appropriate' either in an absolute sense or for certain purposes or by particular people or in certain settings" (p. 9); and "language users sometimes explicitly call attention to particular features of language structure or use as signals of group identity, disapproved behavior, objects of correction or other social values" (Ferguson, 1977, p. 14).

However, his chosen focus was language planning and he took a daring leap indeed: "they [i.e., the evaluations] constitute the primitive source from which institutional language planning activities ultimately derived" (p. 14). Ferguson

linked individual speech behavior to organized behavior toward language, in the context of the language planning project. He names as the point of origin this 'primitive source' of evaluations in discourse. He writes that evaluation:

> may be either conscious or unconscious. A listener may rate speakers unconsciously by details of pronunciation and choice of words which he could not specify, or he may consciously listen for or comment on a particular form, construction or pronunciation of which he strongly approves or disapproves. Further, the relation between evaluation and actual behavior is complex.
>
> (Ferguson, 1977, p. 13)

The chapter in which Ferguson makes these remarks introduces the published report of the International Project on Language Planning Processes (Rubin et al., 1977). He makes the connection to the main focus in this manner: how "patterns of evaluation in a particular speech community tend to be reflected in the goals and activities of its language planners" (p. 14).

I remember how Neustupný led a series of meetings during the Pre-session to the Linguistic Institute in Hawaii in 1977 in which participants dissected language problems and speculated about their origins in discourse. I say speculated, because the speech act in which the inadequacy arose remained unrecorded and thus unknown as a data point. This line of enquiry is of course critical to closing the circle of relationships between language production and language maintenance-or-change by way of interaction in discourse, including the management of discourse both on- and off-line. Such closure is yet to be accomplished.

5.2.4   *Reintroducing the subject(ive) and agency*

Another bundle of ideas that was being recognized by mid-century concerned the role of the subject, the speaker, both in creating realities of language practice and as the subject of research. Some linguists were beginning to realize how they had captured a distorted reality by not experiencing language use through speakers' own agency. This turn towards the subject later obliged researchers to rename informants and give them consultant and even co-author status in research and for the publication of grammars and dictionaries.

How speakers react to variation represents another thread of ideas from dialectology. Already from the mid 50's, dialectology was being shaken up not only by the introduction of social science methods of enquiry and statistical methods, but also by a new attention to a speaker's subjective judgements. Curiously this is not mentioned by the historian of linguistics, Koerner (1991). I will not dwell on subjective dialectology here, other than by a reference to Preston (1999) to represent subjective (perceptual) dialectology through his compilation of earlier papers; and by mentioning significant early researchers in the field: Weijnen,

Grootaers, Shibata, Preston, Hammarström, and also, Labov. I visited Japan to meet Grootaers and Shibata and researchers at the National Language Research Institute in 1967, to discuss the topic of subjective dialectology. Neustupný helped with introductions. Incidentally, I also contributed to the topic (Jernudd, 1968).

Meanwhile, in psychological sciences, the subject had been allowed back into research and given a methodological role. Short-term memory can be tapped by giving subjects a witnessing role on their own behavior, by reporting during the behavior or by interviewing shortly after a behavioral event (the latter akin to what Neustupný (2018, pp. 193–194) named "the follow up interview").

Self reports had been judged cautiously valid in language survey contexts where subjects answer questions about their language use (Fishman, Cooper & Ma, 1968). Tapping short-term memory is self-report taken a step further, to include the subjects' reports on their thoughts and verbal behavior. Thought-process methodology, as an exponent of the cognitive and mental turns in psychology, was becoming legitimate and fit right into the methodology for LMT as the methodology allows researchers to access non-overt behaviors toward language in the flow of discourse (cf. Anderson, 1976; Ericsson & Simon, 1980, 1987).

6. Summing up

Interactive language communication runs reasonably smoothly because people rely on mutually recognized norms, on agreements about the appropriate use of signs. Even in soliloquy, a counterpart, the other in the communicative act, is present because that other is the self.

The reenactment of norms both reinforces and allows for the change of norms. (For a detailed discourse on norms, cf. Bartsch (1985).) Norms are upheld but norms are also changed, so it is obvious that one must not think that discourse management refers only to error correction. People create new varieties (Jernudd, 2003) and people restructure varieties (as did Ivar Aasen in Norway, see Haugen, 1966) and people even use varieties of speaking that they overtly devalue (such as Moroccan Dariji, see Melbourne, 2006).

Norms guide speakers' behaviors. Also, as linguists order and analyze discourse data into varieties, so do speakers ('languages', 'dialects', 'styles', 'appropriate'). Furthermore, it is reasonable to think that speakers register, i.e., note and order, and analyze, i.e., evaluate and adjust, their own and others' discourse. It is equally reasonable to think that people do not adhere to what a linguist would register as a norm but that people find ways to express themselves that work. People know what works when the other engages, and off they go again in continuation of discourse, in a process of circular causation.

Management is interactive, and simple management is a matter of the relationship between speaker and speakers and other and others, and an individual participates and is subject to participation, from birth. Babies obviously adjust to others' norms, and ever more overtly so, as they grow up and enter society.

The particularities of languages, what Chomsky calls externalized expression (Araki, 2017), may be irrelevant for revealing whether humans' faculty to use language is innately specific or whether the use of language can be explained by exercise of a broader cognitive ability. However, those particularities comprise all utterances past, present and future in the lived world of all of us humans. It follows that LMT is a substantially decent tool, to understand how and why we exercise our language faculty.

Acknowledgements

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Research perspectives from East Asia

Language management in contact situations

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This paper presents an overview of language management in contact situations which typically involve speakers of unbalanced language ability. Rather than trying to give a comprehensive coverage of how the concept of language management has been applied to the study of contact situations, the focus here is a discussion of the theoretical significance of the concept of contact situations for the study of language management. Apart from situations involving what has been traditionally referred to as native and non-native speakers, it is suggested that further investigation into the complexity of contact situations involving speakers of diverse language backgrounds can not only contribute to the development of the theory of language management but also the broader field of language studies.

Keywords: language management, situation, foreignness, contactedness, participation

1. Introduction

After the concept of contact situations was introduced by Neustupný to Japan in the early 1980s (cf., Neustupný, 1981), a significant number of studies have been carried out in various research areas such as applied linguistics (e.g., foreign language teaching and learning), sociolinguistics (e.g., intercultural communication, language attitudes, language policy), and ethnographic research (e.g., methodological design). The keyword 接触場面 or "*sesshoku bamen*", the Japanese equivalent of contact situation, had received more than 4,500,000 hits from the Google web search engine in the Japanese internet environment by August 2018. As far as academic literature is concerned, the website of the Society of Language Management in Japan shows a collection of more than 180 research papers related

to "*sesshoku bamen*".[1] The concept of the contact situation has also been applied to the development of language curricula for teaching Japanese as a foreign language (e.g., Kanda University of International Studies, 2011), and Japanese language textbooks for foreign learners (e.g. Neustupný, Muraoka & Spence-Brown, 1992; Kamada, 2002; Fan, 2014).

This paper aims to present an overview of language management in contact situations based on the findings of previous research conducted in the East Asian context, mainly involving Japanese, Chinese and Korean speakers. Rather than trying to give a comprehensive coverage of how the concept of language management (cf., Neustupný, 1985a, 1985b, 1994; Jernudd & Neustupný, 1987) has been applied to the study of various types of contact situations, the focus of the paper will be a discussion of the theoretical significance of the concept of the contact situation for the study of language management. In section two, the concept of the contact situation will be explained in detail. In sections three to five, the following questions will be addressed, before coming to the concluding remarks:

a. How did the "discovery" (Muraoka, 1999) of the concept of contact situations contribute to the development of the theory of language management?
b. Why is it important to study languages-in-contact from the point of view of situation?
c. What is the significance of contactedness for the further development of the theory of language management?

2.   The concept of the contact situation

An overview of the concept of the contact situation and a discussion of issues concerning its recent development can be found in Fan (2006) and Fan (2010). On the basis of these two papers, some of the main points will be summarized here.

The term "contact situation" first appeared in Neustupný (1983), a non-academic article written for a periodical published by Toyota Automobiles. Although the term was not given a clear definition, Neustupný brought attention to the significance of situations occurring where speakers of different cultural backgrounds interact. He explained it in this way:

> Cross-cultural 'contact situations' display specific features which cannot be accounted for by simply knowing how people behave and communicate within their own society. (p. 28)

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1. Refer to the website of the Society of Language Management: https://lmtjapan.wordpress.com

> Understanding and misunderstanding take place in 'contact situations', and the only way to comprehend understanding is through the study of such situations.
>
> (p. 28)

It should be noted that prior to the introduction of the term "contact situation", the English term "foreign language situation" (Neustupný, 1974) and the Japanese term "*gaikokujin bamen*" (lit. foreigner situation, Neustupný, 1981) had been used to express a similar concept. There was however a significant development regarding the concept of contact situations after the early 1980s. It was two years after the Toyota essay was published that Neustupný introduced a new framework for the study of "languages-in-contact" which was to become the foundation of the theory of language management (Neustupný, 1985a). In this paper, "contact situation" was suggested to be one of the four basic terms which characterize the theoretical framework for the study of intercultural communication derived from what has been referred to as the "generative-corrective" paradigm. The other three terms were "correction", "discourse" and "non-grammatical competence". In the beginning of the same paper, he conceptualized the notion of contact situation in the following way:

> Each linguistic act occurs in a particular communicative situation (Hymes, 1972, p. 56). A situation can be taken as a conveniently wide and relatively closed unit of discourse, characterized by a stable configuration of personnel, a particular setting (time and space), a set of functions and other factors of communication. Situations can be classified from various points of view. However, one basic division is into intracultural and intercultural situations. We can also call the former 'native' or 'internal' and the latter 'foreign' or 'contact' situations. The division is basic. When one or more of the constituent factors of a situation is foreign to the cultural system in question, communication in the situation differs substantially from communication in 'native' situations. Even more importantly, it cannot be understood on the basis of experience and knowledge of the two cultures considered in isolation. The world of 'contact' situations is specific.
>
> (Neustupný, 1985a, p. 44)

Together with the boom of Japanese language teaching and learning which reached its peak around 1990, the study of contact situations received more and more attention particularly in the Japanese context. However, as pointed out in Fan (2006, p. 78), due to its emphasis on the "foreign" and "intercultural" aspects, the term "contact situation" was sometimes mistaken as a synonym for "cross-cultural communication", or simply a trendy expression for "when a foreign language is used", without considering Neustupný's original intention of using the term from the "generative-corrective" point of view. Fan (2006, p. 78–83) suggested that a contact

situation should be taken as a theoretical concept which presumes two constituting factors, namely, the factor of "situation" and the factor of "contactedness".

a. The factor of "situation"

As emphasized by Neustupný (1985a), although the study of contact situations places its focus more on intercultural issues (usually problems) rather than intracultural issues, it is important to pay attention to the fact that being a communicative situation, any linguistic act occurring in a contact situation is necessarily affected by various situational components. Under Hymes' SPEAKING model (Hymes, 1974), for example, sixteen situational components can be identified and they can be grouped into eight divisions (i.e., **S**etting and scene, **P**articipants, **E**nds, **A**ct sequence, **K**ey, **I**nstrumentalities, **N**orms for interaction and interpretation, **G**enre). Since the selection and use of language which is considered to be appropriate in the situation are subject to negotiation by the speakers involved, language management, or "correction" in the terminology of the theoretical framework at that time, becomes important in the process of language generation. As suggested in Fan (1994), such negotiation processes are grounded in how one views his/her own language and his/her counterpart's language in relation to the language being used in the contact situation (i.e., contact language). It was argued that while there is often a clear linguistic host-guest relationship when one considers using his/her partner's language in the situation, no such tendency is found when a cognate language or a third-party language is being used. How situational components are affected by factors such as participants' interests (cf. Jernudd & Neustupný, 1987), their hierarchical power relationship (e.g. Fairbrother, 2015) and language trajectory (e.g. Ko, 2016) in individual social contexts also need to be carefully considered in the study of contact situations.

b. The factor of "contactedness"

As mentioned above, the terms "foreign language situation" and "foreigners' situation" were used in the early developmental stage of the concept of the contact situation. According to Neustupný, the presence of the "foreignness factor", or "foreign factors" is "the principal determinant of deviation from norms of the base system in contact situations" (1985a, p. 48). He further explains in this way:

> These foreign factors provide content which is difficult to convey, present participants with various problems in performing communicative acts and thus significantly constrain their generative-corrective competence. It would be incorrect to make the assumption, which was usual in the classical models of language contact, that the presence of a foreign variety of language is the foreign factor

> par excellence. The use of a foreign language does represent a major source of
> deviation, but is not the only one.   (p. 48)

Among some of the non-linguistic "foreign" features of participants, such as body movements, laughing and other paralinguistic features, Neustupný observed that many Japanese are strongly sensitive to foreign cultural features (e.g. formality and etiquette among English speakers in Australian society) and even features of westerners' appearance such as blue eyes, blond hair and height. Likewise, many westerners in business situations are overwhelmed by foreign features such as the bowing and handing of name cards of their Japanese interlocutors (e.g. Marriott, 1990). This sensitivity can affect their behaviour in contact situations. While foreignness is one of the core issues of contact situations, it is surprising that Neustupný never developed the concept further. In view of the fact that foreignness is not rigid but rather subjective, Fan (2010, p. 81) suggested that it is equally important to consider the significance of what she referred to as "contactedness", or individual perceptions of possible foreign factors in the contact situation concerned. For instance, speakers who share a similar cultural or religious background (e.g. Chinese character users, Muslims) may feel "less foreign" to a speaker than other speakers of different backgrounds (Fan, 2010, p. 82). Thus, it can be argued that the degree of how "foreign" a speaker considers various situational components directly affects his/her language management in a contact situation. This point will be explained in Section 5 in detail.

3.   The impact of the discovery of the concept of contact situations

Neustupný retired from teaching as a full-time professor at a Japanese national university in 1999. On that occasion, Muraoka (1999) pointed out insightfully in his tribute paper to Neustupný that if we accept that the concept of "interlanguage" was an important discovery in the world of second language acquisition, as a unique system existing neither in one's native language nor one's target language, we may say that the concept of "contact situation" was another important discovery that marked a paradigm shift in the field of teaching Japanese as a foreign language. Indeed, far beyond its impact on Japanese language teaching, the discovery of contact situations has contributed to the development of the theory of language management in at least two directions: (1) language management as an approach grounded in the micro-level, and (2) language management as process research. These two developments are explained in the following sections.

3.1   Language management as an approach grounded in the micro-level

As early as the beginning of the 1970s, Neustupný started to outline a theory of language problems which he originally described as a "meta-linguistic correction system", or simply the "linguistics of language problems" (Neustupný, 1973). This term was defined and illustrated in the following way (see Figure 1):

> Linguistic behaviour, both use and correction, is paralleled by metalinguistic systems. When a metalinguistic system simply reflects the usage, it is called *linguistics*. When it parallels linguistic correction, I shall call it a *metalinguistic correction system*.   (p. 244, italics in original)
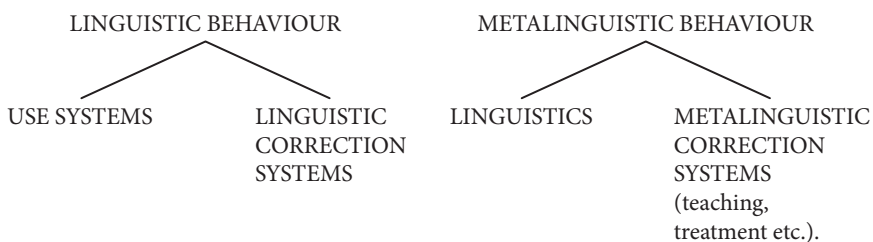
LINGUISTIC BEHAVIOUR   METALINGUISTIC BEHAVIOUR

USE SYSTEMS   LINGUISTIC   LINGUISTICS   METALINGUISTIC
                 CORRECTION   CORRECTION
                 SYSTEMS   SYSTEMS
                                                     (teaching,
                                                     treatment etc.).

Figure 1. Neustupný's model of the "Linguistics of language problems" (Neustupný, 1973, p. 244)

On the basis of this definition, we can understand this theory of the "linguistics of language problems" in the following way (Figure 2):
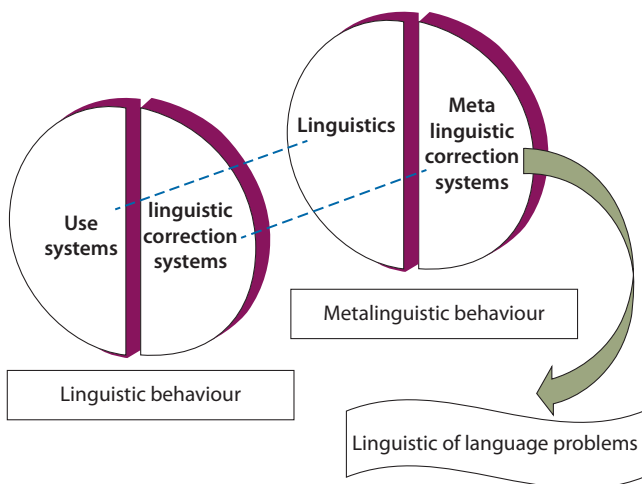
Figure 2. Neustupný's model of the "Linguistics of language problems" (Adapted from Neustupný, 1973, p. 244)

The illustration in Figure 2 shows more clearly how Neustupný tried to emphasise the relationship between linguistic and metalinguistic behaviour, and the importance of metalinguistic correction systems for the study of the linguistics of language problems.

As previously mentioned, the concept of language management is grounded in this previous concept of "correction". However, it was not until 1985, more than a decade later, that the theory of correction was again in the spotlight in his discussion of problems and language norms in Australian-Japanese contact situations (Neustupný, 1985a, 1985b). There is no doubt that this discussion prompted the development of LMT, which was formally introduced two years later in his joint paper with Björn Jernudd (Jernudd & Neustupný, 1987). Of particular interest is what he discovered in his research on contact situations for the study of problems relating to metalinguistic behaviour.

First of all, the type of contact situations which he focused on were those involving L1 speakers (whom he referred to as native speakers) and foreign language users (who he referred to as foreign participants), such as Australian native speakers of English interacting with Japanese speakers using English as a foreign language. Due to the distinct unbalanced language ability between the participants, variations in both their use and interpretation of norms are significant. In a later paper, Neustupný (1985b, p. 163) stressed that "foreign and native participants must be expected to apply norms which differ to a considerable extent, and the gap between norms of the two groups can be assumed to constitute one of the most characteristic features of contact situations".

Here we should be reminded that in traditional linguistics, and structural linguistics in particular, language problems have been mainly analysed from the point of view of the researchers. Therefore, it should be correct to say that the shift of focus to start to look at language problems from the perspective of the participants involved in a contact situation has contributed to the development of language management as a theory grounded in the micro-level. This explains why Neustupný stressed the importance of discourse, and claimed that "any act of language planning should start with the consideration of language problems as they appear in discourse, and the planning process should not be considered complete until the removal of the problems is implemented in discourse" (Neustupný, 1994, p. 50). This focus on the participants' perspectives in order to look at variations in norms is also linked to the significance of individual and/or group interests in later discussions of language planning (e.g. Neustupný 2000). Figure 3 shows an image of the development of LMT as an approach grounded in the micro-level, prompted by the shift of perspectives of the actors regarding language problems in a contact situation.
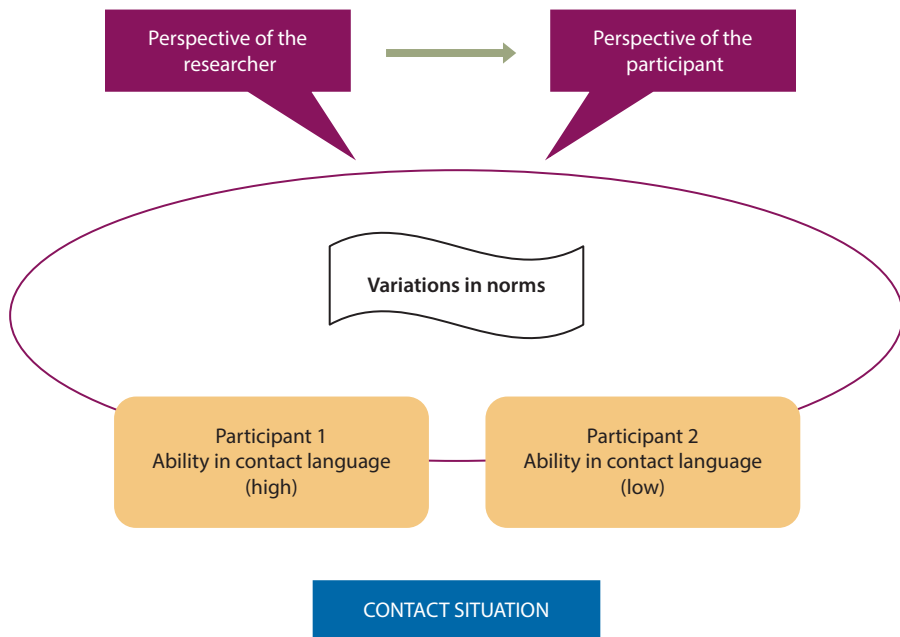
Figure 3. Image of the development of language management into an approach grounded in the micro-level

3.2   Language management as process research

Another issue relates to the fact that similar to many other researchers in the Prague School and in contemporary sociolinguistics, Neustupný was interested in language norms. However, by looking at contact situations which involve language users of clearly unbalanced language ability, he became more interested in the "deviation from norms" rather than the "norm" itself, indicating that "the foreign factors present in contact situations lead to deviations from norms applicable in internal (native) situations" (Neustupný, 1985a, p. 49). Indeed, it is this concept that became a central part of LMT, as noting a deviation from a norm marks the beginning of the language management process. According to Neustupný, a typical example of this process is characterised in the way that "noted deviations are violations and violations which are negatively evaluated become inadequacies. Inadequacies then provide the starting point for corrective adjustment" (Neustupný, 1985a, p. 49). In the same paper, he indicated clearly the importance and necessity of shifting our focus towards processes in the study of language problems in contact situations. "Apart from the necessity to examine the *end product* language, we are equally – or perhaps primarily – interested in processes which develop in linguistic discourse" (p. 45).
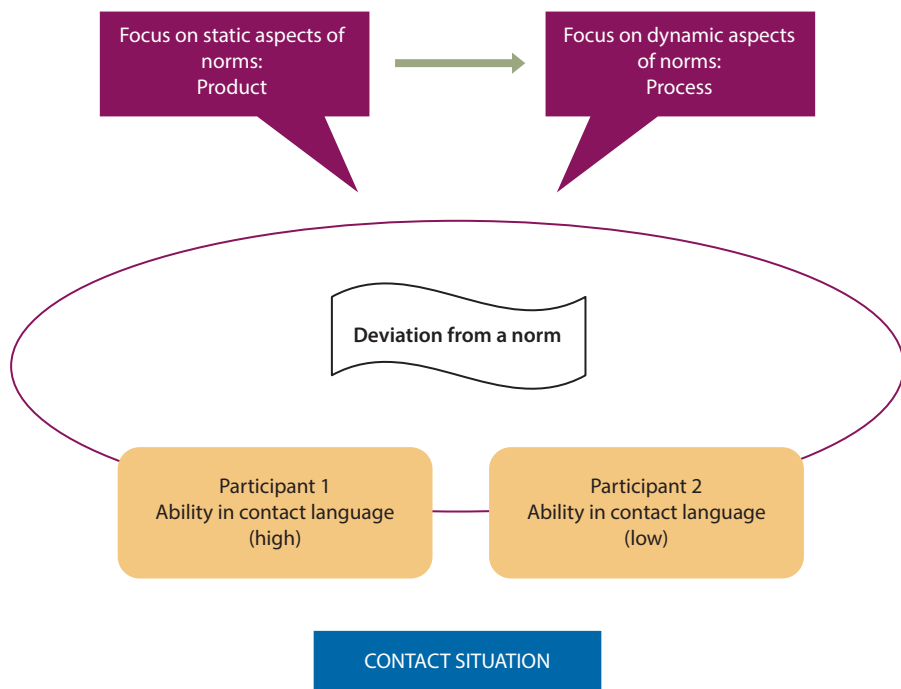
Focus on static aspects of norms:
Product

Focus on dynamic aspects of norms:
Process

Deviation from a norm

Participant 1
Ability in contact language
(high)

Participant 2
Ability in contact language
(low)

CONTACT SITUATION

Figure 4. Image of the development of research into language management as a process

Therefore, it is obvious that this shift of interest from looking at the static aspects of norms (e.g., misuse of a codified grammatical rule) to the dynamic aspects of norms (e.g., avoidance of using a grammatical rule) has certainly contributed to the development of research into language management as a process (see Figure 4).

4.   Importance of languages-in-contact from the point of view of situation

The second question posed is "Why is it important to study languages-in-contact from the point of view of situation?" The study of languages-in-contact, or simply language contact, developed rapidly in the 1950s, represented by the work of Weinreich (1953) on interference and Haugen (1953) on linguistic borrowing.

It should be noted that the 1950s was an era when the world was defined by a new order. In the case of the U.S.A., it can be imagined that new migrants, including Weinreich and Haugen, aimed to settle in a new country and confronted significant language problems due to contact with English and other languages. Given this background, it is not difficult to understand that researchers of languages-in-contact were interested to find out the origins of language problems

(i.e., the characteristics of languages used alternatively by bilinguals), to identify and explain language problems, and eventually to solve such language problems by examining various phenomena when languages are in contact. In other words, language problems were typically studied from a structural approach based on the ideology of language as a system.

As mentioned before, Neustupný placed a special focus on the participants rather than the language itself and he stressed that "to speak of contact situations rather than of 'languages in contact' is not a mere terminological nicety" (Neustupný, 1985a, p. 45). He added that "the study of languages-in-contact from the point of view of situation is beneficial as 'an opportunity is created here to take into account the whole range of problems which occur in contact situations, not merely the narrowly linguistic ones'" (p. 45). His persistence in looking at languages-in-contact from the point of view of situation was directly influenced by Dell Hymes' "ethnography of communication" (e.g., Hymes, 1974) although he seemed to prefer the expression "post-structural approach". Since there is always a purpose for communication in a situation, when researchers look at language problems in contact discourse, they can see more clearly that participants in a communicative situation do not only confront linguistic problems in the narrow sense, but also problems derived from a lack of sociolinguistic and sociocultural knowledge, in order to make their language work according to the purpose of communication. If we go through the existing language management literature related to simple management, it is not difficult to find that great efforts have been made in the analysis of different types of problems in contact discourse (cf. Fairbrother, Nekvapil & Sloboda, 2018). By focusing on the notion of situation, it is suggested here that we should pay attention to two types of language problems which appear to be peculiar to many interactions in the East Asian context.

The first one relates to so-called "high context culture", a concept suggested by the anthropologist Hall (1976) to refer to communication which is primarily transmitted through contextual cues rather than explicitly expressed in words. While there is no absolute way to rank a cultural context as high or low, and there will be many exceptions, Japanese is often regarded as a higher context culture (cf. Gudykunst & Nishida, 1986, 1994).

The art of "*aun no kokyū*" (harmonising breath, or the perfect harmony of two parties) and "*ishin denshin*" (telepathic communication) are still appreciated and practiced widely in Japanese society, and indirectness and euphemism have frequently been pointed out as a serious problem for Japanese learners when attempting to communicate with Japanese and adapt to Japan (e.g. Uehara, 1992; Shimoda & Tanaka, 2006). Indeed, employing the methodology of conversation analysis, Tanaka (2008) indicated the importance of Japanese conversational interaction which is often seen as telepathic and implicit and analysed the strategies

of "allusive interaction" in Japanese, such as how allusive utterances are produced, understood and responded to. Her findings suggest that "the achievement of allusive interaction is by no means straightforward but a joint achievement contingent on a fine calibration of the participants' mutual orientations" (p. 109). An example of implicit expression was also found in interview data collected from a veteran Japanese language instructor and coordinator in a volunteer Japanese classroom in eastern Japan (Fan, 2017). In the following excerpt she explains the different pragmatic use she observed for the expression "the book is on the table" in Japanese (p. 119):

> We teach something like "the book is on the table" (in Japanese: "*tsukue no ue ni hon ga aru*"). It is such a simple sentence but it seems that we see a different world from it. You know, if we hear someone saying "the book is on the table", we will think about the reason straightaway. So we will take it as an imperative, like "please bring the book here". But the students only see the surface meaning and take it as declarative.   (Author's translation from the Japanese original)

Obviously, learners of Japanese who come from a lower context culture will encounter more problems of this kind (i.e. conversational implicature of the expression "the book is on the table") if they use Japanese as the primary language in contact situations involving Japanese L1 speakers. As far as LMT studies are concerned, it is thus important to develop a framework for the analysis of language management by considering contextual factors in the situation.

A perspective based on the situation can also help us to discover a second type of language problem which has been studied recently under the concept of "accustomed language management". As suggested by Muraoka (2010), language management *towards* contact situations should be distinguished from language management *within* a contact discourse. Language management towards contact situations refers to one's accustomed management behaviour towards language use in contact situations due to prolonged and continuous management attempts in a given linguistic environment. Different from pre-correction or pre-management, which are based on concrete interaction experiences, accustomed language management is based on more abstract principles, beliefs or attitudes developed through the experience of language management in previous contact situations. It can be assumed that language management towards contact situations involving Japanese is significant since, as indicated widely in previous Japanese cultural and cross-cultural studies, Japanese tend to value a long-term and mutually dependent relationship in interpersonal communication (Naotsuka, 1980).

Several empirical studies using the concept of accustomed language management can be found in the Japanese literature. Kon (2012), for example, studied accustomed language management through a case study of a Korean woman

resident in Japan. Her findings suggest that the systematic description of language biographies (e.g., Nekvapil, 2003) can be effective for the observation of an individual's general policies and policy change, if any, in language use in contact situations. In addition, Fan (2015) attempted to find out the characteristics of the accustomed language management of Cantonese-speaking Hong Kong employers for interacting with their Filipino domestic helpers. It was evident in her data that as a result of prolonged and continuous interaction in the same living environment, the Hong Kong employers' metalinguistic behaviour, particularly related to norm selection, was significant. For instance, due to the nature of domestic work, the power relationship, and routines in the everyday home situation, discourse in the interactions between the Hong Kong employers and their Filipino helpers appears to play a limited role. Instead, simplification and a lack of elaboration in conversation was obvious. She argued that accustomed management may have contributed to the development of a long-term and comparatively stable third-party language contact situation (in this case, based on the use of English).

5.   The significance of "contactedness" for further development of the theory of language management (LMT)

The third question posed is "What is the significance of "contactedness" for the further development of the theory of language management?" As quoted earlier, Neustupný (1985a, p. 49) believes that "the foreign factors present in contact situations lead to deviations from norms applicable in internal (native) situations" and this essentially marks the beginning of a possible language management process. However, he never developed the concept of foreign factors further in any of his subsequent papers. Nevertheless, several studies which deal with the management of foreignness can be found in the Japanese literature. For instance, in her doctorate dissertation, Fairbrother (2003) studied contact situations and foreignness from the point of view of how L1 speakers of Japanese manage their interactions with L2 speakers. Conversely, Fan (2003) compared the types of linguistic and socio-linguistic foreign features in Japanese perceived by L2 speakers of Japanese when interacting with Japanese L1 speakers and with fellow L2 speakers. Furthermore, by tracing national and transnational movements in the life stories of long-term Chinese residents in Japan, Zou (2012, 2013) analysed the relationship between the management of various types of foreignness and the development of personal social networks in Japanese society.

While the focus of research into foreign factors or foreignness has been mainly placed on the various phenomena of language use existing in a contact situation, the concept of "contactedness" directs our attention to the mechanism or the

dynamic aspects in the process of noting a deviation from a norm. As explained in Fan (2006, pp. 132–134), the term "contactedness" was coined to refer to a language user's subjective judgement or perception of deviations in the course of participation in individual contact situations, as opposed to deviations which may be easily indicated by outsiders (e.g. researchers, linguists) based on existing normative rules. She added that the degree of contactedness may be affected by various factors such as (1) participation in recurrent contact situations; (2) participation in contact situations primarily based on formulaic expressions; (3) the psychological distance perceived between the language user and other participants; and (4) consciousness of different situational factors in the contact situation concerned. Along with the spread of globalization in almost every corner of the world and recent arguments on so-called "superdiversity" or the "diversification of diversity" (cf., Vertovec, 2007) in cities such as London and Amsterdam, it is obvious that contactedness cannot be simply accounted for by the distinct features of language users dealt with in traditional comparative studies, and variables of speakers such as their home town and language proficiency. Subtle differences perceived by an individual language user according to his/her language ideologies and/or experience of participation in previous contact situations may trigger different types of language management. Therefore, as previously reported in Clyne's (1985) study, migrants may find it easier to develop social networks with fellow migrants compared with local Australian English speakers.

For example, in Masumi-So's study (2016), 42 learners of Japanese in an Australian university were arranged in pairs to pay a home visit to Japanese families in order to learn about Japanese society directly from Japanese L1 speakers. It was interesting in her findings that despite being the guests and using a foreign language, the Australian participants appeared to be more relaxed and less conscious about possible communication problems than their Japanese hosts. According to Masumi-So, this was because the young Australians were brought up in a multicultural environment and thus were more used to communicating with people from different backgrounds. Ko and Muraoka (2009) also demonstrate the significance of contactedness among multilingual speakers. In their study of code-switching among Chinese with Korean ethnic backgrounds living in Japan, they found that although their informants were able to communicate with South Koreans they meet in Japan in the Korean language,[2] many of them preferred to use Japanese. As a result, the social networks of ethnic Korean Chinese developed in Japan tended to be based on a third-party language (i.e., Japanese) rather than a shared language (i.e. Korean). According to the authors, this kind of code-switching may have resulted from the subjects' language management of contactedness

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2. Strictly speaking, ethnic Korean Chinese speak a different variety of Korean.

derived from their view of membership in Japanese society and from the hierarchy of the varieties of the Korean language spoken in China and in South Korea, the variety in South Korea being perceived as more prestigious.

From the point of view of multilingualism, which ideologically focuses on the coexistence of different languages within a society, it may be correct to assume that people do not react so strongly to foreignness in contact situations due to more frequent contact with different speech communities. However, if we take into consideration the concept of plurilingualism which ideologically focuses on the coexistence of different languages within a language user, contactedness can become a useful tool to further our understanding of language management in contact situations, since it helps us to look into how one strategically employs his/her language resources for the achievement of communication in the ever changing globalised world.
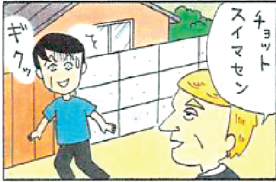
6.   Concluding remarks

This paper has looked at the theoretical significance of the concept of the contact situation for LMT studies from three perspectives, namely, (a) the discovery of the concept of contact situations and the development of LMT as process research taking an approach grounded in the micro-level; (b) the importance of studying languages-in-contact by taking into account situational/contextual factors; and (c) the significance of contactedness for participation in more complicated contact situations as globalisation progresses.

Through a discussion of the findings of many studies in the Japanese literature, we can see very clearly that the concept of contact situation is particularly important for the study of language management in the East Asian context. As far as the Japanese are concerned, while there are still debates about the myth of Japanese homogeneity (e.g., Burgess, 2007; Weiner, 2009), it has been indicated that this myth of homogeneity has had a profound influence on Japan's immigration policy and foreign worker populations over the years (Hight, 2012). As the number of non-Japanese in Japan has increased significantly since the 1990s due to amendments to the immigration regulations,[3] it is time to think seriously about how the theory of language management can benefit the study of contact situations involving Japanese and vice versa.

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3. According to the statistics provided by the Japanese Ministry of Justice, there were 2,561,848 foreign residents at the end of 2017. This constitutes approximately 2% of the Japanese population.

Ishii, a well-known Japanese historian, once indicated that Japanese are in general not good at dealing with outsiders although they may feel more comfortable with a foreign guest than a foreign neighbour (Ishii & Kawai, 2002). In a similar vein, the degree of contactedness perceived by Japanese when dealing with non-Japanese may be much higher than the degree perceived by an immigrant, particularly from a heterogeneous and low-context culture. The following is an excerpt from a Japanese manga which describes humorously and insightfully the interaction between Hiroshi, an ordinary Japanese man, and a westerner in Japan. Hopefully this can provoke further studies of language management in contact situations from the point of view of diversity as well as the diversification of diversity.

Hiroshi: (Shock)

Westerner: Excuse me.

Westerner: WHERE IS THE NEAREST STATION FROM HERE?

Hiroshi: Sor, sorry, um… I.. I don't know English.

Westerner: That's why I asked in Japanese, didn't I?

Hiroshi: Oh… yes you did.

(Source: Sakura, 2008, p. 122)

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Researching language management in Central Europe

Cultivation, social change and power

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This contribution contextualizes the research conducted using the language management approach in Central Europe, demonstrating the influence of local disciplinary traditions as well as real language, communicative and sociocultural problems. It considers J. V. Neustupný's original inspiration in the approaches to language cultivation developed over the years by the Prague School, the contemporary Czech institutional basis for the continuation of cultivation-based research, and the emergence of research topics sparked by the political and socioeconomic changes after 1989. One of these topics is the management of linguistic diversity, which reveals manifestations of power in issues such as foreign language teaching policy, language choice in the workplace and the position of minority languages.

Keywords: language management approach/framework, language policy and planning, Central Europe, language cultivation, Prague School, societal multilingualism

1. Introduction

The language management (LM) approach has been applied in the analysis of language problems and situations in many national and regional contexts, with clearly established hubs based in Central Europe, Japan and Australia, representing the "three continents" in the title of the volume edited by Nekvapil and Sherman (2009c). Even a quick glance at the texts stemming from the research conducted in each context reveals that, at the very least, there are differences in topics selected, methodologies employed, and theoretical interpretations (see Nekvapil, 2016; Sherman, 2016; and Fairbrother, Nekvapil & Sloboda, 2018, for various attempts to integrate these). This is nothing unusual, we can and should presume that the

elaboration of an approach will be dependent upon the specific sociolinguistic and sociocultural situation in which it is applied. For this reason, it is important to elucidate the connections between the context and the research as concerns the following:

a. How the approach was introduced and why and how it was able to find its place in the local research tradition
b. The objects of research
c. The other theories, approaches, or concepts used in combination with LM and corresponding methods
d. Their contributions to the theoretical development of the LM approach

In this chapter, I will attempt to briefly outline these points for one of the major contexts in which LM work is being done: Central Europe, with the Czech Republic at its core. I will try to capture the way in which the research strands on LM are rooted in the historical, political and socioeconomic development of the region, as well as in its intellectual traditions. I will use both the terms "Czech" and "Central European" to describe the given school or approach. The Czech sociolinguistic situation, in my view, serves as the main influence on the topics and methodological approaches to LM which have spread to neighboring countries (above all Slovakia, Germany and Austria) or other parts of the Slavic-speaking world, either as the objects of research (Giger & Sloboda, 2008; Sloboda, 2009), as the initiators of LM-related publications (note, for example, the recent inclusion of LM topics in a Russian-language volume, see Jílková, 2017 and Mrázková, 2017 in Neščimenko, 2017), or through simple translations (see the translated papers Neustupný, 2015 and Nekvapil, 2015 in Vuković, 2015). However, the descriptor "Central European" or "Czech" does not represent the entirety of the research currently being conducted in the region. It should also be pointed out that the approach described here need not necessarily correspond to the geographical region of the objects of research. For example, there are studies which, though situated in the Central European context, are clearly framed in a manner more consistent with work being done in Japan (Neustupný, 2003; Kimura, 2014, 2015) or which, despite examining situations elsewhere, display the clear influence of the Central European approach (e.g. Rudwick, 2017, 2018).

2. How the approach was introduced and why and how it was able to find its place in the local research tradition

As is well known, the main Central European tie to the LM approach consists in one individual, that is, Jiří V. Neustupný. Neustupný initially participated in the

international collaborative attempts at theorizing language planning in the 1960s and 1970s, and in doing so made active use of knowledge and experience from the area of his origin. Like B. H. Jernudd, the other "father" of the LM approach, Neustupný came from a modern European society with a national language having strong connections to ethnicity, in which the cultivation of language was very important for the establishment and maintenance of nationhood (cf. Hroch, 2007). Both scholars thus offered a contribution to language policy and planning (LPP) among others through the integration of the ideas surrounding language cultivation, which is more or less synonymous with what is known as corpus planning in LPP (Nekvapil, 2008, p. 251). In 1974, Neustupný pointed out one of the key differences between the "policy approach", dealing with large-scale issues such as language education planning or standardization, and the "cultivation approach", addressing individual language and communication issues, such as questions of correctness, observing that "[w]hile the policy approach appeals to administration, the cultivation approach addresses the public in general, and intellectuals in particular" (Neustupný, 1974, p. 39). The policy approach, as he saw it, was typically undertaken in societies with less technological progress, while the cultivation approach was associated with more technologically advanced societies (which he calls "modern industrialized societies", 1974, p. 44, see also Neustupný 1978, p. 255 and Neustupný 2015). The Czech cultivation approach, Neustupný's likely main source of inspiration, was primarily developed from the Prague School theories of language cultivation. The Prague School thinking, initially represented by authors such as R. Jakobson, V. Mathesius, or B. Havránek, was not grounded in purism-based prescriptivism, but rather, originally focused on the ideas that codified norms should emerge from actual, contemporary language use and that the standard language should be flexible enough to be able to absorb changes, though these changes should not be arbitrary (Neustupný & Nekvapil, 2003, pp. 333–335; Nekvapil, 2008, pp. 253–254; Nekvapil, 2010, pp. 57–58). Later, based above all on the work of František Daneš and Karel Hausenblas, this approach was extended to non-standard varieties as well as entire communicative processes, thus dealing not only with language norms specifically, but also, for example, with questions of the selection of the appropriate variety for a given communicative situation (Neustupný & Nekvapil, 2003, p. 339, Nekvapil, 2008, p. 255).

The LM approach has been presented as a continuation of the Prague School tradition by observers abroad, above all Vuković (2015), who published an anthology of translations of important Prague School papers on language cultivation. The final two papers in this volume are translations of Nekvapil's (2009) chapter on the LM approach's integrative potential and Neustupný's (2006) overview of the connection between phases of modernization in individual societies and the sociolinguistic issues that receive attention in them.

In the Czech context, both among linguists and the general public, the cultivation approach continues to be more widely applied than the policy one (though, as the relevant research shows, linguists and lay language users often understand cultivation in different ways). This can be connected, among other things, to the fact that the Czech Republic has a highly visible public language management institution, the Czech Language Institute of the Czech Academy of Sciences, which has existed in its current form since the years after WWII. In addition to management in the classic corpus planning form, i.e. codification through the creation of dictionaries, grammars, orthography guides and style manuals (cf. Homoláč & Mrázková, 2014), the Institute also provides a language consulting service (Beneš, Prošek, Smejkalová, & Štěpánová, 2018; Prošek this volume), through which it is possible to continually monitor the language problems that everyday users face, and the degree to which they view the Institute as an important management authority.

The societal prestige of the Czech Language Institute is one reflection of the position of cultivation-related issues in Czech society. Another is the way in which the national "mother tongue" is approached in the primary and secondary education systems, which display a strong tendency toward the use of "correct" Standard Czech in certain domains, in both written and oral genres. The management of the use of Czech varieties is also conducted in and in reaction to the national media (Štěpánová, 2010; Čmejrková, 2011; Havlík, Jílková, & Štěpánová, 2015; Jílková, 2017; Mrázková, 2018). Given this, another interesting branch of inquiry into language management has been displayed in numerous new media genres: discussion fora or social network sites such as Facebook. Since the inception of these genres, users have displayed a penchant for pointing out the linguistic errors of other users, and in some cases making fun of them or connecting their errors to the logic of their argumentation. Applying the LM approach (Sherman & Švelch, 2015; Švelch & Sherman, 2018) has shown that most of the noted deviations, however, concern orthography, more specifically spelling, and a limited range of types of spelling errors at that. The behavior of these users, who often refer to themselves as "Grammar Nazis", basically confirms observations made earlier by Neustupný & Nekvapil (2003) and Nekvapil (2008) that orthography has received unwarranted attention in the Czech school system to the detriment of other communication-related issues.

Of late, the Prague School tradition has also fueled LM-based interest in research on standardization, along with the incorporation of other sociolinguistic theories. Dovalil (2011a, 2013b, 2013d, 2015a, 2018b), utilizing Ulrich Ammon's social forces model, has applied the LM approach to the German language situation, most recently including its pluricentricity. By using the tools of LM, which describe the dynamics of these processes, he also conceptualizes the demotization and destandardization of languages (Dovalil, 2016, Dovalil this volume).

In sum, it can be stated that evolving research on the management of the standard language in the Central European context is a good example that demonstrates that the LM approach was born in part out of its founders' European intellectual upbringing and their need to integrate it into other LPP approaches, and it continues to form a part of the basis for inquiry regarding and within those same countries (both in Central Europe and in e.g. Sweden, see Jernudd, 1977, 2018). As we will see below, however, though this forms the historical basis, research on the management of phenomena other than language varieties has taken over due to later social, economic and political development in the country and region.

3.   The objects of research

The previous section offered a historical explanation for the initial selection of the objects of research in Central Europe. A more ahistorical view, e.g. a synchronic comparative one in which the language policy in different countries is examined, might involve the observation that, at present, the Czech Republic is characterized by a lack of extensive formal written language policy in many domains (though see Dovalil, 2013a for an overview of the management of the position of Czech in legal documents). Rather, many language problems are dealt with on an ad hoc basis and/or on the micro-level. This may be one reason why the LM framework is typically more applicable in the Czech context than classic LPP approaches, which frequently work with official policy documents.

Another inspiration for the use of LM in the region may be tied to the abrupt social changes recently experienced there. The first LM research conducted by authors based institutionally in Central Europe was after the seminal year 1989. The language situation in the post-communist countries subsequently began to change in the 1990s, as these states found themselves in rapidly evolving societies. In the Czech case in particular, this was yet another key point at which the underlying conditions for the emergence of specific language-related research constellations were reset. One part of this was a new multilingualism, tied to the changes in business and employment opportunities for the local population, along with the gradual arrival of a broader range of speakers from different countries than before. Foreign language teaching policy was also adapted: whereas Russian had been mandatory prior to 1989, individuals and schools were given a greater degree of freedom in the selection of languages to teach and learn. This change initially favored Western languages in which a shortage of knowledge was perceived: English and German. One manifestation of this shortage was that people gained employment on the basis of foreign language knowledge (and in many cases, solely on this basis). English surpassed German in the number of pupils studying it in

the mid-1990s and, beginning in 2005, gained additional support via the National Plan for the Teaching of Foreign Languages. The prioritization of English in this plan highlighted and even further contributed to significant differences between the supply of qualified teachers of individual languages and the demand for them (cf. Dovalil, 2010a, 2017, 2018a). There has been a gradual shift from this initial period to the 2010s, where skills in certain languages are presumed, and skills in other languages are seen as an added bonus. Of course, throughout this entire time, there have been ideological motivations for the management of selected languages, both in the work and educational spheres (this is best demonstrated in Nekvapil and Sherman, 2013).

This state of constant flux in social structures and its impact on questions of language and ethnicity inspired the deepening of investigations into the connection between LM and socioeconomic issues. Work on more "traditional" minorities, such as Czech Germans or Roma, also continued in this vein (Nekvapil, 2000b). Neustupný (1992) continued in his earlier work on the management of the Romani language, which became an important illustrative case for the connections between language, communicative and socioeconomic problems (see also, Neustupný, 2002; Hübschmannová & Neustupný, 2004). The division of Czechslovakia led to a change in the status of Slovak in the Czech Republic and a gradual shift in the understanding of Czech and Slovak as mutually intelligible (Nábělková, 2002; Sloboda, 2006) and the management of their use in domains such as the internet (Sloboda & Nábělková, 2013).

However, despite the changes in the ethno-linguistic composition of the country, the issue of Czech as a foreign language was put on the back burner due to the abundance of other, more pressing problems in the 1990s. The management of Czech acquisition, both on the part of the state and as undertaken by individual learners, has been a subject of research (Sherman, 2006, 2009, 2012, 2015; and Sherman & Homoláč, 2014, 2017), but not to the same degree as in the LM schools in Japan and Australia.

There are two studies which provide an overview of some of the major management processes observed in the Czech context during the 1990s. These are: Nekvapil (2000a) and Neustupný & Nekvapil's polity study for *Current Issues in Language Planning*, first published in 2003 and later reprinted in 2006 in the Language Policy and Planning in Europe series published by Multilingual Matters. Both are good examples of how the Central European work on LM typically places the management it analyzes in a specific historical context. In the former, Nekvapil (2000a) offered some of the most prominent examples of objects of language management in Czech society in the 1990s. These included the growing influence of English on Czech, the increase in numbers of self-motivated learners of "Western" languages such as English and German, politically-motivated changes in street

names, or new ways of reporting on and describing political and economic topics in political and mass media discourse (see also Nekvapil, 1997), and the weakening prestige of Standard Czech in many spoken domains. In the latter, the authors provided a thorough overview of the areas in the Czech Republic which are the subject of both simple and organized management, divided into language communities within the country, language varieties, including Czech (both in the Czech Republic and abroad), minority languages and foreign languages, and situations in the family, education, work, public and cultural domains. They were also innovative in their use of a Hymesian framework to explore the management of "functions, setting, participants, content, form and channels" (pp. 187–189, 318–332). The research is exhaustive, and thus far, no other polity study using the LM approach has been done.

The initial "boom" of LM-inspired research in the Czech Republic took place from the late 1990s to the mid-2000s. Since then a number of studies have been conducted elsewhere in the region based on the management of actual practical problems. In neighboring Slovakia, extensive focus has been placed on multilingualism and problems concerning the Hungarian minority. Lanstyák and Szabómihály (2009) analyze the case of the Gramma Language Office (Gramma Nyelvi Iroda, their own institution) as an important player in the management of language problems related to varieties of Hungarian spoken in Slovakia. In Croatia, the management undertaken by official institutions, particularly in conflict with actual language use, has been examined by Vuković (2016).

Of course, in terms of individual topics, there have been parallels to the progress in LPP scholarship the entire time. Domains such as the family, the university and the workplace, discussed extensively in Neustupný & Nekvapil (2003), have emerged as LPP subtopics in their own right. Given tendencies toward ad hoc management in many workplaces, for example, the management approach (see in particular Engelhardt, 2011; Nekvapil & Nekula, 2006; Nekvapil & Sherman, 2009a, 2009b, 2013, 2018) has attracted the attention of other scholars working in this domain (e.g. Incelli, 2008; Sanden, 2016; Kraft & Lønsmann, 2018). The family as a similar such domain has been addressed in Özörencik (2017, 2018), Özörencik and Hromadová (2018), and Sherman, Hromadová, Özörencik, Zaepernicková and Nekvapil (2016). See also Nekvapil (2006, 2010, 2016) for the explication of the relationship between LM and other approaches to LPP.

In sum, LM in Central Europe has emerged as a field inspired by, open to and compatible with a broad range of topics from everyday life as well as other (primarily) sociolinguistic approaches, as we will see in the next section.

4. The other theories, approaches, or concepts used in combination with LM theory and corresponding methods

The Central European approach is characterized by the general use of multiple sociolinguistic theories, as well as approaches from sociology, anthropology, political science and other fields. Some specific concepts that have been integrated to varying degrees include:

Language ideologies. The integration of this concept which was based mostly in the American anthropological tradition (e.g. Kroskrity, Errington, Silverstein and others) appears in Nekvapil & Sherman (2013). Based on research in German-based multinational companies, they show how language ideologies underlie and/or guide language management, and how this is visible in the individual phases of the management process. Lanstyák (2012, 2016), working on the basis of perspectives on multilingualism in Slovakia, provides an extensive, nearly exhaustive overview of the types of ideologies, for example: ideologies of language pluralism, regionalism, nationalism, purism and vernacularism.

Politeness. Nekvapil and Neustupný (2005), in their summarizing text on politeness in the Czech Republic, stipulate politeness as not merely a topic to be studied as it is practiced, but also as the object of management. They devote specific attention to the selection of address forms (formal vs. informal in Czech), the avoidance of direct address in situations in which the speaker does not know which form to use, or which certain address forms, such as "comrade", may be ideologically loaded.

Ethnomethodological Conversation Analysis in the examination of simple management has involved the question of the connection between the management process and, for example, the concepts of repair and correction, particularly self-correction, in conversation analysis (CA). Nekvapil (2016, p. 17) points out that "LMT took up from the very beginning some of the findings originating from conversation analysis (especially as far as the analysis of repair sequences is concerned) and its methods." He also observes that CA methods only enable the researcher to capture the implementation phase of the management process. However, given the desire for naturally-occurring data and the frequent (at least partial) adoption of CA transcription conventions, the LM approach in general, and in Central Europe in particular, can be characterized as "using conversation analysis" as opposed to "doing conversation analysis". In general, this is an area ripe for further investigation.

Language biographies (Nekvapil, 2004; Sherman & Homoláč, 2014, 2017). In a re-analysis of older data collected through primarily narrative interviews in which participants talked about their lives as they were connected to and influenced by the acquisition and use of various languages, Nekvapil (2004) elaborated

the concept of "management summaries". These involve retrospective descriptions of the entire management process or parts of it, for example, Czech Germans' decision to stop using German in Czechoslovakia in public after WWII in response to experiencing negative reactions, or the gradual establishment of Vietnamese children's role as language brokers for their parents.

Linguistic/semiotic landscape. Though the management of the language of signs was initially examined as one of the many aspects of the communication in multinational companies (Nekvapil & Nekula, 2006), the utilization of the linguistic and/or semiotic landscape as a major theoretical-methodological framework was initially employed in the research by Sloboda, Szabó-Gilinger, Vigers and Šimičić (2010), and later by Marx and Nekula (2015).

Language maintenance and shift. Sloboda (2009) built upon Neustupný's (1985) suggestion that language maintenance and shift are complex forms of LM. Using the example of contemporary Belarus, he moved the focus from the various external conditions that influence these phenomena (based on J. Fishman's classic approach) to the actual processes involved in their occurrence. Neustupný and Nekvapil (2003) also considered these issues in their examination of the management undertaken by various language communities in the Czech Republic.

Language and the law. Dovalil (2010b, 2012, 2013a, 2013c, 2015b) has explored court cases as well as legal documents which deal with various aspects of language and communication, for example the use of language on product labelling, national language requirements for employment, issues concerning the equality of languages, or language choice in legal proceedings, both on the national and international levels. Here, management processes typically involve the interaction between what is referred to as "law in books" and "law in action", with individual court cases being a good example of management processes in which various issues of power and interest come into play.

Historical sociolinguistics has been used to reconstruct the individual management conducted by multilingual historical figures and organizations based on their correspondence and other documents (Nekula, 2014, 2016), or historical events corresponding to the classical domain of LP such as Badeni's language regulations from the 19th century (Dovalil & Hall, 2011).

5.   The contributions to the theoretical development of the LM approach

Given the constellations mentioned in the previous sections, there appear to be two areas in which LM research in Central European contexts has contributed to the development of the LM approach overall: (1) language-related inequalities and their connections to issues of power and (2) further elucidation and

questioning of the connections between simple and organized management and their processual character.

With regard to the first area, though the focus on power in the language management approach is nothing new, in the Central European context it appears to be a built-in feature. The core of the research is based in the Czech Republic and issues of power are typically at the forefront of current Czech sociolinguistic scholarship. This may be due at least in part to the social position of the Czech Republic, Czech citizens and Czech speakers, not only in a European and worldwide context, but also *within their own country*. We can observe this phenomenon in the research on multinational companies mentioned above. Here, Czechs working in top managerial positions in German or Korean-owned companies are required to learn foreign languages such as English or German even though they may work just a few kilometers away from where they were born. An outside observer with a different background may even conclude on this basis that the Czech Republic tends toward being a linguistic colony in which Czech is limited to certain contexts, such as the family. Yet Czech is the major, if not only language, used by a significant number of highly educated people and is being continually cultivated in nearly all domains of life. It is also the language imposed on minorities and immigrants from less-economically prosperous countries. At the same time, the educated Czech public does not exist in a linguistic vacuum – foreign languages are present to a greater or lesser degree in most people's lives, more so than in countries with larger national languages, such as Germany. As a result, language, then, be it native or foreign, is something in which the general public is very interested. In sum, the Czech context involves many powerful local language users and institutions that are highly aware of the power imbalances occurring in contact situations and, depending on their interests, either use this to their advantage (e.g. by perfecting their foreign language skills) or accept their position as disadvantaged in this regard.

As for the second area, a seminal paper that deserves mention is Nekvapil & Nekula (2006), which, in order to lay the groundwork for the analysis of the management conducted in branches of German companies operating in the Czech Republic, provides a thorough overview of the relationships between the macro and micro (relating it to other perspectives such as top-down-bottom-up, or even structure-agency), mostly from a sociological perspective, then presents LM as an illustration of these relationships. In this vein, ongoing discussions on the connections between simple and organized management, have led to a more detailed description of the characterization of organized language management (Nekvapil, 2012, 2016), a typology of so-called language management cycles and fragments (Nekvapil, 2009), and the question of whether the processual model based on idealized cases of simple management can actually be applied to organized management and whether it even needs to be, or rather, whether it would

not be more fruitful to consider it in light of other problem management theories (Lanstyák, 2014, 2015, 2018).

In addition, some smaller (though no less important) details of the theoretical apparatus have been developed, for example pre- and post-interaction management (Nekvapil & Sherman, 2009b) and the participation of multiple actors in the individual phases of simple management (Kopecký, 2014).

Finally, it should also be pointed out that there has been much discussion in the Central European context about clarifying the distinction between the LM approach and other ways in which "language management" is conceived, above all in comparison with the work of Bernard Spolsky (2004, 2009). Several reviews of Spolsky's, 2009 book on language management (Sloboda, 2010; Dovalil, 2011b) have been published (see also the overview of the different concepts of language management also including practical business approaches in Sanden, 2016). In addition, the team of researchers working on LM in Prague has created the language management website (languagemanagement.ff.cuni.cz), which includes a growing LM bibliography which contributed greatly to the work on this chapter. The site is accessible in Czech, English, Japanese, Croatian, German and Russian, emphasizing multilingualism as well as the research group's openness, and it supports the cultivation of parallel discourses.

6.   Concluding remarks

Tendencies in any sort of research, particularly social research, are an evolving product of their environment. In Central European countries, the external socio-economic conditions, as well as the heavy focus on nationhood based in ethnicity, have been strong determiners of the position of various languages. This, in turn, has influenced the language problems managed in everyday life, and ultimately, the sociolinguistic studies conducted. In contrast with the Japanese tradition, for example, we can observe that in Central Europe, more focus has been placed on language and communicative management, and less on sociocultural management, as the differences between participants in contact situations are typically not as stark. However, because countries such as the Czech Republic can count on a continued increase in immigration in the future, the problem of the linguistic and sociocultural integration of foreigners, both adults and children, will eventually move away from the periphery of local sociolinguistic interest, where it finds itself at present.

In this chapter, I have attempted to shed light on the main motivations for the ways in which the LM approach has evolved in Central Europe, especially for the benefit of readers from outside the region. If we are to further consider the relationships between local contexts and paradigmatic traditions, the next welcome

step, then, would be to examine the spread of the LM approach to other areas of the world. Which problems and contexts are deemed appropriate and necessary for the application of LM? How do the flows of students and scholars from country to country and region to region contribute to further theoretical advancement and thematic breadth? Can the heritage of older European traditions of the cultivation approach be useful in places where the policy approach has thus far predominated? These are questions to be addressed in the coming years.

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Managing language problems in contact situations

Intercultural interaction management

The case of Japanese and non-Japanese business professionals in the Japanese workplace

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Recent Japanese government policy and public rhetoric focus on fostering global human resources with strong English skills and a global mindset to succeed in the globalized economy. This study investigates how Japanese and non-Japanese professionals try to deal with linguistic and non-linguistic problems when they interact with their business partners and colleagues in English. The study shows how the identification of the source of these problems can affect adjustment design. The findings reveal that although various deviations were noted, the participants were rarely able to identify the source of the problems. This inadequate identification of the source of the problem at the interactional level was seen to lead to ineffective adjustment design and implementation, including at the institutional level.

Keywords: Japanese, non-Japanese, English use, workplace, interaction interviews

1. Introduction

In the past few decades, business interactions have been greatly transformed due to globalization and technological advancement. More and more companies have been expanding their businesses in the global market in order to seek more economic opportunities. At the same time, companies have been developing global teams and partnerships which can offer different expertise and perspectives on strategic challenges as well as providing in-depth local knowledge and insights on the most promising markets (Neeley, 2015). In such a competitive business environment, there seems to be a widespread assumption that it is language proficiency and a global mindset that business professionals need to acquire in order to function in various contexts where people from different national, cultural,

social, and linguistic backgrounds come into contact in so-called *'contact situations'* (Neustupný, 1995). Indeed, among countless languages used around the world, English is considered an international language for global communication (Keidanren, 2000; Seidlhofer, 2004). In fact, there are a great number of people who use English as a shared language to interact with native speakers of English as well as non-native speakers for specific purposes (McKay, 2002).

In the Japanese workplace, English is becoming a fact of life for not only business leaders and expatriates who need to negotiate with other global business professionals, but also for many non-managerial, regular employees (Aikawa, 2015; Kosaka, 2011). These employees do not work only for overseas operations, but are mostly employed in domestic departments, such as general affairs, marketing and sales, research and development, and technical support, and most of them do not have much experience in intercultural interactions (Alc, 2015). To address the current need to improve their employees' English language skills, many Japanese companies offer English lessons and require attainment of specific scores on the Test of English for International Communication (TOEIC) (Japan Economic Research Center, 2011). However, it has been argued that there might be an overemphasis on the importance of acquiring English language skills, whereas other necessary skills and knowledge to function in the globalized workplace might be overlooked (Kubota, 2013).

2.   Research on intercultural business discourse in the Japanese workplace

Although English is often assumed to be the key to successful intercultural communication in the contemporary workplace (Keidanren, 2000), previous research studies on the intercultural business discourse in the Japanese workplace have pointed out that other factors besides a lack of linguistic accuracy and fluency might cause misunderstandings and miscommunication in contact situations. Among these, a number of studies have focused on conversation strategy differences in order to elucidate interactants' underlying sociocultural presuppositions.

For example, Tanaka (2009) investigated turn-taking and back-channeling in English-medium meetings at a multinational workplace in Japan. The participants in this study included American native speakers of English, and also non-native speakers from Europe and Southeast Asia. The results of Tanaka's study indicated that the Japanese participants took turns much less frequently than other participants and back-channeled more often to demonstrate their participation in the discussion; however, non-Japanese participants were not aware of the Japanese participants' intentions when back-channeling and negatively evaluated their receptive attitudes. Interviews conducted with the Japanese and American

participants revealed that in addition to the Japanese participants' insufficient English proficiency and confidence, both parties differed in their perceptions of the function of the meetings, which affected the participants' behaviors and interpretation of others' participation. However, the findings from Tanaka's interview data are limited to a bi-cultural perspective, and other non-Japanese participants' views on meeting functions and participation were not investigated.

Miller (1994, 1995, 2008) examined meetings between American and Japanese colleagues at three firms in Tokyo. Her findings show that American and Japanese employees tried to create rapport, despite their cultural differences, by employing various solidarity strategies, such as joking, code-switching, and cooperative complaining; however, differences in how to conduct communicative tasks, such as giving instructions and expressing disagreement, seemed to prevent effective communication in the workplace. Moreover, Miller argued that the participants seemed to be unaware of differences in their culturally influenced inferences about communicative tasks while they were conducting business.

In a similar vein of research, Fujio (2004) conducted a case study of an American and Japanese business meeting in Japan, focusing on silence, ambiguous answers, and politeness strategies. Fujio's findings indicated that the Japanese indirect approach, namely, the use of silence, the evasive '*yes*', and indirect disagreement were not interpreted by the American manager as the Japanese participants had intended. In contrast, Fujio gave another interesting example where the Japanese manager took a direct approach by asking straight questions that most people would hesitate to ask in Japanese, such as "What's your assumption?" and "What do you want?" As Neustupný (1985) and Fairbrother (2009) have argued, the application of norms in contact situations is not necessarily bound to speakers' L1 norms nor fixed even during interactions. Fujio's contradictory findings suggest that the nature of intercultural interactions is not culturally fixed, but rather dynamic and complex, and might be influenced by a number of factors including the relationships, backgrounds, and intentions of the participants.

In two more recent studies on the Japanese workplace, Fairbrother (2015a, 2015b) conducted research with plurilingual employees at European multinationals based in Japan applying the framework of Language Management Theory (LMT) (Jernudd & Neustupný, 1987). Drawing on Lüdi, Höchle, and Yanaprasart's (2010) work, Fairbrother (2015a) argues that the linguistic, sociolinguistic and sociocultural practices of plurilingual employees are '*multiform*', i.e., taking various forms, such as hybridization, pidginization, and deliberate adjustment of language use and norms. This study provided a variety of interesting examples where the participants mix, or sometimes are forced to mix, their first language or other languages with the norms of different language speakers, prioritizing carrying out their work duties within the constraints of the workplace hierarchy. Furthermore,

Fairbrother (2015b) highlighted problems relating to the implementation of corporate language policy and individual reactions to it. Interview data revealed that in contrast to the commonly held assumption that the language norms of corporate official language speakers, or those in higher positions, would be more powerful, knowing how to hybridize official languages with the local norms of language use seemed to be more important in everyday negotiations among employees. For example, when a non-Japanese employee spoke with another non-Japanese in their official corporate language (e.g., English), their interactions were noted and evaluated negatively by their Japanese colleagues based on local (i.e., Japanese) communication rules, which caused great stress and frustration among the non-Japanese employees.

These research findings suggest that there are various types of problems in contact situations that Japanese professionals might encounter in their everyday operations. However, except for Tanaka (2009) and Fairbrother (2015a, 2015b), the majority of studies mainly focus on interactions with native-speakers of English. Moreover, except for Fairbrother (2015a, 2015b), the context of research was mostly limited to business meetings. It can, thus, be said that there are still few research studies focusing on how Japanese and non-Japanese employees use English in what type of situations in the Japanese workplace, what problems they face, and how they deal with these problems. Therefore, this study aims to investigate how Japanese and non-Japanese business professionals try to deal with linguistic and non-linguistic problems when they interact in English with their business partners and colleagues from different backgrounds in the Japanese workplace, focusing on how the identification of the source of these problems might affect their adjustment design and implementation.

3.   Methodology

Seven Japanese and five non-Japanese business professionals (Table 1 & 2) participated in this study. Among them, the Japanese participants were former students of the researcher at an English conversation school. The data for this study come from twelve interaction interviews (Neustupný, 1994, 2003) which were conducted from September 2013 to October 2014. While conventional semi-structured interviews are useful to collect participants' background information and overall views about their experiences, they might not be suitable for gaining access to their actual language practices, particularly in contexts which they might not even perceive as problematic. On the other hand, in interaction interviews, participants are asked to report their recent speech events chronologically and answer further questions, which enables the researcher to collect their contextualized language

practices, such as what they did in English, what the aim was, with whom, and in what situation (Fairbrother, 2015a; Neustupný, 2003).

Table 1. Japanese participants

Participants	Age	Job type	English proficiency level
JM1	30s	Chemical researcher	Upper intermediate
JM2	30s	Fashion buyer	Upper intermediate
JM3	40s	Medical researcher	Upper intermediate
JM4	30s	Airline engineer	Intermediate
JF1	50s	Chemical researcher	Advanced
JF2	20s	Advertising	Intermediate
JF3	20s	Clinical research agent	Intermediate

Table 2. Non-Japanese participants

Participants	Age	Job type	Nationality
NJM1	40s	Marketing manager	USA
NJM2	20s	Data analyst	France
NJF1	30s	Bilingual recruiting consultant	Canada
NJF2	30s	Multimedia business development manager	Taiwan
NJF3	30s	Retail finance assistant manager	China

At the time of data collection, all the participants were working for multinational corporations in the greater Tokyo area. While the Japanese participants were born and raised in Japan and had never lived abroad, the non-Japanese participants grew up in other countries until they graduated from college and they are native or fluent speakers of English. The Japanese participants' proficiency level (Table 1) is based on the level of the course they were taking at the English conversation school where the researcher worked at the time of their interviews. Responses produced in Japanese during the interviews have been translated into English by the author in the following sections.

All the data from the interviews were audio-recorded and analyzed within the framework of LMT, which has been developed to investigate how people deal with problems in interactions and provides researchers with a process-oriented analytic approach. In this framework, the language management process has five stages: a deviation from a norm or an expectation occurs, the deviation is noted, the noted deviation is evaluated, an adjustment is designed in response to the evaluated deviation, and the adjustment design is implemented (Neustupný, 2003). Thus,

interactional *'problems'* refer to noted and negatively evaluated deviations from a participant's norms or expectations. Of course, the language management process does not necessarily have to be completed and might end at any of the stages (Jernudd & Neustupný, 1987). By tracing what the participants did and felt at each stage of the process, the researcher might be able to get a good understanding of their conscious or unconscious behaviors and attitudes toward their interactions and interlocutors.

The problems reported by the participants in this study were classified into linguistic, sociolinguistic, and sociocultural problems (Neustupný, 1997). Furthermore, all the sociolinguistic problems were sub-coded into eight categories based on Neustupný's (1997) rules of interaction.

4.   Analysis

The findings of this study show that all the participants encountered various inter-actional problems in the workplace and made efforts to try to solve their problems or to prevent potential problems from occurring in the future (i.e., *'pre-interaction management'*, Nekvapil & Sherman, 2009). However, it often seemed very difficult for the participants to accurately identify the source of the problems.

4.1   Linguistic problems

Linguistic problems concern grammar, lexicon, and phonology (Neustupný, 1997) in the production and reception of basic messages. The Japanese participants noted deviations regarding grammar, pronunciation, various accents, vocabulary, listening, and the fluency of speaking, reading, and writing. On the other hand, the non-Japanese participants noted the same kinds of deviations as well as '*wasei eigo*' (i.e., English loanwords in Japanese).

For example, JM4, who is an airline engineer, visited his company's business partners in Germany and noted deviations relating to vocabulary and sentence structure. He negatively evaluated them and himself, and commented, *"I couldn't find words. I was trying to put words together, but it was difficult…to form a question."* He also added, *"That's why I'm taking English lessons here."*, explaining his adjustment design and implementation.

In another example, NJM1 attended a teleconference with his global team members in Japan, Australia, and Singapore and noted a deviation when his Japanese colleagues were having trouble understanding what others were saying due to their different accents. He evaluated this negatively; however, as he commented, *"Japanese people are used to an American accent, not used to different*

accents", he showed some understanding of how it must be difficult for his Japanese colleagues to participate in discussions in their second language, particularly when listening to unfamiliar accents. As an adjustment, he reported that he occasionally signed off for a moment in order to help his colleagues understand the important talking points.

Considering the Japanese participants' proficiency levels, it might be reasonable to say that all the participants considered insufficient linguistic competence to be a serious problem. Since it does not seem difficult for the participants to find the source of these purely linguistic problems, their interaction management seems to be simple and straightforward.

4.2   Sociolinguistic problems

Sociolinguistic problems concern how language should be used in a given context (Neustupný, 1997), and both the Japanese and non-Japanese participants noted a wide variety of sociolinguistic deviations. Although they try to cooperate with others in order to proceed with their projects in a collaborative manner, they seem to be frustrated and struggle with how to deal with problems that occur. To identify the sources of their reported problems, their noted deviations were classified into eight categories according to Neustupný's (1997) rules of interaction: switch-on rules, variation rules, setting rules, participant rules, content rules, frame rules, channel rules, and management rules. The following examples illustrate some of the sociolinguistic problems perceived by the participants and the processes underlying their interaction management.

The first example comes from the interview with NJM1, who is an American marketing manager. He often receives For-Your-Information (FYI) emails from his Japanese boss and colleagues. He recounted a recent email communication with his boss and reported that he had noted a deviation relating to content rules, which govern what is communicated (Neustupný, 1997).

> My boss is very good at English. So he doesn't have any problems…Generally good, but I think the only thing that comes up sometimes is his request is too general…He did it last week. He sent me general, something like FYI, For-Your-Information? This thing is happening. XYZ problems are happening. That's it. I don't know, do you want me to do something or not?

He evaluated this email communication negatively and commented, *"They [My boss and colleagues] may assume when they send this, I'll figure it out. And sometimes I do. But sometimes it's not clear…They are not sure how much they need to tell."*

Although many books on business communication give readers some advice on how to convey information clearly, briefly, and sincerely (Scollon, Scollon, &

Jones, 2012), the definition of 'being clear' is not necessarily universal. It seems that this American manager and his Japanese boss were communicating based on different content rules, in other words, different norms governing what to say and different definitions of 'being clear'. Moreover, this deviation seems to be related to switch-on rules which specify under what conditions we start to speak or remain silent as well as how much we communicate (Neustupný, 1997), and in this case, how often we communicate. In Japanese companies, frequent reporting to one's boss and the team is called '*ho-ren-so*', which stands for report-contact-consult. For this Japanese manager, passing the information onto his team members including NJM1 is considered a basic business practice. Naturally, the Japanese boss thought he was being 'clear' and 'sincere', because he wrote 'FYI' in the subject of his email clearly and did not keep the information to himself; however, what NJM1 really wanted to know was what he should do next with the information.

To remedy this problem, NJM1 asked his Japanese boss what to do. His adjustment design and implementation were as follows, "*I already heard the information, so I wrote back like, do you want me for this thing? He came back to me and said no…sometimes people send you something like this information, because they want you to act.*" By writing back to ask if NJM1 needed to do something with this information, the problem was remedied; however, it seems likely that a similar problem might happen again, because NJM1 did not ask his boss to give explicit instructions every time he sends FYI emails. His boss probably did not even notice that NJM1 had noted a deviation and negatively evaluated it. Thus, the Japanese manager was not given the opportunity to realize how his interlocutor perceived the interaction nor how to redeem himself (Fairbrother, 2011).

The second example relates to switch-on rules, specifically when to start talking. JF1 is a Japanese chemical researcher and often attends international conferences. She recently attended an international conference in Yokohama, Japan. After the presentations, a small, informal gathering was held, and she wanted to speak to one of the presenters. However, the Australian researcher was talking with other people, and she was not able to get into the conversation. She explained that although she did not hesitate to ask a question in English during the discussion session, she was not able to join this conversation. She commented, "*I could have asked further questions on a particular point during the times beside the discussion session if I were brave and fluent enough to speak to him on my own. But I couldn't.*" She evaluated the deviation about herself negatively and further explained that in English lessons, turns are usually provided or decided by the teacher. However, outside the class, she needs to take a turn by herself in order to join a conversation.

To find out her adjustment design for the future (i.e., pre-interaction management), the researcher asked her what ability she needed to develop in order to get into a similar conversation. She commented, "*Experience and spontaneous*

response?… I'll learn more expressions and practice more in my English lessons." Her comment suggests that she seems to believe that she would be able to get into a conversation just by improving her linguistic competence and gaining more similar experiences. However, the real issue might be that she was not able to find the right moment to get into the ongoing conversation. Generally, in English-speaking countries, pauses between turns tend to be much shorter than Japanese pauses between turns (Fujio, 2004; Ishii & Bruneau, 1994). Thus, it seems that it was difficult for her to find a *'transition relevance place'* (Sacks, Schegloff, & Jefferson, 1974) between turns. In fact, in Fujio's (2004) case study of an American-Japanese business meeting, the American always started talking after a two- or three-second pause to avoid the chance of a breakdown or an "awkward silence" (McLaughlin & Cody, 1982, p. 299). During the discussion session at the conference, she was already in the discussion, so she was able to signal her intention to take a turn by raising her hand. However, in order to join the ongoing conversation at an informal gathering, paying attention to the difference in switch-on rules between how people in the conversation were taking turns and how she usually takes turns in similar Japanese language situations, may allow her to develop an adjustment design.

As Sacks, Schegloff, & Jefferson (1974) and Fujio (2004) have argued, she might first need to understand that there is a system in conversation and that the turn-taking system varies across cultures as well as within a culture. This is because as Feng's (2009) study on learning culture in an educational setting has shown, mere exposure to a different system might not necessarily help her develop her intercultural competence. Thus, developing strategies to deal with different turn-taking systems would assist her in making necessary adjustments. However, as this example shows, her inadequate identification of the source of the problem might not help her deal with similar problems occurring in the future.

Although the ineffective handling of interactional problems might affect pre-interaction management in a similar context in the future, the management process does not necessarily remain at the level of the individual. The next example illustrates how an individual's identification of the source of a problem could affect others' interaction management. JM2 is a Japanese fashion buyer at a TV shopping company. His direct boss is Japanese, while the company vice president and some of the managers are American. JM2 reported that when his Japanese boss chided his subordinates saying *"omae"* (the rough style of *you* in Japanese) in a friendly and casual manner, the American vice president found this word inappropriate for the office and told JM2's boss not to use it anymore. However, when JM2 was chatting with his boss and the team members, who were all Japanese males, he did not find it offensive, rude, or inappropriate on the office floor.

JM2 evaluated the deviation of the American vice president negatively and explained, "*He [my boss] was just being friendly…I think he [the American vice*

president] worried about abuse of power." It seems that the American vice president and the Japanese employees were communicating based on different variation rules, in other words, different norms regarding what style of language is appropriate in the workplace as well as toward one's subordinates. The American vice president's interpretation of *"omae"* was that it was too casual or even offensive in the workplace. On the other hand, JM2 and his colleagues' perception of *"omae"* was different. Saying *"omae"* with a certain prosody in a particular context sounds, in fact, casual and friendly, and is considered a useful male-bonding strategy even in the workplace. Despite the intention of JM2's boss and the perception of his team members, the Japanese boss stopped saying *"omae"* in the office. Similarly, as pre-interaction management, JM2 says, *"I have to be careful about my language [Japanese] in the multilingual workplace"*, which clearly implies that he decided not to use *"omae"* to his colleagues in the office anymore.

Looking at the institutional-level management of the company, local employees are not allowed to use this communication device anymore, even if no Japanese L1 speakers find it inappropriate or offensive. It can be seen as ironic that someone who is not very familiar with the local language or customs, but has more authority in the organization, is capable of deciding what is appropriate (Fairbrother, 2015a; Nekvapil & Sherman, 2009) without, in this case, realizing the actual communicative effect of *"omae"*.

In sum, the findings regarding sociolinguistic problems have several implications for interaction management between Japanese and non-Japanese professionals. First, various sociolinguistic problems were reported, and some of these problems were complex and included more than one factor. Second, it seems to be difficult for both Japanese and non-Japanese participants to identify the source of problems. Moreover, as the example of passing on information to team members regardless of necessity shows, some problems were not perceived during the interaction or often even after the interaction. Finally, as in the case of the avoidance of the use of *"omae"*, the identification of the source of problems at the individual level could sometimes affect interaction management at the institutional level influenced by the power balance in the workplace.

4.3   Sociocultural problems

Neustupný (1997, 2003) argued that successful interaction entails grammatical (i.e., linguistic), sociolinguistic, and sociocultural competence. Sociocultural competence is "competence to apply rules of culture other than grammatical or sociolinguistic rules" (Neustupný, 1997, p. 2), which affects interactants' various domains, such as their daily life, their area of business, the way in which they think about matters related to them, and many others (Neustupný, 1997). Messages

might not make sense if not placed in a social and cultural context that enables someone else to interpret them. These sociocultural elements are interrelated with how people use language in particular contexts, namely their sociolinguistic behaviors.

The following example relates to both sociolinguistic and sociocultural deviations. JM3, a Japanese medical researcher, reported problems at multinational meetings in his company. He works for a pharmaceutical company, which recently decided to open its internal forum to overseas researchers in related companies in order to increase diversity and stimulate discussions on research and the development of medicine. However, one of the problems which the company has faced after implementing this new policy has been that some Indian researchers have been perceived as sometimes dominating discussions and sidetracking the ongoing discussion. He reported, *"Although the direction of decision-making was about to be decided, they [Indian researchers] expressed their opinions just to demonstrate their presence at the meeting."* JM3 found the Indian researchers spoke for too long at the meeting, and he negatively evaluated their behavior, interpreting it as if they were not engaging in the discussion collaboratively, but rather that they were just trying to demonstrate their presence to the audience. He further commented that *"Perhaps, they think that it's more important to give opinions."* However, he did not say anything to the Indian researchers, because he thought, *"Unless we let them talk for a while, they won't stop talking."*

JM3 interpreted the Indian researchers' behavior as trying to get the attention of other participants by holding a longer turn. This example shows that JM3 and the Indian researchers seemed to have different switch-on rules (sociolinguistic factors), in other words, different norms and expectations regarding when to speak and how much to speak at the meeting. They also had different content rules (sociolinguistic factors), more specifically, different norms on what to say at the meeting. In addition, there is a possibility that the Indians felt that the Japanese were not taking a turn at the Indians' perception of the transition relevance place, so they kept talking. As the previous examples in this study have shown, people tend to be unaware of different turn-taking systems, which can lead to misinterpretations.

Furthermore, as Spencer-Oatey and Franklin (2009) have argued, these turn-taking conventions are also likely to be attributed to socially appropriate behavior in a broader sense, which might link to a sociocultural perception gap between JM3 and the Indian researchers regarding the purpose of meetings and the role of attendees. JM3 explained that the general purpose of meetings is to share what options are available and to decide which direction to proceed with, in order to make progress. On the other hand, JM3 perceived that for the Indian researchers, this kind of meeting is *"A place to sell their opinions"*, and he found that they

are "*Not responsive to others' opinions or cannot read the situation properly.*" As seen in the previous examples of sociolinguistic problems, it is sometimes difficult to identify the source of the problem due to the complexity of interactional problems. Moreover, people often do not realize that they are actually acting in accordance with their own norms, because in many cases listeners choose to ignore interactional problems without giving negative feedback (Miyazoe-Wong, 2003; Shimizu, 2009).

In this case, the problem did not remain at the individual level. While JM3 did not say anything about this problem to the Indian researchers nor to his colleagues; other Japanese employees complained about the Indian researchers' behavior at these open forums. In the end, the company decided to keep these forums open, but to limit speaking rights to the core project members. As a result, from the Japanese researchers' point of view, interruption by the Indian researchers stopped, because they were not allowed to speak anymore. However, although the company's initial purpose was to stimulate discussion among researchers from different cultural and professional backgrounds, it ended up limiting opportunities to listen to diverse ideas and expertise. In other words, the company's original attitude was open-minded, yet because of inadequate analysis of the problem, an adjustment was made on the institutional level, which went against their initial intentions.

As explained above, people use their L1 norms not only for the generation of their own conduct, but also in their evaluation of their interlocutors' behavior (Marriott, 1990). Nekvapil and Nekula (2006) have also discussed the dialectical relationship between simple and organized language management, and in this case as well Japanese L1 norms were applied not only at the individual level, but also at the institutional level in both the evaluations and adjustments made in response to the Indian researchers' participation in the meetings. Furthermore, as Park (2013) has argued, while diversity in the multinational workplace is recognized as an important resource, in reality such diversity might be often trivialized or even ignored leading to the domination of situations by the majority, in this case Japanese managers and researchers.

5.   Conclusion

As globalization and technology advance, Japanese companies have been expanding into the global market. Many people believe that those companies only assign employees with high English proficiency to attend business negotiations abroad; however, the Japanese workplace has become more globalized and diverse, and now many people of varying language proficiency use English in their domestic offices

in Japan. The findings of this study show that both Japanese and non-Japanese employees use English not only overseas, but also in their domestic offices in Japan on a regular basis for specific purposes.

In these contact situations, the participants are struggling to get their messages across and often encounter various kinds of hardship and problems. The findings of this study reveal that, first, all the participants relied on their intuition to evaluate their problems. Second, although various deviations were noted, the participants were rarely able to identify the source of the problems, particularly when they were sociolinguistic or sociocultural in nature. Moreover, some problems were not even noticed. Third, the participants' evaluations of deviations based on their L1 norms did not always seem to lead to appropriate adjustment design and implementation. Finally, mis-identification of the source of the deviations at the individual level was seen to lead to insufficient or undesirable adjustment design and implementation at the institutional level.

In order to overcome these complex problems, the Japanese participants feel an urgent need to improve their communicative competence in English and believe that they will be able to handle those problems better as they improve their linguistic fluency and accuracy and gain more intercultural experience. However, even if they experience more contact situations and improve their English language skills, it does not mean that they will automatically become better at interacting with their business partners and colleagues from different backgrounds.

As pointed out earlier, the contemporary Japanese workplace is not necessarily monolingual anymore. Considering that every decision in the workplace is made, expressed, and evaluated by individuals from different backgrounds, the development of individuals' *'critical cultural awareness'* (Byram, 1997) might be the key to better interaction management at the individual as well as institutional level. As the example of the policy change of JM3's company regarding speaking rights in its researchers' open forums shows, those who are not directly engaged in contact situations at the individual level, such as in intercultural business meetings, often make decisions at the institutional level, which affects whether individual employees can have opportunities for possible productive and innovative collaboration or not. If Japanese and non-Japanese business professionals try to develop an ability to notice the unknown and mediate different perspectives, they might be able to analyze their problems more accurately and explore solutions with others in a collaborative manner.

Furthermore, considering the dialectical relationship between micro- and macro-level language management, the findings of empirical research studies on interactional problems in the workplace should be included in the development of Japanese English education policy. The government and business sector have been investing heavily in increasing the role of English in education, but not necessarily

in developing individuals' interactional competence in contact situations. More attention should be paid to this issue, and more research studies need to be conducted on how actual problems at the micro level are reflected or not reflected in the formation of policy. To do so, further research needs to be conducted on participants' courses of action that will influence future intercultural interactions.

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Language selection in contact situations

The case of international students in an English-medium science graduate program in Japan

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This study investigates the language selection of international students in an English-medium graduate program and their language management within the context of the university's language policy. Based on semi-structured interviews, the findings of the study show that although international students follow or are forced to follow the university's language policy, especially in formal contexts, they flexibly select English or Japanese as a lingua franca, or mix these languages, particularly in informal contexts. Moreover, sometimes interactants use two different lingua franca languages in the same interaction. Therefore, it can be argued that it is necessary to develop an understanding of the actual language use of international students and to reconsider the role of both the official language and local language in the program.

Keywords: contact situations, third-party variety contact situations, two-languages situations, international students, L2 speakers, Japanese, English, English-medium instruction

1.   Introduction

Since the 1980s, the Japanese government has strived to internationalize Japanese universities by increasing the number of foreign students, and recently it has accelerated its efforts mainly led by the Ministry of Economy, Trade and Industry and the business sector (Yoshida, 2014). In 2008, the Fukuda administration implemented the *'Plan for 300,000 Exchange Students'* to boost the number of foreign students in Japan from 140,000 to 300,000 by 2020. This plan aims not only to support foreign students to come to study at Japanese universities, but also to encourage universities to hire more English-speaking teaching staff, offer

more English-medium courses and help foreign students find jobs in Japan after graduation (MEXT, 2008).

At first, the government appeared to have been promoting the internationalization of Japanese universities by accepting international students. But now this strategy seems to be shifting toward developing *'global human resources'* by internationalizing or globalizing the institutions themselves. This shift is reflected in the fact that many universities have reorganized their faculties and renamed them, incorporating terms, such as *'kokusai [international]'* or *'global'*. The government has also provided subsidies for universities designated *'Top Global Universities'*. Yoshida (2014) has pointed out that the global human resources the government and business sector have in mind are not students who have experienced studying abroad, but rather those who have strong English abilities, and Yoshida suggests that these policies aim to encourage communication in English between Japanese and international students on Japanese campuses. As a result, as more and more universities have set up English-medium lectures and courses, the number of international students has been rising.

As of 2017, approximately 267,000 international students were studying in Japan, which was an 11.6 percent increase from the previous year, and nearly 93 percent of those students came from Asian countries, such as China, Vietnam, Nepal and the Republic of Korea (Japan Student Services Organization, 2017). Among these international students, applicants for science graduate courses are often not required to have high proficiency in Japanese and are expected to communicate in English. However, considering their home countries, English is also a language that many of them have only learned in school, and it cannot be assumed that all international students are fluent in English. Therefore, the aim of this study is to investigate what language international students select in various contact situations and what factors might affect their language selection. We will first review previous studies on contact situations in Japan, mainly those between L2 speakers of Japanese, as well as research on international students in Japan and their language use. After that, we will analyze how they manage their interactions based on interview data and discuss the findings of the study.

2. Research on contact situations

The concept of "contact situations" was first introduced as "foreigner situations" in 1981 (Neustupný, 1981). Neustupný (1985) argued that situations could be divided into intracultural and intercultural situations and could be called native, or internal, and foreign, or contact, situations respectively. What differentiates contact situations from native situations is "the presence of 'foreign' factors" (Neustupný,

1985, p. 44), and this "foreignness" refers to not only linguistic factors, but also sociolinguistic and sociocultural factors. Thus, contact situations are defined as situations where people from different linguistic and non-linguistic backgrounds come into contact (Neustupný, 1995). Since the introduction of the concept of contact situations, extensive research on language management in contact situations has been conducted, and this concept is widely known in the field of Japanese language education (Yoon & Haruguchi, 2017).

When it comes to the categorization of contact situations, however, it can be said that the theory is still in the process of development. Contact situations are situations where any linguistic, sociolinguistic, or sociocultural factors perceived as "foreign" could occur and might hinder a smooth interaction. Focusing on these linguistic, sociolinguistic and sociocultural factors, Fan (1994) defined contact situations as "interaction involving members of different speech communities" (p. 242) and classified them into three types based on the origin (i.e., variety) of the language used in the contact situation (i.e., contact language) as follows:

1. Partner variety contact situations
   Interaction between a first language speaker (L1 speaker) and a second language speaker (L2 speaker), for example, a situation where an American student and his Japanese classmate speak together either completely in English or completely in Japanese.
2. Third-party variety contact situations
   Interaction between two or more L2 speakers, such as a situation where a Japanese buyer and a Brazilian seller negotiate in English.
3. Cognate variety contact situations
   Interaction where interactants communicate in their own first languages despite the presence of linguistic and non-linguistic differences, for instance, a situation where an American-English speaking tourist talks to a British-English speaking shop clerk.

The above classification was created based on the language varieties selected by interactants in contact situations (i.e., contact language varieties); however, in actual contact situations, interactants do not always choose only one contact language variety during an interaction and in fact sometimes use more than one contact language variety. In 2004, Neustupný added a fourth type of contact situation, namely "two-languages situations", where interactants use a completely different language to each other, native or not; for example, a Japanese speaking in Japanese to a German who replies in English. However, he did not suggest a detailed categorization based on which languages (i.e., L1, L2, or any additional language) could be used in "two-languages situations".

Kimura (2011) made a new, more comprehensive categorization based on possible language choices in direct interlingual communication as follows:[1]

Table 1. Possible language choices in direct interlingual communication

	First language	**Partner language**	**Additional language**
First language (F)	1 First language – symmetry (FF)		
Partner language (P)	2 Internal language – asymmetry (F/P)	3 Partner language – symmetry (PP)	
Additional language (A)	6 First language + Additional language (FA)	7 Partner language + Additional language (PA)	4 Lingua franca (A) 5 Additional language – symmetry (AA)

1. First language symmetry (FF)
    Interaction between L1 speakers using different languages, for example, a German speaking in German to a Pole speaking in Polish, or an interaction between two L1 speakers of different varieties of the same language, for instance, a Spaniard and a Mexican communicating in their respective varieties of Spanish, which is called a cognate variety contact situation in Fan's (1994) categorization.
2. Internal language asymmetry (F/P)
    Interaction between L1 speakers and L2 speakers using only one of their first languages, for example, a situation where an American student talks with his or her Japanese classmates in Japanese only. This is called a partner variety contact situation in Fan's (1994) categorization.
3. Partner language symmetry (PP)
    Interaction where both participants use their interlocutor's first language, for instance, a situation where an American student speaks in Japanese to his or her Japanese classmate who replies in English.
4. Lingua franca (A)
    Interaction between L2 speakers, such as a situation where a Korean student talks with her French friend in English. This is often called a *lingua franca* situation (Firth, 1996; Samarin, 1987; Seidlhofer, 2001) or a third-party variety contact situation (Fan, 1994).

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1. For an application of this model see Kimura, Izumi, Ichinose, Fairbrother and Touchais (2013). Kimura (2018) revised and extended the categorization to include also indirect, mediated communication, language switching and mixing, but the categories relevant for this study essentially remain the same.

5. Additional language symmetry (AA)
    Interaction between L2 speakers using two or more additional languages, for example, a situation where a Korean student speaks in Japanese while her French interlocutor responds in English.
6. First language and additional language (FA)
    Interaction where one of the interactants uses their first language and another uses one of their second languages, such as a situation where a Japanese student speaks in Japanese with Korean students, who respond in English.
7. Partner language and additional language (PA)
    Interaction where a L2 speaker uses their interlocutor's first language, but their interlocutor uses an additional language, for example, a situation where a Russian student speaks in Japanese with his or her Japanese classmates, who respond in English.

Previous research in the field of Japanese language education has mainly focused on either the contrastive analysis of L1 and L2 speakers of Japanese (at that time described as 'native' and 'non-native speakers'), or studies on partner variety contact situations where L1 and L2 speakers of Japanese interact with each other. According to Kimura (2011), these studies concentrate heavily on partner language asymmetry situations. These situations have been extensively and intensively investigated over the past decades, and various characteristics have been identified. For example, Fan (1994) argued that the relationship between an L1 speaker and an L2 speaker in partner variety contact situations is not necessarily superior-inferior and introduced the concept of a language host and guest relationship. In this concept, L1 speakers take on a responsibility as language hosts to maintain conversations with their L2 interlocutors by giving assistance. On the other hand, L2 speakers as language guests often acknowledge the role of their interlocutors and ask for their help. One of the strategies that language hosts often use to help language guests is the use of simplified speech, or 'foreigner talk' (Ferguson, 1971). However, it cannot be said that a language guest always welcomes the foreigner talk that a language host uses (Shin, 2007) nor that a language host always assists a language guest, so there are some weaknesses in this argument. In research on Japanese contact situations, Shin (2007, 2008) has reconceptualized foreigner talk and has argued that it should not be regarded as L1 speakers' one-sided adjustments for L2 speakers, but rather as a mutual adjustment strategy which both L1 and L2 speakers can use in order to understand and be understood better. These studies suggest that the relationship between a language host and a language guest can be dynamic, and it cannot be denied that these roles also imply an unequal power relationship.

In recent years, research on Japanese third-party variety contact situations, or in Kimura's (2011) categorization, lingua franca situations, has been gradually gaining

attention. Fan (1999) examined six Japanese conversations between L2 speakers from different cultural backgrounds and analyzed the processes of their language management focusing on conversational participation, language variety choice and negotiation of meaning. The study found that, (1) the participants often did not use native Japanese norms, but rather used norms based on their interlanguage, (2) each participant played both the roles of language host and language guest, and there was not a fixed host-guest relationship, and (3) the participants did not try to solve or correct all the interactional problems which occurred during their interactions, but rather focused on managing and developing their interactions, as has been indicated in other research (e.g., Wagner & Firth, 1997). In another study, Fan (2003) investigated the perceptions of Japanese norms from the participants' viewpoints, based on nine Japanese conversations between L2 speakers. The findings show various examples of language management. For example, the participants sometimes paid less attention to Japanese norms, and instead applied their native norms or tried to apply the norms of their interlocutors' languages.

In another research study on lingua franca situations, Haruguchi (2004) examined the interactional relationships between advanced and intermediate learners of Japanese and found that advanced learners played a similar role to that of a language host. At the same time, their counterparts (i.e., intermediate learners of Japanese) also used some adjustment strategies which a language host might usually apply. In other words, Haruguchi's findings suggest that the interactional roles of L2 speakers are not necessarily determined by their linguistic competence.

More recently, some studies have been conducted on lingua franca usage in areas with high concentrations of foreign residents, mainly from South America and other parts of Asia. While Long (2011) found that Japanese is often chosen as a lingua franca in Iga city, in Mie prefecture, Saito (2015) found that Portuguese is more commonly selected as a lingua franca in Oizumi town, in Gunma prefecture. Saito explains that the reasons why Portuguese is selected in Oizumi town might be the constant exposure to oral and written Portuguese, due to the high rate of Brazilian residents and the large amount of signs written in Portuguese in the town.

These research findings suggest that in lingua franca situations, interactants seem to be more flexible concerning the application of norms and are more creative about their language use and management. However, since previous studies of contact situations in Japan have predominantly focused on interactions between L1 and L2 speakers of Japanese, more research on lingua franca situations needs to be conducted in order to identify their features and any specific interactional problems they may produce.

Moreover, although research to date reveals a number of significant characteristics of various contact situations, there is still very little research regarding the fourth type of contact situations which Neustupný (2004) added,

namely two-languages situations. One example can be seen in Aikawa's (2015) study. Reflecting the current globalized workplace in Japan, she provides an example of a two-languages situation where a Canadian manager and her Japanese subordinate speak and write to each other in their own first languages to get their job done efficiently in busy day-to-day internal communication.

However, not all cases of language use in contact situations fit so easily into Fan (1994), Neustupný (2004) or Kimura's (2011) classifications. For example, Fairbrother (2015) investigated interactions among plurilingual employees in European multinationals in Japan and found some interesting examples where the participants made full use of their repertoires, mixing their first languages and common languages as lingua franca to try to change the workplace power dynamics in their favor. Her findings revealed that when the language changes, who the L1 speaker and who the L2 speaker in the interaction is can also change, which also affects who the more powerful speaker to deal with the interactional problem at hand is. Fairbrother's study points out that the conventional categorization of contact situations might not be able to fully describe interactions between plurilinguals. Indeed, considering the contemporary globalizing society, we also need to pay closer attention to situations other than traditionally conceptualized contact situations, where only one language variety is selected as a contact language.

3.   Research on international students in Japan and their language use

Among research studies on international students in Japan, many of those focusing on science graduate students have investigated their communication on and off campus as well as the sociocultural aspects of their research laboratories (Abe et al., 2013; Habuki & Shinohara, 2014; Kishida, 2004; Mimaki, 2006; Naito, 2006). According to Kishida (2004), international science graduate students focus on their research rather than attending English-medium lectures and spend a very long time in their research laboratories with their professors, research assistants and fellow students. It can be said that smooth communication with the people in their laboratories is the key to success during their study abroad. Thus, even if they were not required to have any Japanese proficiency for entrance, they often need to use or be willing to use some Japanese in order to build good relationships with the people in their laboratories (Bellingrath-Kimura, 2016; Habuki & Shinohara, 2014; Mimaki, 2006; Naito, 2006).

Regarding language choice, Naito (2006) has pointed out issues on the side of Japanese students and explained that some Japanese students try to avoid using English because of a lack of confidence in their English skills. Mimaki (2006) examined communication between international students and Japanese students

in their research laboratories and found that international students often spoke to Japanese students in English mixed with some Japanese. Furthermore, Tasaki (2009) analyzed group discussions among international students and Japanese students in an English-medium science graduate course highlighting code-switching. The study found that switching to Japanese encourages Japanese students to actively participate in the English-medium group discussions, and Tasaki argued that even elementary-level Japanese plays an important role in promoting communication in English and helps international students build good relationships with their fellow Japanese students.

These research findings suggest that even if international graduate science students are not officially required to speak Japanese, they need to learn how to communicate using some Japanese. However, these research studies have focused on interactions between international students and Japanese students and very little research has been conducted on other types of interactions. Therefore, this study will investigate what contact languages international graduate science students from different linguistic and non-linguistic backgrounds select to manage their interactions in mainly lingua franca or two-languages situations, and will explore how their language management at the individual level might be influenced by institutional and national-level language policy.

4.   Methodology

The data presented here mainly come from semi-structured interviews which were conducted in August 2014 as part of a wider study investigating the lingua franca situations experienced by twelve international students at a graduate school of science in Tokyo. In the semi-structured interviews, the researcher asked the participants about their linguistic backgrounds, their daily and academic lives on and off campus, and their interactions with their professors and fellow students, particularly focusing on their code selections and perceptions of their interlocutors as well as themselves. All the data from the interviews were audio-recorded and transcribed. In this study, the data from three of the interviewees were analyzed in detail, applying the Language Management Theory framework (LMT: Jernudd & Neustupný, 1987). LMT is a process-oriented analytical framework used to investigate how people perceive their interactions and how they deal with interactional problems. Each 'language management process' starts with a deviation from a norm or an expectation and moves on to the noting of the deviation, the evaluation of the noted deviation, adjustment design and the implementation of the designed adjustment (Neustupný, 2003); however, this management process can stop at any stage. Thus, in this study, it is expected that tracing the participants'

language management at each stage will result in a clearer understanding of the participants' code selections and the factors influencing those choices. Specifically, the deviations noted by each participant were classified based on Kimura's (2011) categorization of possible language choices in direct interlingual communication.

The interviewees were enrolled in the same English-medium science graduate course where all the students, including L1 speakers of Japanese, are instructed only in English. In fact, applicants to this department are not required to have any level of Japanese proficiency for admission. However, English is not commonly used by the majority of people in Japan, and it might be inferred that those who rely solely on English might have a difficult time leading their daily lives without any knowledge of the local language (Fukuda, 2017). In this department, all the new international students take Japanese lessons for at least six months. The interviewees' Japanese proficiency levels are different. The first two participants' interviews were conducted in Japanese with some question responses occasionally provided in English, while the third participant's interview was conducted mainly in English. In this chapter, all the interview excerpts have been translated into English by the authors.

The first participant is David (pseudonym), who is a second-year male graduate student from Ghana in his thirties. He previously studied in a different research laboratory at the same university as a short-term international student for a year, and this is his second time to study in Japan. His first language is Twi, which he uses at home. He learned and used English with his teachers and friends in preschool and learned French in junior high school for three years. His English proficiency level is considered native-like because since preschool he has been surrounded by upper-class people who speak in English on a daily basis. Regarding his French proficiency, he once mentioned that it was fun to talk with a Tunisian post-doc student in French, which suggests that he might be at least an intermediate-level French speaker. When he came to Japan, he started learning Japanese in class for a year. At the time of the interview, his Japanese proficiency level was elementary, yet he reported that he was highly motivated to improve his Japanese.

The second participant is Hae-kyung (pseudonym), who is a second-year female ethnic Korean-Chinese graduate student in her twenties. Her first language is the Korean variety spoken in China, which she uses at home, and her second languages are Chinese, Japanese and English. She has used Chinese since she was in elementary school. She attended a Korean-medium university and learned English as a foreign language; however, she reported that she is not confident enough to use English yet. She studied Japanese in junior high and high school. After she came to Japan, she learned Japanese at a Japanese language school and immediately passed the N2 (the second highest level) Japanese Language Test. A year later, she passed the N1 (the highest level), which means her Japanese proficiency is at

an advanced level. She came to Japan with her Korean-Chinese husband, and they communicate with each other in Chinese mixed with some Japanese. Despite his ethnic Korean background, her husband does not speak Korean.

The third participant is Chulabhorn (pseudonym), who is a first-year female student from Thailand in her thirties. Her first language is Thai, and her second language is English. She has learned some English since primary school; however, she only actively learned the language after she entered college in Thailand. Her English proficiency can be considered as an upper-intermediate speaker from the interview data. On the other hand, she had never learned Japanese in her home country. As she started her study in this program one month later than usual, she was not able to take Japanese classes right away with the other new international students. Thus, her Japanese proficiency was still beginner level at the time of the interview, which was conducted only three months after her arrival in Japan.

The original research study aimed to investigate the language selection of international students in an English-medium course and twelve L2 English-speaking international students were interviewed. Among them, David, Hae-kyung and Chulabhorn were initially considered by the researchers as unlikely to encounter many problems, because these three international students already had upper-intermediate or advanced proficiency in the official language of the graduate program (English). Moreover, David was very motivated to learn the local language (Japanese) and Hae-kyung had high proficiency in Japanese. However, it turns out that they dealt with various linguistic and non-linguistic problems and difficulties, which might be considered not only to be individual-level problems but also related to institutional and national-level issues. Therefore, it is important to investigate how these international students, who have different linguistic repertoires and proficiency, choose a language or languages to interact with others during their everyday interactions and what problems and struggles they face within the context of their university's language policy.

5. Analysis

The findings of this study show that the participants engaged in various contact situations and tried to deal with interactional problems and difficulties utilizing their linguistic repertoires, both consciously and unconsciously. Each participant's language management was classified into the following contact situations applying Kimura's (2011) categorization as a framework for analyzing the data:

1. English lingua franca situations (A)
2. Japanese lingua franca situations (A)

3. Japanese partner language asymmetry situations (F/P)
4. Additional language symmetry situations in Japanese and English (AA)

5.1   English lingua franca situations

Since they study in an English-medium department, the interviewees reported participating in contact situations using English most often. However, English use was often reported by the participants as noted deviations, specifically English use in communication with professors and communication with other international students.

5.1.1   *Communication with professors*

Communication with an academic advisor is one of the most important interactions for students during their study abroad. As the professors in the department were L2 speakers of English, the contact situations they participated in with their L2 speaker students using English can be considered lingua franca situations. The following example shows that David noted a deviation regarding the selection of English as a contact language. He explained as follows in his interview:

Researcher (R): *Did you attend classes? Or classes…?*
David (D):   *Only for a year. My course is two years. In the first year, there are lectures, but in the second year, there are not any lectures.*
R: *Then, you've been only doing experiments?*
D: *Yes, only experiments.*
R: *If so, you talk with professors in English, don't you?*
D: *Right. I want to speak in Japanese. But my Japanese vocabulary is limited. Also, my grammar is bad, and my professor's English is great. So only English. But I really want to speak in Japanese.*
R: *But you replied to me in Japanese via email.*
D: *Probably because it's easy, I think.*

As he commented, *"So only English. But I really want to speak in Japanese"*, it can be argued that David evaluated his professor's exclusive use of English negatively. Although English is designated as an official language in this department, in other words, English is an expected choice, he seemed to be frustrated about this code selection because he wanted to use Japanese when he spoke with Japanese professors, as can be seen in his comments, *"I want to speak in Japanese"* and *"I really want to speak in Japanese"*. He thinks that this code selection is a result of his insufficient Japanese skills and his professor's high English proficiency. Although he could have implemented an adjustment and switched to Japanese, David did not try to make any adjustment to this problem.

Interestingly, in the following section, he reflected on his own language management and realized that he had never tried to use Japanese in communication with his professor nor any professors who spoke to him in English.

R: *If you see the professor [your former professor during your first study abroad] now, what language do you use?*
D: *English.*
R: *You spoke in English back then…*
D: *English back then. I don't know. He and I always talked in English… I really don't know. For example, he said, "David, how are you?" in English…I don't know. But other students, for example, some Japanese students, always [say], like let's talk in Japanese. But the professor, the professors of this school always spoke to me in English.*
R: *Well, when you speak to other professors, do you speak to them in Japanese or do they say 'hi' to you in Japanese?*
D: *Probably so. But I've never tried it. I've never tried this. But I think that is probably because professors thought I might not be able to speak in Japanese, like I probably cannot speak Japanese, so English might be better to communicate with each other. That's why other professors and I always talk in English.*

David reported that he is always spoken to in English by professors in his department even though he is actually able and willing to communicate in Japanese, and he appears to note this as a deviation and evaluate it negatively. Since he reported elsewhere in the interview that he often communicates *"in simple English as well as simple Japanese"* with other students, and *"always [talks] with a Chinese student only in Japanese"*, it can be said that his expectation is that he should be able to speak in Japanese when he communicates with those who are able to speak Japanese. However, when he was asked in the interview if he speaks to these professors in Japanese, he suddenly realized that he had never tried to speak to the professors in Japanese just as other Japanese students did, saying, *"But I've never tried it. I've never tried this"*. This realization of a possible adjustment could be explained as a reprocessing (Fairbrother, 2000) of his original language management process. Still, he does not seem to realize that a student also has the option to select the contact language (e.g., Japanese as a contact language). It could be argued that this is a demonstration of power between the professor and his student, because, even though they are following the language policy of the department, it was always the professor who chose the contact language between the two of them, and this state of affairs never changed throughout their interactions. In other words, David felt constrained in his interactions, both by the invisible power relationship

between university professors and students and by the restrictive language policy of the institution.

5.1.2   *Communication among international students*

This section will show how Hae-kyung manages the different English varieties and proficiency levels of the international students in the English-medium department. Most of these international students come from different countries in Asia, and their English proficiency levels and the characteristics of their English are diverse. Even if some of them are not necessarily fluent in English, new international students in this department need to communicate with each other in English because it is often the case that English is the only common language among them. Unlike most of these new international students, Hae-kyung is much more fluent in Japanese than in English. As she explained, *"I speak in English with those who speak only in English, and I speak in Japanese with people who can speak Japanese"*. In the following excerpt, she reports that although she communicated in English with some of the new international students, she was not able to follow what they were saying.

> R: *Then, you were speaking only in Japanese, right?*
> Hae-kyung (H): *I don't speak English very much.*
> R: *Then, when these Bangladeshi people talk, do they speak in English?*
> H: *I don't understand their English very well.*

Hae-kyung learned Japanese in junior and senior high school and has learned and used it since she came to Japan to attend this graduate school. On the other hand, English is the language that she studied in college and she says, *"I don't speak English very much"*. However, she needs to communicate with other new international students in this department in English because most of them had never learned Japanese until they started their study in this department and took the six-month Japanese course. In other words, English is the first choice language when a new international student in the department meets other fellow students and they start to communicate with each other. As soon as she started to speak with these Bangladeshi students in English, she noted a deviation. She reported, *"I don't understand their English very well"* and evaluated it negatively.

As an adjustment, she switched to her next language choice, which is Japanese. She mentioned that she did not have any problem in understanding these Bangladeshi students' Japanese.

> R: *What Japanese do they speak? Are they men or women?*
> H: *The woman speaks Japanese very well, but the man…not really. The level of his Japanese placement test is [only level] three.*

> R: *Oh, there are two people.*
> H: *Yes.*
> R: *There are a woman and a man.*
> H: *The woman is all right with usual daily conversations. The man, I don't know about other people, but I understand what he is saying very well. He sometimes makes mistakes in grammar, but I don't feel any difficulty.*
> R: *So, are you all right [communicating in] Japanese for most of the time?*
> H: *Yes. When I sometimes don't understand, [we use] English. I also consult a dictionary.*

From Hae-kyung's explanation, it can be said that after several negotiations, she was able to continue the conversation with these Bangladeshi students using Japanese and occasionally English and develop a good relationship with them. In addition, even though she noted a deviation that one of them sometimes made grammatical mistakes, she did not evaluate the deviation negatively. Rather, it seems that she was glad to be able to communicate in Japanese. This example suggests that English sometimes cannot function as a common language even in an English-medium department due to the diversity of the varieties and speaking levels of students and that a local language, in this case Japanese, can greatly help them to communicate with each other when used as a lingua franca.

5.1.3   *Helping other international students*

While studying abroad, various types of problems arise in daily life, such as having to decode documents from the local government office, dealing with contracts and changing cellphones, and so forth. When international students encounter problems regarding their study and research, they can consult their academic advisors and their assistants. However, when it comes to personal issues, they seem to ask Japanese students or other international students with higher Japanese proficiency for help. To solve these problems, English is generally used to explain the situation at hand, whereas Japanese is needed to negotiate with local people outside the school. In the following example, Hae-kyung was selected as a mediator to solve the personal problems of her fellow student (M) from Cambodia who was a proficient English speaker yet a beginner of Japanese at the time of the interview.

> H: *I often talk with M in English. About her cellphone and stuff. I'm not her tutor or anything, but every time she has a problem, she comes to me asking for help.*
> R: *I see. Does M often ask you a question? Does she often ask anything?*
> H: *When she has something, when she wanted to change her cellphone, when she changed from Softbank [a Japanese cellphone carrier] to AU [another*

> *cellphone carrier], I took her [to a shop]. Then, I also explained to her about the bus to Narita airport.*

Hae-kyung talks with M in English, because she thinks that M's Japanese proficiency is not good enough to be able to communicate effectively with others. When M asked Hae-kyung for help, M thought that she could not deal with her personal problems on her own due to her insufficient Japanese skills. The interview does not reveal if Hae-kyung evaluated this negatively or not; however, it shows her adjustments. To solve her friend's problems, she went to a cellphone shop with M and helped M with the necessary paperwork, communicating with M in English and with a shop clerk in Japanese. Also, in another case, she provided M with important information on transportation in English.

Hae-kyung also makes use of her English and Japanese skills to help another international student (N) with her family problems. N is a student in the English-medium department from Indonesia who came to Japan with her husband and child in the previous year.

> H: *N is from Indonesia. Her Japanese is not so good, so we speak in English. Well, in her case, she studies here on the master's program, but she brought her child. Then, her child is finishing preschool and entering elementary school. If her child goes to school, she will be very busy with experiments probably until five or six in the evening. Do you know about 'gakudou', where you can leave your child to be looked after after-school? [At] elementary school?*
>
> R: *Yes.*
>
> H: *We went there to do some paperwork for school.*
>
> R: *That must be hard… surrounded by lots of people.*
>
> H: *But I was like it can be a good experience when I have a child. I was alright. It's hard, isn't it? There are lots of things to prepare, bags and… well, three things…a cap and stuff.*

Similar to M's case, Hae-kyung also communicates with N in English due to N's lack of Japanese skills. Hae-kyung noted that N had difficulty in communicating with her child's school staff and showed her sympathy by commenting, "*It's hard, isn't it?*" As an adjustment, she went to the 'gakudou', where parents can leave their children to be cared for after school, and helped N to communicate with the school staff and complete her paperwork, using English with N and Japanese with the school staff. In these cases shown above, Hae-kyung participated both in English lingua franca situations with other international students and in partner language asymmetry situations with Japanese service providers.

5.2   Japanese lingua franca situations

As mentioned previously, English is designated as a common language in the department where the international students study, so it is only natural that English is used in class as well as in their research laboratories. However, although all of the international students interviewed, except Hae-kyung, are more fluent in English than Japanese, they often use Japanese rather than English in certain contexts. From the perspective of the language policy of the English-medium program, their use of Japanese could be considered a deviation at the institutional level. They often use Japanese daily-life words, such as *oishii (tasty), kawaii (cute),* and *atsui (hot),* as well as short expressions which are used to approach someone else, such as *genki desu ka (How are you?) and iki mashō (Shall we go?).* In other words, they deliberately use the Japanese code for rapport-building in informal contexts.

On the other hand, the study revealed a noted deviation regarding Japanese greetings in the research laboratory at the discourse level. Chulabhorn was a new first-year graduate student in the English-medium department at the time of the interview, and Japanese was still a completely new language for her when she was interviewed. She reported in English as follows:

R: *Do you use "See you"?*
Chulabhorn (C):   *No.*
R: *Why don't you use it?*
C: *Why… Because everybody say[s] "otsukare sama desu", no one say[s] "See you". But when I leave here, I say "See you later. Have a nice weekend", something like that. But nobody say[s] so. I need to say "otsukare sama desu".*
R: *Ah, you NEED to say.*
C: *Um, I think need to say [so] to respect that. Because now I came to Japan, I should learn the culture of people doing so, if (inaudible) say that.*

Chulabhorn noted a deviation when she noticed "*no one say[s] 'see you'*", but "*everybody say[s] 'otsukare sama desu'*" instead. '*Otsukare sama desu* [lit. You must be tired]' is a typical Japanese expression which is used to those who are still at work when a person leaves his or her office at the end of the day instead of saying "good-bye". She seemed to evaluate the deviation somewhat negatively, commenting "*I need to say 'otsukare sama desu'*", because she felt that she had to follow this unwritten rule that students in the English-medium department need to switch to Japanese when they greet each other even if they usually communicate with each other in English (c.f., Naito, 2006). During the interview, when she was asked, "*you NEED to say*", she tried to make sense of this unwritten rule and mentioned her understanding that greeting in Japanese might be a culturally expected norm that she should respect.

In sum, although most of the international students in the English-medium program of this university prefer to use some Japanese to build good relationships with other students, including other L2 speakers, the use of Japanese greetings was noted as a deviation by this Thai student and evaluated negatively. This illustrates the difference between the language policy at the university and the actual use of languages in research laboratories, as well as the difference in how each student perceives the use of Japanese in the English-medium department.

5.3   Japanese partner language asymmetry

Even though English is designated as the official language in the department which the participants belong to, they occasionally need to or are willing to use the local language, Japanese, on campus.

5.3.1   *Research equipment labels and manuals in the research laboratories*

The research equipment labels and manuals in the research laboratories are written in Japanese because they were purchased in Japan; however, this use of Japanese was noted as a deviation several times by David and his fellow international students. Although the official language in this department is English, written instructions, such as on signs, labels, and in manuals, are not bilingual. David referred to this deviation, *"That's why we cannot read them"* and evaluated it negatively. To overcome this problem, he asked Japanese students or other international students who had already joined this department before he did for help. Since each student works on his or her own research project individually, not on joint projects, different students use different equipment. Thus, every time David encounters this kind of problem, he needs to ask for language assistance and memorize all the new Japanese terms and *kanji* (Chinese characters). He also explained that there are some English labels put next to the Japanese labels, such as "right" and "left"; however, these English labels were made by students who volunteered to do so for the newcomers, not by the university. In other words, the lack of the implementation of the university's language policy is sometimes managed via the ad hoc adjustments of individual students.

5.3.2   *Gatherings for Japanese and international graduate students (coffee time)*

In this department, graduate students get together once a week at an informal event called 'coffee time'. They usually separate into an English group and a Japanese group and the students chat within their group. The members in each group are relatively fixed.

David reported his struggle at the coffee time as follows,

R: *Did you first go to the Japanese group?*

D: *Yes, always the Japanese group. But, for example, (inaudible), I really don't understand. So…*

R: *Then, later you moved to the English group.*

D: *To the English group, yes.*

R: *Does everyone move between groups like you do?*

D: *In the beginning. But it might be hard. What if I don't understand at all? What do I do? I really want to speak Japanese, so I always want to listen to Japanese conversation and speak Japanese. But it's a bit challenging. Always, I probably don't understand everything people are saying.*

Although he is highly motivated to speak in Japanese and joins the Japanese group, he is not able to catch up with the level of Japanese used in the group and always gives up. He notes a deviation that his Japanese proficiency is much lower than that of the other group members, evaluates it negatively saying, "*I really don't understand*", and implements an adjustment by moving to the English group every time.

As the source of this problem, three reasons can be considered. First, the majority of the members in the Japanese group are L1 speakers of Japanese or advanced-level Japanese speakers, which means David is part of the minority as a lower proficiency speaker. Second, he might be labeled by other members of the department as predominantly an English speaker. Indeed, he explained elsewhere that he always talks with Japanese students around him in English and other people usually speak to him in English. Third, as Fan (2018) points out, clarification through simple repetition or use of the "let it pass" strategy (Firth, 1996) are not likely to help David understand what other group members are taking about. Therefore, it can be said that he did not know what would be effective communication strategies to deal with the situation when he could not follow the conversation, as well as to actively participate in the group conversation. Although he was eager to improve his Japanese proficiency by remembering new words, writing emails and so forth, he was not able to get enough opportunities to communicate face-to-face with other students in Japanese. Thus, it seems that he did not know how to make adjustments effectively, such as asking other members for help or initiating conversation with topics he was familiar with.

5.4   Additional language symmetry situations in English and Japanese

As the participants in this study speak more than two languages, they seem to compare their own language skills to their interlocutor's language skills and choose the most effective language as a contact language. For example, Hae-kyung, who is a fluent Japanese speaker says, "*I speak in English with those who speak only in*

English and I speak in Japanese with people who can speak Japanese". When she and her interlocutors have problems in Japanese conversations, she *"makes a great effort to try to speak English"* or *"mixes some English"*. Moreover, a contact language is not necessarily just one lingua franca language, and sometimes participants use two additional languages in the same interaction, namely two-languages situations (Neustupný, 2004) or additional language symmetry situations (Kimura, 2011). In the following example, she explained how she communicates with David, whose English is near-native level, yet whose Japanese is still elementary-level though he is eager to use Japanese.

R: *Well, when you talk in the laboratory, is Japanese all right for most of the time?*

H: *Yes, but speaking in Japanese for E [a student from Myanmar] and David is opposite to my case. I'm fine listening to English, but it's hard to speak. They're probably all right listening to Japanese, but it's difficult to speak in Japanese. Well, in this case, David sits here and speaks to me in English. And I reply to him in Japanese…something like that.*

R: *You speak in Japanese, and he speaks in English. Still, you can communicate with each other?*

H: *Yes, that's right.*

R: *Does it often happen?*

H: *Yes, it does. It's faster to listen than to speak, isn't it?*

Hae-kyung mentioned that she normally communicates in Japanese with David, who sits next to her in the research laboratory (i.e., lingua franca situation); however, considering the gap in their Japanese proficiency levels, they need to use some strategies to continue their conversation. One of these strategies might be that Hae-kyung adjusts her speech to David, who is much less fluent in Japanese. As Shin (2007, 2008) has argued, in lingua franca situations, L2 speakers often make adjustments for less fluent L2 speakers, which is similar to foreigner talk. In addition, since Hae-kyung regularly communicates with L2 speakers of Japanese with low proficiency, she seems to be used to adjusting her speech depending on her interlocutor.

Another strategy is that both Hae-kyung and David use different additional languages, Japanese and English respectively, in the same interaction (i.e., an additional language symmetry situation) in order to express themselves effectively. Hae-kyung explained that she often listens to David speaking in English and replies to him in Japanese, which she is much better at. These cooperative code-switching practices have been observed in other research on contact situations among bilinguals (Aikawa, 2015). Hae-kyung seems to note a deviation that they often use different lingua franca languages, not their first languages, in the same

interaction and she evaluates it positively, commenting "*It's faster to listen than to speak, isn't it?*".

As this interview excerpt shows, Hae-kyung also reportedly communicates in a similar way with another fellow international student from Myanmar, E. These examples of additional language symmetry situations suggest that even if interactants share the same lingua franca languages, if there is a relatively large gap between their proficiency levels in each language, they could choose a different language from their linguistic repertoire for production in order to develop the conversation quickly and comfortably.

6. Conclusion

The recent moves made by the Japanese government and the business sector to internationalize or globalize higher education have encouraged Japanese universities to offer English-medium courses and accept more and more international students. Most of the students are L2 speakers of English mainly from Asian countries, which suggests that they might encounter interactional problems or difficulties in English and other languages. This study has investigated what contact situations international students in an English-medium science graduate program at a Japanese university encounter on and off campus and has examined their language management processes highlighting their language selection and use.

As the analysis section illustrates, this study found four types of contact situations, which are English lingua franca situations, Japanese lingua franca situations, Japanese partner language asymmetry situations, and additional language symmetry situations in Japanese and English. These contact situations can be further categorized according to the language management occurring at the institutional and individual levels.

As for language management directly relating to the institutional level, first, deviations relating to the language policy of the program (i.e., English as an official language) were noted in communication with both professors and with other international students. For example, one of the participants perceived that the use of English is predetermined by the university and professors, and hence found it hard to switch to another language once he was recognized as an English speaker. On the other hand, there was also an example where the institution's language policy was clearly not being followed. In this example, the deviation that research equipment labels and manuals in the research laboratories are written only in Japanese was noted by the participants, evaluated negatively and adjustments were implemented, such as asking their fellow students with higher proficiency of Japanese for help.

At the individual level, the participants and their fellow students managed various contact situations using Japanese or two different languages. First, despite the official language of the program being English, the participants and their fellow students often need to use, or are willing to use, Japanese in relatively informal contexts. Still, because of their insufficient Japanese skills, they sometimes switch to English or need to ask for language assistance. In addition, they select Japanese to build and maintain good relationships even with other international students; however, this use of Japanese was sometimes perceived as unnatural or a forced expectation, as in the case of Chulabhorn, who reported that she felt forced to greet others in Japanese in her research laboratory. Second, since most of the international students share at least two common languages, they select and change the contact language during their interactions, and sometimes use two lingua franca languages at the same time in a collaborative manner.

These findings suggest that although international students in this program follow or are forced to follow the language policy of the university, especially in relatively formal contexts, they flexibly, and sometimes creatively, select a contact language or mix contact languages, making full use of their own and their interlocutors' linguistic repertoires and proficiency levels to best communicate with each other, particularly in informal contexts. In addition, sometimes a contact situation can be an additional language symmetry situation, where interactants use two different lingua franca languages at the same time because each interactant has a different proficiency level in each of the languages they use, yet they do not want to slow down the development of their ongoing conversation. Some of this individual-level language management can be said to come from the fact that the current institutional-level language policy is not sufficient or effective. Thus, it can be argued that it might be necessary for everyone involved in this program to develop an understanding of the actual language use of international students at the interactional level and to reconsider the role of both the official language and the local language.

From a further macro-level perspective, the findings of this study suggest that the Japanese government might want to rethink the internationalization of universities by depending solely on English. This study has revealed that there are some cases where English did not function as an effective medium for international students to be able to communicate with each other. The Japanese government currently allows each university to make their own decisions on the entrance requirements regarding international students' Japanese proficiency as well as Japanese language learning support after they enter university, and has not set any guidelines on these matters. As seen in this study, it might appear to be easier for international students to enter English-medium programs and science courses which do not require them to demonstrate any Japanese proficiency; however,

this could increase the interactional problems and difficulties that they face once they start their university lives in Japan. Furthermore, as well as being students who spend most of their time on campus, they are also residents of Japan. If the government continues to invite more students from other countries and hopes to encourage them to stay in Japan after graduation, it needs to understand the problems and struggles that they face at the interactional level in the English-medium programs and improve current language policy relating to the internationalization of universities. The government should reconsider the role of Japanese for these students in order for them to be able to study effectively and fulfill their potential in Japan.

It is expected that the number of international students and English-medium courses at Japanese universities will continue to rise due to the current political, economic and educational trends. To improve these programs for international students as well as Japanese students, further research studies on contact situations at the interactional level need to be conducted, and discussion of what adjustments need to be implemented regarding institutional language policy needs to be continued.

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Diverging and intersecting management

Cases of the simultaneous management of deviations by multiple parties in contact situations

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Although research applying LMT has commonly focused on the perspective of one individual participant or actor when considering the noting, evaluation and adjustments planned and implemented towards deviations from norms, in reality, multiple parties in the same interaction may be managing deviations simultaneously and their processes may diverge or intersect. Based on examples from past studies on predominantly micro-level interaction, this chapter provides a foundation for the development of a typology of the different types of diverging and intersecting management. It was found that interactional constraints, norm diversity and contextual constraints, including power dynamics, are the main factors that determine whether management will diverge or intersect. The analysis also reveals the intertwining of macro- and micro-level processes.

Keywords: intersecting management, diverging management, norm formation, the post-implementation stage, contextual constraints, interactional constraints, macro-micro intertwining

1. Introduction

Studies of discourse in individual interactions and participants' reflections on those interactions have been invaluable in shedding light on how language problems are dealt with at the micro level. By focusing their attention on "behavior-toward-language" (Fishman, 1971) in particular, scholars applying Language Management Theory (hereafter LMT, Jernudd & Neustupný, 1987), have furthered our understanding of the processes underlying both the problematization of linguistic phenomena and attempts to make adjustments to remove those problems. In-depth analyses of interactions have revealed that the language problems we manage are not limited to merely "grammatical" issues relating to syntax, lexicon

and phonetics, but also include "sociolinguistic", or "non-grammatical communicative" phenomena (including linguistic variety and topic choice, turn-taking dissonance, participants and setting), and broader "sociocultural" phenomena (including differences in world views, values and knowledge of how society functions) (Neustupný, 2004).

Research applying LMT has also helped to reveal some of the complexities of the processes involved in interlocutors' problematization of different features of interaction and their subsequent management, leading in some cases to the eventual removal of the problem. One distinctive feature of LMT is that the process does not start with 'the problem' per se, but rather commences from the initial metalinguistic behaviour building up to the problematization of a noted phenomenon. According to Neustupný (2004, 2005), the language management (LM) process begins with deviations from norms. This is because our norms or expectations about language use and other features of interaction determine not only what we perceive as problems, i.e., through the noting and evaluation of deviations, but also help explain why adjustments might be implemented in certain circumstances and not others.

However, much of the micro-level research applying LMT tends to present examples from the perspective of *one* individual participant or actor. Even micro-level studies of discourse where follow-up interviews are held with all participants, tend to show different isolated cases of management from the perspective of one individual. However, like any type of language use in micro-level interactions, speakers rarely produce only monologues but rather their language use is produced in context and the interaction is co-constructed with their interlocutors. Similarly, language management is not produced in isolation but often intertwines, either consciously or unconsciously, with the management processes of others. As Marriott points out:

> Not uncommonly, empirical research on the interaction in contact situations has tended to focus on one of the participants in the dyadic interaction. Traditionally, it is the sociolinguistic norm of the base language… against which deviations are seen, yet to claim that one of these perspectives is more privileged than the other in the contact situation can be regarded as problematic. It is through application of the LMF [Language Management Framework] and in particular the role of noting and evaluation that enables us to see how two interactants can differ in their noting, evaluative and/or adjustment behaviour in the same context, and in turn, we can understand the reasons for the tensions that were expressed by one of the parties.   (2012, p. 202)

Indeed, the language management trajectories of two or more parties may proceed from the noting of the same deviation but then *diverge* at the later stages of

evaluation or adjustment. Additionally, the management processes of two or more parties may have different starting points but they may *intersect* at a particular stage, for example, when one party's implemented adjustment is noted as a deviation by another party. Based on a closer examination of examples previously published by researchers working with LMT, this chapter will attempt to classify these processes in order to highlight the complexity of diverging and intersecting management and also to try to understand why such management occurs.

2. Examples of diverging and intersecting management in the past literature

Although the author is unaware of any previous attempts to look at diverging and intersecting management systematically, there are a number of clear cases in the past literature using the LMT framework that highlight the presence of diverging and intersecting management at different stages of the process, even if the authors do not use those specific terms. Probably the most noteworthy study of diverging management, which also uses the term explicitly, can be found in Marriott's (1990, 2012) study of a video-recorded business meeting between an Australian cheese producer and a Japanese businessman working for a large Japanese corporation, where she focuses on their "diverging norms". Her findings demonstrate that although both participants were managing different aspects of the interaction simultaneously, their application of different norms, on the basis of which their subsequent language management took place, led to different impressions of the interaction, resulting in frustration on the part of the Australian businessman. From the Japanese businessman's perspective, the purpose of the meeting was just an information-collection session and he was particularly interested in finding out whether the Australian's company had a patent for its products. When he learned that the Australian did not have a patent, the Japanese businessman realized it would be unlikely that they could continue their negotiations without it. However, although he did ask about the patent twice, the Japanese businessman never revealed to the Australian that this would be a key determining factor for the possibility of their future relationship.

On the other hand, the Australian businessman had expected the goal of the meeting to have been to find out whether the Japanese company was interested in exporting his company's cheese to Japan, or even manufacturing it there. He had expected the Japanese businessman to taste some cheese samples and start to negotiate the price, so he negatively evaluated "the absence of an explicit commitment of interest" (Marriott, 2012, p. 201). However, because the Japanese businessman's expectations of the meeting had been completely different, he did

not taste the samples and did not make an attempt to enter negotiations over the price. As a result, the Australian businessman noted and negatively evaluated a number of deviations, and implemented adjustments but to no avail.

The management processes in this meeting were complex and from Marriott's explanation (1990, 2012) it is clear that the participants' management processes diverged and intersected in a number of ways. It also reveals some of the connections between the micro and the macro, for example in how the institutional expectations of the Japanese company influenced how the Japanese businessman participated in the interaction.

In addition to diverging management, there are also examples of intersecting management in the literature. I use the term "intersecting management" to refer to cases where one party's management process intersects with that of another party, i.e., one stage of the management process of one party is noted as a deviation by another party, triggering a separate language management process. As the adjustment implementation stage is the stage of the language management process most likely to be visible in discourse, most intersecting management in the literature seems to occur at this stage.

For example, the implementation of adjustment strategies by one party may be noted as a deviation and subsequently evaluated negatively by another. Yahagi (2002) gives an example of adjustments implemented by an L1 speaker of Japanese being negatively evaluated by his Chinese interlocutor in a student-tutor interaction. Although the Japanese student implemented many adjustments to try to explain the content of a particular book that his Chinese interlocutor was having difficulty understanding, the Chinese student could not understand the Japanese student's explanations, in turn noting them as a deviation. Thus, the Japanese student's implemented adjustments themselves appeared to be noted as a deviation from the Chinese student's expectations.

A review of the LMT literature to date revealed a number of examples of diverging and intersecting management. The examples, which will be introduced in more detail in the following sections, were taken from the following studies:

1. Aikawa (2017): A study of the interpretation of corrective feedback by Japanese adult learners of English.
2. Kon (2002): A study of conversations between Japanese native speakers and non-native speakers, focusing on conversational repair.
3. Fairbrother (2000): An analysis of interaction at an outdoor cherry-blossom-viewing party with Japanese and non-Japanese participants.
4. Fairbrother (2002): An analysis of the evaluations made by Japanese students in their interactions with overseas students in two university international exchange 'lounges'.

5. Fairbrother & Masuda (2012): An overview of noting behaviour, based on the data from a number of studies of contact situations conducted in Japan and Australia.

6. Fairbrother (2015a, 2015b, 2018): Papers based on a set of interviews conducted with plurilingual employees at the subsidiaries of multinational corporations in Japan.

7. Kimura (2014): A case study of the management processes surrounding a series of notices prohibiting the use of Sorbian at a care centre for the disabled in the German-Sorbian bilingual area of Germany.

8. Švelch (2015): An analysis of the language management of L1 and L2 speakers on English-language online discussion forums.

The aim of this chapter is to look at the processes behind diverging and intersecting management more systematically and attempt to uncover the possible reasons for such divergence or intersection. In line with the central theme of this volume, it will also examine how processes on the micro and macro levels interconnect.

3.   Towards a typology of diverging and intersecting management

The examples presented in the following sections have been selected from previous research on language management, particularly studies of micro-level interactions based on audio and video recordings and/or interviews. Examples where different management processes appeared to be undertaken by different participants in the interaction were selected for further analysis. This analysis resulted in the following classification focusing on the point where the interactants' management diverged or intersected:

In management type 1, participants do not pay attention to the same phenomena, so their noting behaviour diverges; while one party notes a phenomenon as a deviation, another does not even notice it. Research has shown that a number of factors can affect whether a deviation will be noted or not, including participants' attention to certain elements of the interaction instead of others, individual sensitivity to certain types of deviations, and the degree of familiarity with one's interlocutor (Fairbrother, 2004a; Fairbrother & Masuda, 2012). On the other hand, in types 2 and 3, the participants note the same deviation, but the way they proceed through the management process is different. That is to say, the management of one of the parties stops or diverges at one of the subsequent management stages. In management types 4 to 8, the language management of one party either triggers, or is intended to trigger (type 4), the language management process of another party. In other words, a stage of one party's management process is noted

Table 1. Diverging and intersecting management types

Management type	Description
1. Diverging management at the noting stage	A and B's application of different norms leads to different noting behaviour
2. Diverging management at the evaluation stage	A and B note the same deviation but their evaluations differ
3. Diverging management at the adjustment stage	A and B evaluate the same deviation negatively but their adjustment behaviour differs
4. Diverging management at the adjustment implementation and noting stages	B fails to note A's adjustment (e.g. signal of repair)
5. Intersecting management at the evaluation and noting stages	A's evaluation is noted as a deviation from B's norm or expectation
6. Intersecting management at the adjustment implementation and noting (and evaluation) stages	A's adjustment is noted as a deviation from B's norm or expectation (and evaluated)
7. Intersecting management at the adjustment implementation and norm formation stages	A's implementation of an adjustment leads to B's formation of a new norm governing B's future management
8. Intersecting management at the adjustment implementation, noting and norm formation stages	A's implementation of an adjustment is managed by B, leading to A's formation of a new norm governing A's future management

as a deviation, prompting the beginning of another party's language management process. In types 7 and 8 the language management process goes full circle, ending in the formation of new norms, which can be considered one component of the "post-implementation stage" proposed by Kimura (2014).

The following sections provide further explanation of these eight types of diverging and intersecting management, illustrated with examples from past studies using the LMT framework.

3.1   Diverging management at the noting stage

The first type of diverging management deals with cases where the management of different participants diverges at the noting stage. In this type of management, participants in the same interaction witness identical phenomena but not all the participants will note such phenomena as a deviation from their norms or expectations. There are many reasons why deviations will not be noted (Fairbrother, 2004a), such as cognitive overload when faced with a number of other deviations, a lack of attention paid at the right moment, or a suspension of one's "native",

otherwise known as "internal" (Neustupný, 1985), norms when interacting with people from different backgrounds.

In cases of diverging management, differences in noting behaviour often appear to be the result of the application of different norms by the participants in the interaction, as in Marriott's (1990, 2012) previously mentioned analysis of the Japanese and Australian businessmen's "norm discrepancy". Another example of different norms or expectations leading to diverging noting behaviour can be seen in Fairbrother and Masuda's (2012) example of a students' language exchange session between a Japanese male and an Australian female. The participants had had an agreement that their time should be divided equally between Japanese and English but there were actually many switches to English during the time allocated to Japanese practice. The Japanese participant noted and negatively evaluated his own code switches into English as "wrong". On the other hand, there were instances when the Australian did not note the switch to English as a deviation at all. Clearly the participants' expectations concerning the purpose of the interaction and how strictly the time allocated to the use of each separate language should be upheld affected whether they would note a deviation concerning the use of another language or not. Indeed, Fairbrother and Masuda conclude that "the way that individual participants perceive the rules of the interaction can affect whether deviations will be noted or not" (p. 227). In this example, the Japanese participant's expectation concerning the division of time was "overt" (Neustupný, 1985) and affected the deviations that he noted and his subsequent negative evaluation of his own behaviour. On the other hand, it can be hypothesized that the Australian's focus was directed more at the communicative function of the Japanese student's switches to English, probably because they helped to maintain the communicative flow in the Japanese section and helped to scaffold her understanding of and participation in the Japanese discourse.

In these types of cases, each participant's point of focus within the interaction appears to govern what norms will be applied and subsequently whether the language management process itself will start or not. Therefore, the application of different norms can determine whether management will diverge at the noting stage or not.

3.2   Diverging management at the evaluation stage

In this type of management, two or more interactants' management overlaps at the noting stage but diverges at the evaluation stage. In other words, the interactants will note the same deviation but evaluate it in different ways. One example of this can be seen in the different evaluations made towards the use of Chinese by Chinese students in a students' 'international exchange lounge' at a Japanese university

(Fairbrother, 2002). Two Japanese female students noted the use of Chinese as a deviation against their expectations of language use in the lounge, but whereas one student did not evaluate this deviation because she felt it was "usual", the other student evaluated it very negatively because she felt it excluded students who could not speak Chinese. This example reveals that different attitudes towards particular language phenomena can lead to very different evaluations. It also suggests that different "norms of interpretation" (Hymes, 1972) can govern not only the kinds of deviations that will be noted but also our evaluative behaviour towards particular deviations (Fairbrother, 2004b).

However, not all deviations noted in interaction are directly related to spoken language. Nonverbal behaviour can also be noted as a deviation from a norm and problematized. An example of this can be seen in Fairbrother (2000), where the nonverbal behaviour of a Chinese student was noted as a deviation by two Japanese participants. The student had been asked to take a photo of the group and in order to fit everyone in the frame he lay down on the grass. Two of the Japanese participants noted the student's act of lying down on the grass as a deviation from their norms, because in Japan it would be considered unusual for an adult to lie down directly on the grass. One Japanese female participant in her late 50's negatively evaluated his behaviour, commenting that this was "not really the kind of place to please yourself and lie down freely" (Fairbrother, 2000, p. 38). Interestingly, however, another Japanese male participant in his 70's noted the same deviation but his evaluation diverged from the woman's considerably. Rather than negatively evaluating this deviation, he evaluated it positively. In addition, a younger Japanese female did not even note the student's behaviour as a deviation, which suggests that members of the younger generations may have different norms altogether concerning nonverbal behaviour. It can therefore be seen that certain behaviours can trigger dramatically different responses in participants, affecting whether a deviation will actually be noted or not, or the type of evaluation that will be undertaken. It has been argued (Fairbrother, 2009) that such diverging evaluations may actually be the result of different norms of interpretation being applied at different stages of the language management process, i.e., participants may have different expectations of outgroup members in comparison to in-group members and this may affect the way that they evaluate certain deviations. In the case of the older Japanese man and woman, it could be argued that the man may have been more open to difference and hence more willing to focus on the positive aspects of the Chinese student's nonverbal behaviour, whereas the woman may have evaluated his behaviour in accordance with her expectations of typical behaviour in Japanese situations.

3.3   Diverging management at the adjustment stage

In this type of intersecting management the interactants' management overlaps at the evaluation stage but diverges at the adjustment stage. In other words, even if two or more parties note and evaluate the same deviation in a similar way, their management processes leading to the implementation of an adjustment (or not) may be very different. Fairbrother (2018) gives an example where the directness and frequency of a Japanese female employee's English emails were negatively evaluated by both her Chinese male junior colleague and a senior Australian male manager from a different section. According to the Chinese employee, his Japanese colleague had sent a number of emails to their team within a short period of time asking them directly when they could do a particular urgent task for her. The Chinese employee noted these emails as a deviation from his expectations of how emails should be sent at work and he negatively evaluated them as sounding pushy because he felt he was being ordered to do something that was not really part of his job. Her repeated emails annoyed other colleagues and made them uncomfortable, including the Australian senior manager who also negatively evaluated the emails and became "angry" (p. 157). Thus, both the Chinese and Australian employees had noted the same deviation regarding their Japanese colleague's emails and both had evaluated this deviation negatively. However, what is interesting from a language management perspective is that only the Australian continued the management process and designed and implemented an adjustment. According to the Chinese employee's account, the Australian responded by sending an angry email to their Japanese colleague, and everyone else in the team, telling her to watch her language and stop pushing people from other teams who are just as busy as her but are trying to help her.

It is important to question why only the Australian implemented an adjustment in this case, even though the Chinese employee noted and evaluated the same deviation in a similar way. First is the importance of the influence of the workplace hierarchy. Among the three participants, the Australian was the highest ranked and, presumably because of his position in the company hierarchy, it was easier for him to chastise a more junior member of staff. On the other hand, because the Chinese employee ranked lower than his Japanese colleague in the company hierarchy it was presumably more difficult for him to implement an adjustment towards a superior's language behaviour, no matter how annoying it was. In addition, the power dynamics between 'native' and 'non-native' speakers cannot be overlooked (Holliday, 2006). As an L1 speaker of English, the Australian may have felt entitled to comment on the English use of an L2 speaker, i.e., the Japanese employee, even though in this situation English was being used as a lingua franca between predominantly L2 speakers of the language. Furthermore, the issue of

gendered power could also play a part in this example and raises the question of whether this type of adjustment would have been implemented towards another male member of staff.

3.4   Diverging management at the adjustment implementation and noting stages

In the final type of diverging management, one party's attempt to manage a deviation and trigger an adjustment sequence is *not* noted by the other party. Indeed, Kon (2002) and Aikawa (2017) provide examples of one party's adjustment markers, particularly in the form of repetition, not being noticed by their interlocutors. In her detailed analysis of Japanese L1 speakers interacting with Japanese language learners, Kon (2002) examined why the Japanese L1 speakers failed to note that their interlocutors were having trouble understanding them on numerous occasions. She found that the Japanese L1 speakers had often misinterpreted the learners' adjustment markers (Miyazaki, 1997), such as repetitions and nonverbal signals, as backchannels, or in other cases they had not been paying attention to their interlocutor and had, for example, been focusing on formulating their own contributions to the conversation.

In her analysis of Japanese learners of English undertaking a task-based activity, Aikawa (2017) found that the learners frequently failed to note the recasts (Lyster, 1998) provided by the instructor as corrective feedback. Aikawa argues that the learners tended to misinterpret the recasts either as signals to keep talking, or as confirmation checks, because their attention was focused more on participating in the conversation than on accurate production of the language.

As can be seen from these examples, adjustment markers of this nature may be missed by participants in interaction because they resemble other types of conversational moves, such as supportive backchannels, so it is often difficult for speakers to identify their purpose accurately. Due to the fast pace of interaction and the split-second inferences that have to be made during each turn, these failures to note adjustment markers, can be understood as the result of interactional constraints.

However diverging management at the adjustment implementation and noting stages is not always the result of interactional constraints. It can also be the result of participants' different socioeconomic norms. In Marriott's (2012) previously mentioned analysis of a Japanese-Australian business meeting, the Japanese businessman had been concerned about whether the Australian company had a patent for their cheese products. The Australian's lack of a patent was noted as a deviation from the Japanese company's socioeconomic norms and negatively evaluated by the Japanese businessman. He subsequently implemented

an adjustment by repeating the topic of patents in order to confirm his under-
standing. However, because the Australian businessman's socioeconomic norms
prioritized the price and quality of the product above all else, he failed to note the
significance of the Japanese businessman's adjustment. Therefore, the application
of diverging norms can also lead to a failure to recognize the adjustments being
made by one's interlocutor.

3.5   Intersecting management at the evaluation and noting stages

In the classification presented here, when management intersects at the evaluation
and noting stages, the evaluations made by one party are noted as a deviation
by another party. An example of this can be seen in the account provided by a
Mexican manager at the Japanese subsidiary of a Swedish company, who noted the
evaluations made by some of his Japanese colleagues in an 'open meeting' with the
Swedish CEO (Fairbrother, 2015a). During the 'open meeting' a Turkish colleague
had asked the CEO some direct questions about their lack of an online shopping
service and although the Mexican manager had thought that this type of question-
ing fit both the explanation of the meeting they had received beforehand and the
corporation's description of themselves as a 'flat', non-hierarchical organization,
he reported that his Japanese colleagues appeared very shocked by these questions
and he noted their reactions as a deviation. He felt that his Japanese colleagues had
been expecting the Turkish employee to respect the Japanese sense of hierarchy,
by not publicly confronting the CEO with potentially face-threatening questions.
Even though they were all communicating in English, he interpreted his Japanese
colleagues' evaluations as pressuring non-Japanese employees to conform to
Japanese communicative norms.

  In this case, the language management of the Mexican manager and his
Japanese colleagues intersected because they were noting different elements of the
interaction as problematic due to their application of different norms. Although the
Turkish employee's questions conformed to the corporation's language (English)
and communicative policy ('flat' organization without hierarchical concerns), the
Japanese employees viewed the Turkish employee's behaviour as problematic ac-
cording to Japanese hierarchical norms.

3.6   Management intersecting at the adjustment implementation and
   noting stages

In this type of intersecting management, one party's adjustment, implemented
as an attempt to remove a language problem, is itself noted as a deviation by
another party. For example, Fairbrother (2018) gives an example of a Japanese

female employee being dissatisfied with the adjustment that her French boss made towards her use of the English term "no baked cheesecake" in a presentation rehearsal. Her boss noted her selection of this term as a deviation from English norms and implemented an adjustment, correcting the term to "rare cheesecake" (a quasi-transliteration of the Japanese term, "*reāchīzukēki*"). The Japanese employee was dissatisfied with her superior's management of her English term choice and underwent a separate management process in order to deal with this new language problem. She noted and negatively evaluated her boss' adjustment as a deviation from her own English norms and designed her own adjustments. First she checked the English dictionary to confirm her suspicion that "rare cheesecake" was not actually an English term. Then she designed a further adjustment, making a decision to override her manager's adjustment and just use her own term, "no baked cheesecake", in her final report, certain that her manager would be unlikely to check it in detail. She, thus, designed and implemented her adjustment surreptitiously, presumably to avoid "open conflict" (Szatrowski, 2004) with her superior, a tendency that is considered common in Japan.

As the Japanese employee and her boss are both L2 speakers of English, it is interesting here to see not only how their norms regarding English usage are different, but how her manager's hierarchical position, not their relative language proficiencies, makes it difficult for her to challenge his language management. Although the Japanese employee is very aware of the power dynamics between them, she does not appear to see her boss as an English expert and she does in fact manage his adjustment as a deviation from her own norms. However, the power relationship between them means that while her boss can overtly manage deviations that he notes in her English language use, she feels that she cannot implement her own adjustment explicitly. She has to make her own adjustments covertly in order not to damage the face of her boss and to protect her own face.

The Japanese employee also noted someone else's adjustment as a deviation when a visitor from the French headquarters, who can speak fluent English, made a comment that she should improve her French (Fairbrother, 2015b). The French visitor probably made this suggestion after noting that the Japanese employee still has very rudimentary level French and wanted to give her advice, based on her understanding that proficiency in the home language of the corporation could be important to get a better chance of promotion in the future. However, the Japanese employee evaluated this deviation very negatively. Rather than seeing the comment as friendly advice, she saw it as an expression of the corporation's internal power gap between employees who can speak French and those who cannot. Furthermore, she could see no real reason why French would be necessary for her actual working situation in Tokyo, where all business could be carried out in Japanese or English, including communications with the French headquarters.

Conversely, a Mexican manager working for a Swedish company in Tokyo noted and negatively evaluated a deviation when his Japanese colleagues made an adjustment to the language used in managerial meetings (Fairbrother, 2015a). Although the corporation's guidelines state that such meetings should be conducted in English, the management in the Japanese subsidiary decided to change the language to Japanese, so that people of low English ability could contribute more effectively. However, for an L2 speaker of Japanese, such as the Mexican manager, this resulted in feelings of exclusion and dissatisfaction.

What is of particular interest in these last two examples is how they reveal that the macro-level language policy of the corporation is being negotiated in micro-level discourse. In other words, language policy decisions made at the macro-level of the corporation are enacted, negotiated and resisted at the micro level through the discourse and subsequent behaviour of participants (Fairbrother, 2015a). In such cases of intersecting management, we can clearly see the intertwining of the macro and micro levels.

However, not all implemented adjustments noted by another party are evaluated negatively. Švelch (2015) gives examples of positive evaluations of the adjustments implemented by L2 English users in online discussion forums. Some L2 users of English make comments asking readers to excuse their poor English as a means of 'pre-interaction management' (Nekvapil & Sherman, 2009), to avoid potential misunderstandings and negative evaluations from other participants. Švelch found that these comments were sometimes noted as deviations by other participants, who were presumably L1 English users, but rather than being evaluated negatively, they were positively evaluated through the use of compliments about the L2 users' good English. Therefore, the noting of another party's adjustments can also have a supportive function in some cases.

3.7 Intersecting management at the adjustment implementation and norm formation stages

One of the central tenets of LMT put forward by Neustupný (1994)) is that "the planning process should not be considered complete until the removal of problems is implemented in discourse" (p. 50). Sherman (2007) and Nekvapil (2009) have described this process as the "language management cycle". In the "ideal" cycle, language problems occurring in micro-level interactions will be noticed by professionals on the macro level, adjustments will then be made to remove those problems and the problems will no longer occur in micro-level discourse. The language management cycle can take a variety of forms, which Nekvapil (2009) describes as a "partial language management cycle" or "fragments" of the cycle (p. 7). This can include cases of language problems being noted and removed only

in micro-level interactions, without any intervention from macro-level agents, and vice-versa. At whatever level the problem occurs, it is possible to envisage the "removal of problems" in at least two ways: (1) the original phenomenon that was originally noted as a deviation no longer occurs, or (2) the phenomenon still occurs but it is no longer noted as a deviation because of a change in the individual's or organization's norms or expectations. Indeed, there are cases in the literature where different forms of language are generated based on *new* norms *after* adjustments have been implemented by another party. In this sense, such examples provide support for Kimura's (2014) suggestion of a post-implementation stage occurring after the implementation of an adjustment. In the following examples, certain adjustments are implemented that remove the language problem from discourse, and I will argue that the removal of such language problems is due to the formation of new norms or expectations triggered by the adjustment(s) of another party. In other words, A's adjustment triggers B's formation of a new norm, either of interaction or interpretation in Hymes' (1972) terms.

In some cases these new norms can be described as "contact norms" (Neustupný, 1985, 2005; Marriott, 1993; Fairbrother, 2009), namely "norms or expectations that differ from the norms and expectations in internal situations" (Fairbrother, 2009, p. 123). In other words, participants may develop norms specifically for contact situations with people they consider different from themselves in some way, and these norms may differ considerably from the norms that they might be expected to apply in "internal" situations (Neustupný, 1985) with people they feel are members of the same group. One of the examples described earlier provides an example of this process of new norm formation. In the example where an Australian manager chastised a Japanese female employee for the frequency and directness of her emails (Fairbrother, 2018), her Chinese colleague explained how this seemed to result in her formation of a new norm of interaction, governing her communicative behaviour. According to the Chinese employee, his Japanese colleague's reaction to her public chastisement was to avoid communicating directly with the Australian altogether and to use her Chinese colleague as a go-between instead. In other words, the Australian's adjustment made towards her emails triggered her development of a new norm of interaction governing how to communicate with him. Although her Chinese colleague reported that he finds this "so strange", the Japanese employee no doubt lost face by being publicly humiliated by the Australian manager. Her way to avoid future humiliation appears to have been to create a new norm and conduct all communication through her Chinese colleague instead. This new norm can be described as a contact norm because it is grounded in her experiences of contact situations.

Furthermore, because of the Japanese employee's new norm of interaction, i.e., avoiding any direct communication with the Australian manager, the original

problem relating to her obtrusive emails has been removed from the discourse, at least with him. In this sense, this form of intersecting management can be seen to overlap with the concept of pre-interaction management, because avoiding direct communication with the Australian is concurrently a means to also avoid future interactional problems with him.

Nevertheless, even though the superficial communication problem has been removed, it seems that a more serious interactional problem relating to the damaged relationship between the Japanese employee and the Australian manager has taken its place. It is easy to imagine that her avoidance of communication may resurface as a language problem at a future date. Indeed, the Chinese employee clearly noted this new behaviour as a deviation from his own norms and negatively evaluated it as "strange".

The Japanese female employee at the French food manufacturing company also reported developing a new norm in response to the adjustments made by her French boss concerning her English writing style (Fairbrother, 2015b). As Scollon, Scollon and Jones (2012) point out, there are a variety of ways to present one's points and in a number of Asian languages writers are more likely to follow an inductive style of writing, leaving their main point until the very end of the discourse after an initial explanation of the reasons and background, etc. In contrast, in English there is a stronger tendency for a deductive style to be used, so there are many occasions when the main point, or conclusion, will be presented first. Indeed, the Japanese employee reported that after noting deviations in her emails her manager insists on her starting with the conclusion first when writing emails in English, so now she always does this. In this case, her superior's management of the order of the components in emails has led to the formation of her new norm of writing organization, namely that English emails need to start with the conclusion first. Therefore, in this type of intersecting management, the adjustment of one party can lead to the formation of a new norm by another party, even though the application of this new norm may be localized.

As in the previous example, this norm formation also overlaps with the concept of pre-interaction management because the Japanese employee's new norm of writing the conclusion first in English emails can also be interpreted as a means to avoid problems with her superior. Because the process of writing emails is frequently repeated at work, this example also overlaps with the concept of "accustomed management towards contact situations" (Muraoka, 2010; Muraoka, Fan & Ko, 2018), namely "one's accustomed management behavior towards language use in contact situations due to prolonged and continuous attempts in a given linguistic environment" (Muraoka, 2010, p. 47). In other words, the Japanese employee's experiences with the management of her French superior have led her to expect to have to write in a particular way when writing emails in English.

However, such new norms can be unstable. The same Japanese employee later noted and negatively evaluated a deviation from this new norm when her boss told her colleague *not* to write the conclusion first in an email to a European client. When she wrote an email placing the main point first, her colleague was told by the French manager that her email was "no good" and that she should put the explanation first instead (Fairbrother, 2018). The inductive style, with the main point coming at the end of the discourse, is, of course, also used in English, particularly when the weight of imposition is high (Scollon, Scollon & Jones, 2012) but the Japanese employee's new norm seems to be a simplification of customary practice, namely that "the conclusion will *always* come first". The French manager's adjustment to the ordering of the points in her colleague's email, thus, seems to have destabilized her contact norm. However, from the perspective of second language acquisition, by noting deviations against this new norm, the Japanese employee is also 'noticing' differences in language use which have the potential to help her acquisition of the language (Schmidt, 2001).

3.8 Intersecting management at the adjustment implementation, noting and norm formation stages

In the final type of intersecting management, one party's adjustment implemented towards a noted deviation is managed by another party, resulting in the formation of a new norm of behaviour by the noter of the original deviation. A good example of this type of management can be seen in Kimura's (2014) analysis of notices forbidding the use of Sorbian in front of German monolingual residents at a care centre for the disabled in the Sorbian-speaking area of Germany. Some residents had complained about staff members' use of Sorbian in the care centre, triggering a complex series of language management processes spanning different micro and macro levels. After receiving complaints from the German-speaking residents, the managers of the care centre put up a series of notices saying that Sorbian should not be used when residents and non-Sorbian-speaking Germans are present. In language management terms, the managers of the centre noted a deviation regarding the use of Sorbian by employees at the centre, which they evaluated negatively, and implemented an adjustment through the medium of signage.

However, the introduction of these notices led to harsh criticism from the media, Sorbian organizations and the state government. In other words, a variety of agents at different levels of society noted and negatively evaluated the centre's adjustment as a deviation from the norm that Sorbian speakers should not be discriminated against. In response to this macro-level criticism, the centre eventually removed all the notices, but without actually renouncing the content. It was almost ten years later that the centre made a public announcement that it no longer

prohibited the use of Sorbian. Kimura (2014) uses this example as an illustration of a "post-implementation/feedback stage" of language management and indeed, there was a clear public reaction to the centre's initial implemented adjustments when it posted the notices.

This example can also be interpreted in other ways. The decision to remove the notices and not post them again also can be seen as a case of pre-interaction management because avoiding the posting of discriminatory notices can be seen as a strategy to prevent potential future public criticism from the media, state government and other channels. Even though the underlying attitudes of the centre's administrators may have stayed the same (as can be seen in the absence of a renouncement of the content of the notices straight after their removal), the decision to remove the notices and not use such signs again can also be seen as the formation of a new "norm of interaction" (Hymes, 1972), namely that 'signs discriminating against Sorbian speakers should not be used'. This can be considered to be a new norm of interaction because it can be imagined that any future suggestions to put up signs will be noted as a deviation and negatively evaluated by the administrators. Therefore, it can be argued that intersecting management at the adjustment implementation and noting stages can lead to the formation of new norms of interaction by the actors who noted the original deviation. Of course, on the attitudinal level, the administrators of the centre may still have had "norms of interpretation" (Hymes, 1972) that led them to note and negatively evaluate the use of Sorbian in the workplace, but at least in terms of their behaviour, the problem of discriminatory signs did not reoccur. It was only when the later public renunciation of the prohibition of Sorbian at the centre was made that the centre arguably adopted new norms of interpretation.

4.   The micro-macro relationship in diverging and intersecting management

The examples of diverging and intersecting management introduced so far can also help us to understand the connections between the micro and the macro in more depth. For example, Marriott's (1990, 2012) study illustrates how diverging management in micro-level interactions can be caused in part by the institutional norms and expectations of participants. In her study, the Australian and Japanese businessmen noted different deviations because of the differing expectations they had of the goals of the meeting based on the expectations of their respective organizations. Hence, macro-level norms, for example socioeconomic norms regarding the necessity of patents, became the norms that governed, at least part of, the Japanese businessman's micro-level interaction. In this way, the intertwining of the micro and the macro could be seen.

Indeed, the examples in the Japanese workplace suggest that the very involvement of senior-level managers in micro-level interactions can be perceived, at least by some participants, as a form of pressure of macro-level institutional norms. In other words, it may be difficult to separate an interlocutor in a position of authority from the institutional norms that they are perceived to represent. Hence, the macro level is not just a separate entity far removed from micro-level interaction, but can actually be perceived as an integral part of it.

The main reason for this perception of the macro within the micro is that macro-level adjustments are commonly implemented and negotiated through micro-level interactions. Subsequently, participants may be sensitive to the reactions of participants seen as representing certain macro-level interests. For example, the Mexican manager in Fairbrother's study (2015a) noted his Japanese colleagues' non-verbal signals as indicative of their support for a more hierarchical system of communication in the Japanese subsidiary, in contrast to the 'flat' and 'open' system promoted by the corporation overseas. This example of intersecting management also revealed some of the tensions between local and international macro-level corporate language policy and differing reactions to both in everyday interactions by speakers of different backgrounds and language proficiencies.

In fact, the smooth implementation of language policy may be obstructed by certain powerful agents at the institutional level. The example of the Japanese employee having to manage her French employer's use of English is one example of this phenomenon (Fairbrother, 2018). Because of the power constraints of their relationship, she felt unable to correct her employer's use of English overtly, so she had to resort to covert means to make adjustments surreptitiously. Thus, in order to implement a particular language policy, considerable negotiation may need to be undertaken in micro-level discourse to circumvent the power structure of the workplace. In this type of case, the intertwining of the micro and macro can be seen, but with the impetus coming from the micro level.

These examples of the intertwining of the micro and the macro also illustrate that there is not just one homogeneous micro or macro dimension, but that there may be many different language managers involved in micro and macro management, with some of them incorporating both. Indeed, Kimura's (2014) study highlights the broad range of agents involved in the problem relating to the use of Sorbian at the care centre in Germany. The use of Sorbian was initially noted as a deviation by residents at the care centre in their micro-level interactions. This then led to intersecting management processes undertaken by the managers of the care centre, the media, Sorbian organizations and the state government. Kimura's example also demonstrates how intersecting management can reveal the post-implementation stage of the LM process, namely how the posting of notices prohibiting the use of Sorbian was noted as a deviation and strongly negatively

evaluated by other arguably more powerful macro-level agents, leading to the eventual removal of the signs.

Therefore, an analysis of the diverging and intersecting management of different parties enables us to see the connections between micro and macro management processes more clearly. It also allows us to see the points where processes occurring at different levels intertwine, particularly when language policies made at the macro level are enacted, negotiated and resisted in micro-level interactions, or when problematic behaviour at the micro level is kept in check by macro-level agents. Furthermore, it is a micro-level perspective that enables us to analyse these often covert processes in depth. Further analysis of these types of complex language management will therefore enable us to further deepen our understanding of language problems of all kinds and the ways that they are actually managed by different participants and agents on a variety of levels.

5.   Conclusions

This chapter has attempted to provide a classification of the different types of diverging and intersecting management processes undertaken by multiple parties in contact situations. The examples presented here have illustrated how management can diverge or intersect at any stage of the language management process from the initial noting stage to the implementation of adjustments and beyond. It further highlights how the management process of one party can itself become the object of management of another party and how these processes can intertwine between the micro and macro levels. A close investigation of where and how interactants' management intersects and diverges enables us to see the complexities of LM, particularly when we consider the post-implementation stage and specifically the formation of new norms and expectations after initial adjustments have been made. Although Kimura's (2014) conceptualization of the post-implementation stage focused on "feedback", which could be considered to be evaluative or adjustive behaviour, the results of the analysis here suggest that new norm formation could be another central component of this stage.

A focus on diverging and intersecting management can also shed light on the factors affecting variation in management processes, such as differences in noting, evaluation, adjustment design and implementation. However, the classification presented here should not be seen as exhaustive. Indeed, except for the examples where one participant's adjustment markers were not noted by another participant, it does not explicitly address another feature of intersecting management, namely the "cooperation of different participants during a single language management act" (Kopecký, 2014, p. 271), which suggests some form of convergence.

The classification should, therefore, rather be seen as an invitation for further research into the complexity of language management processes and the future development of a complete typology.

An examination of diverging and intersecting management leads us to the broader question of *why* people manage language differently. One reason can be found in interactional constraints. For example, if one party does not recognize their interlocutor's utterance as an adjustment marker, it could be misinterpreted as a backchannel, not a request for repair. Therefore, in some cases interactional dissonance with one's interlocutor can lead to diverging management.

Another crucial factor is norm diversity. Examples of diverging management show us clearly the context-based and individualized nature of language norms. In micro-level interactions, norms and expectations are clearly not fixed and shared by all participants, but may be flexibly applied (Neustupný, 1985). Additionally, participants may apply different sets of norms specific to contact situations. The application of differing norms can lead to greatly different interpretations of the same interaction, for example with one party not even noting a deviation, whereas another party in the same interaction notes a particular phenomenon as a deviation and evaluates it negatively. Fairbrother and Aikawa (2014) have argued that, particularly in intercultural contact situations, flexibility in the application of norms and expectations can be an indicator of one's intercultural communicative competence, i.e., the ability to see the unfamiliar from a different perspective and *not* to judge the behaviour of another based on the predominant norms of one's own community.

This then leads us to the even broader question of why people have different norms in the first place and why they choose to follow one particular management trajectory over other possible processes. In some cases, participants' expectations in contact situations might just be limited due to a lack of experience of different phenomena, i.e., they might just not have realized that there could be a different way of looking at a particular language phenomenon or communicative act. Additionally, some participants' attitudes might have resulted in particularly strong views concerning the validity of one norm over another, which leads them to conceive of only one possible or "correct" norm (for further discussion, see Jernudd, 2018 and Beneš, Prošek, Smejkalová, & Štěpánová, 2018).

In addition to such individual norm preferences and limitations, there also seem to be contextual constraints that limit the management behaviour of particular participants. For example, some participants may not be able to manage certain language problems overtly at work because of the power hierarchy and the possibility of being publicly chastised. Indeed, as the examples here demonstrate, public criticism of one's language use can lead to the adjustment strategy of completely avoiding communication with certain colleagues. Therefore, perceptions

of what should or should not be managed at work seem to be influenced by communication practices at the micro level, particularly if those constraints are being enforced by senior management.

An examination of diverging and intersecting management can also highlight the connections between the micro and the macro, particularly where they intertwine. Indeed, an analysis of this type forces the researcher to question their preconceptions of the micro and macro and to address the different, and sometimes competing, interests at each level. It is hoped that further research into these complex processes will reveal more about the micro-macro continuum.

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Managing language problems relating to standard varieties

Processes of language codification

The case of the standardization of German pronunciation

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In order to establish a standard variety of language, its norms are more often than not codified in a linguistic code such as in a dictionary of orthography, pronunciation and so on. In this study, codification processes of standard varieties of German pronunciation will be explored by means of the author's Language Codification Cycle Theory (LCCT). This theory focuses on the management of standard varieties of a language through the codification and realization of certain linguistic forms of model speakers or writers in formal settings. This chapter will illuminate the processes of management underlying standard varieties, categorize the managed linguistic forms and consider their validity in formal settings in German-speaking countries. LCCT can be applied to the analysis and clarification of the processes of language standardization in terms of codification at any level of language structure, such as pronunciation and orthography. Making use of this, we can analyze the interrelation of management at the macro and micro levels, which is one of the important topics in Language Management Theory (LMT).

Keywords: German pronunciation, codification, standardization, attitudes, standard variety, pluricentricity, orthoepy

1. Introduction: German as a pluricentric language and pronunciation dictionaries

In German-speaking countries, the term "High German" (*Hochdeutsch*) is widely used to refer to the standard language of German which is supposed to be spoken in formal situations. The orthography and orthoepy[1] of High German were brought

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1. Orthoepy refers to the orthodox way of pronouncing words.

about only after the foundation of the German Empire (*Deutsches Kaiserreich*) in 1871. The first edition of the German orthographic dictionary *Complete Orthographic Dictionary of the German Language* (*Vollständiges Orthographisches Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache*) by Konrad Duden was published in 1880, and the first edition of the German orthoepic dictionary *German Stage Pronunciation* (*Deutsche Bühnenaussprache*) was published in 1898 by Theodor Siebs. The codification in these dictionaries was predominantly adjusted to a variety of German used in Germany. Originally a geographical term coined by Theodor Frings, "High German" was used to designate dialects used in the interior of Germany, away from the sea (Russ, 1994, p. 6). In this relation, the term *Binnendeutsch* was also used among linguists as a synonym for standard German. According to Hugo Moser (1962, p. 5), *Binnendeutsch* refers to the variety of German which is spoken in the German-speaking area of the previous German Empire,[2] and this corresponds approximately to the Germany of today. Even today, though, the term "High German" is often used to refer to the German standard regardless of the region.

However, German is now spoken in seven nations or regions as an official language. These are Germany, Austria, Switzerland, Liechtenstein, Luxembourg, South Tirol in Italy, and the German-speaking Community in Belgium. In light of this state of affairs, German, therefore, can be regarded as a pluricentric language. A pluricentric language is a language which is spoken as an official language in more than two language centers, namely nations or regions. With regard to the term "High German", its sole representation of "the standard German" in general has been disputed by several sociolinguists (Ammon, 1995; Clyne, 1984; Kloss, 1978; Muhr, 1989; etc.). Considering the pluricentricity of German, we can presume that there is no one standard German valid in all German-speaking nations, but rather there are several standard varieties of German, some variants of which have been codified in dictionaries.

This paper investigates the pluricentric codification of German pronunciation and its processes through the application of the model of the Language Codification Cycle Theory (LCCT) proposed by Takahashi (1996a, 1996b). Section 2 outlines codified and uncodified norms of pronunciation in light of Language Management Theory (LMT) (Nekvapil, 2000, 2012; Neustupný 2005). Section 3 then will introduce LCCT, which combines micro and macro perspectives in order to illustrate descriptive and prescriptive processes of codification. Section 4 subsequently attempts to illuminate attitudes toward standard national varieties of German which have an influence on language management processes on the discourse level, as

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2. According to the *Duden Universal Dictionary* (*Duden Universalwörterbuch*) (2011) which is widely used in German-speaking countries, *Binnendeutsch* is "the language inside Germany (as distinguished from Austria, Switzerland, etc.)".

well as the noteworthy organized management in Austria concerning language as a system. In Section 5, the codification of German pronunciation will be illustrated using LCCT. Finally, German orthoepy will be discussed from the perspective of LCCT, and its relation to LMT will be explored.

2. Codifying pronunciation as a process of language management

Under the framework of LMT, the management process is to be analyzed according to five stages: the noting of deviations from norms, evaluation, planning of an adjustment, implementation and post-implementation/feedback (Kimura, 2014). However, "all these stages need not be carried out" (Nekvapil, 2000, p. 166) and "the management may end after any of the stages" (Nekvapil, 2012, p. 12). In this process, LMT focuses on norms. However, deviations from pronunciation norms are not always easy to note, unlike orthographic norms for example, where deviations are visually recognizable. As phonetic features are in essence indiscrete and cannot be segmented easily, it is often neither feasible nor necessary to note precisely whether they correspond to codified norms. Phonetic forms, which are transmitted acoustically, are as a rule, temporary. Physical phonetic sounds are recognized on account of their acoustic impressions, which are received just after they are articulated and processed as linguistic signs at that moment.

Phonetic norms can be categorized into two basic types, codified norms and non-codified norms. Codified norms are those which are described in pronunciation dictionaries. As is often the case, the description of forms of pronunciation in these dictionaries is based on observations of model speakers, and these forms are subsequently regarded as variants of standard varieties. The term "model speaker" currently encompasses professional speakers, especially newsreaders and announcers of supraregional broadcasts[3] (Ammon, 2015, p. 143). In this regard, codification concentrates on formal situations.

In informal situations, on the other hand, we do not usually feel bound by standard varieties, which does not mean that our speech is produced arbitrarily, however. We are consciously or unconsciously selecting phonetic forms which are supposed to be adequate and acceptable according to diatopic, diastratic and diaphasic features. For this reason, these forms are also produced based on certain norms, even if these are not codified.[4] Neustupný (2005, p. 311) suggests that norms can fall into four categories: "native norms (i.e., the native norms of one

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3. At the outset of the codification of German pronunciation, actors in the theater were regarded as model speakers (see Section 5 in this chapter).

4. For a further discussion of the concept of "language norms" see Takahashi (2004).

of the participants), contact norms (i.e., norms considered appropriate in contact situations), dual norms (norms of two systems, from which one system is selected) and 'universal' norms". Whether codified or not, all these norms are valid from an LMT perspective.

When evaluating phonetic deviations at the discourse level, the attitudes of the speaker toward certain phonetic forms and their relationship with their interlocutor are important. This evaluation of a deviation from a phonetic norm can be positive or negative in accordance with the attitudes of the speaker toward the variety of their interlocutor. Accordingly, the speaker may possibly plan an adjustment to certain forms of pronunciation, and the stage of implementation can take place. One may converge to the way in which one's interlocutor is speaking, or one's pronunciation may diverge from the pronunciation of one's interlocutor. This convergence or divergence (Giles & Coupland, 1991, pp. 7–9) can occur upwards toward a more prestigious form or downward to a less prestigious form. If one's pronunciation is adapted to a standard variety, we can speak of an upward convergence. If a speaker adjusts their speech to colloquial forms, the process can be regarded as a downward convergence. Conversely, the speaker might speak a standard variety, diverging from the pronunciation of their interlocutor. This can be classified as an upward divergence. On the other hand, when a speaker selects regional variants, his speech can be seen as a downward divergence.

From a more macro perspective, the crucial point in the codification process is how codifiers evaluate the significance of the pronunciation of certain model speakers, plan adjustments, and implement these adjustments in the codification. Thus, there are different micro and macro management processes involved in codifying pronunciation. The question which now arises is how to connect the processes operating at different levels.

3.   Language Codification Cycle Theory (LCCT)

One framework that combines macro and micro perspectives of the codification process is the Language Codification Cycle Theory (LCCT), which was proposed by Takahashi (1996a, 1996b). This section will illustrate the concept of LCCT, which focuses on the codification and actual use of certain linguistic forms of model speakers/writers in formal settings (Diagram 1). This coordinate axis is a synchronic model which can illuminate the actual language use and codification of certain features of standard varieties. The vertical axis is related to macro features which are observed by norm codifiers, while the horizontal axis reflects micro features, representing actual language usage. The first and second quadrants include codified norms. The linguistic forms which are codified and realized in

language use are referred to as the "adequate norm", which is found in the first quadrant. When the linguistic form is codified, but not used in formal settings, as in the second quadrant, to which obsolete and inadequate norms belong, it can be called a "positively prescriptive norm". This refers to an idealistic norm which the norm codifier wants to spread, although it is not yet extensively used in the speech community. In the third quadrant, we find linguistic forms which are neither used in official settings nor codified in a dictionary. Socially or regionally dialectal forms, which are not used in official settings, will belong to this quadrant. The fourth quadrant, uncodified but realized, corresponds to a "norm of use" (*Gebrauchsnorm*), or linguistic forms which are accidentally produced. In the latter case, these forms can be just slips of the tongue or latent systematic deviations,[5] which may possibly be evidence of language change in progress.
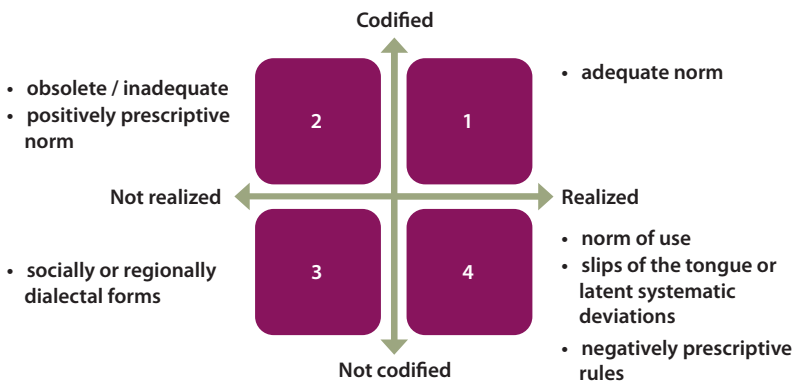
Diagram 1. Language Codification Cycle Model

When forms are repeatedly used in formal situations, they are supposed to be codified. If they are not codified, the judgement of the norm codifiers is laying down "negatively prescriptive rules". This refers to linguistic forms which are actually used intentionally or unintentionally but are ignored by the norm codifiers because they regard those forms as not good enough to be codified as standard variants. In some cases, a negatively prescriptive rule may be a reflection of a positively prescriptive norm in the second quadrant, in which a different form is described. There is neither a description of a certain linguistic form, nor an account of the prohibition of this form, but a different form is described instead.

   According to LCCT, codified forms of pronunciation, which remain in the first quadrant, are generally not noted as deviations by the norm codifiers and do not need to be revised. Pronunciation forms in the second quadrant, codified but

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5. In the case of pronunciation, these are combinations of phonemes which are phonologically possible, but not used.

not realized, may be negatively evaluated and deleted to adjust them to current language usage, or they may be evaluated positively and retained as a positive prescriptive rule in the dictionary. The pronunciations in the third quadrant, neither codified nor realized in formal settings, may not be noted/evaluated because the dictionary is expected to reflect only the status quo in formal settings at that time. However, pronunciations which are not currently in use may be revitalized by norm codifiers aiming to revise current pronunciations, in order, for example, to protect traditional pronunciations or introduce pronunciations from another standard variety. The pronunciations in the fourth quadrant, which are not codified but are actually used, will be noted and evaluated as to whether they are worth codifying or not. When those pronunciations are accepted as a standard by norm codifiers, the codification of them as norms will be implemented as an adjustment.
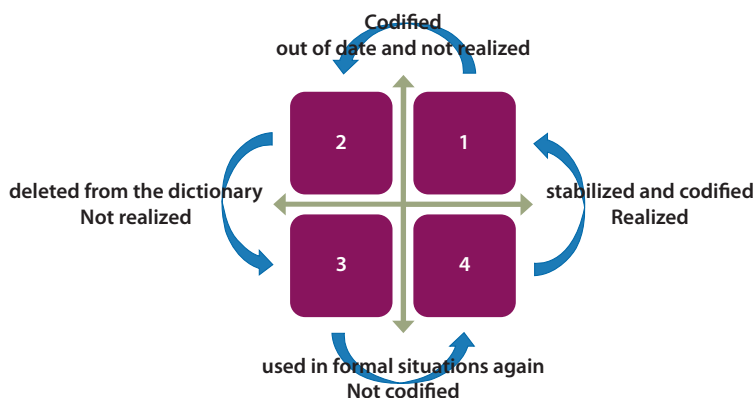
Diagram 2. The descriptive process cycle

Taking into account the diachrony of codification, a dynamic model can be considered. As time goes by, an adequate norm can become out of date and not realized in actual use. As a consequence, the linguistic form moves from the first to the second quadrant. That is to say, certain codified forms which were previously used in formal situations are not used any longer. When the norm codifier deletes them from the dictionary, regarding them as obsolete and invalid, they move from the second to the third quadrant. In this stage, they are neither codified nor realized. It is also possible that a certain form which was regarded as obsolete or unacceptable as a standard variant and not used in formal situations can at some time be used in formal situations again. Then, this form is in the stage of being realized, but not codified, which corresponds to the fourth quadrant. When the use of a form in the fourth quadrant is stabilized and the norm codifier presumes that it deserves codifying, it will move from the fourth to the first quadrant. This process can be called "a descriptive process cycle" (Diagram 2) because it describes the process

of actually used forms. Codification resulting from the descriptive process cycle principally reflects actual language use, which may reflect language change and can be observed in the pronunciation of model speakers/writers. In the descriptive process cycle, the norm codifier is just approving the status quo and describing the forms of model speakers/writers.

It is also possible that the norm codifier evaluates a certain form as no longer adequate and deletes it from the dictionary, though it is still realized in formal situations. Then, it will move from the first to the fourth quadrant and not be a standard variant at the level of codification. When this form falls out of use and becomes obsolete due to it having been deleted from the dictionary, we can presume that the adjustment of the codifiers has been accepted. It will then move from the fourth to the third quadrant. There are also cases where norm codifiers intend to revitalize some forms of pronunciation which are looked upon as obsolete and not codified. They might then codify those forms in a dictionary. Accordingly, those forms will transfer from the third to the second quadrant: not realized but codified. If those new forms are accepted by people in the speech community by virtue of the codification, they will shift from the second to the first quadrant. This process can be described as "the prescriptive process cycle" (Diagram 3) because it shows the process of prescribing idealistic norms. In this case, the norm codifier's adjustments play a more important role than the actual language usage in the speech community. It goes without saying that the actual processes of codifying pronunciation are derived from both the descriptive process cycle and the prescriptive process cycle. A crossing move, such as from quadrant 1 to quadrant 3 and vice versa as well as from quadrant 2 to quadrant 4 and vice versa, will be hardly possible in actual settings.
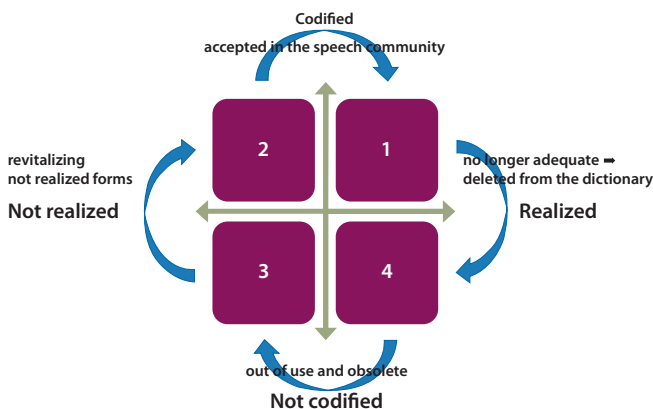
Diagram 3. The prescriptive process cycle

4.   Attitudes toward standard national varieties

Before applying these processes in relation to German pronunciation, this section presents some basic tendencies regarding attitudes towards different national standard varieties. When elaborating upon the standardization of German pronunciation with regard to its pluricentricity, it is worth examining the attitudes of native speakers toward national standard varieties of German. In order to find out the attitudes of Germans, Austrians and Swiss toward national varieties of German, questionnaire surveys were conducted by the author in 1995 and 2005.[6] In the questionnaires, participants were asked to choose words to describe each national standard variety of German in Germany, Austria and Switzerland. The options consisted of 12 words with positive and negative connotations. Those with positive connotations were "authentic" (*authentisch*), "tasteful" (*geschmackvoll*), "cultivated" (*kultiviert*), "alive" (*lebendig*), "beautiful" (*schön*) and "tradition-conscious" (traditionsbewusst). Those with negative connotations were "artificial" (*gekünstelt*), "coarse" (*grob*), "inferior" (*minderwertig*), "inarticulate" (*unartikuliert*), "uncouth" (*ungehobelt*) and "lax" (*nachlässig*). The expressions used in the questionnaires to refer to the standard varieties were "German, Austrian and Swiss High German" (*deutsches, österreichisches bzw. schweizerisches Hochdeutsch*). The term "High German" was necessary in order to exclude regional dialects. A sociolinguistically more adequate term instead of "High German" (*Hochdeutsch*) would have been "standard variety" (*Standardvarietät*). However, I adopted the term "High German", which is in common usage, in order to avoid the possibility of the question not being understood by the participants.

The results revealed that Germans and Austrians regarded their own standard variety the most positively, and this tendency was especially prominent in the attitudes of Austrians. As is clear from Table 1, the German standard variety was considered the best by Germans, but attitudes toward the other two varieties were on no account negative. More than 70% of the participants from Germany regarded the Austrian and Swiss varieties positively. The attitudes of the Austrians, on the other hand, differed markedly, and are worth analyzing further. Almost 80% of Austrians showed positive attitudes toward the Austrian standard variety. What is noteworthy is that the Austrians viewed the German standard variety as the worst one among the three standard varieties (Table 2). This result is intriguing because the standard variety in Germany was widely accepted as the only standard variety of German until the concept of pluricentricity of German began to prevail in the 1990s.

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6. Details of the research procedure are reported elsewhere (Takahashi, 2010, pp. 72–78).

Table 1. Positive attitudes toward standard varieties of German (Takahashi, 2010, p. 76)

		Germans	Austrians	Swiss
	Austrian standard variety	72.6%	79.9%	86.0%[*]
1995	Swiss standard variety	76.5%	60.5%[*]	42.1%[*]
	Germany standard variety	84.1%[*]	45.1%	77.3%
	Austrian standard variety	76.5%	79.8%	74.9%[*]
2005	Swiss standard variety	72.3%	75.1%[*]	53.1%[*]
	Germany standard variety	76.5%[*]	52.5%	74.4%

[*]$p < 0.05$ (by chi-square test)

Table 2. Negative attitudes toward standard varieties of German (Takahashi, 2010, p. 76)

		Germans	Austrians	Swiss
	Austrian standard variety	27.4%	20.1%	14.0%[*]
1995	Swiss standard variety	23.5%	39.5%[*]	57.9%[*]
	Germany standard variety	15.9%[*]	54.9%	22.7%
	Austrian standard variety	23.5%	20.2%	25.1%[*]
2005	Swiss standard variety	27.7%	24.9%[*]	46.9%[*]
	Germany standard variety	23.5%[*]	47.5%	25.6%

[*]$p < 0.05$ (by chi-square test)

It can be assumed that these rather negative attitudes of the Austrians toward the variety of German used in Germany is related to the years 1938–1945 which affected the reputation of Germany thereafter. Owing to the annexation (*Anschluss*) of Austria to Germany in March 1938, Austrians fought as German soldiers against the Allied Forces (Steininger, 2005). The Moscow Declaration of 1943 proclaimed that "The Government of the United Kingdom, the Soviet Union and the United States of America are agreed that Austria, the first free country to fall victim to Hitlerite aggression, shall be liberated from German domination."[7]

After the first orthographic dictionary of German by Konrad Duden came out in 1880 in Germany, various kinds of German dictionaries and glossaries have been published under the name of *Duden*. As they were named *Duden*, after the name of its founder, it stands now for the German dictionary in general. In the face of *Duden,* which was extensively available in German-speaking countries, there was supposedly no practical reason for publishing another dictionary in Austria. After World War II, however, the language policy of Austria was

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7. The Moscow Declaration on Austria, 30 October 1943.
   http://www.uibk.ac.at/zeitgeschichte/zis/library/keyserlingk.html.

characterized by her alienation from Germany. The first edition of the *Austrian Dictionary* (*Österreichisches Wörterbuch*)(Bundesministerium für Unterricht) was published in 1951.[8] Establishing an Austrian standard variety different from that of Germany, Austria tried to enhance its identity as an independent nation. Moreover, the name of the academic subject "German" (*Deutsch*) was replaced by "Language of Instruction" (*Unterrichtssprache*) in 1949 (Pollak, 1992; Ammon, 1995). In 1952 Austria changed the name to "German Language of Instruction" (*Deutsche Unterrichtssprache*) and eventually the name returned to "German" (*Deutsch*) in 1955 when Austria became a sovereign state based on the Austrian State Treaty (*Österreichischer Staatsvertrag*). When Austria joined the European Union in 1995, Austria succeeded in letting the EU accept 23 words of the Austrian national variety as part of an official language of the EU, although German had already been one of the official languages of the EU. The purpose was obviously to convince the EU of the official status of the Austrian variety of German. On the basis of these highly metalinguistic processes of organized management, Austria aimed to linguistically distance itself from Germany.

5.   German orthoepy and LCCT

5.1   Orthoepic codes in Germany

This section will examine the codification of German pronunciation, applying LCCT in order to examine the relation between the micro and macro levels. The pronunciation dictionaries which are subject to analysis are the latest editions of three pronunciation dictionaries: *Siebs German Pronunciation* (*Siebs Deutsche Aussprache*), *Duden Pronunciation Dictionary* (*Duden Das Aussprachewörterbuch*) and the *German Pronunciation* (*Deutsches Aussprachewörterbuch*) (published by researchers at the University of Halle-Wittenberg) (Krech et al. 2009). These are the dictionaries which have contributed enormously to the standardization of German pronunciation.

Siebs' pronunciation dictionary, the first edition of which was published in 1898, is so to speak the founder of the contemporary standard pronunciation of German. Its original title was *German Stage Pronunciation* (*Deutsche Bühnenaussprache*) because the codification was based upon the observation of the pronunciation of actors in theaters, mainly in Berlin. In its last edition (de Boor, Moser & Winkler, 1969), the title of which was *German Pronunciation* (*Deutsche Aussprache*), standard pronunciation was divided into two categories,

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8. The latest one is the 43rd edition published in 2018.

"pure standard pronunciation" (*reine Hochlautung*) and "moderate standard pronunciation" (*gemäßigte Hochlautung*). Pure standard pronunciation represents the highest norms of pronunciation, which are based on traditional German stage pronunciation and in principle do not allow variants, while moderate standard pronunciation is closer to reality and hence takes into consideration national standard variants. Though the last edition of *Siebs* is quite old, we cannot disregard it because *Siebs* forms the basis for German orthoepy.

Duden's first pronunciation dictionary appeared in 1962 and has been revised six times: the latest version is the seventh edition brought out in September 2015. Because of Duden's established reputation, its pronunciation dictionary has been widely used. From the first to the sixth edition, the codification of Duden was founded on a monocentric view, namely, that there is one common standard pronunciation utilized in all German-speaking countries. According to an earlier version, "a unified pronunciation rule is beneficial for the spoken form of the German standard language", and "the Duden pronunciation dictionary transmits a general norm of use of the so-called standard pronunciation" (Duden, 2000, p. 5). In contrast, as written in its foreword, the latest edition takes the position that the existence of a common standard pronunciation of German is an ideal conceptualization because German is a polycentric language with different national standard varieties and larger regional varieties (Duden, 2015, p. 5). It adopted not only various empirical data, such as from the Institute for German Language Corpora (*Institut für Deutsche Sprache Korpora*) and German Today (*Deutsch heute*), but also an online survey concerning the acceptability of different pronunciations. The informants in the online survey were native speakers of German who had spent most of their lives up to the age of 16 in Germany, Austria or Switzerland. Because of the drastic change in the basic concept behind it, the seventh edition of the Duden can be regarded as a totally new pronunciation dictionary.

An achievement based upon an enormous amount of empirical research at the Department of Speech Sciences and Phonetics (*Abteilung Sprechwissenschaft und Phonetik*) of the University of Halle-Wittenberg is embodied in the *German Pronunciation Dictionary* (*Deutsches Aussprachewörterbuch*) (Krech et al., 2009). This is a successor of the *Dictionary of German Pronunciation* (*Wörterbuch der deutschen Aussprache*) (Krech et al., 1964) which was published by researchers at the Institute of Speech Sciences of the University of Halle-Wittenberg in the former German Democratic Republic. An important purpose of the dictionary was to describe the common standard pronunciation of German in order not to worsen the misery caused by the national boundary inside Germany (Krech, 1961, p. 48), with the language diverging between East and West. After several revisions, the *Large Dictionary of German Pronunciation* (*Großes Wörterbuch der deutschen Aussprache*) came out, and "standard pronunciation" (*Standardaussprache*) was

defined as the sum of traditional and stable forms selected in relation to social language usage (Krech et al., 1982, p. 5). The authors of the *German Pronunciation Dictionary* (Krech et al., 2009) made a significant change in the concept behind the dictionary commensurate with the pluricentricity of German, breaking with the monocentric standpoint of standardizing the pronunciation in Germany.

5.2   Orthoepic codification of German varieties

Having observed the features of the pronunciation dictionaries, this section will present examples of orthoepic codification. Two pronunciations demonstrate the characteristics of the three national standard varieties of German: the suffixes <-ig> and <ch>.

In *Siebs* (de Boor, Moser, & Winkler, 1969), the suffix <-ig> is pronounced on the level of pure standard pronunciation as the voiceless palatal fricative [-ɪç], inherited from the codification of stage pronunciation, and on the level of moderate standard pronunciation, the voiceless velar plosive [-ɪk] is also codified as an Austrian, Swiss and south German variant. Due to this reference which reflects actual usage, the negatively prescriptive rule, which referred only to the voiceless palatal fricative and implicitly denied the voiceless velar plosive for Austrians and Swiss, is changed into an adequate rule. According to *Duden*, up to the 2005 edition, the suffix <-ig> was to be pronounced only as [-ɪç]. [-ɪk] in place of [-ɪç] was regarded as a colloquial pronunciation under the category "non-standardized pronunciation" (*ungenormte Lautung*) (Duden, 2005, p. 65). As this description implicates but does not clearly proclaim, that the use of [-ɪk] in formal settings is not appropriate, this pronunciation [-ɪk] can be classified as a negatively prescriptive rule for Austrians and Swiss. The seventh edition gives a detailed explanation of pronunciation forms in terms of national and regional varieties (Duden, 2015, p. 462). [-ɪç] is used in northern Germany and furthermore transregionally throughout the whole of Germany, also in eastern Austria in addition to [-ɪk]. [-ɪk] is used generally in Switzerland, western Austria and in a large part of southern Germany (in northern Bavaria and in Baden-Württemberg mainly in formal situations). There is, furthermore, a notice that the pronunciation form [-ɪʃ] / [-ɪɕ] which is spread throughout the middle part of the German-speaking area should be avoided in formal situations. Krech et al. (2009) also pay great attention to national varieties which are referred to in the introductory section. According to this dictionary, the suffix <-ig> is regionally realized as [ɪɡ̊] in Austria and to some extent likewise in the moderate standard pronunciation, but in "refined standard pronunciation" (*gehobene Standardaussprache*), it is usually realized as a fricative [ɪç] (Krech et al., 2009, p. 255). Thereafter, it acknowledges that in Switzerland the suffix <-ig> can be pronounced with relatively less articulatory energy as the

voiceless lenis [-ığ] as well as the fricative [ıç], e.g. *König, genehmigt* (Krech et al., 2009, p. 268). These descriptions confirm that [-ığ] is an adequate rule in Austria and Switzerland.

Another example, which is characteristic of the three national standard varieties of German, is the pronunciation of the letters <ch>. According to *Siebs*, the letters <ch> are pronounced as the voiceless palatal fricative [ç] after the letters for bright (front) vowels like <ä, e, i, ö, ü> and diphthongs *<ei, eu, äu>* or after sonorants like <l, m, n, r> and vowels. They are pronounced as the voiceless velar fricative [x] after dark (back) vowels like <a, o, u>: e.g. *Bach, hoch, Buch, suchen, Bauch. Siebs* points out that the voiceless palatal fricative [ç] may not be replaced by the voiceless velar fricative [x], although this is often the case in Swiss and Austrian dialects. As *Siebs* clearly prohibits the use of the voiceless velar fricative [x] instead of the voiceless palatal fricative [ç], this can be described as a positively prescriptive norm which was planned to change the status quo. Krech et al. (2009, p. 242, p. 254) also explain that in Germany the letters <ch> after palatal vowels are pronounced as [ç], and after velar vowels as [x], which corresponds to the description in *Duden*. However, in Austria, the velar fricative [x] can also be used if <ch> comes after <r>, and this <r> is vocalized, turning into a schwa [ɐ], e.g. in *Kirche*. Krech et al. (2009) is the first pronunciation dictionary which acknowledges the velar fricative [x] after a vocalized <r> as an Austrian variant. The velar fricative [x] after a vocalized <r> is now an adequate norm for Austrians. Although many Swiss tend to always pronounce it as [x] or, due to hypercorrection, [ç], Krech et al. (2009, p. 266) say that neither of them are appropriate. According to *Duden* (2015, pp. 88–89), the letters <ch> are to be pronounced as the voiceless palatal fricative [ç] in the middle or at the end of a word after front vowels and after diphthongs [ai], [cy] or after a consonant, e.g. *Bäche, euch, möchte*. In the middle or at the end of a word after back vowels, the letters <ch> are to be pronounced as the velar fricative [x]. In the chapter on variation in standard pronunciation (*Variation in der Standardaussprache*), however, *Duden* (2015, p. 69) points out that in Austria and South Germany, especially in South / East Bavaria, [ç] is pronounced as [x] after <r>.[9] In Switzerland and the Tirol [x] is used after <l, r, n>, too (Duden, 2015, p. 69). Therefore, this variant can be described as an adequate norm for Austrians, South / East Bavarians and Swiss.

5.3   Orthoepy in the framework of LCCT

Analyzing the codification in pronunciation dictionaries from the viewpoint of LCCT, it can be argued with fair certainty that the descriptive process cycle is in

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9. Takahashi, with Peter Wiesinger, also recognized this pronunciation as a "norm of use" (*Gebrauchsnorm*) in Austria (Takahashi, 1996b, p. 173).

progress, not only in light of national varieties, but also regional standard varieties. This trend of descriptivism was prompted by norm codifiers who are trying to do justice to the findings of empirical studies in German-speaking countries. The judgment of "realized" and "not realized" by codifiers in LCCT should be based upon empirical studies of the language use of model speakers/writers and the codifiers' expert intuition. The latest edition of Duden's pronunciation dictionary has undergone a remarkable shift toward descriptivism utilizing empirical data, particularly considering that Duden's pronunciation dictionary from the first to sixth editions did not indicate what kind of data it used in the codifying process and furthermore implemented monocentric codification. Krech et al. (2009) also make references to many empirical findings which are academically convincing. Because of the copious results of empirical studies, there will often be competing variants which seem to deserve codifying. In this case, the norm codifiers ought to make a decision concerning which variant or variants to codify. Relevant to this point is the following remark in the *Cambridge English Pronouncing Dictionary*:

> Ultimately… the decisions about which pronunciation to recommend, which pronunciations have dropped out of use, and so on, have been based on the editors' intuitions as professional phoneticians and observers of the pronunciation of English (particularly broadcast English) over many years.
>
> (Roach et al., 2006, p. vi)

Even after codifying pronunciations, norm codifiers have to evaluate any deviations to the codified norms to see whether the norms are compatible with actual usage. Thus, in LMT terms, they are managing discourse-level language problems caused by deviations from codified forms, and they adjust them in the next edition if they deem revisions necessary. In this regard, it is worth referring to the language management cycle illustrated as "Micro → Macro → Micro" which reflects the interplay of simple and organized management (Nekvapil, 2009, p. 6). As shown in Diagrams 2 and 3, macro and micro features, which correspond respectively to the vertical and horizontal axes, interplay in the cyclic processes. As Neustupný points out, language management can also be described as "behavior toward language".[10] This behavior influences and is influenced by codified and/or not codified language norms. The interaction between behavior toward language and language norms is a common ground between LMT and LCCT.

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10. What is Language Management? (2013). Faculty of Arts, Charles University (*Filozofická fakulta, Univerzity Karlovy v Praze*). Retrieved from http://languagemanagement.ff.cuni.cz/language-management

6.   Concluding remarks

This chapter has outlined the cyclic processes of codification based on LCCT, which can be prescriptive or descriptive. The actors in these processes are norm codifiers and model speakers whose behavior toward language is crucial. Important actors are the norm codifiers who observe pronunciation forms and make judgments as to whether they deserve codifying. Uniformity and acceptance of the variants by educated people are necessary conditions for language codification. As was demonstrated in Section 5, uniformity can be classified into three levels: German-speaking countries in general, nations and regions. The analysis regarding German orthoepy has shown that the descriptive process cycle is in progress. Indeed, while the seventh edition of the Duden pronunciation dictionary describes relatively unified pronunciation forms for each entry, national or regional variants which may conceivably correspond to norms of use are also thoroughly shown in the introductory chapters (2015, pp. 9–160) on phonetic characteristics of German. This trend is in accordance with LMT which suggests that organized management on the macro level has to "rely on simple management as much as possible" (Nekvapil, 2012, p. 11).

Having noted this, there is room for further investigation into how regional forms and standard forms can be differentiated in a socially and linguistically persuasive manner. Norm codifiers seem to be prudent in ruling out variants which are empirically observable so that the codification will not be regarded as prescriptive. Nevertheless, because of the existence of diverse linguistic forms, it seems reasonable to suppose that norm codifiers are expected to make a judgement under certain circumstances as to whether certain forms should be subsumed into standard varieties. Of course it is undeniable that dictionaries are immanently of a prescriptive nature, as users feel bound to follow the codified forms to some extent in formal settings. However, descriptivism without criteria for evaluating variants would obscure the purpose of providing guidelines relating to standard varieties in a dictionary. All of this amounts to saying that balanced codification, which pays attention to both moderate descriptivism and prescriptivism, is fundamental to the field of language codification.

For the analysis of such codification processes, in which language norms play an important role, LMT is beneficial because it can elucidate norm consciousness concerning language use. Investigating the management of discourse-level language problems based on LMT would be beneficial to the analysis of the language codification processes occurring on the macro level of language as a system. By noting and evaluating empirically observed variants which deviate from codified norms, codifiers make a decision to design an adjustment and implement a new codification. At the macro level, the purpose of publishing the *Austrian Dictionary*

(Bundesministeriums für Unterricht, 1951) was to establish an Austrian variety of German. For Austrians, it is important to manage Austrian German's linguistic distance from other varieties of German, above all that of Germany. Making use of LMT, we would be able to improve upon previous studies focusing on establishing and maintaining standard varieties of German. To conclude, it can be said that LCCT can be useful to grasp the micro-macro relationship in the codifying process, and LMT can provide more detail about the process itself. Further empirical research combining these two frameworks is therefore needed.

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Processes of destandardization and demotization in the micro-macro perspective

The case of Germanic languages

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The fact that the processes of language standardization can be interpreted in terms of language management has been well known for decades. However, this kind of language change should not be taken for a one-way process, because there is clear evidence of opposite processes in which the degree of standardization decreases. Some of these processes are called destandardization, others demotization (Auer & Spiekermann, 2011; Kristiansen & Coupland, 2011; Mattheier, 1997). This paper seeks to explore the differences between these concepts and to operationalize them for empirical research. To achieve these goals, it refers to different kinds of expectations, the phases of the language management process and micro-macro-perspectives, which are a part of language management theory (Nekvapil & Sherman, 2015; Fairbrother, Nekvapil & Sloboda, 2018).

Keywords: language expectations, standardization, destandardization, demotization, social agency

1. Introduction

The phenomena of social and moral decline, which are supposed to be typical in the contemporary era, belong to some of the frequently discussed topics in the western cultural sphere. Language decay is one part of this discourse that can be commonly observed. The English complaint tradition, or the German discourse on language decay (*Sprachverfalldiskurs*) represent only two examples of many others (see Curzan, 2014; Milroy & Milroy, 2012, pp. 24–46; for the current situation in German, see Plewnia & Witt, 2014). Both media discourses and research in sociology and sociolinguistics (Deumert, 2010; Giddens, 2011; Neustupný, 2006; or Sandøy, 2013) are interested in processes which demonstrate how social norms

in post-modern western societies get loosened and do not have to be abided by, because there are hardly any powerful agents able to enforce behavior consistently corresponding to these norms.

To characterize the socio-cultural and socio-economic circumstances of the post-modern period in which both standardization and destandardization processes in various fields take place, we can draw upon Neustupný (2006, pp. 2217–2220). He identifies the following relevant characteristics: postindustrial and ecologically oriented high-tech economies with crucial roles of services and consumption, the globalization of markets, multiculturalism and a new wave of equalization among people relating to gender, age and origin. Humanizing and rationalizing features meet in this development. On the one hand, regional, linguistic, religious and ethnic variation is emphasized and glorified as an essentially human phenomenon. On the other hand, the digitalization that is indispensable for raising labor productivity is exemplified as a phenomenon of rationalization and advanced standardization of the means of communication. It reduces variation dramatically. In contrast to natural languages, as discussed in this paper, digitalization is grounded in strictly standardized artificial codes for which variation would represent not only redundant, but even undesirable interfering effects. In the post-modern era, both divergent (loosened norms, growing variation) and convergent tendencies (standardization) co-exist next to each other.

These processes go hand in hand with language change as one of the forms of social change. Armstrong & Mackenzie (2013) reflect on the interconnection of linguistic and social phenomena and they point out some ideologically conditioned processes of social levelling. Whereas social inequalities were deepened during the formation of language standards in the past, the loosening of these standards is believed to have contributed to the current levelling of language-based social hierarchies in some parts of society:

> [R]ecent social changes have led to the creation of alternative, ostensibly egalitarian, ideologies that implicitly challenge the hierarchical model built into the conventional standard ideology. The result of this [...] is a degree of convergence in linguistic practice that is perhaps unparalleled in modern history. [...] The contemporary situation appears to present a different model, in which the boundary between standard and non-standard is becoming less well defined, partly, though not exclusively, because categories of speaker who previously might have been expected to be loyal stakeholders in the standard ideology increasingly forswear the elitism that such stance embodies. We analyse this 'anti-standardization' process as a form of levelling [...]   (Armstrong & Mackenzie, 2013, p. 161)

These authors take the unequal distribution of power into account and sum up as follows:

> [T]he essence of social levelling seems to stem from an implicit denial (implicit because the subject is delicate) of a hierarchical social organization; that is one based on any attribute that is by its nature unequally distributed.
>
> (Armstrong & Mackenzie, 2013, p. 176)

Such tendencies concerning language use have been examined empirically and designated as "destandardization", or "demotization" since the 1990s (Auer & Spiekermann, 2011; Coupland & Kristiansen, 2011; Mattheier, 1997). However, the use of these terms is often ambiguous. The goal of this paper is, therefore, to contribute to the clarification of these concepts by means of language management theory and to discuss the methodological preconditions for empirical research in this area. The argument of this paper draws upon the metalinguistic nature of the aforementioned phenomena, which represent, at the same time, very dynamic processes. They interconnect individual language users at the micro level with institutions at the macro level. Selected Germanic languages are referred to.

2. Overview of the conceptual debate: Destandardization and demotization as processes related to language standardization

In this section, the concepts of destandardization and demotization are discussed in relation to standardization.[1] First, differing interpretations of language destandardization are presented and compared. Then, the conceptualization of demotization follows. Conceptual ambiguities and alternatives receive most attention. These discussions highlight the need to find an approach, which could provide a unified theoretical base. The language management framework is proposed as one suitable approach.

Coupland & Kristiansen (2011) point out the differences between 'destandardization' and 'demotization' as precisely as possible:

i.   Destandardisation: We will use this term to refer to a possible development whereby the established standard language loses its position as the one and only 'best language'. Thus, Fairclough (1992) proposes that the democratisation process can lead to a 'value levelling' that will secure access to public space for a wider range of speech varieties. Such a development would be equal to a radical weakening, and eventual abandonment, of the 'standard ideology' itself. Countries at the strong-standard end of the continuum would move towards the other end and become 'new Norways', so to speak.

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1. For more details concerning the concept of standard variety as it is based on, and derived from, language management theory see Dovalil (2013a), and Dovalil (2013b).

ii.   Demotisation: We choose this term (inspired by '[D]emoti[s]ierung', Mattheier, 1997) to signal the possibility that the 'standard ideology' as such stays intact while the valorisation of ways of speaking changes. This appears to be the implication of the Danish evidence. Standard Danish is today commonly spoken in public (including prime time TV presentations of the daily news) with features which used to be associated with low-status ('popular') Copenhagen speech. Throughout all of Denmark, features from this 'low-Copenhagen' speech are rapidly adopted by young people, who also evaluate this way of speaking more positively than other 'accents' […] Demotisation is revalorisation, ideological upgrading, of 'low-status' language to 'best-language' status.

(Coupland & Kristiansen, 2011, p. 28)

These authors consider the media to be the main social agent in these post-modern linguistic phenomena. Most Germanic languages, exemplified above by Danish, are undergoing the process of demotization, whereas language destandardization, exemplified by Norwegian or Swiss German, appears to be rather peripheral. Apart from the Danish "new Copenhagen standard", Auer (2017, p. 365) refers to other European countries in which "similar processes leading to the establishment of an "informal" standard" can be observed, namely Belgium, England, Germany and Italy.

Unlike Coupland and Kristiansen (2011), Deumert (2010) does not take such clear-cut differences into consideration. She only uses the term destandardization, which denotes the counter-process of language standardization. It weakens the standard norms and increases their heterogeneity. Interestingly, the difference between standardization and destandardization does not consist only in the contents of the processes, but also in their agents: "[…] unlike standardization, this counter-movement is not deliberately planned or co-ordinated by a recognized authority" (Deumert, 2010, p. 244). The feature of agency is very important for Deumert. On the one hand, she refers to the "planned, deliberate intervention in the process of linguistic change", whereas, on the other hand, "decentralized and diffuse grass-roots forms of agency" become decisive. She comes to the following conclusion:

These different forms of agency lead to the formation of different types of *linguistic norms*: the hegemonic, uniform, and codified norms of standard language vs. the always emergent, variable, and never 'fixed' conventions of language.

(Deumert, 2010, p. 244)

Moreover, this reflection enables the identification of an important link between the micro-level actors of destandardization on the one hand, and the codifiers acting primarily from the macro level on the other. Regardless of the imprecise identification of norms and conventions, the main point here is that it is only

destandardization, and not demotization, which she discusses, and that its process is not structured.

Mattheier (2000, p. 1089) sees destandardization as a phase of a complex process coming after the stage of language standardization. In addition to the other conceptualizations mentioned here, Mattheier points out the explicit inter-connection between language standardization and the literacy of the respective population on the one hand, and language destandardization accompanied by the potentially decreasing literacy of the community on the other. The phase in which a language is standardized does not mean the end of its development, of course:

> The history of language brings plenty of evidence for the fact that standard languages become de-standardized, and that alphabetized communities become de-alphabetized, i.e. they lose their writing and reading skills.
>
> (Mattheier, 2000, p. 1089) (my translation)

Nevertheless, the role of alphabetization is crucial for the spread of European standard varieties. He takes into consideration the massive growth of literacy in Germany during the 19th century, which is interpreted as a precondition for efficient language standardization (Mattheier, 1991). However, discussing literate western societies and relating this phenomenon to the post-modern era, Neustupný (2006, p. 2220) notes that "the mastery of the written language is reassessed and it is widely accepted that functional illiteracy reaches considerable levels even within so-called highly developed countries." (For more details concerning the situation of Germany in the late 20th and the early 21st century see, for example, Biere, 1993 or Schuppener, 2011).

In accordance with these considerations, Mattheier (2003) takes destandard-ization as the most important tendency of German in past decades. However, its cause is neither quite clear, nor its processuality explicated thoroughly:

> This development […] is probably the result of a number of sociolinguistic as well as general social processes which can ultimately be traced back to the changed role which social norms and authorities play in complex industrial societies. The destandardization process is, for example, indicated by the relativization of linguistic and stylistic norms, i.e. the acceptance or rejection of certain varieties in some text genres.   (Mattheier, 2003, pp. 239–240)

Willemyns (2007, pp. 270–271) also adopts this interpretation of the concept from Mattheier and applies it to the situation of the Dutch-speaking territories.

Destandardization represents the last stage of the development of national languages for Albrecht (2005) as well. He calls this stage "common language" (*Gemeinsprache* in German), and he is one of the scholars who deal with the is-sue of agency, at least indirectly. Besides the usual features, such as the loosening

of standard norms, increasing variation and adaptability of standard varieties to new communicative functions, he also argues that it is the "many conservative observers" who take this process for language decay, and claim that the differences between the spoken and written language are disappearing.[2] What is original about Albrecht's view, however, is that written standard language has been influenced and changed by the spoken standard. As fiction writers abandon the idea of being "good writers" in the traditional sense of the word, destandardization has an impact on fiction (Albrecht, 2005, p. 137). It provides these writers with a greater amount of linguistic variants, which can be used for miscellaneous stylistic purposes. To sum up, two types of actors in this process are identified – the conservative observers evaluating contemporary language use negatively, and the "good" fiction writers. When discussing this issue, Albrecht also refers to the term destandardization only.

In contrast to these previous cases, Auer (1997, pp. 135–137) specified *three* ways of interpreting the concept of destandardization in the late 1990s:

a. movement of the essential elements of a standard variety towards dialects;
b. "pluralization" of standards and disappearance of the elements of the standard including simultaneously taking elements over from non-standard varieties to the standard ones;
c. horizontal balancing processes within the non-standard varieties without an orientation toward the standard, which reduces the standard's prestige. This means that dialects may, to a large extent, become more similar to each other independent of the influence of the standard variety.

Referring to Mattheier (1997), and Coupland and Kristiansen (2011), Auer distinguished demotization from destandardization more specifically later (for more details see the overview in Auer and Spiekermann, 2011, pp. 162–166). When a variety, for example the standard variety, is demotized, this variety is accepted by (almost) all members of the respective language community: it is widespread and popular. On the other hand, destandardization refers to some sort of disintegration, structural dissolution and devaluation of the standard variety accompanied by the loss of its official prestige (Auer, 2017, p. 373). According to Auer and

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2. Who these conservative observers are is not exactly defined in Albrecht's paper. Presumably, he is referring to older speakers who went through their language socialization decades ago before norms became loosened in normative settings (typically in educational contexts). Thus, they were exposed to language norm authorities whose influence used to be stronger than at the present time. It makes sense that these language users would participate in the discourse on language decay and that they would often complain about the low quality of the language used, e.g. in the media.

Spiekermann (2011, p. 164), the standard variety, which underlies both processes, is characterized by the following features:

1. it is a common language, i.e., it is used across the territory where various non-standard varieties are also used;
2. it is taught in schools, it is used for writing in formal contexts and it has official prestige;
3. it is at least to some extent codified.

Following these three features, each of them being viewed on a graduated scale, the process of destandardization could, therefore, be conceived of as:

a. the pluralization of standards, i.e., the formation of new standard varieties without being subsumed under the existing ones;
b. the decline of the public prestige of the current standard varieties;
c. the rise of variation within the current standard variety through the taking over of variants from non-standard varieties.

<div align="right">(Auer & Spiekermann, 2011, p. 164)</div>

As we can see in this brief conceptual overview of the research literature, the two notions are not always interpreted and used unequivocally. For example, what Deumert (2010) and Albrecht (2005) call *destandardization* seems to resemble the concept of *demotization* as defined by Coupland & Kristiansen (2011). Such heterogeneity is confusing. Furthermore, referring to *demotization*, two different – but mutually not exclusive – aspects characterizing this process seem to play an important role. While Coupland & Kristiansen (2011) emphasize the upgrading of low-status variants in this process, Auer & Spiekermann (2011) point to the popularization of standard variants. However, both aspects are interconnected, because the revalorization of low-status variants may contribute to their easier popularization, and vice versa. Besides this lack of basic conceptual clarity, the issue of agency is not analyzed systematically, which, as will be argued here, is strongly related to significant micro-macro connections.

Consequently, the following research questions become relevant: Could these concepts be better distinguished on the basis of the process of their formation? What would the courses of such processes, which lead to *demotization* on the one hand, and to *destandardization* on the other, look like? To try to answer these more specific questions, language management theory will be used. As will be shown, this theoretical approach also enables us to take the social actors and their affiliations with the micro and macro level into account.

3.   The processual character of demotization and destandardization and their connection to sociocultural management

My attempt here to identify the differences between demotization and destandardization and to operationalize them for empirical research is based on those overviews of language management theory which analyze the courses of the management process and the affiliation of agents with the micro or macro level. The processes do not have to go through all phases from the noting of a deviation from expectations through to the implementation of adjustment designs, but they can stop at any of them (see, for example, Nekvapil, 2012; Dovalil, 2013b, p. 169; or Nekvapil & Sherman, 2015, p. 7). As the overview in the previous section began with the common term destandardization and eventually proceeded to demotization, the next section continues the conceptualization of demotization and goes back to destandardization in the end.

3.1   Demotization

We first need to bear in mind that the concept of language demotization involves two interrelated aspects. To understand these aspects, it is useful to refer to the older concept of the *democratization* of the standard language, which Havránek (1947, 1963) coined as early as the late 1940s in the tradition of the Prague School. In his conceptualization, knowledge of the standard variety, including passive knowledge, spread gradually among all social classes of the Czech-speaking community. He argued that the standard language stopped being a privilege of the bourgeois class and that standard Czech started to become democratized. He also pointed out that this process of democratization consisted, among other things, in the enrichment of the existing standard by new variants originating from the common language, i.e., a non-standard variety of Czech. The affinity with what came to be termed demotization several decades later is evident (Mattheier, 1997). We can thus argue that these two interconnected aspects, namely the spread of a standard variety in the society and the upgrading of low-status usage, can be subsumed under the notion of demotization as "two sides of the same coin."[3]

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3.   Auer (2017, p. 367) refers to the role of educational systems and norm authorities who helped to spread the standard variety as well as to "the developing mass media which, for the first time, made the standard in its spoken form known to the masses" and popular. Applied to the situation of Flemish media, Van Hoof (2018) analyzes to what extent recent economic motivations make public media spread and re-evaluate formerly non-standard variants. The author demonstrates how non-standard forms may be commodified, which confirms the crucial role of socio-economic management in these processes.

Given that this paper aims to distinguish the processes opposed to standardization, this section will focus primarily on the second aspect, the upgrading of low-status variants, as described by Coupland & Kristiansen (2011, p. 28). In this case, the following processes can be observed: The expectations, particularly those of language norm authorities, which are supposed to correct the language production of others, aim at the language standard (Dovalil, 2015b). As these expectations remain normative at the beginning, they make actors note deviations from such expectations. Normative expectations can, therefore, be defined as ones which people do not abandon despite the fact that they do not correspond to reality. In spite of these cases (Luhmann, 2008, p. 42, coins the German term "*Enttäuschungsfälle*" for them, i.e. "cases of disappointment", see also Dovalil, 2015b, pp. 89–90 and 100), which correspond to clear deviations from such expectations in terms of language management theory, people do not give up these expectations. Consequently, deviations from these normative expectations are not only noted, but also evaluated negatively. This means that normative expectations, which correspond to underlying language norms, have regulatory functions and they are, in turn, supposed to bring about regulatory effects. This is typical for the discourses on language decay across the Germanic language communities, in which many participants complain about the low quality of language used in media discourses as well as other genres (for specific cases related to German, see Plewnia & Witt, 2014). The fact that many people are critical of the alleged bad orthography or numerous mistakes made by journalists and pupils which remain uncorrected by editors and teachers, enables a reconstruction of the normative expectations. These normative expectations precede the noted deviations and their negative evaluation. This course of the language management process shows that these actors (such as Albrecht's conservative observers, see above) have not yet abandoned their expectations aiming for the standard variety, and that they continue to insist on the standard ideology.

However, although adjustments do exist and are accessible in various linguistic codifications (dictionaries, grammars, or other usage guides, see Curzan, 2014), the actors criticizing the low quality of the language are not influential or powerful enough to enforce implementation of those adjustments. If these actors know the contents of the codification and really make use of it in disputes concerning the standard variety, they involve the macro level (codification) in situational contexts at the micro level. This interconnection of the micro and macro levels goes hand in hand with the fact that the (not only linguistic) codification cannot obviously take all details of language use into consideration. Institutions may want to intervene in the language used at the micro level, but they are not able to enforce the implementation of adjustments. In analogy with legal codification, which is also attributed to the macro level, we can see that "it is the actual purpose [of the

codification] to be applied to the situations of the same type but of undetermined quantity. […] it has to be general enough not to be disturbed by too many details of the micro level" (Dovalil, 2015a, p. 366).

An illustrative example of such an agent which puts in much effort to trigger many new cycles of organized language management against the "bad" German of the public media, such as its overuse of anglicisms, or against the ill-considered reform of German orthography, is the German language society Verein Deutsche Sprache, e.V.[4]

It is not relevant in this context if these processes of loosening norms happen directly against the will of the norm authorities, or (partially) as a result of their indifference. The indifference of agents means that they may know the appropriate corrections, but they are insufficiently active in enforcing them; or, they do not act at all. The supporters of the language standard who participate in this discourse may seek to manage (the huge amount of) language production, but in practice they do not succeed in implementing their suggestions. Hence, the adjustments designed typically by institutions (e.g., publishing houses and their codifications) come from the macro level, but they do not reach micro-level interactions.

However, as the Copenhagen variety referred to by Coupland & Kristiansen (2011, p. 28) demonstrates, not all deviations from the traditional normative expectations are evaluated negatively. Individual variants may become popular and give rise to gradual innovations. Auer (2017, p. 367) argues that "the most radical outcome of demoti[ci]zation, and the most recent one" is "neo-standards". These neo-standards do not replace the traditional standards. He points out four features of these neo-standards: orality, subjective and personalized character, modernity (innovative character), and suitability not only for informal contexts (for examples see Auer, 2017, p. 368 and pp. 372–373). The values of modernity, informality, innovation and personalization may help explain why the neo-standard variants, different from the traditional standard ones, are noted, but not evaluated, or evaluated in another way than only negatively.[5] In accordance with the argument so far, the concept of neo-standard also shows the necessity of analyzing the metalinguistic activities of those who stop driving the management process in the direction of the traditional standard and start gratifying the deviations from it instead.

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4. See the website www.vds-ev.de. This society publishes the Language News (Sprachnachrichten: http://vds-ev.de/portfolio-archive/sprachnachrichten/).

5. For more details concerning the Flemish media, see Van Hoof, 2018, pp. 200–206.

3.2   Destandardization

Destandardization is supposed to represent another phenomenon different from demotization. Therefore, it should be possible to identify another course of the management processes drawing upon different expectations. As destandardization amounts to some sort of abandonment of, or doing away with, the standard ideology (see Coupland & Kristiansen, 2011, p. 28), the content of the expectations of the agents supporting this process could be summed up primarily as: *we do not need the standard variety as it has existed so far*. Unlike the case of demotization, the process of destandardization does not start from normative expectations underlying the language standard, but from cognitive ones. People experience their expectations as cognitive when they attempt to adapt them to a reality which differs from their expectations (see Luhmann's "cases of disappointment" in Section 3.1 above). They are willing to acquire new knowledge and do not insist on their previous expectations in order to orient themselves in a new situation. Hence, this cognitive nature of expectations does not determine the direction and the course of the management process in any way initially, because unfulfilled expectations are given up and replaced by new alternative ones (Luhmann, 2008, pp. 42–43). These circumstances distinguish cognitive expectations from normative expectations. Cognitive expectations enable us to identify the emergence of a new language situation without the traditional standard variety (to which the speakers' expectations could otherwise correspond). Therefore, a high degree of heterogeneity and variability at the micro level is typical, reflecting the practical impossibility of managing such interactions efficiently by institutions at the macro level.

This situation arises when, for example, non-native speakers use a language as a lingua franca. When elementary understanding is the decisive or even the only goal of communication, and phonetic, stylistic or grammatical qualities of the utterances are not very important, the management processes end in the phase of noting a deviation from cognitive expectations. These expectations do not have to comply with the norms of the standard variety at all. The standard ideology is practically absent and irrelevant, as there are no dictionaries or grammars necessary to supply adjustment designs (corrections). Misunderstandings are negotiated through the use of heterogeneous ad-hoc strategies which need not repeat themselves in a unified way and which do not necessarily depend on codification. The unorganized and non-normative character of such negotiations locates these management processes at the micro level.

No matter how ambiguous and non-normative these cognitive expectations for triggering a management process may seem, the normative effects of destandardization should not be ruled out completely, because the principle that *we do*

not need the standard variety as it has existed so far is basically an ideological one. Every counter-ideology is in its essence as ideological as the ideology which these agents are trying to eliminate. It makes people use some variants, and it forbids them to use others. This, therefore, reveals the (originally covert) normative character of the counter-ideology.

This constellation can be illustrated by the processes of the pluralization of standards in terms of pluricentric languages (Auer, 1997, pp. 135–137, as mentioned in Section 2), for example in the case of German and Austrian Standard German (see Takahashi's chapter in this volume), or British and American English. A pluricentric language can be defined in a relatively consensual way by the following conceptual features: sufficient structural distance between the standard varieties of the respective pluricentric language, status as an official language in at least two different countries or regions, sufficient codification of such varieties, institutionalized teaching in schools, the function of the varieties as a relevant means for their users to establish specific identities, and acceptance of the pluricentric character of the language by the respective language communities themselves (Muhr, 2013, p. 30, Muhr, 2016, pp. 20–21; see also Clyne, 1992, and Muhr & Marley, 2015).

If a monocentric standard, or the standard of the dominant center begins to disintegrate and is falling apart into new pluricentric standards, then the users of these new standards also need to acquire new knowledge concerning the language structures and patterns of language use. Once the new standards have been established they become new reference points of normative management acts with regulatory effects (see Dovalil, 2018). What started from simple management processes in micro-level interactions as the original destandardization of a dominant center, may reach the institutionalized form of a standard (often thoroughly codified) at the macro level, which, in turn, intervenes in language structures as they are used at the micro level again. Germanic languages offer several good cases of such a development (e.g. pluricentric English, German, Dutch, or Swedish, to mention only the best known languages). More specifically, we can point out the deliberately pluricentric way of the most recent German codification, which tries to abandon the practice of leaving the dominant standard variants unmarked as *default cases* and marking the non-dominant standard variants only as some sort of deviations (Ammon, Bickel & Lenz, 2016; Ammon, 2017; Elspaß & Dürscheid, 2017).

3.3   Weakening the normative practices of language norm authorities

As mentioned in Sections 2 and 3.1, one of the numerous sociocultural causes of demotization and destandardization consists in a weakening of the normative practices of language norm authorities, which may have far-reaching consequences

(for more details related to the sociocultural management of standard varieties see Dovalil, 2013a, pp. 75–76).

Teachers represent language norm authorities and are expected to manage the language production of other language users (Dovalil, 2015b). However, as has been revealed in interviews conducted with German teachers (Dovalil, 2015b; Lehmkühler, 2015), we can observe patterns in their behavior towards language whereby, at least partially, conflicts with pupils, students, or their parents related to language management are avoided. They prefer various avoidance strategies to the consistent enforcement (= implementation) of their corrections or other forms of sanctions. As the interviewees themselves describe it, their behavior is caused, for example, by a lack of time, plenty of stress, administrative duties and similar forms of sociocultural preconditions resulting in their inconsistent language management (for individual cases, see Lehmkühler, 2015; all the following examples are my translation from German; the letters R and I refer to *researcher* and *interviewee* respectively):

I1:   I experienced a case, I had corrected a dative form into a genitive one- ehm or on the contrary, I think […] and a mother complained about that […]

R: and how did you deal with this criticism?

I1:   I agreed with the mother. I was not sure (.) it might have been my mistake, I had no time to deal with it.   (Lehmkühler, 2015, p. 108)

I2:   and to put it frankly (.) when I see an exercise book and when I have to correct everything for half a year then one can never finish, everything would be red […] one gives up, it is TOO much to correct everything systematically.   (Lehmkühler, 2015, pp. 114–115)

I2:   I do not correct everything systematically, because I consider it important that they are courageous enough to say something. When I correct, it hampers everything.   (Lehmkühler, 2015, p. 118)

Moreover, some teachers feel frustrated and useless, which also gives rise to a lack of thoroughness in their management acts. They experience situations in which the language management they undertake is not viewed seriously by their students or pupils.

I3:   there are resistant cases, you may have corrected them for four years […] and nothing happens, it always repeats itself anyway, so it is incredible, one would become desperate.   (Lehmkühler, 2015, p. 127)

R: and do the pupils try negotiating in that they say, no, MY form is the corRECt one

I3:   ehm, no, not really, but there was ONe exception, a girl […] her mother LAUGHed at a colleague of mine when she told the mother that the form

gewinkt is correct […] it was very unpleasant […[then this girl ALways tried negotiating something. (Lehmkühler, 2015, pp. 136–137)[6]

These management processes bring about the gradual transformation of the mutual expectations of the norm authorities and their subjects. This transformation is accompanied by the perception that the management carried out by the norm authorities stops being viewed as polite, adequate or even, generally speaking, legitimate for their subjects. To put it simply in accordance with the features of the post-modern era, *(almost) everyone is entitled/allowed to participate in public discourses, but it is no longer decent to correct anyone*, due to, and as an expression of, the advanced social leveling of language users and their democratic participation in public discourses (Armstrong & Mackenzie, 2013, p. 161). Thus, it can be concluded that not correcting the language production of others is an expression of the acknowledgment of the social equalization of language users, and it puts an end to the discursive practices of persons who acted originally as (or like) language norm authorities.

We can note further very interesting situations, highlighting the intersection of socio-economic management (economic needs) with educational policy (and not only in the Czech Republic). One such situation consists in the fact that the funding of university programs depends, among other things, on the numbers of students enrolled. Hence, if a university program is to continue, sufficient numbers of students and graduates, as well as applicants, have to be maintained. Based on my own and my colleagues' observations of the practices surrounding entrance exams, which have to take place before the applicants are enrolled at universities, some applicants are admitted, although their exam performance is slightly substandard. This also holds true for some other kinds of exams, where it is knowledge of the standard variety that is examined. If the numbers of failures were too high (and hence the numbers of admitted applicants and graduates too low), the programs could be closed. Thus, socio-economic management (economic reasons) overrides linguistic management when the respective programs need to be "saved". However, these observations need further research.

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6. The German verb *winken* belongs to the regular verbs. Its past participle *gewinkt* is the codified standard form. However, the irregular form *gewunken* is also often used and commented on in the dictionaries. Interestingly, its frequency in some genres is even higher than that of the regular form. For more details see Dovalil, 2006, pp. 92–93, 120–123, and 173–174.

4.   Conclusion and suggestions for further research

Varieties of a language can be categorized neither as standard, nor as non-standard on the basis of language structures and language use alone. It is the metalinguistic activities of relevant agents that turn a variety or its elements by discursive means into a standard or a non-standard variety. Although this argument may sound banal, its methodological consequences for operationalization appear far-reaching. Many analyses devoted to the question of the extent to which selected variants are a part of the standard variety are based on corpus analyses only, without any reflections on the metalinguistic acts involved. To mention only a few recent papers, see, for example, Di Meola (2009), Kellermeier-Rehbein (2013), or Konopka (2011). Thus, an analysis based on behavior towards language, which consists of language management acts, is indispensable. Destandardization as well as demotization depend, therefore, on the respective patterns of the management process undertaken. In other words, they are derived systematically from the underlying standard norms.

Whereas the management of standard varieties can be operationalized by the following question:

> Who intervenes in whose language use, how, in which situational contexts and social networks, with which intentions and which consequences, when both written and oral language production of individual users is to be managed/changed and assessed in terms of the language standard?
>
> (Dovalil, 2013b, p. 173) (my translation)

a contrasting question can be derived for demotization now:

> Who stops managing (= intervening in) whose language use, based on which expectations, in which situational contexts and social networks, why, with which intentions and consequences, when written as well as spoken language production of individual users is to be managed/corrected in terms of the traditional standard, but when such adjustments are not implemented in the end?

In the case of demotization, management processes aiming for the traditional standard are triggered, but they do not reach the phase of implementation at the micro level. Thus, the micro level with its spoken as well as written interactions, on which the implementation is empirically observable, is not reached. In other words: What fails to be implemented is typically the codification – as a representative of the macro level – with many adjustments designed for genres in which the traditional standard variety is supposed to be used. These processes draw upon normative expectations and they stop at the phase of negative evaluation (or at that of adjustment design at the latest). Although such expectations are not fulfilled

(i.e., through the implementation of adjustments), they are not given up either. This pattern of language management confirms the continuity and maintenance of the standard ideology among its supporters. Public discourses become more democratic, whereas the status of the norm authorities grows somewhat weaker. As Auer (2017, p. 367) points out, the most recent outcome of demotization is the emergence of neo-standards.

Destandardization is different from demotization. It can be operationalized by the following question:

> Who stops managing (= intervening in) whose language use, based on which expectations, in which situational contexts and social networks, why, with which intentions and consequences, when radical weakening resulting in the eventual abandonment of the standard variety is going on?

In the case of destandardization, it is not normative expectations that initiate new cycles of language management. Basically, no clear language management process takes place when the standard variety existing so far is losing, or has already lost, its position as the exclusive or best variety. Hence, new expectations need to be constituted, which indicates their cognitive nature. In this case, interactions happening at the micro level are rarely managed by institutions operating from the macro level.

Finally, relevant questions can be raised as to what extent the processes of language elaboration, for which management activities in terms of ongoing standardization are indispensable, are affected by demotization or destandardization. Although the amount of expert papers as well as other non-fiction language publications (*Sachprosatexte* in German) has constantly increased and their management carried out by journal editors and publishing houses seems to indicate various inconsistencies, it could be hypothesized that this genre could remain most representative for the maintenance of the standard variety. More stylistically differentiated research would help further clarification.

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Processes of language enquiries

The case of the Prague Language Consulting Service

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The Czech Language Institute of the Czech Academy of Sciences in Prague is a public scientific institution, which provides language consulting services over the phone. Since January 2013, the phone interactions between the linguists at the Institute and enquirers have been recorded for further linguistic research. In this paper, I outline preliminary observations concerning the configuration of the interactions. I propose a simple categorisation of the main factors determining the configuration of the dialogue. This categorisation is supported by evidence in the form of authentic dialogues illustrating the ways in which enquirers present their problems, and the arguments both sides use to support their views, etc.

Keywords: language consulting service, language enquiry, language management process

1. Introduction

Usually, people manage their language use in everyday life, which LMT calls "simple management" (Jernudd & Neustupný, 1987). However, when they face problems difficult to solve by themselves, they may start a process of organized management, i.e. language management that is systematic, targeted and may involve large influential groups or institutions (cf. Ferguson, 1977). For example, they may consult a dictionary, search on the internet, or ask someone. They could also turn to language consulting services, if available. Language consulting is itself a specific instance of organized language management, more precisely, organizational/institutional management. Thus, language consulting deserves special attention within LMT research, as it is a site of intense language management; on the one hand linking the simple 'on-line' management (i.e. within the discourse) of the enquirer to his/her 'off-line' organized management (i.e. external to discourse),

and on the other, connecting the individual management of the enquirer to the organizational management of the consulting institution.

Beneš, Prošek, Smejkalová & Štěpánová (2018) have analyzed the work of the language consulting service at the Czech Language Institute of the Czech Academy of Sciences (CLI) as language management processes. As a tentative step towards further investigation into this issue, in this paper I outline some preliminary observations concerning the configuration of the dialogue between the linguists and clients in the language consulting service at CLI.

2. The Language Consulting Centre and its services

CLI is a public linguistic institute funded by the government of the Czech Republic. Its main mission is to conduct linguistic research on the Czech language, compile dictionaries of Czech, build special language databases, publish linguistic journals, etc. However, non-linguists recognize the institute mainly as the national authority on Czech language matters, including the question of norms. CLI publishes well-respected language reference books (rules of orthography, grammar books, dictionaries, etc.) and provides language advice to the general public. Both of these areas of operation are traditionally important professional activities the institute is engaged in.

Language consulting is performed by the Language Consulting Centre (LCC). Despite popular belief, LCC is not the name of a department of CLI but a term used to refer to the regular consulting service provided by the Department of Language Cultivation of CLI, whose main mission is the research into theories of language cultivation and theoretical questions related mainly to standard Czech. The language consulting service is not the main mission of the department but a long-standing and complementary professional activity that also provides valuable material for linguistic research.

The consulting service is available every working day from 10am to 12pm and from 1pm to 3pm. There is a special phone line with a single telephone operated by one of the linguists of the department. The linguists take turns in operating the phone and they are on duty according to a set schedule.

Initiated in the 1940s, the phone consulting service has a long tradition in CLI. In recent years, modern linguistics has seen a growing demand for empirical data for use in linguistic research. In accordance with this demand, LCC linguists use modern technology that helps them to record and categorise the data generated from the language consulting service. The very first step towards a technology-enhanced gathering of linguistic data was taken in 2013 with the purchase of a simple phone recorder together with software to store the recordings in a computer. The

storing programme is not equipped with any advanced features: it simply displays a list of recordings automatically annotated with a date, time, length and the enquirer's phone number. One recording represents one phone call and each phone call can contain one or more language queries. Therefore the terms 'phone call' and 'recording' represent the same thing hereafter, whereas 'query' is used to refer to one single language problem the caller consulted the LCC linguist about. The linguist adds a short note summarizing the subject of the enquiry for each recording in the list. Even though the technology is not highly advanced, the recording itself is a significant step forward compared to the period before recording started. At that time the linguists kept written notes of the phone calls received individually. Besides the obvious advantages of computerizing LCC phone calls (creating a central storing place used by all LCC linguists, with a simple search function and classifying the phone calls and enquiries, etc.) there are several aspects of crucial importance from the viewpoint of the LCC staff:

1. The continuous consulting process requires certain "shared knowledge". Firstly, some language problems are encountered repeatedly within the consulting service, but the frequency of occurrence of each individual language problem varies greatly, as does the linguists' ability to remember the solution: the rarer the problem, the more difficult it is to remember. Secondly, each daily service can bring unique solutions to unique language problems not previously encountered and resolved, but within the possibility of becoming a frequently asked question in the future. Therefore, LCC needs a central database for language problems already encountered and resolved so that the linguist on duty can look up or verify the solution; otherwise there can be significant inconsistencies in the solutions provided by LCC.
2. The electronic database facilitates the work of the linguist in service. Language reference books dealing with the language problem in the enquiry may not be at hand or the problem may not be dealt with in any reference material at all, etc.
3. Empirical research, relating to the sorting and categorizing of recordings, would be much more difficult to perform without an electronic database. The simple recording system we have described so far represents just the first step in the planned technological improvement of LCC's work.

Although this technological improvement is relatively new, it has proved that having "merely a set of recordings" allows linguists to carry out more detailed and well-structured research, so the recordings serve as a springboard for future research. Until the recording system was launched, research outcomes of the department had often focused on the challenging language problems LCC had encountered in enquiries, such as morphology (Šimandl, 2000a, 2000b, 2000c, 2000d; Prošek, 2007; Smejkalová, 2007), capitalisation (Svobodová, 2016), the

codification authority of LCC (Prošek & Smejkalová, 2011) or on LCC operation in general (Uhlířová et al. 2005). Thanks to the recording system, the department is now able to focus on other aspects in research based on language consulting as well. (For more details see Section 4.)

By the end of August 2015, the database contained more than 5,000 recordings. Each recording represents one phone call and one phone call can contain one or more language queries, so the number of queries is actually higher than the number of recordings. Unfortunately, the system does not allow any automated statistical analysis; therefore the exact number of queries is unknown.

3. The structure of the dialogue: An overview

According to our observations, the configuration of the dialogue in LCC recordings and its tone are influenced by factors that can be divided into three basic categories: (a) enquirer's intention; (b) reason type; and (c) enquiry type.

Enquirer's intention is a category that reflects the enquirer's reasons for consulting LCC. In short, there are enquirers who just need to have their problem solved quickly and there are others who intend to start a dispute because of a language problem. The enquirer's intention is mostly reconstructed from textual or pragmatic clues that can be identified in the dialogue, or the enquirer sometimes explicitly reveals his/her motives for calling. The most relevant factors determining the configuration of the dialogue seem to be whether or not the enquirer has strong opinions or personal views concerning the language phenomenon being discussed. Generally we can say the stronger the opinion, the more complex the argumentation and the more tense the tone of the dialogue will be.

It is self-evident that the category **reason type** is heavily dependent on the enquirer's intention. In our analysis so far we have observed whether any reason was given or not, and if yes, whether the reason was explained just briefly or in a detailed way.

The only category that does not take into consideration the enquirer's viewpoint is the category **enquiry type**. In contrast to the previous categories, this is based on the viewpoint of LCC. It sorts enquiries into those that are easy to answer for LCC linguists and those that are not. If answering the enquiry involves merely restating ready-made descriptions or explanations that are included in the reference materials at LCC's disposal (reference books, corpora, language databases, etc.) and if the descriptions or explanations in these sources are up to date, unambiguous, covering all aspects associated with the language problem in question, etc., then the enquiry falls under the category "easy enquiries". Once the linguist finds the description or explanation inapplicable for any reason and therefore he/

she needs to apply analytical linguistic expertise on the spot, the enquiry is categorised as "difficult". By analytical linguistic expertise we mean looking for analogies, considering the position of the language item in the system of language, checking how the word is used, doing additional research in the corpora, consulting other departments of CLI, etc.

Seemingly, the language problem being discussed in the dialogue also has a significant impact on the configuration of the dialogue. More challenging language problems may be expected to trigger more complex discussion and a higher risk of conflict. In reality, though, there is no correlation between the difficulty of the language problem and the relaxed or tense tone of the dialogue. We have at our disposal dialogues where conflict took place over minor language problems, and perfectly relaxed dialogues about notoriously difficult-to-deal-with language issues that all LCC staff dread encountering in an enquiry.

Obviously, the **tone of the dialogue,** i.e. being held in a calm, friendly, excited, annoyed, aggressive or other manner of that kind, which we included in the consideration above, could be established as a separate category of the enquiry. As I demonstrate below, this aspect is of importance for describing the configuration of the dialogue but at the same time presumably highly complex. Therefore this aspect needs to be defined and analyzed more precisely by future research. This paper, however, only provides the reader with sample dialogues that more or less explicitly reveal the tone of the dialogue and factors that could have determined the tone.

Each of the categories just outlined may be subject to revision in future research. So far, as preparation for future research, we have distinguished between simple and complex LCC dialogues using the three categories outlined above. The distinction is illustrated by the following schemes:
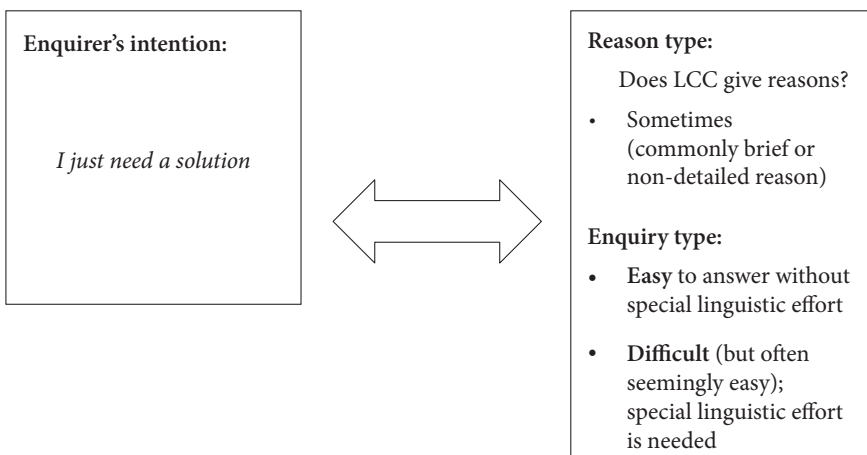
Scheme 1. Simple enquiries

Scheme 1 illustrates what we call a simple enquiry, a very common type of query that is raised by an enquirer who just needs to solve his/her language problem quickly and does not have any strong views about the problem. In such cases, LCC often does not even have to explain why the suggested solution is correct or the most appropriate one. Even if the linguist gives reasons, either because the course of the dialogue requires this or because the language problem in the query is difficult, the enquirer simply accepts the reasons, asks no follow-up questions or does not discuss the matter in detail.

This type of query will probably represent a type that will not require a very complex analysis of the structure of the dialogue in our future research. The sub-categorisation of these types of queries will probably be based mainly on the type of language problem in the query.
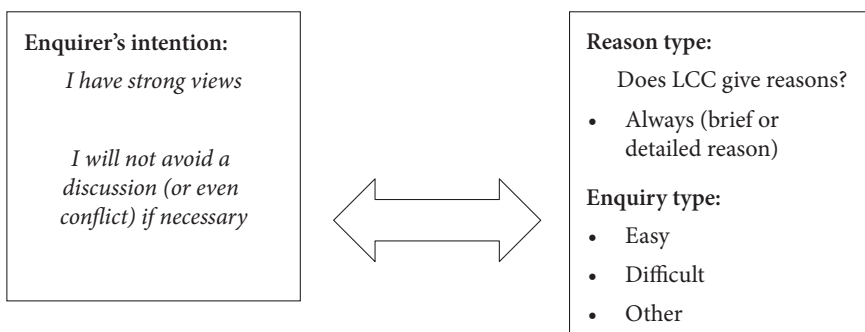
Scheme 2. Complex enquiries

Scheme 2 represents the type of queries that were raised by an enquirer who has strong views on the language problem he/she wants to discuss. His/her intention is to discuss the matter in detail or sometimes even to provoke a conflict. There are even extreme cases of enquirers who report that they have mental health issues because of the query.

As already mentioned, an in-depth discussion can be stimulated by an easy or a difficult language problem or it may also address issues not covered by this categorisation, for example general views on the ways a language should (not) be cultivated. Obviously, in these specific queries, providing reasons is inevitable and the structure of the dialogue can be very complex.

We expect that this type of query will constitute the core of future research into the complex configuration of the dialogue and it will require a detailed sub-categorisation based on the structure of the dialogue, the ways in which both sides present their arguments, take turns, etc.

In the following sections, I illustrate each of these categorisations with excerpts from authentic LCC dialogues, translated by the current author.

3.1   Dialogue structure: Simple enquiries

Dialogue 1
(Enq = enquirer)

> Enq: Hello, is *Náchodsko* spelled with a capital *N*?
> LCC: Yes, it is.
> Enq: Thank you, good bye.

Náchodsko is an unofficial geographical name meaning "the surroundings of the town of Náchod". Place names like this are common in Czech. They can be derived from almost any town or village name by adding the suffix -sk-; -o is the case ending. Names of this type are not officially assigned to any clearly distinct area of land around the town and there is no agreement on the exact boundaries of the area. Despite this fact, these names are traditionally spelled with a capital letter.

The enquirer in dialogue 1 only intends to ask for a solution. He/she does not show any signs of interest in the reasons why the word *Náchodsko* is spelled with a capital letter and ends the phone call immediately after the solution is given.

We can see that if the enquirer's intention is just to get a quick solution, no reasons at all are needed from the LCC linguist. From LCC's viewpoint, the problem of spelling names like *Náchodsko* is a minor one because a reference to the capitalisation of *Náchodsko* and the like is included in the most common reference book for Czech, *Pravidla českého pravopisu* (*The Rules of Czech Orthography*). The linguist does not need to employ any special effort to solve this language problem; there is no need to look for analogies, track how the word is used in communication, consider its position in the grammatical system of the language, or consult other linguistic departments of CLI, etc.

From the point of view of language management, this dialogue provides no background information. Its only contribution to research on LCC dialogues is that words like *Náchodsko* may represent a capitalisation problem. There is no background information relating to the circumstances of the language management the enquirer is performing: when, where, how and why the problem occurred, who did the noting and evaluation (the enquirer himself or someone else?), did the enquirer try to solve the language problem himself in any other way before contacting LCC, what will be the next steps the enquirer takes after he/she finishes the call, etc.

We can categorise this dialogue according to the basic categories we established earlier as follows.

Dialogue 1 categorisation

Enquirer's intention: I need a quick and simple solution
Reason type: No reason required
Enquiry type: Easy; no special effort needed to provide the answer
                  (subtype "yes/no")

Dialogue 2
(Enq = enquirer)

Enq: Hello, how do I write *dobrý den paní Nováková*[1] correctly?
LCC: You must put a comma between *dobrý den* and *paní Nováková*.
Enq: I see, thank you.

In this dialogue the enquirer is apparently asking about the opening line of an email. The opening line consists of a common Czech greeting, the addressee's title and surname. The LCC linguist suggests the correct alternative straight away, knowing intuitively beforehand that it is punctuation the enquirer needs help with. The linguist does so because this language problem constitutes a frequently asked question and there is no other language issue associated with this phrase that would commonly cause problems. The enquirer presumably accepts the solution suggested by the LCC linguist and shows no interest in receiving an explanation.

The language problem is a minor one. Opening lines of emails are referred to in the popular Internet Language Reference Book,[2] a free online Czech language reference source compiled and run by CLI.

This dialogue also reveals no background information about the management process the enquirer is going through. The only information that LCC research can benefit from is that the punctuation in this sentence is considered a problem worth consulting LCC about.

Dialogue 2 categorisation

Enquirer's intention: I need a quick and simple solution
Reason type: No reason required
Enquiry type: Easy; no special effort needed to provide the answer
                  (subtype "correct form is…")

Dialogue 3
(Enq = enquirer)

Enq: Hello, how do we inflect the name *Joshua*?

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1. "Good day, Ms. Nováková."

2. Available online at: http://prirucka.ujc.cas.cz/

LCC: It's simply the "předseda" type so the second case is *Joshuy* with *y* at the end, then *Joshuovi*, etc.

Enq: All right, I see. Thank you.

In this dialogue the enquirer in fact does not only ask for a simple solution of a language issue associated with one word form. His enquiry concerns a whole set of word forms, and the linguist answers the question with a simple explanation of the type of inflection the name belongs to. The word *předseda* (chairman) is a common word that serves as a representative for its type of declension. The language problem in question is a minor one again as inflection types are explained in numerous language reference sources readily available to the general public. The nature of the language problem being discussed makes it necessary for the LCC linguist to provide a short explanation in any case. It is not just giving the correct alternative but providing an analogy the enquirer must apply himself.

As far as language management is concerned, dialogue 3 also does not reveal any background information.

Dialogue 3 categorisation

Enquirer's intention: I need a quick and simple solution
Reason type: Brief reason given
Enquiry type: Easy; No special effort needed to provide the answer (subtype "like this…")

Dialogue 4
(Enq = enquirer)

Dialogue 4 has been divided into sections that illustrate the stages and procedures in answering a query that can be classified as "difficult". The division was made so that it is easier for the reader to follow the structure of the dialogue.

Section 1

Enq: Please, I'd like to ask about writing capital letters in *svatováclavská kaple of Chrám svatého Víta*.[3]

LCC: Mmmm. I'll have a look if it is in the dictionary by any chance. *Chrám svatého Víta* is spelled with a capital *Ch*, lower-case *s* and capital *V*. The *svatováclavská kaple* is much more difficult to resolve.

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3. *St. Wenceslas' chapel of the St. Vitus Cathedral. St. Vitus Cathedral*, situated within the premises of Prague Castle, is the most famous and important cathedral in the country, known by most Czechs.

In the first section the enquirer presents his language problem and the LCC linguist makes an initial analysis of the problem. The humming sound at the very beginning of the linguist's reply shows that the linguist is aware that the enquiry contains issues that are difficult to resolve. We can also note the uncertain tone of the answer; the linguist is an experienced person and he/she knows what is correct in the case of *chrám* (cathedral) as it is a well-known building and enquiries about it are frequent. The linguist also knows, though, that it will not be easy to answer the question about the name of the chapel built into a large, sacred building as it is questionable whether the words we use to denote such structures are in fact proper nouns. Additionally, we can see that the linguist doubts that there will be a reference to this problem in a dictionary.

Section 2

Enq: That's it. I did find the *chrám* on your website but I didn't find the *kaple*.

LCC: I'd rather see whether we had this enquiry before because I doubt it is in a dictionary as an example.
[typing]
Mmmm. There are plenty of answers actually. Well, plenty [pause]. There are some but they contradict one another. Some say it is a proper noun and the others say it is not. Which is important [pause] important to know. Hold on a second, please, I'll ask my colleagues what they think about it. Just a minute.
[silence]

The enquirer reports that he has already undertaken some language management. He implemented his own action plan to consult a language reference source but he did not find the answer to his enquiry. From LCC experience, we can say that it is more common that failed action plans are reported at the initial stage of a dialogue with LCC, often before the first reaction of the linguist to the enquirer's first turn of the dialogue. Later reports, such as in this case, are less common and there are usually reasons for this. The most typical reason is that the enquirer presumes the problem is easy to solve and the explanations he/she found are easy to understand. Therefore he/she fears he/she might be looked upon with disrespect and only reveals failed attempts to implement his/her own action plan after the linguist implies that the problem is more complicated than it may seem.

The linguist in his reply suggests that there is no point looking anything up in a dictionary and the comment "whether we had this enquiry before" in fact means he will have to search LCC's internal enquiry database, which is not accessible to the public. Having searched the enquiry database, the linguist is surprised to find

contradictory answers. He pauses after "important" and repeats the word once again because his assumption, not yet explicitly revealed, that capitalisation varies in the case of inbuilt chapels has just been fully confirmed by the answers he found. At the same time, he has a vague suspicion that contradictory answers might be considered a failure with respect to the department's policy of consistency in consulting. Under such circumstances, the linguist eventually decides to discuss the matter with his colleagues.

Section 3

LCC: (comes back to the phone and continues) So [pause] Can you hear me? We've actually agreed on a peculiar solution that we'll leave the final decision to you. "svatováclavská kaple" with a lower-case *s* will simply denote any chapel dedicated to St. Wenceslas. Keeping that in mind, it is not impossible, as my colleagues said [pause] I'd spell it with a lower-case *s,* but my colleagues said that it is possible to take it as a unique proper noun and spell it with capital *S.* This may be the reason why our answers differ.

Section 3 represents a common issue for LCC's services. Some language issues can be looked at in two or more ways, and therefore the linguists can arrive at more than one solution. It is customary that in such a case the enquirer should be made aware of the various solutions and that the one preferred by the linguist, who is in service on the phone at that moment, might not be preferred by others. Unfortunately, the answers the linguist found while answering this enquiry did not contain a warning that this language issue by its nature can have a number of solutions. In such a case LCC linguists normally use warning clauses but there are no orders or written guidelines for using them. Instructions on the LCC's code of conduct are passed on orally during the training of new employees. Sometimes the same enquirer consults LCC regarding the same issue again and he/she can obtain a different answer. Therefore LCC must inform him/her that providing a different answer is not a matter of inconsistency in the consulting services or incompetence on the part of any of the linguists in service.

The linguist returned to the phone assured by his colleagues that the problem of *svatováclavská kaple* can be looked at from different viewpoints and has more than one solution. The linguist then explains the viewpoints to the enquirer. Although he says at the beginning that in fact it is possible to use both capital *S* and lower-case *s* and leaves the choice to the enquirer, later in the same turn the linguist pushes his view forward anyway (*I'd spell it with a lower-case s*).[4] In cases

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4. The majority of enquirers actually want the linguist to give his/her preference in cases like this.

like this, where more than one solution is possible, it is common that the linguist on duty expresses his/her own preference if he/she personally prefers one solution from the other. Enquirers mostly appreciate it as they want a solution, not being left to make the choice themselves. It is also notable here that a highly experienced LCC linguist chooses a typical strategy of not suggesting any solution at the very beginning of answering the query (see Section 1). Out of experience, he knows from the very beginning that he will have to search the database and also from the very beginning he probably has in mind what he fully expresses in Section 3 – that more solutions are possible.

Dialogue 4 provides some background information on the management processes of both LCC and the enquirer. In the case of the LCC linguist, he/she has gone through a specific management process. The process started by assessing what the enquirer reported. In this case, from what he said we cannot tell for sure whether the enquirer has noted a deviation or not. In fact, this might be an instance of pre-interaction management (Nekvapil & Sherman, 2009). The enquirer is aware a deviation could occur (incorrect capitalisation might be applied, that is not in accordance with *The Rules of Czech Orthography*) and tries to prevent it from occurring. The linguist is aware of a possible deviation from the very beginning of the dialogue and then we can follow him as he implements several adjustment plans: applies his experience to decide where to look for a solution, checks internal language resources, evaluates the findings, and consults colleagues about the problem. The management process is open because the linguist reveals all the details of the procedures he is going through, even though some of the details might damage the reputation of LCC, for example revealing that the linguist does not know the answer straight away or that the consulting service in fact provides answers that are inconsistent.

Dialogue 4 categorisation

Enquirer's intention:	I need a quick and simple solution
Reason type:	Detailed reasons given
Enquiry type:	Difficult – Special linguistic effort needed

3.2   Dialogue structure: Complex enquiries

Now let us look at an example of a complex enquiry. In Dialogue 5, the enquirer wanted to confront the management of CLI regarding solving his "urgent" language problem, he had previously contacted the director of CLI by email. The email was not answered because the director was not in the office that day so the enquirer decided to phone LCC instead. Section 1 is not the initial section of the

dialogue; it was preceded by an introduction, where the enquirer explained what had happened to him when he contacted the management of CLI. The dialogue is very long, so I have presented only selected passages here.

Section 1

Enq:	What if I forward the email to you? I'd like it to be resolved as soon as possible.
LCC:	Well, we don't take email enquiries. Only if you requested an expert opinion, but there's a charge for this. Otherwise we don't answer. Over the phone is the only way to resolve it immediately and free of charge.

The enquirer shows dissatisfaction and demands that his email be answered. The linguist explains that the institute does not answer emails with language enquiries and provides its language consulting services for free only over the phone.[5]

Section 2

Enq:	OK but if there are twenty words, I don't want to discuss them over the phone, that's too long.
LCC:	The best thing to do in that case is to wait for the reaction of management.
Enq:	But they're not there… And if I as a taxpayer contribute to the budget to fund your institute, why can't you answer my question?
LCC:	That's why we have the phone service, which is free of charge, or, better to say, it costs as much as a standard phone call.

The enquirer wants LCC to analyse and assess a list of twenty words he suggests as possible equivalents for a German term that had started to be used in Czech some time before the phone call was made. He is of the opinion that CLI (and LCC) is funded by the government from taxes, so LCC is obliged to answer his question the way he prefers because he pays taxes.[6]

Section 3

Enq:	OK, I understand. And what if I send it to you privately and you answer me privately?
LCC:	There would be a charge anyway.

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5. The reason for this is to prevent enquirers from emailing extensive lists of language problems to solve or texts for proofreading.

6. This opinion is quite common among the enquirers.

> Enq: You know, this is so sad! I am doing this for free to help the
>   Czech language and now I'd even have to pay for it and I have the
>   institute for this that I pay for with my taxes and I'll have to pay the
>   institute once again…
> LCC: Anyhow I'm afraid I cannot respond to this from the position of the
>   LCC.

In Section 3 the enquirer tries to find alternative ways to have his query answered. He is positive that his voluntary effort is highly beneficial for the Czech language. Thus he thinks he is entitled to receive special treatment.

Section 4

> Enq: *Kurzarbeit* is a German word and it does not belong to Czech and
>   all experts in Czech would turn in their graves, including Havlíček
>   Borovský.[7]
> LCC: I still think that only the expressions that are accepted by the
>   community stand a chance of surviving. Have you made any survey
>   of what is customary?
> Enq: I don't care what's customary. I'm a sociologist and I'm only
>   interested in what is correct. And even if it was customary, I
>   wouldn't use it. Just as I don't use the word *Česko*[8] but *Čechie*
>   instead.

The enquirer strongly suggests replacing the word *kurzarbeit* [reduced working hours], a loanword from German, with a suitable Czech equivalent. The word had been used by politicians in a debate on the concept of *kurzarbeit* shortly before the time the phone call was made. The enquirer considers this use of a German word inappropriate and suggests 20 alternative Czech expressions he made up himself. Section 4 of the phone call recording is preceded by a long exchange in which the linguist explained the advantages and disadvantages of all the expressions the enquirer suggested. The linguist patiently explained that none of the expressions can replace *kurzarbeit* mainly because they were all slightly different in meaning

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7. In full, Karel Havlíček Borovský (1821–1856), a famous Czech poet, writer, journalist and satirist. The enquirer probably wanted to name some prominent figure that was famous for Czech language cultivation activities during the national revival period. Though Borovský is renowned for his literary work, he was not in fact very active in the field of actual language cultivation.

8. *Česko* is a word that appeared quite recently. It is used as the equivalent of the full name of the country, *Česká republika* (Czech Republic), and is considered inappropriate by some Czech language users. Lately there have been many public debates about the word. Contrary to popular belief, it is not new and it is not ungrammatical. It can be found in old Czech and it also fits the contemporary system of deriving country names.

and they are all rather clumsy and artificial, so the language community probably would not accept them.

In Section 4 we find the enquirer rather annoyed. After he is presented with arguments he could not easily disprove, he tries to defend his expressions by referring to famous Czech language experts who would definitely prefer to replace a German word with a Czech one[9] in his opinion. Common usage of the word is also rejected as an irrelevant criterion for a suitable alternative to *kurzarbeit*. The enquirer insists that if a word is of German origin, it should not be used in Czech at all, even if it has been accepted by the Czech language community.

At the end, we see that the enquirer in fact refused the solution suggested by LCC so from LCC's point of view, this is failed management. However, we cannot say that this instance of management failed because LCC could not provide a relevant analysis and support its arguments with views that are in accordance with the latest linguistic findings.

In this dialogue I focused mainly on passages that represent a specific, but not rare, attempt to alter the way LCC operates. As the operation of LCC itself was a topic in the discussion, this can be better described as "managing the management" or "negotiating the management".

Dialogue 5 categorisation

Enquirer's intention:	I have strong views and I want to discuss them
Reason type:	Detailed reasons given
Enquiry type:	Difficult – special linguistic effort needed

4.   Summary and concluding comments

At this stage of research, the enquirer's intention appears to determine the categorisation of language enquiries. It seems that if the enquirer does not have any strong views about the language problem he/she discusses, or if he/she does not make the views apparent in dialogue with LCC, the configuration of the dialogue is simple and there is little to research in these respects. Therefore, I classified such dialogues as simple. The enquiries in them are often easy, though not necessarily. Enquiries that stimulate more detailed discussion, or lead to a confrontation with LCC over opposing viewpoints, have been classified as difficult and the dialogue can have a complex structure. Such an enquiry is unique both in the way the structure of the

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9. The Czech national revival of the 19th century was typified by its contempt for German expressions, as German was regarded as the language of the social group oppressing the Czechs.

dialogue is built and in the views it brings. These kinds of enquiries are to become the main focus of future detailed research of management processes in LCC.

From the micro-macro point of view, LCC enquiries deserve special attention, because the whole database documents examples of intense management by different actors at different levels. As dialogue 4 has shown, even simple enquiries could reveal complex language management processes. Furthermore, as dialogue 5 has shown, enquiries can be quite complex and also include meta-management elements.

Currently, attempts to enable more systematic organized management by the consulting institution are being put into effect. At the end of 2019 LCC published a linguistically structured enquiry database, which was developed with support of the grant that also funded this work[10]. The database is available on the website https://dotazy.ujc.cas.cz/. It contains practically all recordings and emails with language enquiries that LCC has gathered so far. New recordings are also being added as they come in. Annotators ascribe each recording a publicly visible "question and answer" that summarizes the language problem that was discussed in the recording. These questions and answers are linguistically categorized to be easily searchable on the web and they are also added to statistics that are presented on the web as well. Each question and answer is annotated within a basic annotation module and a detailed annotation module. The basic annotation provides the user with a quick and simple summary of the language problem, while the detailed annotation provides more elaborate linguistic information.

Because the recording of language enquiries is a relatively new phenomenon for LCC, structural annotation was easier to design and it was designed in a much more elaborate way than annotation of the configuration of the dialogue. The reason for this is that configuration of the dialogue was a research area that could not be worked on in the past because LCC did not have the recordings. However, we incorporated the categories introduced in this paper in the part of the database that is accessible to LCC linguists only so that the configuration of the dialogues can be researched further. The present number of recordings, questions and answers and expected growth of the number of annotated enquiries should provide a robust basis for future research on the configuration of dialogues that can be expected. To have such data, not only about what kind of problems occur but also about how they are managed in the discourse of consulting, will be beneficial for improving the activities of LCC and could also contribute to the research of management processes in general.

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The researcher as part of the language management process

Language management in life story interviews

The case of first generation *Zainichi* Korean women in Japan

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This research analyzes interactions in life story interviews with first generation *Zainichi* Koreans, specifically when they noticed perception gaps in the interviewer's questions and tried to negotiate those gaps. It was found that the interviewees used two contrastive strategies: one described her perceptions using a monological storytelling manner and the other responded to the questions in an interactive mode. In the interactive mode particularly, interviewees can see whether their previous language management worked or not, which affects their motivation to talk. Applying Language Management Theory in narrative studies (i.e., micro-level analysis) provides two macro-level contributions. One is gaining a holistic understanding of the speaker. The other is a contribution to the methodology of life story interviews, by including LMT analysis between the first interview session and the second interview session.

Keywords: *Zainichi* Koreans, life story interviews, sociocultural perceptions, interview methods

1. Introduction

This study focuses on the interaction process in life story interviews with first generation *Zainichi* Korean women, when interviewees noticed a sociocultural perception gap between themselves and the researchers. In this paper, referring to the definition of *culture* by Tylor (1970), sociocultural perceptions include speakers' knowledge about beliefs, norms, art, morals, law, customs, and habits acquired by people as members of society. The life story interview is best characterized as a method for understanding the *wholeness* of a storyteller (Atkinson, 2012). To obtain a holistic understanding of an interviewee, interviewers are encouraged to develop "sensitivity to the relational dynamics of the interview" (Atkinson,

2012, p. 122). This study discusses how the microanalysis (in the sense of a single interaction) of interview interaction utilizing Language Management Theory (LMT) serves to help gain a trans-interactional holistic (macro-level) understanding of the entire subjective story of the life of the storyteller. Moreover, this study exemplifies how the micro-level analysis of language management connects to a macro-level framework of interview methods ('theorizing').

The two interview excerpts that will be analyzed in detail in this study originate from interactions in which the interviewees expressed discomfort or complex feelings. These situations are usually taken to be undesirable and/or are just ignored because textbooks of interview methods suggest that interviewers are expected to ask "the right question at the right time" (Atkinson, 1998, p. 33). One proposed method for asking "the right question" is providing "open-ended questions," which allow the speaker to hold the floor (Atkinson, 1998, p. 31). However, we cannot completely avoid situations in which our ways of asking are questioned by the respondents, who are puzzled by such questions and may refuse to answer them. Interviewers know that good questions encourage active participation from interviewees. Therefore, when interviewers are countered with reactions such as "Why are you asking me such a question?" or are told, "I don't understand your question," they may experience some anxiety. They may be afraid of damaging the rapport between the interviewer and interviewee, leading to attempts to make up for their supposed "failure" as interviewers. Consequently, these kinds of interview interactions rarely appear as a product of life story interviews.[1]

If we see these interactions from a different angle, we can realize that useful information is embedded within them. A manifestation of an uncomfortable feeling can imply differences in worldviews, value systems, linguistic norms, and frames of references between researchers and research participants. Therefore, investigating these interactions carefully can help us to better understand the deeper meaning of the participants' stories and become more aware of researchers' own mindsets and assumptions (Wang & Yan, 2012). In other words, a deeper investigation can not only help to bridge the *emic*, from the research participant's perspective, and the *etic*, from the academic perspective (Pike, 1967), but also to develop the sensitivity of researchers. By focusing on analyzing these kinds of communication gaps on both sides, this study tries to explore the differences in concepts and values between researchers and first generation *Zainichi* Korean women. Not only the content, but also the manner of speech represents these

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1. "Life story interviews as a product" refers to the edited version of an interview for publication. Verbatim transcriptions are typically edited for readability. Depending on the needs of the publication, editorial work eliminates repetition and extraneous information and the contents are reordered to make them chronological (Atkinson, 2012).

women's culture. Therefore, investigating their ways of managing perceptional gaps in terms of LMT reveals their mindsets and assumptions both at the cognitive and at the performative levels.

Moreover, this research posits that language management occurring between an interviewer and interviewee merits careful attention and observation in order to improve interview tactics. Much of the existing life story interview methods tend to focus on monological storytelling with the storyteller in an initiative position and the listener in an assistive position. Interaction for confirming and negotiating the meaning of the interview questions usually occurs before the commencement of the major part of the storytelling. This study suggests that in this initial part of life story interviews, fruitful information that merits investigation can be found. Therefore, this research also supports recent ideas about how small stories should be paid more attention to in narrative studies (Bamberg & Georgakopoulou, 2008; De Fina & Georgakopoulou, 2012).

To analyze "the interactional management of narratives" (De Fina & Georgakopoulou, 2012, p. 92), this study utilizes LMT. LMT scholars have proposed that when policy makers consider or design macro-level language policies, i.e., official or organizational language policies, they should start from bottom-up perspectives, that is to say, by identifying language problems in particular discourse instead of struggling with abstract linguistic issues (Neustupný 1994; Nekvapil, 2009; Kimura, 2015). Nekvapil (2009) describes the interplay of simple (micro) language management and organized (macro) language management as follows:

> […] the existence of organized management is due to the fact that, in their interactions, everyday speakers encounter problems, be they linguistic, communicative or socio-cultural, and as they are not able to solve them themselves, they turn to linguistic or other professionals in social institutions.   (Nekvapil, 2009, p. 5)

By closely looking at the simple management of storytellers, which was mainly to negotiate sociocultural perceptional gaps, this paper discusses the application of LMT analysis to the life story interview method. Indeed, the manner in which we can benefit from the application of LMT in various fields and institutions is gaining more importance (Neustupný, 2012). This research concludes by discussing the benefits and limitations of LMT's integration with the methods of life story interview research.

2.   The historical context

Zainichi Koreans are a minority group in Japan, consisting of those who emigrated from Korea to Japan during the Japanese occupation of Korea from 1910 to 1945,

and their descendants. The end of WWII and the defeat of Japan meant liberation for Koreans. Many of them returned to their homeland. However, the end of WWII also marked the beginning of the Korean national divide, which turned out to be a crucial part of the Cold War (Cumings, 1990). There was confusion and instability on the Korean peninsula, so many Koreans in Japan decided to postpone their departure to their homeland for a while. Of the people who did return, some had to escape again from Korea to Japan and these escapees re-entered Japan without proper documentation. Hence, although it is often cited that about 600,000 *Zainichi* Koreans were left in Japan, it is impossible to determine the exact number. Moreover, because of the sensitive political relationship between Japan, South Korea, and North Korea, and Japanese monoethnic and ethnocentric ideologies (Heinrich, 2012), no official proactive policies were formulated for the integration of *Zainichi* into Japanese society, especially immediately after the war.

Song (2005) claims that in pursuing national integration, the *Zainichi* Korean community had to adapt to gender inequality whereby men were expected to take the initiative and women to be supportive. Even stories told by *Zainichi* Korean women themselves are apt to be characterized by masculine logic (Ryang, 1998). Therefore, as Chapman (2007) suggests, *Zainichi* Korean women have faced "multiple marginalizations" (p. 112), which consist of both intragroup gender inequality and ethnic discrimination from Japanese society. Most of the first generation *Zainichi* women are now in their 80s and 90s. Therefore, the time available to us to record their life stories is limited, not only to record as many life stories as possible but also regarding how to understand or interpret their stories.

3.　Methodology

To record *Zainichi* Koreans' life stories, four scholars from different academic backgrounds, including myself, organized a research team in 2014. A loose research question was shared concerning how the intergenerational transmission of *Zainichi* Korean ethnic culture and lifestyles is practiced. When we conducted the interviews, wherever possible we visited the interviewees' homes, asked them to show us the furniture and household goods that they used, the clothes they wore, and old pictures from their childhood.

From 2014 to 2016, we conducted life story interviews with 18 *Zainichi* Koreans, 15 females and 3 males, using snowball sampling. The interviewees were told that they could choose to answer in either Japanese or Korean and each interview lasted for about two to four hours. Interviews were audio recorded after permission was acquired from the research participants. All recorded interviews were transcribed (for the transcription key, see Appendix 1).

After listening to the recorded interviews several times, I noticed that the first generation *Zainichi* female interviewees sometimes directly pointed out that some interview questions were inappropriate, or they countered the questions by enquiring about the interviewer's intentions or the purpose of the question. This would occur before they narrated the details of their life story. Therefore, these parts were sometimes considered unnecessary at first glance and omitted from the written transcription. Sometimes they explained why they felt odd about our questions, but at other times they did not. There are a variety of reasons for this. For example, one of our research participants told us that the interview setting reminded her of a police investigation she had undergone when she was younger. Therefore, she did not feel comfortable about disclosing personal information. The reasons for the participants' need for interaction to manage the interview questions seemed to vary. However, the participants' performances imply two things. One is that they noticed the existence of an assumption gap between the interviewer and themselves embedded in very short question sentences. The second is that they asked these questions before arriving at a major part of their life story. Therefore, I decided to focus on the interactions where an interviewee pointed out that the question was odd.

To analyze these interactions, I applied LMT as an analytical tool. LMT offers a descriptive framework of the interaction process, starting from the instance when one notices a deviation from a norm or an expectation. The theory presupposes that people can produce utterances or perform other behavior by relying on embedded norms and expectations, which are constructed based on previous experiences. When one notes a deviation from a norm, s/he may react by managing it somehow. First, one evaluates the deviation, then, one designs a possible adjustment, selecting an adjustment plan and finally, implementing the adjustment. How one can design and implement plans not only relies on one's linguistic proficiency or communicative competence but also on the power relationship between the speakers (Neustupný, 2002; Fairbrother, 2015). LMT's main focus has been on the interlocutors' linguistic norms. However, it can also be expanded to communicative and sociocultural norms (Nekvapil, 2009, 2016; Neustupný, 2012). Nekvapil (2016) details the aspects of communicative management as variety, situation, function, setting, participants, content, form, channel and performance. The cases discussed here are mainly related to the management of content, which is important to understand the perspectives and the stories of the interviewees.

People do not always have to be proactive in order to make adjustments to their noted deviations. Sometimes, they decide to avoid taking action and leave the situation as it is. On the other hand, I could observe some of our *Zainichi* Korean first generation research participants trying to stubbornly, carefully, and actively manage their noted deviations. However, most of the younger interviewees did

not do so. The second generation research participants rarely pointed out any inappropriateness they might have sensed in the questions from the interviewer, but they chose to avoid answering the questions and instead changed the topic during their storytelling. LMT's theoretical uniqueness is its focus on contact situations in which deviations from norms and expectations might happen frequently (Neustupný, 2004). Therefore, LMT is considered to be well suited for analyzing the management processes of first generation *Zainichi* Koreans when they try to manage perceptual gaps between themselves and their interviewers.

Reviewing the interviews with the first generation *Zainichi* women, several episodes were extracted which indicated sociocultural perceptual gaps, such as the concept of time and calendars (Saruhashi, Koh, Yu & Hashimoto, 2015), money, occupation, knowledge, and skills. In relation to the concept of money, for instance, interviewers tended to presuppose that the value of goods and labor outside the home can be translated into money. One of the interviewees claimed that in those days, they did not rely as much on money to place value on things and work. The analysis of this study, however, focuses on the concept of marriage, because perceptual gaps regarding marriage were claimed by several interviewees. Therefore, the research questions in this study are as follows:

1. What sociocultural perceptual gaps concerning marriage are revealed in the life story interview interactions with first generation *Zainichi* Korean women?
2. What do they do in terms of management?
3. What findings from research questions 1 and 2 can help the interviewers think of better interviewing methods?

4.   Data analysis

The following excerpt is from an interview with Kim Jeongmi (pseudonym), who was born in 1926. At the time of the interview, she was 88 years old. She was born in a town called Naju, South Jeolla Province, South Korea. She was brought up by her grandparents because both of her parents passed away when she was a small child, and she does not have any memory of her parents. When she was ten, she told her grandparents that she would like to be adopted into a wealthier family in her neighborhood, but her grandparents told her that she did not have to do that because she had older brothers living in Japan who were willing to take care of her. It was then that she first learnt she had older brothers, and she accepted the idea of going to Japan. It seemed to her that it was not a matter of choice, but her destiny. She appreciated her older brothers, who took good care of her. Until she started working in a factory at the age of sixteen, she stayed at home taking care

of her nephews and nieces and doing home chores. She had no chance to go to school until late in life. The following is an excerpt from her interview when the interviewer (R) asked about her marriage.

Excerpt 1.

1	R	結婚する時は (.) 相手は (.) どうやって見つけた↑
2	Kim	違うねん. あの::: 長屋でしょ↑
3	R	うん.
4	Kim	こう::: 長屋 ((机に指で描きながら))
5		こんな深いとこおんの.
6		ほんでね. うちが見つけたんとちゃう. 済州島のおばあちゃんがぁ:::
7		うちを. あのぅ:::、 うちの主人がぁ.
8		向かい同士やから. うちは分からへんやん. あんた.
9		男の人があっちの家. 3人か4人かおったわ
10	R	うん.
11	Kim	見たらね. 出たり入ったりしとるって.
12		それ (結婚) は考えもしてない.
13		ほんで. あの::: 隣のおばあちゃんに. うちのこと言うて.
14		うちが花婿さんなる人が. あの人な. 自分仲人してくれ言うたじゃん.
15		済州島のおばあちゃんやねん.
16	R	うん.
17	Kim	よっしぇてして. ほんで. そのおばあちゃんのお陰で:: うちの今の
18		主人と一緒になったわけや
19	R	ふう:::ん (2) 主人はどこの人↑

Translation

1	R	When you got married, how (did you) find your husband?↑
2	Kim	It's different! It was, uh…a row house (we lived in), you see?↑
3	R	Yeah.
4	Kim	The row house was like this ((drawing on the desk with her finger)).
5		We were in the one at this far end (of the row),
6		and it wasn't me who found him. An older lady from Jeju (came to tell)
7		me (that) my husband (found me), I mean because (his family were
8		neighbors) across from us, though I didn't know it, you know,
9		there lived three or four men in that house (and he was one of them).
10	R	Yeah.
11	Kim	If you look, you'll see them go in and out, she told me,
12		but I wasn't even thinking about it (marriage),
13		and then, well, (the man) asked this older lady next door about me, and then

14		the man who would be my groom, you know, he asked her to intervene on his
15		behalf, I mean, the old lady from Jeju.
16	R	Yeah.
17	Kim	(She) said "Okay!", and so, thanks to that older lady, that's how I got together
18		with my husband.
19	R	I see. And where is your husband from?

The storytelling of Kim's marriage started when she was asked a question by the interviewer. Kim's immediate response (line 2) was a denial of the question. She did not specify which part of the question sentence was "different" but started talking about the type of house she had lived in. This interaction occurred about 15 minutes after her interview started, but it was the first time she had mentioned what kind of place she had lived in. However, at the same time, she used a linguistic device that "signalled or invited the ratification" of listeners (De Fina & Georgakopoulou, 2012, p. 96) by adding "you see?" at the end of line 2. After verifying that the listener was following her, Kim continued to explain which part of the row house she had lived in. It seems that the interviewer (R) did not see any connection between the proposed topic (line 1) and the subsequent explanations about her place of living (lines 2, 4–5), but the interviewer let Kim keep talking by minimizing her reactions to just nodding (lines 3, 10, & 16). In line 6, Kim clearly pointed out that the interviewer's way of asking was not adequate. She was not the one who found her partner, but "he" found her. To describe how her husband found her, an explanation of the type and location of her living place was necessary.

When Kim described how she came to know her future husband, the old lady who mediated between the young man and woman was spotlighted by repeated mentions (lines 6, 15 & 17). Kim mentioned that the lady's hometown was Jeju, which implied that the lady was not her relative. The story, which seems on the surface to describe an incident in a sequential manner, expresses that the marriage arrangement followed the proper process and was mediated by a third person. The story also indicates the interviewee's gratitude toward the old lady who kindly took care of the matchmaking even though she was from a different part of Korea.

Analyzing the interview through self-reflection, the interviewer, the author of this paper, did not believe there could be any specific meaning attached to "How did you find your husband?" (line 1). That could be paraphrased to "How did you meet your husband?" or "How did you get married?" The topic "marriage" was important, and how the topic was addressed was totally up to the interviewee. However, for Kim, the agent or the protagonist mattered. To challenge and negotiate this perceptional gap between the listener and speaker, Kim clearly and immediately rejected the interviewer's question as a whole, saying, "It's different!" (line 2).

A more complicated issue here is that their perceptional gap concerning marriage is not contrastive. Kim sensed the interviewer's presumption that a woman should/could take the initiative in marriage and challenged her view. However, as the interviewer, I actually did not hold that firm assumption. "How did you find your husband?" was just an expression, and the marriage process Kim described was predictable enough. That predictability appears in the interviewer's non-emotional responses to Kim's story (lines 3, 10, & 19).

In addition to casting a spotlight on the matchmaking older lady, Kim intentionally withdrew herself as an actor in her marriage arrangement. She emphasized that she did not even know that some men (her future husband and his brothers) lived across from her (lines 8–9) and that she was not thinking about marriage (line 12). These utterances support the overall resistance to the interviewer's question: "It's different!" in line 2, which could be expressed more precisely as, "It wasn't *me* who found him" (line 6). In terms of LMT, Kim noted the perception gap with the interviewer and directly rejected it. She explained how it was different by describing her marriage process and focusing on the interactional procedure and power relationship between the agents in her story. However, because of the minimal responses from the interviewer, she might not have been able to confirm whether her narrative management was successful or not. Kim's interaction was rather monological.

In another case, in Excerpt 2, Lee Aegyeong (pseudonym) talks about her marriage arrangement. Lee was born in 1931 on a farm in Jeju. She witnessed and survived the Jeju Island Uprising in 1948 (or the 3 April Uprising or *Sasam Hang-Jeng*). During this incident, about 30,000 civilians were killed and their houses were destroyed, and it is estimated that 40,000 people became undocumented refugees, many of whom fled to Japan (National Committee for Investigation of the Truth about the Jeju April 3 Incident in 1948, 2003). Lee's house and crop fields were burned down, so she decided to leave her homeland. Her life story as a survivor of the war highlights both the tragic history of the islanders and her own wisdom and courage. During the interview, Lee often told her survival stories with humor, stating general lessons for the listener. Basically, life story interviews are non-structured but generally proceed chronologically. When Lee began to talk about her marriage, the talk was interactive, as the following excerpt shows:

Excerpt 2.

21	Lee	22に (.) 結婚したんや
22	R	それはぁ (.) 日本で↑
23	Lee	日本でって↑((笑いながら)) 大阪と hahahahahaあの (.) 布施=
24	R	=布施

25	Lee	ああ田島と布施 ((笑いながら))
26	R	あ.布施の人やってんね.その人がね.それは↑見合いした↑↲
27	Lee	うううん ((首を横に振りながら)) 見合いしたけどぉ:::私はもう.もう
28		一個も考えんと.考えんかったのに.さささーっと(周りが)決めてなぁ
29	R	あらぁ
30	Lee	おお.もう.昔の:::あの:::昔の人よーうやったやん.
31		もう顔も見んと結婚したとか. (.)
32		そんな (.) みたいな
33	R	でもおうたんでしょ
34	Lee	おうたことはおうたよ
35	R	男前でした?↑
36	Lee	hahahahahahahaha
37	R	見た時に.この人男前かなぁとか.思いました↑
38	Lee	さあ:::.そんなん思ってなかったなぁ.なん:::にも考えてなかったわ

Translation

21	Lee	I was 22 when I got married.
22	R	And was that in Japan?
23	Lee	In Japan ((laughing))? In Osaka, and well, Fuse.
24	R	In Fuse?
25	Lee	Ah, yes, Tajima and Fuse ((laughing)).
26	R	Oh, do you mean he was from Fuse? Then, did you do *o-miai* with him?
27	Lee	No ((shakes her head)), well…, I did *miai*, but I have never thought about
28		it, without having thought about it, (they) decided very quickly.
29	R	Oh really!
30	Lee	Oh yes, in the old days, I mean, people in the old days often did that, don't
31		you think? Just do things like marry someone without even meeting them once,
32		like that, that kind of thing…
33	R	But you had met him (before your marriage), right?
34	Lee	I had met him, in a way.
35	R	Was he handsome?
36	Lee	((laughing))
37	R	Did you think, 'He sure is good-looking, or…', when you first saw him?
38	Lee	I wonder… No… I don't think I thought so. I didn't think at all about that.

Lee, calculating when she came to Japan, mentioned that she got married when she was 22 (line 21). This triggered the topic shift to her marriage. The interviewer asked her whether the place she got married was Japan (line 22). Lee's repetition of the question with laughter (line 23) seems to convey the nuance that the question

was nonsensical. Until several years before the end of WWII, financially stable Koreans had the chance to go back to their homeland for a wedding. However, as the war went on, this became more difficult. For Lee, an undocumented refugee who had arrived in Japan in 1950, going back to Korea for her wedding undoubtedly would have been out of the question. Instead of directly answering the interviewer's question, she transformed it by answering with local place names: "Osaka and Fuse" (line 23). Osaka is the name of the prefecture in which she was living and in which the interview was conducted. Fuse is the name of a town in Osaka. She immediately noticed that Osaka and Fuse should not be listed in parallel because Fuse is a part of Osaka. Lee restated "Tajima and Fuse" (line 25), two town names. The interviewer affirmed that the topic had shifted from the place where Lee's wedding had taken place to the places the bride and groom had lived before their marriage. This shows that the interviewer is sometimes flexible in following the topic shifts of the interviewee.

In line 26, the interviewer asked whether she had an arranged meeting (*miai*) with her future husband before the marriage. In reply, Lee first rejected it, saying "No" (line 27), and then reluctantly changed her stance, mentioning that she actually had had a meeting (*miai*). Her additional explanation suggests that she did not want to admit she had an arranged meeting because there was no space for her will or intention. The marriage was decided without consideration of her feelings. In line 28, she did not mention who decided the marriage, but it is obvious the decision maker was not her. She was excluded from the decision and might not even know who actually decided her marriage. Then, she suggested that her marriage was almost the same as those of other *Zainichi* women in her generation who experienced being married to "someone without even meeting them once" (lines 30–32).

The interviewer tried to challenge Lee's stance by starting with the adversative conjunction "but" in line 33 and tried to get a confirmation that Lee had met her future husband before her marriage. Lee agreed with this but added "in a way" (line 34), showing her resistance. Furthermore, Lee did not reply to the interviewer's question about Lee's first impression about the appearance of the man. She said nothing and just laughed (line 36). The interviewer tried to get Lee's answer by asking the same question in more detail (line 37), which offered Lee a chance to verbally deny it. Her laughter in line 36 indicates Lee's confusion about the question and her feeling of being at a loss for words. Being asked twice gave her time to process the meaning of the question and to present her stance clearly, which was that marriage in her time and situation was totally different from today.

In terms of LMT, Lee noted the deviation from the norms of the past concerning marriage and, in order to be understood, she took several actions. She repeated the question with laughter, approving half of the question and explaining

her state of mind. She noted the deviation and tried to adjust by describing her perspective, but she did also try to answer each short question briefly. Therefore, the interaction looks active on the surface, with frequent going back and forth. However, a detailed analysis demonstrates that, despite her perspective not being confirmed by the interviewers, they go on to the next question. The surface of the interaction appears to be harmonious; however, the question right after Lee's adjustment strategy reveals a continuation of the perceptual gap. Compared to Excerpt 1, Lee follows the interactional order of interviews by replying to the questions asked. However, as the interviewer did not seem to notice the language management strategy Lee undertook as an adjustment, Lee had to continue to implement adjustment strategies in several ways. As a result, there were various negative linguistic markers produced throughout the interaction process, such as "no" (line 27, 38), "without" (line 28, 31), and "I don't (didn't) think" (line 38).

With respect to how they evaluated the gap in perceptions, there is no evidence that either Kim or Lee evaluated it particularly negatively. They just noted the deviation from their norms and, in order to be understood, they both implemented adjustment plans. Kim's adjustment was monological and Lee's was interactive. Kim's adjustment strategy was descriptive and included how she experienced marriage, but on the surface, it may appear that Kim changed the topic. Lee's adjustment strategy was responsive, so on the surface she followed the interactional order of the interview; however, she had to keep implementing adjustment strategies because the interviewers seemed to be unaware of the ultimate purpose of her strategies: bridging the gap. This process within the interview may have transformed her neutral or mild negative evaluation at the beginning to a stronger negative one at the end.

5.   The benefits of micro-level analysis to macro-level understandings

5.1   Identifying sociocultural perceptional gaps concerning marriage

These two examples are contrastive in how the noticed perceptual gap is managed: Excerpt 1 is more monological while Excerpt 2 is interactive. However, both excerpts contain a similar viewpoint, that the concept of marriage was different than it is today. In the North-East Asian context, we tend to have a dichotomous view of marriage, as either a romantic love marriage or an arranged marriage. Romantic love marriage represents freedom and individualism, and arranged marriage, formality and conservatism. In the old days in particular, a bride-to-be had no choice or power over her marriage arrangements. However, these two women seem even to challenge this view of arranged marriage.

When Kim was explaining how her marriage was settled, she emphasized that she did not even know that there were young men in the family living across from her. She realized this only when she was informed so by the woman living next door. Moreover, she repeated that she was not even thinking about a male-female relationship or marriage. For Kim, marriage was not something to prepare for or even to think of or idealize: it just happened. She did not even think that she was being forced into marriage or excluded from the decision-making process because she had no conception of marriage to begin with. She described her marriage because she could sense the different view toward marriage in the interviewer's question. For the interviewer, marriage was something to prepare for, expect, and idealize.

A similar viewpoint can be seen in Excerpt 2. Lee repeated that she did not think anything about marriage (lines 27–28, & 38). Even though she did *miai*, a meeting to be introduced to a potential partner before an arranged marriage, she wanted it to be understood that her *miai* was different from what we imagine today. We use the same term, but she claims it no longer has the same meaning. The precise difference between her perception of the term and the interviewer's perception lies in their different conceptualizations of marriage. In the interviews with *Zainichi* Korean women of second and later generations, we also hear that there was no space to negotiate and that brides-to-be were excluded from the decision-making process. However, from members of the younger generations we hear statements such as, "When I was a child I dreamt of marriage with a homely man", or "I decided not to marry a man like…" In contrast, neither Kim nor Lee claimed that they had any thoughts of marriage or even imagined it. This difference implies that they grew up in an atmosphere in which they never thought about marriage, even in an unrealistic manner. Today, we occasionally find four- or five-year-olds talking about marriage. Sometimes their talk is very unrealistic, such as a girl saying, "I will marry my Dad", provoking heart-warming feelings in their listeners. In contrast, the repeated claim from both Kim and Lee that marriage was totally beyond their imagination should be interpreted as evidence that they noticed the deep perceptional gap between themselves and the interviewers concerning marriage.

5.2   Identifying what storytellers do in terms of language management

In terms of language management, both storytellers immediately noticed the sociocultural perceptional gap. Kim noticed it because she grasped the unstated subject of the question sentence of the interviewer ("you" for the stated verb "found") and the intention of the subject contained in the active verb "found". Lee realized it because the question sentence was so true that even asking it seemed

nonsensical. Both of the storytellers had had no chance to go to school when they were young, and they told us about the difficult and sometimes humiliating situations they had encountered because of their self-evaluated low competence in Japanese. They both learned Japanese writing in their later years. Despite their negative self-evaluations of their Japanese competence, they were very quick to catch the perceptional gap in the short question phrases used by the interviewer.

Because the researchers did not conduct follow-up interviews to ask Kim or Lee how they felt during these interactions, it may be too early to form a conclusion. However, interactional processes visible in the interviews suggest that the interviewees immediately sensed a gap in assumptions. Both of them noted how the concept of marriage deviated from the norms of the past when they had got married. The clear denial of Kim, replying "It's different" and Lee's repetition of part of the interviewer's question, suggests they both acted in response to the same deviation.

Both the interviewees quickly responded to the gap they noted. Kim's adjustment was to express her feelings in a straightforward manner and to start explaining anecdotally how her marriage was arranged. The first reaction of "It's different!" (line 2) was very powerful as a denial. However, throughout her monological storytelling, there were no clear linguistic or non-linguistic cues to suggest that the interviewers grasped what was actually "different." Lee's response was more interactive. She repeated a part of the question sentence with a rising intonation (line 23), which suggests that she thought that that part was impossible at that time. This adjustment strategy may also serve as a strong denial, but Lee's humorous replies and laughter helped to create a relaxed atmosphere. This atmosphere promoted the disclosure of the interviewer's perspective of marriage, such as the importance of the man's appearance in deciding upon marriage. However, this disclosure once again induced a clear denial from Lee. This shows that, even after a gap in perceptions has been clarified, it can be difficult for the listener to flexibly shift to the storyteller's viewpoint. It seems that the conversation in Excerpt 2 revealed not only the different perspectives of the interviewer and interviewee about marriage, but also the inflexibility of the interviewer's perceptions. Being a sensitive and flexible listener might be ideal but it is clearly very difficult to achieve in practice.

LMT deals with evaluations of the deviation noted. However, I do not see the evaluations as either explicitly positive or negative in Kim's case. The first reaction of Kim might suggest a negative connotation to readers; however, the following sincere and detailed description of her experience indicates that she had merely encountered a difference and tried to bridge the gap. Both interviewees might have just initially identified the difference in perceptions and taken action to adjust to it in a different manner. Their first evaluations therefore might have been neutral.

In Kim's case, as there was no confirmed reaction from the interviewers that they understood the gap after her explanation, her evaluation may have maintained its neutrality. Lee also did not receive any reaction from the interviewer concerning her adjustment; however, the next question from the interviewer revealed that the gap was not understood, which may have led her from a neutral to a negative evaluation. Kim's negative evaluation may have been directed not at the content of the perception gap, but rather at the interviewers' lack of acknowledgement that they had understood her meaning and her efforts to implement adjustment strategies. This case suggests that the evaluation of deviations depended partly on how their previous management was perceived by the interviewer in the ongoing interaction.

5.3   Benefits of micro-level analysis

A micro-level analysis of the interviewees' reactions to certain topics shows that LMT offers a powerful framework to capture the linguistic, communicative, and sociocultural gaps noticed and negotiated in life story interviews. This might seem quite contrastive to the holistic understanding of a story, but the two excerpts here show that such gaps, clearly revealed through the analysis of micro-level interactions, may significantly help in gaining a holistic understanding of the speaker. The micro-level analysis of Kim and Lee's interview interaction provides a deeper understanding of the meaning of marriage for Korean females under Japanese colonial occupation and the continued confusion after the liberation of the Korean peninsula during the 1950s. Their conceptualization of marriage was affected not only by the gender norms of that time but also by their cross-border experiences in a particular political situation.

In addition to gaining a macro-level understanding of speakers' worldviews through micro-level analysis, this study suggests a reconsideration of interview methods, which would be another type of macro-level application.

The major purpose of life story interviews is to provide a way to understand people's experiences in life; in other words, getting access to "the subjective essence of one person's entire life experience" (Atkinson, 2012, p. 116). To do so, interviewers are required to be not only sensitive and skillful but also ethical (Atkinson, 2012, p. 122, 124). However, what does "being sensitive" really mean? And how one can be trained to be so?

Many suggestions for gaining closer access to the subjective meanings of interviewees have been proposed, such as preparing open-ended questions, adopting a substitutive stance during interviews to let the interviewee drive his or her own stories, taking time during the interviews, building a rapport with the interviewee, engaging the interviewer's self-reflexivity, and trying to gain a holistic understanding of the interviewee (Atkinson, 1998, 2012; Holstein & Gubrium, 1995; Gubrium

& Holstein, 2012). However, this case study shows that even open-ended style questions may reveal researchers' mindsets, assumptions and preconceptions.

If the interviewer is able to be flexible enough to shift across different perspectives, there would be no problem. However, as Excerpt 2 shows in particular, the interviewer, bound to his or her own norms and worldviews, may not always be so flexible. In general, life history interviews take time and interview sessions may need to be held several times. If interviewers add LMT analysis to the first session before going to the second session, they might be able to self-check their own hidden misperceptions and mindsets, which may have been noticed, but not voiced by the storyteller. In other words, the follow-up interview method of the language management approach should be integrated in the life story interview process. Therefore, applying a micro-level analysis of interview interaction to the development of interviewing methods could be one of the academic bridges between the micro and macro levels.

6.   Conclusion

This study analyzed the contrasting interactions of two first-generation *Zainichi* Korean women based on their life story interviews. Through the analysis, we investigated the perceptional gaps regarding marriage between the interviewer and interviewees – as noticed by the interviewees – and the manner in which the interviewees tried to manage these gaps. The content of the two interview excerpts was similar in terms of the noticed gap, but they differed in terms of the interactional level: one was monological, and the other was interactive.

An interviewer does not and should not have the power to control what kind of adjustment strategies interviewees adopt. However, no matter which strategy is used, it opens a space for interviewers to attempt to comprehend the message generated by the interviewee's adjustment. Compared to the adjustment strategies used in monologues and descriptions, the adjustments in the interactive mode provide further opportunities for interviewers to show whether they have learned from the interviewee's management, which affects the interviewees' motivation to tell more of their story. If they note a deviation and try to explain what the gap is, and if the interviewer grasps the main idea of the interviewee's adjustment, the interviewee will be more motivated to talk. However, if the interviewer cannot grasp the management processes and why the speakers are taking these actions, the interviewees may feel they have acted in vain and may even start to evaluate the perception gaps negatively. This may then affect the rapport between interviewer and interviewee negatively.

This study has shown that LMT analysis is useful and insightful for the holistic understanding of life story interviews. The following three features of LMT are suited for application to life story interviews. First, the theoretical backbone of LMT is the way it deals with contact situations (Neustupný, 2004), which is well suited to life story interviews which pursue emic-etic mediation. Second, LMT focuses on the link between cognition (norms and expectations inherent to interlocutors) and performance (how interlocutors communicate when they try to manage norm deviations). This aspect of LMT is well matched with narrative studies, which perceive storytelling itself as a part of culture. Third, LMT seeks to link micro- and macro-management (Neustupný, 2004). This perspective offers narrative studies the framework to analyze each situated interaction as well as to consider how we can become skilled interviewers or interpreters. Because approaching the *wholeness* of the storyteller is emphasized as a methodological endeavor, life story interviews have tended to ignore the applications of microanalysis. However, because LMT highlights micro-macro connections, the traditional holistic approach might discover unexpected benefits by partially incorporating microanalysis.

Acknowledgements

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Appendix 1. Transcription key

(( ))	Non-linguistic actions
(.)	Noticeable pause
(1.)	Approximate length of a pause in seconds
::	Vowel or consonant lengthening
(text)	Supplementation by the analyst
?	Question
↑↓	Rising/falling intonation

The bridging role of the researcher between different levels of language management

The case of a research project at the German-Polish border

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This paper focuses on the socially oriented activities of the researcher of language management in order to clarify what kind of role these activities can play as part of the overall language management processes that are researched. A research project on interlingual communication at the German-Polish border is analyzed as a case study. The focus is on the process of how the researcher tries to transfer findings from research on micro-level situations to various macro-level decision makers and stakeholders. The consideration of the unique potential of the researcher to bridge different levels suggests that the public engagement of researchers should be recognized as an integral part of application-oriented language management research.

Keywords: researcher role, interlingual communication, public engagement, German-Polish border, management process, micro-macro cycle

1.   Introduction

According to Gorter (2012, p. 90), the role of the linguist in society can be classi-fied into three types, "academic scholar," "policy adviser" and "language activist," situated on a continuum from "scientific" (detachment) to "active" (involvement).[1] Gorter (2012, p. 99) stresses that "[i]n all three roles, you act as a member of the local community." This suggests that the activities performed by linguists should also be included in the various processes of metalinguistic activities investigated

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1. Gorter has minority language researchers in mind, but this classification also seems to be relevant more generally.

by means of Language Management Theory (LMT). From the viewpoint of LMT, Nekvapil (2000, p. 176) has noted that "both linguists and other institutional language managers are not outside the language situation – they are part of it and, for that reason, their activities should be included into the description of a language situation".

This quotation points to the activities of linguists in the role of institutional language managers. Shen (2016), for example, has aptly included linguists as stakeholders engaged or involved in the process of 'saving Shanghai dialect' as policy drafters. But this kind of direct engagement is merely one aspect of the role researchers can play in society. More generally, Hirataka (2005, p. 16) argues that '[t]he role of researcher(s) in issues such as language policy in multilingual and multicultural societies should be to raise questions, provide information and set up places for discussion.' (*author's translation*) In a similar vein, from the viewpoint of the ethnography of language policy, Hornberger and Johnson (2011, p. 283) mention that researchers can open up dialogue in society. In the preface of a journal issue on language problems in Japan, Neustupný (1999, p. 4) lists ten points as to how language management researchers can contribute to the investigated society or people:

1.   Provide basic descriptive facts about management.
2.   Identify problematic issues.
3.   Confirm what kind of management is actually performed.
4.   Look for alternatives to existing proposals.
5.   Anticipate consequences of the proposals and alternatives.
6.   Illuminate problems relating to interests, power, identity, etc.
7.   Help people to recognize and be aware of their own interests.
8.   Look for general proposals.
9.   Provide specific proposals.
10. Consider how different forms of management can coexist.

So far, however, little attention has been paid to the social relevance of language management (LM) research itself and there has been no study directly dealing with the role of linguists as researchers of LM. This paper aims to focus on the public engagement, that is, the socially oriented activities, of the researcher of LM, in order to clarify what kind of role these activities can play as part of the overall LM processes that are researched.[2]

First, I discuss the main models within the framework of LMT which can be used to analyze the researcher's activities. After applying the models to a case study conducted by the author, I will outline some conclusions.

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2. The basic ideas of this paper were first published in Japanese in Kimura (2015a).

2.   Integrating the researcher into the framework of LMT

The LM framework can be understood to consist of two management cycles (Kimura, 2014), the micro-macro cycle and the process cycle. Unfortunately, these two different aspects are often not clearly distinguished in LM research.[3] Here, I will discuss this issue with special attention to the possibility of integrating the researcher's activities into these two cycles.

2.1   Levels of management: The micro-macro management cycle

Ōe and Hirataka (2006, p. 178), who engage in policy management as an interdisciplinary approach for socially relevant research, argue that "the role of researcher(s) in policy management could be summarized with the word 'linking'" (see also Hirataka, 2005, p. 15). One important aspect of linking is the link between different levels of agents. In LMT, the concept of the micro-macro management cycle is concerned with micro-macro linking (regarding the relative nature of micro and macro dimensions, see the introduction to this volume). The following types can be distinguished (Nekvapil, 2009, p. 6–7):

Table 1. Types of micro-macro management cycles

Full cycle	Micro → macro → micro
Partial cycle	Type 1 micro → macro
	Type 2 macro → micro
Fragment of cycle	Type 1 micro only
	Type 2 macro only

An ideal cycle begins with the consideration of the micro situation, typically in interaction, followed by more macro-level organized management involving institutional policy-makers and explicit theorizing by specialists, which will be subsequently implemented in interaction. In reality, there are often partial cycles or management occurring only on one level. This typology can also be applied to describe the cycle of research activities. A full cycle of application-oriented research begins with taking up language problems at the micro level, proceeds to proposals at the macro level, and monitors their implementation at the micro level. When the cycle lacks the last element, it is type 1 of a partial cycle, and when

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3. Inspired by Canagarajah (2006) who used the concept 'language policy cycle' in the sense of a process cycle, Nekvapil (2009) adopted the cycle concept to conceptualize the micro-macro link, naming it simply the 'language management cycle'. Thus, similar terms are used to describe two different concepts, which leads to terminological ambiguity.

an analysis of a policy and its implementation lacks empirical foundation on the ground, it is type 2 of a partial cycle. On the other hand, much sociolinguistic micro analysis focusing on individual interactions is a "micro only" type and a common type of language policy analysis using mainly policy-maker sources is a "macro only" type. In order to look closer into the different levels of LM that could be linked, the list provided by Neustupný (1997, p. 29–30) is useful: individuals that interact within discourse, the family, local communities, ethnic or other social organizations, employers, the media, educational organizations, local government, central government, and international organizations.

With regard to linking between different levels, Gorter (2012, p. 100) mentions the importance of 'research brokerage,' that is "disseminating and discussing research developments with stakeholders, policy makers and the public." This can be understood as micro to macro linking. According to the full micro-macro cycle, on the other hand, the result and impact of these activities on the actual language situation, that is the macro to micro direction, has to be considered, too. It can be argued that the researcher as part of the language situation s/he investigates, can / should link (bridge) across levels in both directions, micro to macro and macro to micro. The first direction constitutes part of the public engagement of the researcher, and the second direction can be comprehended as the evaluation of the social impact of the research.

2.2   Stages (phases) of management: The management process cycle

In order to analyze the bidirectional linking activities of the researcher, the other dimension of the LMT framework, the management process cycle, can be useful. In process-oriented LM research, this process model can be regarded as the core of LMT. The 'classic' process model is usually presented in a linear form, including the following four stages as a minimal core:[4] 1 noting -> 2 evaluation -> 3 adjustment design -> 4 implementation.

It cannot be overlooked that this process model, however useful, has shortcomings. First, it fails to recognize the post-implementation stage of evaluation/feedback. This means that another stage after implementation can be anticipated, in which the implementation (and the process towards implementation) is evaluated/reviewed. In organized management, this stage, known as policy evaluation, is an important ingredient of the whole management process. As Gazzola (2014, pp. 33–34), who discusses the need for evaluation in language policy, states: "The

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4. In the literature, there is some variation in the understanding and wording of the process model. Here I use the brief version presented on the LM website of Charles University, Prague (http://languagemanagement.ff.cuni.cz/en/process, retrieved August 24, 2018).

implementation of a language policy should conclude with an *ex post* evaluation which, in turn, provides feedback for public debate". Neither should this stage be neglected in simple management in interaction, as reflection on one's own management is "something we do normally in our daily interaction and communication practices" (Kimura, 2014, p. 267) and may also influence future management. LMT can be understood as building upon the fact that "language is monitored by speaker/writer and hearer/reader" (Jernudd & Neustupný, 1987, p. 75). Then it would be logical to include also reflection upon management.

Second, this linear model is incompatible with other process models in education, management and policy, including models on language policy and language planning, which are (almost) constantly conceptualized in a cyclical form (see Kimura, 2014). The 'language policy cycle' proposed by Canagarajah (2006) also includes a stage after implementation. Presupposing a cyclical process is also plausible as one management process can lead to a second one and so on. Thus, the claim of LMT to be an integrative framework for investigating metalinguistic activities (Nekvapil, 2009) could be seriously questioned if it lacked concern about behavior after implementation and did not explicitly show the cyclical potential of management processes. In an earlier proposal of LM, with organized management in mind, the last stage was included:

> Language management itself has three components: the development of explicit language plans and policies, their implementation (by rules or laws or resource allocation), and the evaluation of results and effects.
>
> (Rubin & Jernudd, 1979, pp. 2–3)

The last stage was later dropped, however. Reinstalling this stage, which can connect to new management processes, helps to draw attention to the possibility of feedback in simple management, improves the ability of LMT to analyze organized management (in terms of policy evaluation), increases the compatibility of LMT with all other process models that include the post-implementation stage in a cyclical manner, and contributes to strengthening its position among other theories on human activities (Kimura, 2014).[5] This cyclical model thus has descriptive value to describe metalinguistic activities of feedback, prescriptive (instructive) value if this does not occur, especially in organized management, and heuristic value to draw attention to the possibility that some feedback happens.[6] This evolution of

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5. See also the explanation of the management process on the website of LMT http://languagemanagement.ff.cuni.cz/en/process.

6. There could be an objection that the "fifth stage" should first be empirically proved. But, if we don't anticipate and draw attention to such a stage, we cannot find it. It has to be noted that the classical LMT process model was not introduced after being empirically proven, but played

the model neither implies that feedback must always happen nor that a cyclical re-management is necessary. Indeed, it is generally accepted that not every LM process must include all the stages. The point is that a general model of language management should include all the possible stages.

For the purpose of analyzing researchers' activities that are socially relevant, it is interesting to note that a similar proposition has been made from the viewpoint of language problem management (LPM). Lanstyák (2014, p. 327) writes: "my focus is on the management of language *problems*, which is just one kind of LM, albeit probably the most important one" (emphasis in the original). Lanstyák argues that the (classic) LMT process model is not congruent with general problem management (PM) principles and states that "a realistic model of LPM should not build on everyday communicative acts [as the classic LMT process model does], but on the general principles of human PM, of which LPM is only one type" (2014, p. 334). So he seeks to develop a model of LPM *within* PM that he perceives to be *outside* LMT. But if the classic LM model is incompatible with the model for LPM, the classic LM model would be an approach suited only to deal with non-problematic discourse issues in simple management, that is when a deviation from a norm is not recognized as a problem but evaluated positively or neutrally (the left part in Figure 1). This is hardly the intention behind LMT. If LMT intends to be an integrative framework that can deal also with language problem management, there is an obvious need to reconcile LM and PM models.

● Language management (LM)
● Problem management (PM)
● Language problem management (LPM)
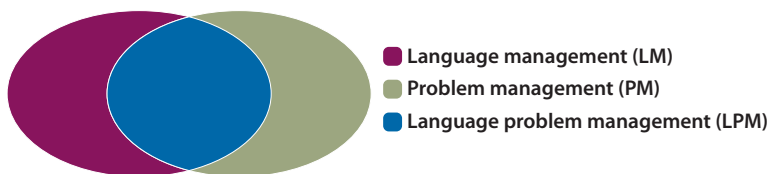
Figure 1. Language problem management (LPM) as part of LM and PM

Table 2 shows that the main difference between the LM and PM models is that the PM process model has six stages, distinguishing problem identification and problem analysis. As according to Lanstyák (2014, p. 337) the identification of a 'problem' is already an evaluation, it can be included in the evaluation phase in the synthesized model in Figure 2 (p. 244).[7] Minor differences concern the naming of the stages.

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a heuristic role in research. Shen (2016), who included the fifth stage in advance and found relevant examples of such management, is an example that demonstrates this heuristic value.

7. Lanstyák (2018, p. 71) distinguishes "problem recognition" from "problem management", but there is no theoretical advantage in separating "recognition" from all the other stages of the management process. Problem management as "dealing in any relevant way with a problem situation" (Lanstyák, 2018, p. 70) in fact begins with problem recognition (identification or

Lanstyák uses the term 'verification' in order to distinguish this post-implementation stage from the second stage of the LMT model (Lanstyák, 2014, p. 340).

Table 2. Comparison of the two process models (here presented in linear form)

L(P)M process model (Kimura, 2014)	(L)PM process model (Lanstyák, 2014)
1. Noting (of a deviation from a norm)	1. Noting (of a deviation from a norm)
2. Evaluation	2. Problem identification
	3. Problem analysis
3. Adjustment design	4. Action design
4. Implementation	5. Implementation
5. Post-implementation (feedback)	6. Verification (evaluation)

With regard to theory building, as Jernudd (1997, p. 137) stresses, we have to "resist disciplinary closure of thought and enquiry: planning theory must answer to general planning theory, problem-solving models to general problem-solving theory, economics to general economics […]" So, LPM, as it is part of LM and part of PM (see Figure 1) must answer to general PM as well as to general LM. From a comparison of the revised LM process model by Kimura and the main phases of the PM process model of Lanstyák (Table 2) we can extract a synthesized model that integrates the essential elements of both models and can be used for LM as well as PM (Figure 2).

When applying this synthesized process model to the socially-oriented linking activities of the LM researcher, the first stage can be understood as noting a topic to link across levels, the second as identifying and analyzing the issue, the third as planning a linking strategy, the fourth as implementing the linking and the fifth feedback/verification phase as evaluation of that activity. The ten points proposed by Neustupný (1999) mentioned above could be used in the last stage to gauge the effectiveness of the activity. With regard to the process of micro-macro linking, the levels of management provided by Neustupný (1997) can serve as an orientation to situate the researcher's activities.

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detection). Cranwell-Ward (2002, p. 5401) summarizes the models used in business management as follows: "[a]ll models [of problem solving] are based on the need to identify and clarify the problem." According to her, most models of problem solving include the following stages: 1. Analysing the problem ("at this stage information is gathered to identify the real problem"), 2. Objective setting and establishing criteria for success, 3. Information gathering, 4. Decision making, 5. Implementation, 6. Reviewing success.
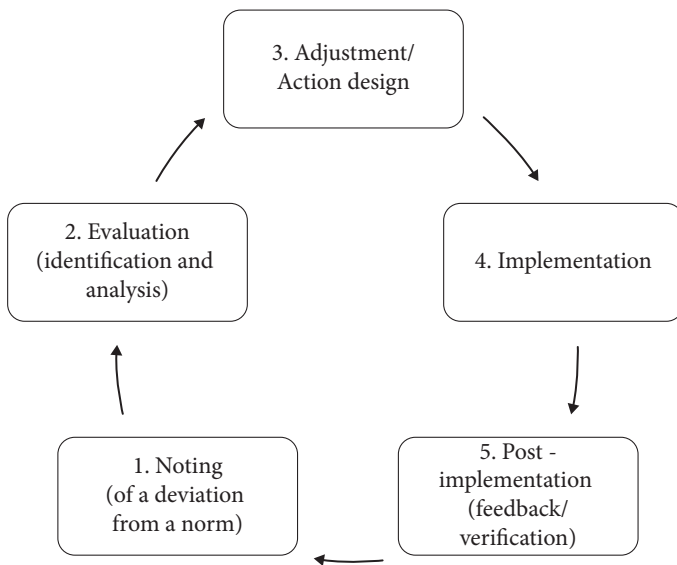
Figure 2. Synthesized management process model

3.   Case study: A researcher's activities at the German-Polish border region

In the following case study, how the researcher of LM acts between the different levels with regard to his public engagement will be examined. After a brief introduction of the research project, I will focus on the linking activities of the researcher, according to the above-mentioned dimensions of levels and stages and the corresponding models of the micro-macro cycle and the management process cycle.

3.1   The research project

The research presented here is from a project entitled "A comparative study of interlingual strategies: Insights from the German-Polish border" conducted by the author (Kimura, 2015b). The focus was on transnational communication management in the German-Polish border region and fieldwork was conducted between August 2012 and August 2013 mainly in Frankfurt/Oder (Germany) and Słubice (Poland), twin cities situated directly at the border. This border has been called one of the sharpest language borders in Europe, due to the shift of the border after 1945 and the accompanying radical population transfer. In recent years, however, the gradual opening of the border in the course of European integration has led to a rapid increase in cross-border contacts. Theoretically, the study aimed to develop

a theory of interlingual communication including all possible interlingual strategies. The research site was selected because, lacking historically developed border bilingualism, every theoretically possible interlingual strategy can be observed in real use in this region. Practically, the research aimed to provide a framework for choosing appropriate strategies in various situations and contexts of transborder communication.

The fieldwork confirmed that the two main strategies of communication between Germans and Poles are the use of interpreting (language mediation) and German as a common language. English is also used to some extent. Besides these widely recognized and frequently practiced strategies of interlingual communication ('common strategies'), other strategies were found that deviate from the common communicative expectations in the border region. For instance, due to the fact that German is the larger and economically stronger language, Polish is usually not regarded nor used as a common language, but there were situations that included Polish as a means of communicating across language differences, as in the following example.

Example.   Conversation at a meeting on German-Polish cooperation

> G: Sind Sie auch mit dem Fahrrad?
>   'Did you go by bicycle?'
> P: *Ja rowerem nie jechałam, zawsze piechotą chodziłam.*
>   'I did not go with bicycle, always on foot.'
> G: Dort sind viele Fahrräder.
>   'There are many bicycles there.'
> P: *Tak, dużo, dużo.*
>   'Yes, many, many.'

Here, the German participant (G) speaks German and the Polish counterpart (P) Polish. This type of communication is called "receptive bilingualism" or "receptive multilingualism" (ten Thije & Zeevaert, 2007) and is documented in Europe mainly in cases of "intercomprehension" among closely related languages such as the Germanic Scandinavian languages. However, as the German-Polish example shows, this strategy can also be used among persons having at least receptive knowledge of the partner language. This and other alternative strategies as well as supplementary strategies used among specific persons with knowledge of an additional bridging language, such as Sorbian or Esperanto, were identified and integrated in a framework of interlingual strategies (Table 3).

The strategies are classified into four types: (I) everyone uses their own first language; (II) *one* first language of the people communicating is used by all; (III) everyone uses a first language of the people involved (internal language), but no

Table 3. Interlingual constellations in the German-Polish border region (adapted from Kimura, 2015b, 2018a)

	Common	Alternative	Supplementary
I. First-language symmetry	German and Polish with mediation	German and Polish receptive bilingualism	Sorbian and Polish intercomprehension[*]
II. Internal-language asymmetry	German	Polish	–
III. Partner-language symmetry	–	German and Polish as foreign languages	–
IV. Lingua franca	English	mixed language (Polski + Deutsch = "Poltsch")	Esperanto

*Sorbian, a minority language spoken in Germany, is a West Slavic language as is Polish.

one uses their own first language; and (IV) an additional language is adopted as a lingua franca. It soon became evident that all the common strategies, while basically quite useful, also have demerits. Interpreting has limits as a form of mediated communication, the one-sided use of German demonstrates unequal partnership, and English does not provide direct access to the everyday life of people in the region. The alternative and supplementary strategies could be seen to contribute to overcoming the weaknesses of the common strategies (Kimura, 2015b, 2018a, 2019). For example, as receptive competence is generally easier to acquire than productive competence, receptive bilingualism can be useful to lessen the often perceived burden of learning one's neighbor's language. In fact, data has shown that it can even be the most effective and convenient strategy to use to communicate when both sides have intermediate proficiency in the other language (Kimura, 2018b).

3.2 The researcher in the management process cycle and the micro-macro cycle

Let us now look at the linking process between different levels as part of the public engagement of the researcher according to the stages of management. I will also consider the micro-macro cycle within the fifth stage.

The starting point of the public engagement of the researcher was his noting that the alternative strategies which were found in the fieldwork are not commonly known in the region and hence their usage is still quite minimal (stage 1). He evaluated this negatively, recognizing that the lesser known strategies deserve more attention and should be promoted (stage 2). An adjustment design based on these evaluations was to look for ways to make the alternative and supplementary strategies more widely used. As academic papers in refereed journals are

usually only read by other academics, ways of publicizing these strategies via oral presentations and publication in locally relevant contexts were probed (stage 3). During and after the fieldwork period, the researcher applied for and responded to chances to present or to publish the research results (stage 4). These linking efforts were realized in three ways. First, the researcher directly presented the outcomes orally and discussed his findings with the audience. Second, research results were disseminated through mass media. Third, findings were provided in the form of written materials and articles to non-academic readers (see Appendix).

Verification/feedback (stage 5) regarding these activities can be done by way of the ten points provided by Neustupný (1999). In this case, the researcher provided basic descriptive facts about management by collecting data on interlingual communication (1), identified problematic issues within the common strategies (2), confirmed what kind of management of interlingual strategies are actually performed (3), sought alternative strategies to existing proposals (4) and anticipated the consequences of the proposals and alternatives by analyzing the merits and demerits of each strategy (5). These findings were transferred to the local public as general and specific proposals (8, 9). On the other hand, in these activities, problems relating to interests, power and identity (6, 7) were not discussed explicitly, although the dominance of German (and English), which can be considered a matter of power, was the starting point of the research. Furthermore, the possibility of the coexistence of different types of management was dealt with in detail only in academic papers and presentations (10). The feedback stage undertaken here makes it clear that what was lacking from the researcher's activities was the presentation of the strategies in relation to each other while paying attention to power, interests and identity.

With regard to the micro-macro linking, the socially oriented activities during and after the fieldwork aimed to transfer the findings relating to the alternative strategies observed in the field to relevant stakeholders (see Appendix). Public lectures on both sides of the border and a talk show during the summer festival of the twin cities were addressed to the local community. Each event was attended also by local managers in charge of transborder cooperation and education. A roundtable with language teachers and an article for a language teacher journal focused on educational organizations. With regard to the national governments, materials were submitted on the occasion of a meeting of the German-Polish committee on education. Other written media included articles in the main newspapers, and radio programs broadcast in the region intended to reach the local community and other relevant agents and actors. Special essays dedicated to the potential of supplementary strategies were also addressed to the local community and beyond. These linking directions are indicated in Figure 3.
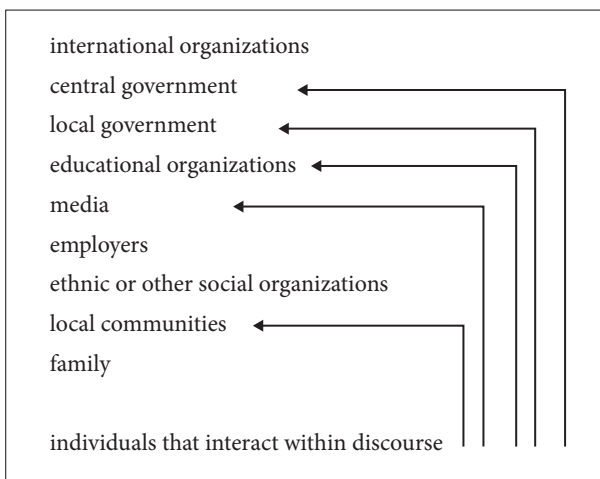
Figure 3. Linking activities by the researcher

These activities greatly exceeded my initial modest intention stated in the research plan to have a presentation to local audiences at the end of the research period. On the other hand, some levels mentioned by Neustupný (1997) have not yet been included as direct addressees, such as families, ethnic or other social organizations, and employers. Though data relevant to these stakeholders was gathered and the researcher received offers to provide information to these agents and actors, the opportunities have not been pursued so far. Furthermore, from the viewpoint of the micro-macro cycle, it has to be pointed out that there has been no evaluation of the effects of these linking activities. Thus, it can be said that although in general some (certainly not sufficient) linking achievements between the micro and macro levels have been made, there is still a lack of evaluation of the researcher's activities from the macro to micro direction. In this sense, the project progress so far can be classified as type 1 of a partial management cycle.

4. Concluding remarks

Usually, the main task of a researcher is understood as conducting research and publishing the results in academic papers.[8] On the other hand, the researcher has the unique potential to link and bridge between different levels in society. Through research s/he becomes part of the society investigated, but rather than being simply an additional actor at a certain level of the field investigated, her/his

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8. A recent volume on research methods in language policy and planning includes papers concerning pubic engagement as an Appendix (Hult & Johnson, 2015).

proper place is situated between the different levels. This paper has shown how the socially oriented activities conducted by the researcher can be comprehended as part of the management processes of the site. This perspective of integrating the LM researcher as an actor of LM him/herself could contribute to gaining a more comprehensive account of LM processes. A critical analysis of the researcher's behavior within the LMT framework would also open the way toward reflexive LM research as part of "reflexive sociolinguistics" (Bucholtz, 2003). At the same time, to aptly recognize the public engagement of researchers as an integral part of (application-oriented) research will hopefully contribute to changing the current status quo in which publishing in academic journals is valued above all other research activities, leading to the unfortunate situation described by Gabriel (2017): "Never in the history of human scholarship has so much been written by so many to the benefit of so few."

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Appendix. Socially oriented activities of the researcher in the German-Polish context

I. Oral presentations (title, type of event, place and city)

28.8.2012   Interlinguale Kommunikationsmöglichkeiten an der deutsch-polnischen Grenzregion [Possibilities of interlingual communication in the German-Polish border region], public lecture and discussion, European University Viadrina, Frankfurt (Oder).

26.1.2013   Sprache als Barriere und Chance im Kontext der Arbeitnehmerfreizügigkeit [Language as barrier and chance in the context of free mobility of employees], public lecture and discussion, European University Viadrina, Frankfurt (Oder).

26.3.2013   Interlinguale Kommunikationsmöglichkeiten an der deutsch-polnischen Grenzregion – Und welche Rolle spielt Sorbisch dabei? [Interlingual communication in the German-Polish border region and the role of Sorbian], round table discussion, Sorbian Institute, Cottbus/Chośebuz.

6.6.2013   Strategie komunikacji językowej na polsko-niemieckim pograniczu [Communication strategies at the German-Polish border], public lecture and discussion, Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań.

10.6.2013   Esperanto kiel ponta lingvo inter najbaroj [Esperanto as a bridge language between neighbors], Zentrum Danziger 50, Berlin.

14.6.2013   Mehrsprachigkeit in der deutsch-polnischen Grenzregion [Multilingualism in the German-Polish border region], public lecture and discussion, European University Viadrina, Frankfurt (Oder).

19.6.2013   Dwujęzyczność na pograniczu polsko-niemieckim [Bilingualism at the German-Polish border], public lecture and discussion, Silesian Institute, Opole.

2.7.2013   Esperanto – Quatsch oder Chance. Was ist und was kann Esperanto? [Esperanto – Nonsense or chance], round table with language teachers, European University Viadrina, Frankfurt (Oder).

8.7.2013   Wie verständigt man sich an der deutsch-polnischen Grenze? Es gibt mehr Möglichkeiten als man denkt [How to communicate at the German-Polish border], public lecture and discussion, Collegium Polonicum, Słubice.

13.7.2013   Klasse Projekte – Gespräch über erfolgreiche, grenzüberschreitende Projekte [About outstanding transborder projects], talk show, joint summer festival of Frankfurt and Słubice, Frankfurt (Oder).

II. Articles and interviews in the media

26.3.2013   Tür zu einer neuen Welt. Ein japanischer Professor erforscht, wie Deutsche und Polen miteinander sprechen [The door to a new world], *Märkische Oderzeitung*. (newspaper article)

16.6.2013   Deutsch-polnischer Bildungsausschuss berät über Sprachlernmobil Polski Express [Meeting of the German-Polish committee on education], *TRANSODRA online – Internetportal Deutsch-polnische Grenzregion*. (material presented to the intergovernmental committee)

22.6.2013   Interview in "Opolskie da się lubić", *Radio Opole*. (radio interview)

26.6.2013   Szukam u was doświadczeń [Searching experiences], *Heimat / mała ojczyzna – Tygodnik Niemców na Śląsku Opolskim*. (newspaper interview)

3.7.2013   Japański „Serb" jo zasej how [The Japanese Sorbian is here again], *Nowy Casnik*. (newspaper interview)

5.7.2013   Nałožowanje rěčow přepytował [Investigated language use], *Serbske Nowiny*. (newspaper interview)

5.7.2013   Forscher aus Japan untersucht Sprachgebrauch an der Grenze [Japanese researcher has investigated language use at the border], *Berlin.de, Bild.de, Focus Online, T-Online.de, Die Welt*. (newspaper interview disseminated by DPA: Deutsche Presse Agentur)

6.7.2013   ‚Es lohnt sich, Polnisch zu lernen'– Was ein japanischer Wissenschaftler über den deutsch-polnischen Sprachgebrauch im Grenzgebiet erforscht hat [It is rewarding to learn Polish], *Lausitzer Rundschau*. (newspaper interview by DPA: Deutsche Presse Agentur)

8.7.2013   Sprachbarrieren im Kindesalter abbauen [Deconstructing language barriers], *Nordkurier*. (newspaper interview by DPA: Deutsche Presse Agentur)

9.7.2013   Zběra přikłady za wužitnosć serbšćiny [Collecting examples of the usefulness of Sorbian], *Serbske Nowiny*. (newspaper interview)

15.7.2013   Deutsch-polnische Verständigung an der Grenze, *rbb Inforadio*. (radio interview)

10.2014   Wie ein Tamagotchi – ein Interview mit Prof. Goro Christoph Kimura, Sprachenzentrum, Europa-Universität Viadrina. (interview for the website of the university language center)

III. Essays and papers for non-academic readers

2013   Polnisch im Kontext der Arbeitnehmerfreizügigkeit in der deutsch-polnischen Grenzregion [Polish in the context of the free mobility of employees in the German-Polish border region], *Polnisch in Deutschland – Zeitschrift der Bundesvereinigung der Polnischlehrkräfte* [Polish in Germany – Journal of the Federal Association of Polish teachers], 1/2013, 37–45.

2014   Reden über die Doppelstadt X: Goro Christoph Kimura / Wypowiedzi o Dwumieście X: Goro Christoph Kimura [Talk about the twin city], Newsletter 06/2014, Frankfurt-Słubicer Kooperationszentrum / Słubicko-Frankfurckie Centrum Kooperacji, 4–6.

2016   Serbšćina jako mjezynarodna rěč [Sorbian as an international language], *Serbska protyka 2017* [Sorbian yearbook], 76–77.

2017   Esperanto als Brückensprache zwischen Deutschen und Polen [Esperanto as a bridging language between Germans and Poles]. In F. Wollenberg (Ed.), *Esperanto – Sprache und Kultur in Berlin und Brandenburg* [Esperanto: Language and culture in Berlin and Brandenburg] (pp. 316–324). New York: Mondial.

Epilogue

Reconsidering the language management approach in light of the micro-macro continuum

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1. Introduction

In this closing chapter, we reflect on the current volume in order to assess its achievements and limitations, and especially highlight its contribution to research on the integration of micro and macro dimensions. We begin by reassessing the place of language management theory (LMT) within the broader field of research, considering its theoretical scope and application in research thus far. We then re-examine the core of the theory, the language management process itself, and propose improvements. In the following section, we summarize the main points in the chapters in Parts II, III, and IV relevant to the conceptualization of the micro and macro as an intertwining continuum. We finish with suggestions for further research.

2. The scope of LMT and its geographical spread

Part I traced the origins of the language management (LM) approach and the relationships between socio-historical contexts and research traditions in East Asia and Central Europe. In order to clarify the place of LMT with regard to the micro-macro issue within the research landscape, we will reconsider the basic intention and later developments of the LMT approach, paying particular attention to its historical and current social context.

As a witness of the early days of language policy and planning (LPP) as a research field in international academia, Jernudd recalls that the focus of the "classical" LPP paradigm on the state level was not a sign of ignorance of other levels, but a conscious decision in response to the pressing need for language regulation in developing nations. The proponents of LMT, Jernudd and Neustupný, were

aware of this fact, but they developed LMT to also cover the other levels, which were beyond the scope of the then dominant LPP paradigm. The concern with different types of micro-level management, including the elaboration of languages by linguists and other language users, known as language cultivation, rather than state-level language policy was related to the backgrounds of these two researchers. Jernudd (this volume) characterizes his native country, Sweden, as "a language cultivation speech community, at the time without so-called policy issues". According to Sherman (this volume), in the Czech Republic (or more precisely the former Czechoslovakia), Neustupný's native country, "both among linguists and the general public, the cultivation approach continues to be more widely applied than the policy one". She connects this to the fact that the Czech Republic has a highly visible public language management institution (see Prošek, this volume).

Additionally, the spread of LMT in the field of Japanese language education and more generally in Japanese sociolinguistics can be explained by the research interests and personal career history of Neustupný, who after having taught Japanese language in Australia came to teach sociolinguistics at universities in Japan. The chapter by Fan, which follows the development of LMT in East Asia, especially in Japan, explains why Neustupný's approach was regarded as suited to the local social context in Japan. In this island country, where the Japanese language dominates and the "myth of homogeneity" (Fan, this volume) prevails, encounters with people perceived as non-Japanese have raised awareness of language issues, resulting in calls for research on such "marked" contact. LMT, which focuses on contact situations, was a welcome approach to these issues. As Zawiszová (2014, p. 356–357) notes:

> Japanese history is marked by a period of some two hundred fifty years of almost complete isolation, and Japanese society is still thought of as one of the world's most homogeneous ones. Therefore, as long as globalization… continues to cause substantial transformations in every facet of Japanese people's daily lives, it can be expected that this line of research will not only prevail, but also expand.

Thus, we can understand the focus and geographic origin of LMT, and why it became rooted in certain Central European and East Asian "nation states" with "weak" types of explicit national-level language planning.

LMT's interest in language management on various sub-state levels corresponds to the reality that different agents and actors are involved in LM processes. On the other hand, He and Dai (2016) have argued that state-level language planning should be more explicitly acknowledged in LMT, pointing out that both the Czech Republic and Japan have weak governmental language policies. However, this does not mean that LMT studies have completely ignored state-level planning. Neustupný and Nekvapil's (2003) extensive study on major management

processes observed in the Czech context, including state-level policy, is one example of LMT being applied to multiple levels in society, ranging from the individual to the national.

In sum, while theoretically broader than LPP and claiming to be a comprehensive approach encompassing all types of management in any context, in reality, LMT seems to have developed as a complementary approach to the research strands focusing on the state (national) level in LPP. For example, Ali, Baldauf, Shariff and Manan (2018, p. 143) argue that LMT first "posits that language problems should be investigated in real language contact situations" and second, "provides a lens for understanding the interplay between simple and organized management *in meso language planning*" (by 'meso' they mean organizations/institutions below the state level; emphasis added by the current authors). This has undoubtedly contributed to a redress of the imbalance in LPP research that has focused overwhelmingly on state-level policy. The weak concern with the state level, however, may be one reason why LMT is not mentioned in some publications that aim to provide an overview of LPP research (Tollefson & Perez-Milans, 2018; Johnson, 2013), as this particular conceptualization of the macro level has been the benchmark of LPP research.

Aware of the weak approach to the national (state) level in LMT research, the chapters in this volume have tried to consider the national level, including also transnational aspects (most evident in Takahashi's chapter). A direct analysis of national policy, however, is not presented in this volume, reflecting the origin and academic training of the authors mostly educated and/or working in the Czech Republic or Japan and having encountered LMT in these contexts. Keeping in mind the gap between the conceptualization of LMT as a comprehensive framework and the *de facto* application of this approach in a complementary way to major LPP research, in the next sections we re-examine the LM process itself, as well as the linking of micro and macro dimensions, considering the examples presented in the individual chapters of this volume.

3.   Insights into the LM process

Regarding the process, one discussion in the LM literature focuses on the stages where the model should start and the process end (Fairbrother, Nekvapil & Sloboda, 2018, p. 18). Indeed, the individual chapters in this volume display some variation in the presentation of the process model.

3.1   Attention to norms as a pre-stage to LM

Regarding the beginning of the management process, all the chapters in this volume, including those focusing on contact situations, actually discuss the management process from the stage of "noting" deviations from norms. For example, Fairbrother explicitly refers to the "initial noting stage", which is aligned with the stages originally outlined by Jernudd and Neustupný (1987). In later versions of the LM model, however, Neustupný (2003, 2004, 2005) posited the occurrence of deviations from norms (or expectations) as the initial stage. The authors in Part II (Aikawa, Takeda & Aikawa, and Fairbrother) cite this later version of the LM stages, which begin with "a deviation from a norm or an expectation". Lanstyák, however, argues strongly against the inclusion of the occurrence of deviations prior to the noting stage (2018, p. 71):

> Some authors sometimes include the "deviation from the norms or expectations" among the phases of LM (e.g. Neustupný, 2003), but it can be argued that a deviation is simply the state of affairs, not a phase of the process of LM, since it goes against all logic that any kind of management could take place prior to the noting of the deviation.

In other words, the deviation may be considered to be just part of generation (language behaviour), not management (behaviour toward language), if there is no noting. Therefore, the norms from which the deviation is perceived are a prerequisite of the management process, rather than part of the process itself.

It has also been argued that the beginning of the management process need not be triggered by an actual deviation from a norm occurring in situ, but a hypothetical or imagined one (Nekvapil, 2012; Nekvapil & Sherman, 2014; Marriott, 2015). For example, Beneš, Prošek, Smejkalová and Štěpánová (2018) report that the Language Consulting Centre of the Institute of the Czech language often receives enquiries asking to confirm if a certain language phenomenon is in line with standard Czech norms. In such cases, the management is not triggered by a deviation from a norm that has actually occurred, but rather management is initiated to check whether a certain usage might potentially be a deviation if it were to be used. More broadly, pre-interaction management (Nekvapil & Sherman, 2009) is a typical type of LM that occurs without a concrete deviation occurring in situ.[1] This evolution of the model does not exclude deviations as a trigger for LM; it merely opens up a way to include other possibilities of language management

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1. Pre-interaction management can, however, be implemented as the result of LM that occurred in previous interactions. For example, in their analysis of "accustomed language management" Muraoka, Fan and Ko (2018) argue that "language management is not only triggered by deviations noted in the on-going discourse, but also triggered by accumulated and/or ac-

occurring in the real world. If LM intends to deal with all kinds of language management as behaviour toward language, the model has to be comprehensive. On the other hand, it has to be recognized that the above-mentioned example of Beneš et al. (2018), as well as cases of pre-interaction management, presuppose the existence of norms. It is striking that all studies in this volume, in both the micro- and macro-focused sections, highlight the importance of considering norms (or expectations). This volume, therefore, confirms that norms remain a central concern for LMT no matter which micro and macro dimensions are involved. Following Beneš et al. (2018), who emphasize keeping the stage of deviation from norms in order to consider un-noted phenomena (p. 124), while also beginning the discussion of the management process from the noting stage (p. 129), we propose taking up "norms (and deviations from them)" as a pre-stage (stage 0) of language management. This is similar to Lanstyák (2014, p. 336), who places "0. Deviation" prior to "1. Noting". In fact this is no conceptual innovation. Its main significance is to make explicit and transparent the already practised positioning of norms in LMT-based research.

This positioning of norms also underpins LMT's focus on the cognitive processes occurring before a linguistic phenomenon is perceived as a problem. Nekvapil (2016, p. 18) states that "language management starts with the noting of a certain linguistic phenomenon, that is, even before any negative evaluation takes place, and hence, even before a potential problem may arise". Similarly, Neustupný (2018, p. 377) stresses that one distinctive feature of LMT is that it pays attention to "deviations and noting, which other theories tend to overlook". In an earlier paper, Neustupný (1985, p. 167) also pointed out the possibility of "unaware 'noting'". This deep concern with cognitive processes beneath the surface of discourse is an important characteristic of LMT in contrast to language planning research, which often focuses predominantly on problem solving. Explicitly referring to norms and their deviations as the pre-stage can strengthen this feature of the LMT framework.

3.2   Attention to the post-implementation stage

Turning our attention to the end of the process, the importance of a post-implementation stage has been mentioned by Takahashi and exemplified by Kimura in this volume. The omission of the post-implementation stage in LMT may be a relic, or proof, of LMT's stronger focus on micro processes where feedback or verification are not as foregrounded as in research on more macro dimensions. However,

customed personal norms developed through one's past experiences of participation in contact situations" (p. 203).

> the theory demanded by today's practice of language management is… a system of general strategies on the basis of which the discipline is built… [that] contains all the general knowledge about language management we possess… [and] is both systematic and related to other theories – general theories of language, culture and society. (Neustupný, 2012, p. 295)

As awareness has been increasing in recent LMT research (Shen, 2016; Beneš et al., 2018), it is a natural progression that the post-implementation stage should be included in the LM process model as well. Among other reasons (see Kimura, this volume), the inclusion of this stage is a prerequisite to making LMT applicable to macro-focused analysis, including analysis of state-level management.

Fairbrother argued that in some cases the last stage could also be interpreted as pre-interaction management. This view further confirms the cyclical character of the management process; the post-implementation stage is a reaction to the consequence of implementation on the one hand, and preparation for further interactions on the other. Similarly, "language management towards contact situations", the accustomed management behaviour developed through past experiences in contact situations (see Fan, this volume; also Muraoka, Fan & Ko, 2018, p. 203), can be interpreted as the result of an accumulation of post-implementation evaluations.
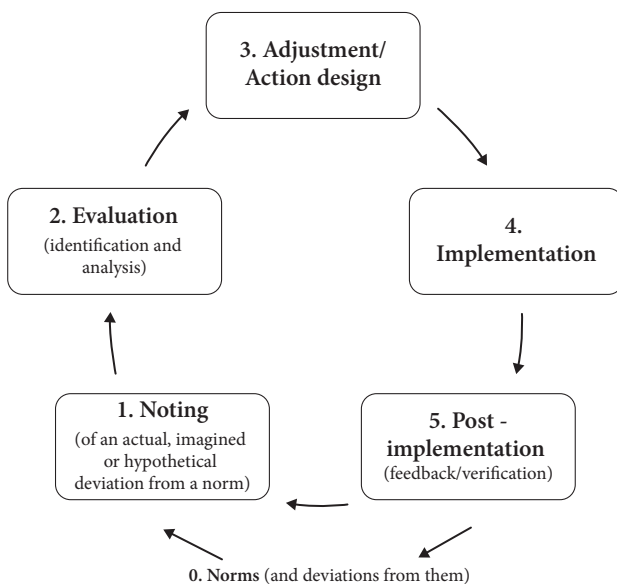
Figure 1. The management process model including the additional pre- and post-stage

Furthermore, norms are also related to the end of the process (Fairbrother, this volume). Specifically, the possibility of the creation of new norms is an important

aspect of the post-implementation stage. Summarizing these findings at the beginning and end of the process, we can add the function and (re)formation of norms (or expectations) as the foundation of the management process cycle model (Kimura, this volume). As the existence of norms is not part of the management process itself, this pre-stage is distinguished from the management stages presented in the boxes in Figure 1.

4. Linking the various dimensions: Insights from the studies in this volume

Having discussed the general issues concerning the process model, in this section, we examine how the authors of the individual studies in this volume conceptualize and link the various micro and macro dimensions. After reviewing how relevant the elements of 'simple' and 'organized' management within the micro-macro continuum have been to each of the individual studies in Parts II, III and IV, we go on to point out the main theoretical and practical contributions of the individual chapters.

4.1 The intertwining of the elements of the micro-macro continuum

No study in this volume has dealt with merely 'micro' or 'macro' issues only, but rather they have all depicted different management types on the continuum and have considered their intertwining elements. These different management types can be explicated by showing that the elements concerning the 'object' and 'locus' of management, the 'duration', 'agents', 'actors', 'communication about management' and 'theorizing', that have hitherto been associated with *either* simple *or* organized management (Table 1, p. 19), are relevant in various combinations and not in a dichotomous way. Here we will give some examples in which the relevance and combination of the elements do not fit the dichotomous micro-versus-macro scheme.

Concerning the 'object' of management, it is not the case that Part II, dealing with contact situations, is only concerned with discourse management, or that Part III, dealing with standard language problems, focuses solely on language as a system. Paying attention to the broader context of organizational and national-level policy initiatives, the writers in Part II are aware that the management of language as a social system affects the management of discourse and interaction, while those in Part III clearly illustrate the interplay between discourse and language as a system. Additionally, the two studies in Part IV illustrate how the management of research transcends the distinction between simple and organized management.

For example, the involvement of specialists (codifiers or researchers as 'actors') and the more or less explicit 'theorizing' of their management are elements that have been associated with organized management. On the other hand, a typical element of simple management is that the 'agents' of research management are individual researchers.

The distinction between simple and organized management is further blurred with regard to the 'locus' of management. In previous research, on-line, or discourse-based, management has been associated with individuals, and off-line, or non-discourse-based, management with organizations. However, Part II shows examples of individual off-line management, such as taking English lessons (Aikawa) or participating in a Japanese language group (Takeda & Aikawa), while in Part III Prošek analyses on-line management at an organization.

Concerning the 'duration' of management, there is also no dichotomous distinction possible. All the chapters take into account the importance of concrete interactions, regardless of where their predominant focus is on the micro–macro continuum. Furthermore, every chapter also considers trans-interactional management. Trans-interactional management is not confined to organizations/institutions as agents or specialists as actors, but can involve individual agency and ordinary language users as actors. Indeed, the term "accustomed language management" was coined (Muraoka, Fan & Ko, 2018; see also Fan, this volume) to pay due attention to recurrent patterns of language management by individuals.

The elements 'communication about management' and 'theorizing' have commonly been regarded as an off-line specialist enterprise. However, in this volume, these elements are presented most explicitly in the on-line meta-management discourse in the chapter by Prošek. The interviews and surveys presented in Parts II and III can also be regarded as a form of 'communication about management'. All these involve not only specialists, but also ordinary language users. Communication about management and theorizing are therefore not confined to specific types of actors and can be performed also on-line.

Thus, the chapters in this volume confirm that it is necessary to be aware of and explicit about the specific elements involved when dealing with micro-macro issues. Instead of using the terms micro and macro to refer to some imagined social level, we need to clarify which elements of the micro and the macro we are specifically referring to.

4.2 The contributions of the individual chapters

Let us now examine the contributions of the individual chapters. The papers in Part II begin by investigating the interactions of individuals, and connecting them to macro dimensions. All three papers show how organizational and

state-level management affects interaction and vice versa. The findings have practical and theoretical implications. Based on interview data, Aikawa, and Takeda and Aikawa reveal that fostering only English language skills will not resolve the real communication problems related to intercultural communication in Japan. Their findings show that other factors, such as critical cultural awareness or the use of the Japanese language, should receive more attention. They question the current policies of organizations, including universities and corporations, as well as the Japanese government, that focus only on enhancing English as a means of international communication. These two papers have clear implications regarding organizational/institutional and state-level policy and confirm the importance of micro-focused investigations as a basis for macro-level policy decisions. The paper by Fairbrother is more theoretically driven. She provides a classification of intertwining language management processes that can occur at different levels. The question of where in the process and in which ways different types of management diverge or intersect deserves special attention and will no doubt be a focal point in future research on micro-macro relationships. More generally, because it can be supposed that management processes often co-occur, the analysis of different management processes that influence each other is a central challenge for the development of LM research.

Part III focuses on phenomena including obvious organized language management elements and considers their relation to more micro-focused management. The chapters in this part share the aim of providing a conceptual basis and orientation for further research. The frameworks and concepts examined in these chapters deal with the management processes of the two directions of language change: convergence and divergence. Takahashi proposes a model called Language Codification Cycle Theory (LCCT) as a framework to analyse the interplay between different levels of language management processes related to codification. On the other hand, Dovalil shows that considering micro-macro relationships is indispensable for distinguishing the two concepts of demotization and destandardization. As well as highlighting the different types of LM processes involved in trying to solve individuals' language problems, Prošek's use of the consultation service's large-scale database provides a good example of a method to connect organizational language management with management occurring in individual interactions.

Finally, the two papers in Part IV deal with research-related activities as a process, showing that integrating the LM researcher as an actor of LM can contribute to gaining a more comprehensive account of LM processes in the research field. Specifically, they clarify the applicability of LMT to checking research findings and the self-check of the researcher at the level of micro-focused data collection in interaction and at more macro-focused levels of methodology or public engagement.

Saruhashi's findings demonstrate the micro-macro linkage in a double sense. Applying LMT to the micro-level data analysis of interviews can first contribute to a holistic understanding of the interviewee and her/his historical background, and second, it can be useful for reconsidering interview methods. In contrast to Saruhashi, who applies LMT at the interactional level, Kimura integrates the researcher's activities as organized management into the two cycles of language management: the language management process cycle and the micro-macro cycle. He argues that as part of the language situation, the researcher can/should link (bridge) micro-macro dimensions in both directions, micro to macro and macro to micro. The first direction constitutes part of the researcher's public engagement, and the second is the evaluation of the social impact of the research. The reflexive potential of LMT in the research discussed in these chapters is a topic that should be further pursued if LMT research wants to connect to critical approaches in LPP and related fields.

5.   The maxim of cross-dimensional analysis

The synthesis of the chapters in this volume has revealed that the strong concern of LMT with the noting and pre-noting stages is in accordance with the micro orientation of the theory, whereas LMT's weak approach to 'national/ supranational-level management' is reflected in less attention having been paid to post-implementation issues in the past. The additions to the LM process model proposed here are intended to strengthen the strengths and weaken the weaknesses of the model. However, it must be stressed that the pre-stage of norms is also relevant for more macro-focused analysis and the post-implementation stage is also relevant to more micro-focused analysis, including the analysis of interpersonal interactions. LMT is just one approach available for researchers interested in language problems and can complement other approaches, but not in the sense that LMT's concerns are limited to particular societal levels. To the research landscape of LPP and related fields, it proposes a process-oriented approach with a stage-based model ready for application to all kinds of management. The data types and analysis methods common in LMT (see Fairbrother, Nekvapil & Sloboda, 2018) may seem too imprecise for conversation analysts and too detailed for policy researchers, but this middle-way characteristic of LMT makes it flexible enough to encompass various levels.

Overall, the chapters in this volume confirm the basic premise of LMT, that analysis of micro-focused processes including discourse and interaction is indispensable in understanding and conceptualizing more macro-focused management. Conversely, the contributions in this volume also provide insights into the issue of how macro-level management attempts to affect more micro levels.

Thus, the consideration of macro-focused management is essential to a deeper understanding of what is going on in more micro dimensions. In both directions, we must keep in mind that micro and macro are relative concepts on a continuum, not disconnected dichotomous poles. Having noted this, beyond just acknowledging the common-sense fact that there is interplay between different micro-macro dimensions, the point here is the importance of a cross-level analysis. We argue that in order to understand a management process on a certain level, considering the other levels is invaluable. This can be formulated as the following analytic maxim: if we want to further understand what we perceive as macro processes, we have to turn to the micro dimensions, and if we intend to understand micro processes, we have to deal with broader macro-focused dimensions. We call this the 'maxim of cross-dimensional analysis'.

To put this maxim into practice, studies connecting management processes, including diverging and intersecting management, will be an important focal point for future language management research. On the one hand, conducting fine-grained analysis of concrete interactions will be a challenge. In this respect, recent developments in sociolinguistics will be helpful. On the other hand, collaboration with scholars of other LPP research traditions will be welcome, especially in order to pay attention to the macro processes of the state level and beyond. This broader perspective will continue to be beneficial to scholars concerned with language-related issues at any point on the micro-macro spectrum.

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Index

In recent years there has been increased interest in examining the treatment of language problems across different levels of society, ranging from individual interactional issues to language policy and planning at the national or supra-national level. Among the various approaches to tackle this issue, Language Management Theory (LMT) provides a framework to address behaviour towards language problems on differet levels explicitly and comprehensively.

Using LMT as a unifying theoretical concept, the chapters in this volume examine the links between micro and macro dimensions in their analyses of a variety of language problems in Asian and European contexts. This body of work illustrates that the LMT framework is able to show the characteristics of different dimensions clearly, especially when combined with a conceptualization of the micro and macro as a continuum of intertwining elements. This volume will appeal both to those interested in language policy and planning as well as those interested in interaction between speakers from different language backgrounds.

Though well-known as a major approach in the field of language policy and planning, Language Management Theory has also considerably contributed to the development of linguistic theory. This volume is a valuable addition to this unique comprehensive research tradition.

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